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## SHAPING MAORI IDENTITIES AND HISTORIES

Collecting and exhibiting Maori material culture  
at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums from  
the 1850s to the 1920s

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## Abstract

As museums now reinterpret their collections, many of which have their foundations in the experience of colonialism, we may ponder the contextual meanings and discursive practices scripted into them during their formation. *Shaping Maori identities and histories* critically examines the processes of collecting and exhibiting Maori material culture at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums from the 1850s to the early 1900s. It interrogates the values, meanings and motivations that drove these processes, and the way new identities and histories were established for Maori people as a result of these practices. Ethnology as a discourse within the context of the museum and the exhibition has been used to establish and authorise meanings in relation to Maori history and identity. The following discussions problematise these relationships within the context of emerging museum theory. These practices of representation are viewed as a 'cultural text' in order to read and understand the cultural and ideological assumptions that have informed them.

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## CHAPTER ONE

### Introduction

#### The Din of White Noise<sup>1</sup>

Ethnology, Museums, Collections and Exhibitions - the construction of Maori

*An object - be it a taonga or not - is not understandable without a context. Thus, it is the context with which we must be concerned*<sup>2</sup>

Museums have been in the business of producing histories for public consumption since their inception in the nineteenth century.<sup>3</sup> An outcome of this process was the creation of new identities and 'realities' for indigenous people. Collections as material records of people and the past have provided the foundation for these practices, with exhibitions acting as the vehicle for the dissemination of ideas. This thesis critically examines the way Maori identities, traditions and histories were produced and narrated through collecting and exhibitions at two New Zealand institutions, the Auckland Museum and the Canterbury Museum (Christchurch) from the 1850s to the early 1900s. This was a critical period in the formation of Eurocentric notions about the nature of Maori societies, their history and identity, views that have endured into the present. The identities and history embedded in these collections emerge out of the experience of colonialism and the discourses of Ethnology and Anthropology.

Little sustained research has been undertaken in this field in relation to the New Zealand situation. As a result this thesis makes a valuable contribution to knowledge about these museums and the values and meanings implicit in their collections. By addressing the legacies

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<sup>1</sup>This term was used in a paper by Dr Tom Griffiths in the paper 'The Continental Museum' presented to the Museums Australia 4th National Conference, Darwin, Australia, 6-12 September 1997. It referred to the dominance of European narratives in the understanding of Aboriginal Australia

<sup>2</sup>Adrienne L. Kaeppler (1991) 'Taonga Maori and the Evolution of the Representation of the Other' in the *Proceedings of the Taonga Māori Conference, New Zealand 18-27 November 1990* (Wellington: New Zealand Cultural Advisory Council) p13

<sup>3</sup>James Clifford (1997) *Routes, Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press)

of the past these 'new understandings' of the collections will facilitate the process of their reinterpretation through an appreciation of the circumstances of their formation.

### 1.1 A reflexive approach - the 'politics of representation'

What constitutes a museum has until recently been couched in functional terms.<sup>4</sup> Collection, preservation, study, interpretation and the exhibition of material evidence have been the components that lie at the root of definitions of the museum.<sup>5</sup> The process of producing identities and histories through these activities has been perceived as concrete and tangible, paralleling the essence of the material evidence they house.<sup>6</sup> In recent years, however, many critics have put forward arguments for a greater critical and socially substantive role for these institutions.<sup>7</sup> An outcome of this is an increasing amount of museum scholarship that has sought to evaluate museums and their roles while interrogating processes of collecting and exhibiting.

As a result the production and endorsement of Eurocentric frameworks of coherence have now been exposed as the hallmark of the museum.<sup>8</sup> This cultural location has been pervasive in terms of the institution's mission, its role in society, its function and the types of representations put forward. More recent scholarship has attempted to free the museum from this heritage.

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<sup>4</sup>Julia D. Harrison. (1993) 'Ideas of Museums in the 1990s' in *Museum Management and Curatorship*, 13, p160

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Stephen E. Weil (1990) *Rethinking the Museum*. (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press) p46

<sup>7</sup>This identity crisis for museums was first discussed by Duncan Cameron in his watershed article (1971) 'The Museum: A Temple or Forum?' in *Curator* Vol 14, 1, pp11-24

Over the last 10 to 15 years there have been numerous publications alluding to these issues. Key publications include: I. Karp and S.D. Lavine (eds) (1991) *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution); James Clifford (1988) *The Predicament of Culture Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* (Harvard University Press); P. Vergo (ed) (1989) *The New Museology* (London: Reaktion Books); G.W. Stocking (1985) *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums and Material Culture, History of Anthropology Vol 3* (Madison Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press); Annie Coombes (1994) *Reinventing Africa: Museums, material culture and popular culture imagination in late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press); S. Macdonald & G. Fyfe (eds) (1996) *Theorizing Museums: Representing Identity and Diversity in Changing World* (Oxford:Blackwell Publishers); Moira G. Simpson (1996) *Making Representations Museums in the Post Colonial Era* (London and New York: Routledge); Tim Barringer & Tom Flynn (eds) (1998) *Colonialism and the Object* (London: Routledge) and Sharon Macdonald (ed) (1998) *The Politics of Display* (London: Routledge)

Over the last 150 years these public cultural institutions have undergone a number of transformations. The types of knowledges produced, the interpretative and representational strategies employed, and the nature of the audiences enlisted have all changed as a result of shifting social, political, epistemological and institutional contexts.<sup>9</sup> What has remained constant and continues to be sustained to varying degrees is the endorsed role of the museum as a site for knowledge production and consumption, for public education and as a producer of national identity.

Macdonald argues that the museum is not merely a product of these processes but instrumental in the constitution of cultural ideals, values, social differences and political agendas expressed through its 'truth' statements.<sup>10</sup> These 'truths', presented through exhibitions, have been regarded by their producers as authoritative, and presented to audiences as unequivocal statements rather than as the outcome of particular decisions and contexts. The assumptions, rationales, compromises and accidents that lead to an exhibition have generally been hidden from the public view.<sup>11</sup> Rarely have there been attempts to explain content in terms of these social, epistemological and political contexts.

The academic disciplines of Ethnology and Anthropology provided the dominant ideologies for the public representations of indigenous peoples. As a consequence, this 'din of white noise' has been instrumental in endorsing Eurocentric structures of coherence and supplanting other knowledge systems and discursive practices. This privileged vantage point was gained through the application of these disciplines to museum collections in the nineteenth century, coupled with this endorsed role of the museum as a producer and presenter of 'truth'.<sup>12</sup> It is within these discursive and institutional practices that cultural meanings, values and histories relating to indigenous peoples have been produced, endorsed and presented. This authority has also been derived from the institution's focus on the collection and presentation of material culture. Objects were deemed to embody and provide the empirical evidence of these 'truths' due to their physical and tangible nature.

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<sup>8</sup>Tony Bennett (1995) *The Birth of the Museum: history, theory, politics*. (London, New York: Routledge)

<sup>9</sup>Sharon Macdonald (1998) 'Exhibitions of power and powers of exhibition: An introduction to the politics of display' in Macdonald (ed) (1998) *The Politics of Display*, p5

<sup>10</sup>See papers in Macdonald & Fyfe (eds) (1996) *Theorizing Museums*

<sup>11</sup>Macdonald (1998) 'Exhibitions of power and powers of exhibition' in Macdonald (ed) (1998) *The Politics of Display*, p2

<sup>12</sup>Bennett (1995) *The Birth of the Museum*

In recent years however, the role of the museum and the exhibition as a medium for the representation of people, their cultures and histories has come under public scrutiny. Identities and histories deemed to be representative of indigenous peoples, once seen as objective realities, are now considered to be socially constructed. An increasing number of museum professionals are becoming more self-reflective about their role and the processes used in the interpretation and representation of the nature and histories of people. Just as film, television and publications are political in terms of the selections, styles and silences used to construct images of the past and present, so are exhibitions.<sup>13</sup>

This self-consciousness about the nature and processes of representation in museums can be observed worldwide and has come about, in part, due to the responses of those people being interpreted and represented.<sup>14</sup> In many instances museums and staff working with objects belonging to indigenous communities have been drawn into the present day predicaments of the peoples whose ancestors owned or produced these items.<sup>15</sup> This position has challenged accepted museological interpretations of material culture and highlighted the arbitrary nature of these ascribed meanings and values. These constructed visions are deemed to reflect European viewpoints rather than the lived experiences of indigenous peoples themselves.

Coupled with these changing attitudes is a growing critical awareness of the 'political' nature of museums and their role in maintaining the cultural values of the elite and privileged groups in society.<sup>16</sup> Exhibitions have tended to embody and represent the ideologies of these dominant groups. This political position has, until recently, been veiled by the institution's assumed position as a social and moral educator.

In light of these developments the representation of indigenous cultures in museums has emerged as a central topic of debate. This debate has focused on the ways museums as institutions of western society have collected, classified, interpreted and presented knowledge about these people.

Of particular concern is the issue of authority in interpretation and the use of a singular narrative such as the discipline of Anthropology for the interpretation of cultural objects, and the construction and representation of identities, cultural values, meanings and histories.

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<sup>13</sup>Eileen Hooper Greenhill (1992) *Museums and their Visitors* (London, New York: Routledge) p20

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Clifford (1997) *Routes, Travel and Translation*

Critical scholarship has focused on the premises on which these knowledges were based and the nature of the classification systems used for identity and history construction.<sup>17</sup> Further to these issues are questions of equity, access and repatriation. Who has the right to own cultural objects, to control cultural knowledge and the way histories and identities are produced and conveyed?

Issues of representation have been highlighted over the last 15 years through a number of public debates surrounding exhibitions. Some examples include 'The Hidden Peoples of the Amazon' at the Museum of Mankind, London in 1986; 'The Spirit Sings: Artistic traditions of Canada's First Peoples' at the Glenbow Museum, Calgary and Ottawa in 1988 and 'Into the Heart of Africa' at the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto in 1990.<sup>18</sup> Each of these controversies challenged the discipline of Anthropology and the way the cultural heritage of indigenous and minority communities was presented.

Challenges such as these are having direct implications for Anthropology as the dominant narrative not only for the representation of indigenous peoples in exhibitions but also for the collection, analysis and documentation of museum collections.<sup>19</sup> Outcomes include a gradual recognition and acceptance by many museum professionals of 'other' narratives and knowledge systems as alternative means of documentation, interpretation and representation.

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<sup>16</sup>T. Ambrose & C. Paine (1993) *Museum Basics*. (London, New York: ICOM in conjunction with Routledge)

<sup>17</sup>Karp & Lavine (eds) (1991) *Exhibiting Cultures*: Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1991) 'Objects of Ethnography' in Karp & Lavine (eds) (1991) *Exhibiting Cultures*, pp386-443; Jean Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting' in John Elsner & Roger Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting: From Elvis to Antiques - Why Do We Collect Things?* (Carlton Vic.: Melbourne University Press) pp7-24; Clifford (1988) *The Predicament of Culture*; Macdonald & Fyfe (eds) (1996) *Theorising Museums*; Allen Ngapine (1998) 'Maori vision and the imperialist gaze' in Barringer & Flynn (eds) (1998) *Colonialism and the Object.*, pp144-152; S. Hirini Moko Mead (1990) 'The Nature of Taonga' in the *Proceedings of the Taonga Maori Conference, New Zealand 18-27 November 1990*, pp164-169; Ngahuia Te Awe Kotuku (1988) 'The Role of Museums in Interpreting Culture' in the *AGMANZ Journal 19.2 1988*. Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand, pp36-7

<sup>18</sup>For a synopsis of the debate see Julia D. Harrison (1988) 'The Spirit Sings The Last Song?' in *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship*, 7, pp353-363; Eva Mackey (1995) 'Post-Modernism and Cultural Politics in a Multicultural Nation: Contests over Truth in the *Into the Heart of Africa* Controversy' in *Public Culture*, 7, pp403-431

<sup>19</sup>Michael Ames (1986) *Museums, The Public and Anthropology: A Study in the Anthropology of Anthropology* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press) and (1992) *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes: the Anthropology of Museums.* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press) For a discussion of these issues also see Henrietta Riegel (1996) 'Into the heart of irony: ethnographic exhibitions and the politics of difference' in Macdonald & Gordon Fyfe (1996) *Theorizing Museums*, pp83-104

Ethnology and its sub-disciplines Anthropology and Archaeology have been the dominant metaphors used in representation of Maori culture and history in New Zealand museums from the later nineteenth century until recently. Since the early 1980s these disciplines, as the predominant framework for the interpretation and representation of Maori life, identity and history within museums, have been overtly challenged, primarily from Maori people themselves.<sup>20</sup> The 'Te Maori' exhibition, an exhibition of Maori *taonga* (treasures) curated by the Department of Primitive Art, Metropolitan Museum, New York, that toured the United States and New Zealand between 1984 and 1987, was one catalyst for this discontent.<sup>21</sup>

Within this context, the debate over the representation of Maori people in museums focused on the question of power and authority in interpretation. It has raised important issues relating to the validity and application of Anthropology as the established system of representation. With 'Te Maori', Anthropology as a representational structure was supplanted by an art aesthetic approach read within the context of Maori cultural values and indigenous knowledge systems.<sup>22</sup>

Since the mid 1980s the outcome of these re-evaluations has been reflected within many museums through the implementation of new approaches to the practice of representation. Neich argued in 1985 that the objective of these new approaches should be to achieve an awareness and understanding of the meaning and significance of an object for its makers and users.<sup>23</sup>

These actions have been facilitated by the appointment of Maori people to curatorial positions and the instigation of consultation processes with various *iwi* (tribes) to develop appropriate

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<sup>20</sup>For a discussion of the nature of these changes see Te Awe Kotuku (1987) 'The Role of Museums in Interpreting Culture', pp36-7 and Arapata Hakiwai (1987) 'Museums as Guardians of our Nations Treasures!' pp37-9 in the *AGMANZ Journal* 18.2, Winter 1987 (published by the Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand now Museums Aotearoa)

<sup>21</sup>The exhibition facilitated contacts between *iwi* (tribes) and their *taonga* (treasures) in various institutions throughout New Zealand. These contacts 'put a sparkle in the eye of the ancestors, a sparkle which had grown dim' from years displayed in museums as inanimate and dead objects. S. Hirini Mead (1989) pers. comm.; Hirini Moko Mead (1984) *Te Maori: Maori Art from New Zealand Collections*. (New York: Harry N. Abrams) and (1986) *Magnificent Te Maori: Te Maori Whakahirahira*. (Auckland: Heinemann)

<sup>22</sup>For a discussion of these issues in relation to 'Te Maori Te Hokianga Mai' refer to articles in *AGMANZ Journals* particularly the *AGMANZ Journal* Spring 86 edition and the *AGMANZ Journal* 19.2 Fortieth Birthday Issue 1988, published by the Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand. See D. Newton (1986) 'Douglas Newton' in *AGMANZ Journal* 17.3 Spring 1986, pp14.15; Mead, *Te Maori*, pp156-166

<sup>23</sup>R. Neich (1985) 'Interpretation and Presentation of Maori Culture in *AGMANZ Journal* December 1985, p5

interpretative and representational strategies.<sup>24</sup> Over the last 15 years developments such as these vary in nature and extent.<sup>25</sup> Collections are also being re-interpreted according to Maori values and meanings.<sup>26</sup> In some instances *iwi* values and histories have become incorporated into exhibitions through the reinterpretation of *taonga* by their spiritual owners and the re-design and use of space according to indigenous cognitive frames of reference.<sup>27</sup> The exhibition 'Mana Whenua' at Te Papa (Museum of New Zealand, Wellington) explores concepts of identity and *whakapapa*, reconnecting *taonga tuku iho* (treasures handed down) with their spiritual owners while using contemporary artworks to explore and reinforce the continuity of culture. It tells of important values and relationships of people to the land and to history. Curated by Maori curators, it involved extensive consultation and partnerships with *iwi* in its development.

Although many New Zealand museums have been taking on these new roles and responsibilities for more than a decade and this 'old' knowledge about Maori people is no longer meaningful, the legacies of these discourses reside in the institutional collections. The reinterpretation of these collections necessarily poses questions about the intellectual and physical 'pasts' embedded in them. These questions pertain to the way they were selected, the classification systems they were placed within, the discursive practices that informed their

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<sup>24</sup>Since the middle of the 1980s many museums have involved Maori people in the interpretative process. Prior to the 'Te Maori' exhibition there was only one Maori curator in New Zealand museums, Mina McKenzie at Manawatu Museum, *Te Whare Pupuri Taonga o Manawatu*, Palmerston North. During the 'Te Maori' period further curators were appointed including Dr Ngahuia Te Awetokutu at the Waikato Museum of Art and History and Arapata Hakiwai at the National Museum. Maori advisors were appointed at the Auckland and National Museums (now *Te Papa Tongarewa*). Levels of participation in the exhibition process varied. Examples include the exhibition 'Nga Tukemata Nga Taonga o Ngati Kahungunu' at the Hawkes Bay Museum in 1986, 'Nga Parehou o Te Wa' at the Manawatu Museum in 1986; *Tangata Whenua* at the Otago Museum in 1990, *Nga Tupuna* at the Auckland Museum in 1990 and 'Nga Iwi o Tainui' at the Waikato Museum of Art and History in 1990

<sup>25</sup>The exhibition 'Nga Tukemata Nga Taonga o Ngati Kahungunu' at the Hawkes Bay Museum in 1986 evoked a high level of *iwi* involvement in the development and interpretation of the content and the design of the exhibition see David Butts, (1986) 'Ngati Taonga o Ngati Kahungunu The Treasures of the Ngati Kahungunu' paper presented to the World Archaeological Congress 1-7 September 1986 (South Hampton and London, unpub. mans.) and David Butts (1989) pers. comm. *Nga Tupuna* at the Auckland Museum in 1990 was primarily curatorially driven. Local *iwi* representatives were involved in a process of ratification of the curatorial brief.

<sup>26</sup>For discussions see Kaeppler (1991) 'Taonga Maori' in the *Proceedings of the Taonga Maori Conference, New Zealand 18-27 November 1990*, pp.11-18; Eileen Hooper-Greenhill (1988) 'Perspectives on Hinemihi A Maori meeting house' in Barringer & Flynn (eds) (1998) *Colonialism and the Object*, pp.129-143; Ngapine (1998) 'Maori vision' in Barringer & Flynn (eds) (1998) *Colonialism and the Object*, pp.144-152

<sup>27</sup>In the exhibition 'Nga Tukemata Nga Taonga o Ngati Kahungunu' at the Hawkes Bay Museum in 1986 the local *iwi* were involved in the reinterpretation of the collections according to their own cultural values and the exhibition's space was designed by a Ngati Kahungunu artist. This

formation and the intended reading of these objects within the context of exhibitions. Although representations of many kinds have in recent years become subject to critical scrutiny within post-colonial inquiry, relationships between the object, museums and representations of Maori people through exhibitions are still relatively unexplored.

Past practices of collecting, documenting and exhibiting have also produced 'sites of tension', legacies that have driven contemporary debates centred on representational strategies, interpretative authority, ownership and repatriation. The subsequent identification and understanding of these 'sites' within the current context facilitates the process of reinterpreting established collections through an appreciation of the circumstances that led to their development.

This thesis seeks to answer many of these questions and critically analyses the processes of collecting, classification and exhibiting Maori material culture at the Auckland Museum and Canterbury Museum during the formative years from the 1850s to the early 1900s. It is not intended to be an exhaustive account of the history of these two institutions and their processes of collecting or exhibiting. Rather it is a critical examination of the values, meanings and motivations that drove these processes and the new identities and histories established for Maori people as a result of these practices. The way such issues intersect with current museological debates around the 'politics of representation' provides the grounding for this thesis. It does not attempt to analyse Maori concepts of value and meaning or to examine their perspectives and experiences of being collected, classified and displayed in museums. Many of these issues have been raised by critics such as Te Awe Kokutu, Mead, Hakiwai, Bevan Ford, and Wheoki-Mane. The exploration of these issues is the preserve of Maori people themselves.<sup>28</sup>

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configuration of space and the use of colour reflected local *iwi* values and symbolic relationships. Sandy Adsett (1989) pers comm.

<sup>28</sup>Te Awe Kotuku (1988) 'The Role of Museums in Interpreting Culture', pp36-7; H. M. Mead, (1985) 'Concepts and Models for Maori Museum and Cultural Centres' in *AGMANZ Journal* 16.3, September 1985. Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand, pp3-5 and (1990) 'The Nature of Taonga', pp164-169; Arapata Hakiwai (1987) 'Museums as Guardians of our Nations Treasures!' in the *AGMANZ Journal* 18.2, Winter 1987. Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand, pp37-39; J. Bevan Ford (1988) 'Report on a Visit to Study the Maori Collection', paper given to the Art Galleries and Museums Association Conference, Wellington, 1988 (unpub. manus.); Jonathan Wheoki-Mane (1995) 'Defining and communicating cultural relativity in New Zealand museums' in *Museums Australia Second National Conference Proceedings Communicating Cultures Brisbane*, Australia, 21st-25th November 1995 (Museums Australia) pp16-22

During the late nineteenth century the Auckland and Canterbury Museums were the most active in the collection and exhibition of Maori material culture and hence are the focus of this study. According to Augustus Hamilton in 1901 (Hamilton was later to become director of the Dominion Museum in Wellington), these two institutions were considered to be the only ones in the country to claim to fully represent 'ancient' Maori culture:

There is no place or institution in the Colony where it is possible to point to such a collection of their tools, weapons, ornaments and carvings as would furnish a fair epitome of the culture of the ancient Maoris ... The only public collections in the Colony worthy of name are those in the Museums of Auckland and Canterbury.<sup>29</sup>

As case studies they exemplify both common and divergent approaches to the development of meanings, values, Maori histories and identities. The differences in scale, focus and nature of their collections and exhibitions were dependent not only on the ideological conditions and historical circumstances in which they developed but also on the individual interests of the curators and the philosophies of these respective institutions.<sup>30</sup> The interplay of these variables and the particular role of the curator as the author of collections and exhibitions is a central theme of the thesis.

The Auckland Museum (Auckland, North Island) was established in the early 1850s and opened to the public in 1852.<sup>31</sup> It was formed as an educational institution that sought to familiarise audiences with the natural and cultural landscape of the new colony. The institution's subsequent development from 1874 to 1924 was under the leadership of its first professional curator Thomas Cheeseman (see Graphic 1, Cheeseman c1880s-1890s).<sup>32</sup> Born in Hull, England, Cheeseman was a botanist by trade.<sup>33</sup> On the basis of his own research interests he sought to develop extensive botanical collections from the North and South Islands of New Zealand. His work on New Zealand flora, *The Manual of the New Zealand Flora*, was published in 1906.<sup>34</sup> Cheeseman also undertook a survey of the flora of Rarotonga in 1886, later published by the Royal Linnean Society.<sup>35</sup> Cheeseman could be described as a highly organised person

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<sup>29</sup>A. Hamilton (1901) *National Collection of the Ethnology of the Maori People*, Notes from the *Otago Daily Times*, June 18, 1901 (Otago Museum Archives)

<sup>30</sup>Jeanne Cannizzo (1998) 'Gathering souls and objects: missionary collections' in Barringer & Flynn (eds) (1998) *Colonialism and the Object*, p166

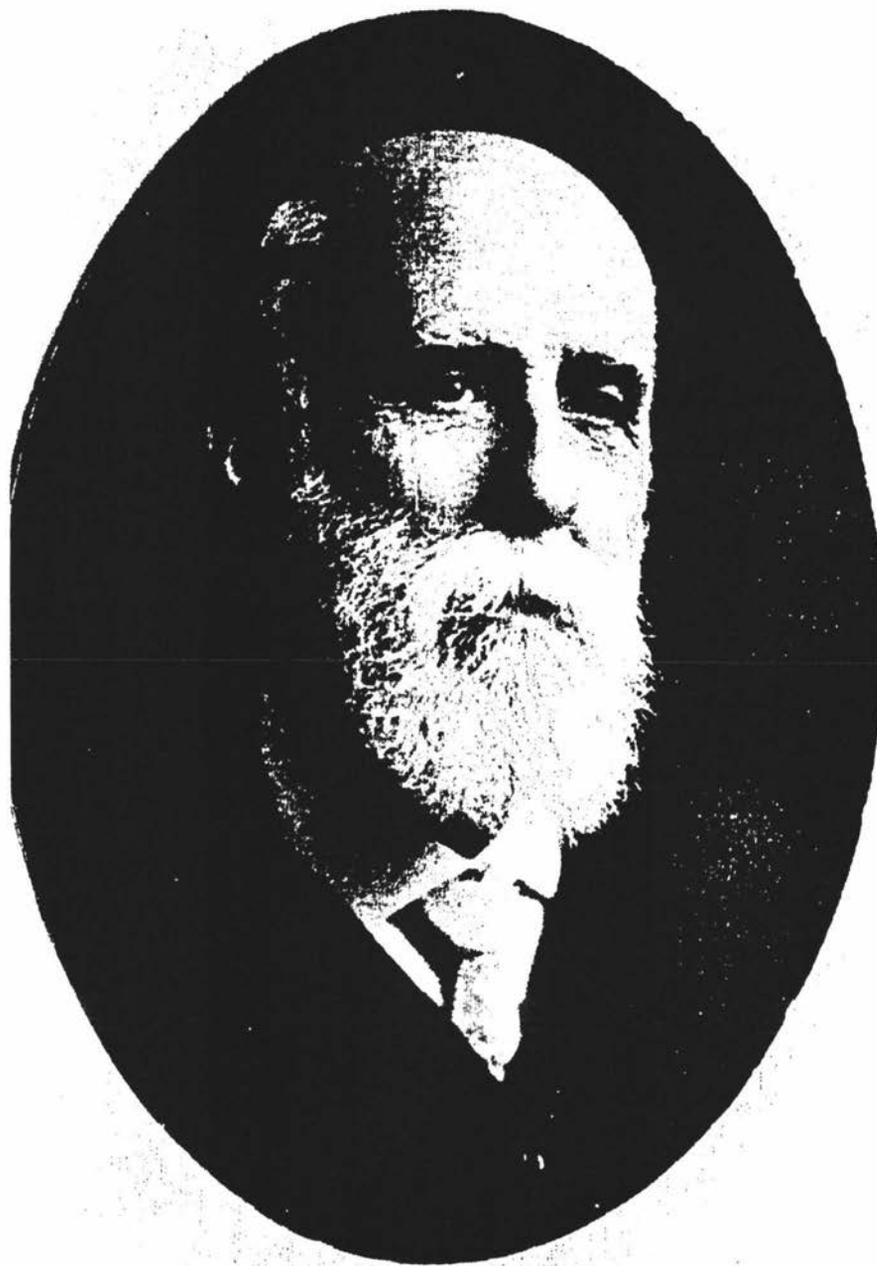
<sup>31</sup>G. Archey (1967) 'The First Century' in A.W.B. Powell (ed) (1967) *The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1867-1967* (Auckland: Unity Press) pp7-8

<sup>32</sup>*Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1924-5* (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) p9

<sup>33</sup>B.V. Phillips (1949) 'The Museums in New Zealand, Auckland War Memorial Museum', in *New Zealand Journal of Agriculture* Vol 79 (Wellington: Ministry of Agriculture) p615

<sup>34</sup>*Ibid.* p616

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*



Graphic 1. Thomas Cheeseman, Curator/Director, Auckland Institute and Museum, c1880s (Collection of the Auckland Museum)



Graphic 2. Julius Haast, Director, Canterbury Museum, 1871  
(Collection of the Canterbury Museum)

who applied a systematic approach to the collection and documentation of his specimens. In 1922 he was awarded the gold medal, the highest honour bestowed by the Royal Linnean Society.<sup>36</sup> Cheeseman's Linnean orientation would have a major impact on the nature and course of the development of Maori collections and the meanings and messages conveyed through exhibitions.

The Canterbury Museum (Christchurch, South Island), established in 1861, grew out of a provincial government geological survey that sought to document the natural environment of the Canterbury Province for commercial purposes.<sup>37</sup> It would later become a scientific and academic teaching museum under the auspices of the Canterbury College (now the University of Canterbury).<sup>38</sup> The survey's first geologist and later museum director was Julius Haast (see Graphic 2, Haast 1871). Haast, a German, developed an interest in geology and worked for a Bonn based geological and mineral specimen dealer Augustus Krantz.<sup>39</sup> Haast had limited university training in geology and mineralogy.<sup>40</sup> He was later hired by a company to advise on German immigration to New Zealand and while in the colony undertook a survey of its geological features. It was during this period that Haast was appointed to the position of geologist with the survey. His subsequent scientific research informed by geological method was to have a profound impact on the way Maori people, their history and identity were initially formulated through collecting, analysis and classification. Haast was knighted and given the title 'von' in 1874 as a result of his gifts of moa bones (large extinct birds of the species ratite indigenous to New Zealand) to the Austrian royal family.<sup>41</sup> Haast's successors were Mr H O Forbes, (1888-1892), Captain F W Hutton, Professor of Science (1892-1905) and Edgar Waite (1906-1914).

## 1.2 Challenging the authority of ethnological and anthropological discourse

Ethnology and its sub-disciplines Archaeology and Anthropology emerged as dominant ideological and representational forces during the nineteenth century. It was assumed that

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>See S. Sheets-Pyenson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science: The Development of Colonial Natural History Museums during the Late Nineteenth Century*. (Kingston, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press) pp48-49

<sup>38</sup>*Report to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875 By Julius von Haast, Director*, pp2-3 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Folder 13)

<sup>39</sup>Sheets-Pyenson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science*, p27

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>H. F.von Haast (1946) *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast, explorer, geologist, museum builder* (Wellington: von Haast) p778. Also see Sheets-Pyenson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science*, p35

universal laws about the nature and history of human societies existed and could be captured and revealed through the appropriate and objective method of inquiry.<sup>42</sup>

These methods of inquiry involved the application of 'scientific' categories and metaphors to do with objectivity, reliability, generalisation and prediction to the analysis of human societies and their material culture.<sup>43</sup> During the formation of Ethnology as an empirically-based discipline during the late 1860s and early 1870s, there was some debate about whether diverse societies could be measured and quantified in a non-subjective way. This problem according to Tylor was deemed to be rectified by this more rigorous system of observation and analysis couched in natural science.<sup>44</sup>

Within the context of Ethnology and the museum in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, collections were the structures on which universal theories of human development were based. The form of human societies was seen as implicit in cultural objects.<sup>45</sup> Hence ethnological method as a means of inquiry focused on the collection, analysis and presentation of cultural objects as a means of exposing these relationships.<sup>46</sup>

Subsequent realignments within this discipline (Functionalism and Structuralism) from the early 1900s reflected changes in the truth to be exposed and the methods developed to expose that truth. The belief that an inherent truth existed was not questioned. These viewpoints on society and culture were given authority as an objective view of the world on the basis of this assumed scientific certainty.<sup>47</sup>

Challenges to the assumed authority of Ethnology and Anthropology as systems of representation are not a recent phenomenon. In 1937 H E Harrison (an eminent museologist, museum director and President of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain) questioned the validity and authority of the museum and the discipline of Ethnology for the

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<sup>42</sup>For a discussion on the application of method as a means of pursuing truth see E.B. Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture: Researches Into The Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion, Art, and Custom*, Vol 1, pp2-3 (London: John Murray, Albemarle Street)

<sup>43</sup>Scott Atran(1996) *Cognitive foundations of natural history: Towards an Anthropology of science*. (Cambridge , New York: Cambridge University Press)

<sup>44</sup>Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture* Vol 1, p3

<sup>45</sup>See Sir W H Flower, (1898) *Essays on Museums and other subjects connected with Natural History* (Macmillian and Co, London)

<sup>46</sup>Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture* Vol 1, p3, pp61-62

<sup>47</sup>Michel Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (London: Tavistock Publications) p362 and Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*

collection, interpretation of material culture and for the representation of indigenous histories. In his address to the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1937 Harrison stated:

If we divide mankind into two categories, those who live close to the soil, and those who live close to the pavement, the ethnologist belongs to one, and pursues his own image through the other.<sup>48</sup>

Harrison questioned the ethnological position as an objective and neutral tool for 'truth seeking' and for the construction of representations. He perceived ethnological representations as subjective and grounded in a comparative relationship between 'self' and the exotic 'other'. As a consequence, meanings, values, histories and identities produced by Europeans for indigenous peoples were couched within this comparative relationship. Views such as these were embodied in theory and supported through method via the object. As a result Harrison acknowledged that the identities and histories of indigenous peoples constructed within these contexts reflected western notions of indigenous culture rather than the values and lived realities of those being studied. In the same address Harrison stated this point:

In the Field are the living realities, in Museums are inert and disconnected fragments of cultural patterns whilst in Universities are practised those techniques by means of which sophisticated minds rationalise and integrate the cultural inheritance of more ingenuous mentalities.<sup>49</sup>

Although Harrison alluded to these views as being hierarchical in nature, he failed to overtly express the power-embedded nature of knowledge and its associated relationship between self and 'other' acknowledged by later critics such as Foucault.<sup>50</sup> Harrison's viewpoint remained largely peripheral to mainstream thought in disciplines such as Anthropology for some years. Epistemologists and sceptics however had over the years raised doubts about the claims of empirical method and its application to the understanding of the cultural world through disciplines such as Ethnology and Anthropology. Their position was based on a belief in the unique and irrational nature of the human mind and hence questioned whether human

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<sup>48</sup>H.S. Harrison (1937) 'Ethnology Under Glass' Presidential Address to the Royal Anthropological Institute in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol LXVII, p1

<sup>49</sup>Harrison 'Ethnology Under Glass', p1

<sup>50</sup>Michel Foucault (1980a) *Power / Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*, (London, Harvester Press) p93 and Alec McHoul & Wendy Grace (1993) *A Foucault Primer: Discourse, Power and the Subject* (Melbourne University Press)

intellect (as believed to be written in objects and physical anthropological collections) could be contained and understood within rigid scientific structures and universal theories.<sup>51</sup>

It was not until the late 1960s and early 1970s, some 30 years after Harrison's allegations, that theoreticians further questioned the authority of disciplines such as Anthropology as the dominant metaphor to represent 'others'. Theoretical developments in France provided the philosophical basis for post-structuralist and post-modernist thought in which this new thinking was based. Important scholars in these fields included Barthes, Derrida, Lyotard, Baudrillard and Foucault.<sup>52</sup> Earlier movements such as hermeneutics, and semiology also had an influence on the development of these ideas. The influence of philosophy and psychoanalytical research also played an important role in this shift. Foucault argued that these disciplines enabled the critical and self-reflective analysis of human life thought and action.<sup>53</sup>

Much of this thinking was a response to issues of cultural and minority representation and associated notions of social justice.<sup>54</sup> World War II and later political and social developments in the 1960s such as post-colonialism and the rise of ethnic minority movements led to an overt recognition of the diversity of human lifestyles, values and beliefs. These social and political movements fuelled the debate relating to the validity and application of one narrative such as Anthropology couched within a European vision, as a universal tool for the interpretation and representation of indigenous peoples. Hence, the predictable, rational, linear and socially progressive nature of human society, the cornerstone of the empirical and positivist Darwinian tradition, was deemed incompatible with these changes in society.

This realignment in cultural theory reflected a shift from the grand singular narrative based on an objective truth to meanings-based interpretations that recognise our subjective nature. It reflected a perceived failure to isolate qualities in human cultural lives that are 'specific, irreducible and universally valid'.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>51</sup>J.R. Searle (1991) 'Intentionalistic Explanations in the Social Sciences' in *Philosophy of the Social Sciences*, Vol.21 No 3, September 1991 (Toronto: York University) pp332-344

<sup>52</sup>Key texts include Roland Barthes (1972) *Mythologies* [trans. Annette Lavers] (London: Johnathan Cape); Jacques Derrida (1978) *Writing and Difference* (1967) [trans. Alan Bass] London: Routledge & Kegan Paul); Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) *The Postmodern Condition* (1979) [trans. Geoff Bennington and Brian Massumi] (Manchester University Press); Jean Baudrillard (1975) *The Mirror of Production* (1973) [trans. Mark Poster] (St Louis: Telos Press) and (1983) *Simulations* (1975) [trans. Paul Foss et al.] (New York: Semiotext(e)) and Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p379

<sup>53</sup>Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, pp374-6

<sup>54</sup>Harrison (1993) 'Ideas of Museums in the 1990s', p170

<sup>55</sup>Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p379

The outcome of this shift in theoretical foundation reflected a move from the analysis of human society as an object to the subject. It reflects a shift from what is given as representation to the underlying processes that render representation possible.<sup>56</sup> This has enabled the critical evaluation of the foundation structures of Ethnology and Anthropology.<sup>57</sup> Critical anthropological theory drew on these post-structuralist ideas. Key figures include Clifford, Rosaldo, Geertz and Marcus and Fischer.<sup>58</sup> These critiques have eroded the assumed authority and validity of these disciplines as a means of truth-seeking and knowledge in their established form while exposing the political nature of this form of rationality.<sup>59</sup> As a result knowledge within this context is now seen as interpretative rather than a natural phenomenon, as well as partial and limited.<sup>60</sup>

These new views form a way of re-structuring established disciplines according to shifting social, political and epistemological planes. Taborsky argues that this restructuring is a case of re-interpreting and rewriting past practices.

[The] cognitive content of a society is 'written, rewritten and read' or interpreted within that infrastructure. Within the textual confines of a society knowledge exists as long as the infrastructure exists, and above all, valid only within those confines.<sup>61</sup>

What is clear however is that the infrastructures which supported previous knowledge and the dynamics on which interpretative and representational practices were based in the past have collapsed and been replaced with other structures of knowing and understanding. These other structures include post-colonial theory.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>56</sup>Ibid. p363

<sup>57</sup>These concepts are illustrated in relation to Ethnology by Harrison (1937) 'Ethnology Under Glass', p1

<sup>58</sup> Key texts include Clifford (1988) *The Predicament of Culture*; R. Rosaldo(1990) *Culture and Truth: The Remaking of Social Analysis* (Boston: Beacon Press); Clifford Geertz (1973) *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books) ; George Marcus & Michael Fischer (1986) *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) and George Marcus & Michael Fischer (1986) (eds) *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (University of California Press)

<sup>59</sup>Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p371

<sup>60</sup>B. Attwood & J. Arnold (1992) (eds) *Power, Knowledge and Aborigines* (La Trobe University Press in association with the National Centre for Australian Studies, Monash University. A special edition of the Journal of Australian Studies) pi, xiv

<sup>61</sup>E.Taborsky (1990) 'The Discursive Object' in Susan M. Pearce (ed) (1990) *Objects of Knowledge. New Research in Museum Studies: An International Series 1* (London, the Atlantic Highlands: The Athone Press) p54

<sup>62</sup>Ania Loomba (1998) *Colonialism / Postcolonialism*. (London, New York: Routledge)

Post-colonial theory has developed a particular critique of western domination, processes, practices and their implications.<sup>63</sup> It focuses on exposing submerged stories and perspectives. Out of this critical scholarship has come an emerging body of literature about the nature and formation of national identity and history. For example Homi Bhabha seeks to analyse the social location of culture and to interrogate identity, the discourse of colonialism and the formation of national narratives from this standpoint.<sup>64</sup>

The ability to analyse past practices according to contemporary structures of knowing and understanding provides the capacity to respond to current issues and debates relating to interpretation, reinterpretation, and representation. It has provided the preconditions for the interrogation of the discursive practices of 'old knowledges' and representations of Maori people in museums.

### 1.3 The implications - museums and representations

The critical tradition within museums mirrors those of other related disciplines such as Anthropology, History, literary criticism and art theory.<sup>65</sup> Interrogating the whole museum phenomenon is an important element in social theory and practice.<sup>66</sup> It amalgamates this critical tradition by analysing the nature and operation of museums and museum work. Although still in its infancy, it has led to a reassessment of the philosophical foundations of museums, processes and practices of collecting, interpretation and representation and the way we construct and represent knowledge in terms of ourselves and 'others'. The seemingly neutrally situated work of collecting, documenting, conserving and exhibiting, previously perpetuated by the empirical tradition, can no longer be sustained.<sup>67</sup> The 'way we see', our perception and the knowledge that is derived from these practices within the museum context, are now regarded as culturally, historically, individually and contextually situated. Knowledge produced by museum staff, once secure, is now open to dispute.

Within this context, the issues and challenges are twofold and include a critical examination of entrenched values relating to identity, culture, tradition and history in relation to objects,

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<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Homi K. Bhabha (1990) *Nation and Narration*. (London, New York: Routledge) and (1994) *The Location of Culture*. (London, New York: Routledge)

<sup>65</sup>Susan M. Pearce (1992) *Museums, Objects and Collections*. (London: Routledge) p9

<sup>66</sup>Ibid. p7

<sup>67</sup>Weil (1990) *Rethinking the Museum*., p46

collections and exhibitions and the means by which these narratives are constructed.<sup>68</sup> How do we construct narratives? Whose view or views do we present? How do you deal with a multiplicity of views on a given topic? How do you empower others to present 'other ways of seeing' and what is the role of the curator, traditionally the authoritative voice? These questions relate to issues of cultural relativity, access, power and empowerment in interpretation and representation.<sup>69</sup> Generally speaking these issues are leading to a more reflective and critical approach to theory and practice.

In relation to museum theorising, the museum has become an artefact itself through the critical and reflexive examination of the institution's practice, processes of production and systems of ordering. This theorising tends to be university-based and led by theorists such as Eileen Hooper-Greenhill, Tony Bennett, Stephen Weil and Steven Conn.<sup>70</sup> For example Hooper-Greenhill has drawn on post-structuralists such as Foucault to interrogate the ways museums produced knowledge. Hooper-Greenhill's work represented the first sustained research in this area.<sup>71</sup> Bennett challenged accepted understandings of museums in the nineteenth century. Using Foucaultian perspectives he considers museums in terms of other cultural institutions.<sup>72</sup>

A critical and reflective approach is also seen in material culture studies. Initially couched in Archaeology and Anthropology, it now draws on other disciplinary approaches such as art theory, 'new' history, social history and heritage studies. Objects continue to be the focus of investigation, however theorising now rests on issues relating to the ways value and meaning are constructed and the implications for practice in the past, present and future.<sup>73</sup> Key museum theorists include Susan Pearce, Steven Lubar and David Kingery.<sup>74</sup> Pearce for example draws on the tradition of material culture studies in Britain and the US through the work of Thomas

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<sup>68</sup>Harrison (1993) 'Ideas of Museums in the 1990s', p163

<sup>69</sup>Ibid. p164

<sup>70</sup>Eileen Hooper-Greenhill (1992) *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*. (London, New York: Routledge); Pearce (1992) *Museums, Objects and Collections*.; Bennett (1995) *The Birth of the Museum*; Weil (1990) *Rethinking the Museum* and Steven Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life* (London, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press)

<sup>71</sup>Hooper-Greenhill (1992) *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*

<sup>72</sup>Bennett (1995) *The Birth of the Museum*

<sup>73</sup>Harrison (1993) 'Ideas of Museums in the 1990s', p168. Also see Susan M. Pearce (ed) (1996) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, 2nd edition (London: Routledge) and Susan Stewart (1984) *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press)

<sup>74</sup>Pearce (1992) *Museums, Objects and Collections*. and (1995) *Interpreting Objects and Collections: A Cultural Study*. (Leicester University Press); Steven Lubar & D.W. Kingery (eds) (1995) *Learning from Things: Method and Theory of Material Culture Studies*. (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press)

Schlereth, Ian Hodder, Christopher Tilley and Arjun Appadurai.<sup>75</sup> The work of Barthes and Saussure is also used by Pearce to produce a new semiotic reading of objects as signs, symbols and as texts.<sup>76</sup>

The use of Anthropology as a medium of interpreting and representing indigenous people and their material culture in institutions including museums has also become a topic for critical thinking. This form of analysis represents an intersection between critical Anthropology and museums. Some notable scholars include James Clifford, Michael Ames, Ivan Karp, Stephen Lavine, Nicolas Thomas, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Annie Coombes.<sup>77</sup> For example James Clifford uses Barthes, Foucault and Geertz as a way of analysing cultural practices such as Anthropology, travel writing, collecting and museum displays of tribal art.<sup>78</sup> In this 1988 publication. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* Clifford raises questions about who has the authority to speak for any group's identity and authenticity. These processes have enabled the exposure of the nature of the ordering systems used in the interpretation and representation of indigenous cultural heritage.

Museum exhibitions as strategic systems of communication is a subject that has only recently been written about by scholars such as Bruce Ferguson, Mieke Bal, Stuart Hall, Celant, Sharon MacDonald and Tony Bennett.<sup>79</sup> Much of this analysis has a semiotic foundation and seeks to analyse the physical presence of the exhibition as a series of texts that can be read to expose their conscious and unconscious messages. For example Ferguson connects post-modern

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<sup>75</sup>Thomas J. Schlereth (ed) (1984) *Material Culture Studies in America*. (Nashville, Tenn: AASLH); Ian Hodder (1986) *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Interpretation in Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press); Christopher Tilley (ed) (1990) *Reading Material Culture*. (Oxford: Blackwell) and Arjun Appadurai (ed) (1986) *The social life of things: Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press)

<sup>76</sup>R. Barthes (1977) *Image-Music-Text*. [trans S Heath] (London: Fontana) and F. de Saussure (1973) *Course in General Linguistics*. [trans Baskin Wade] (New York: Baskin Wade)

<sup>77</sup>Clifford (1988) *The Predicament of Culture* and (1997) *Routes, Travel and Translation*; Michael Ames (1992) *Cannibal Tours and Glass Boxes*; Karp & Lavine (eds) (1991) *Exhibiting Cultures*; Nicholas Thomas (1991) *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press); Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991) 'Objects of Ethnography' in Karp & Lavine (eds) (1991) *Exhibiting Cultures*, pp386-443 and Coombes (1994) *Reinventing Africa*

<sup>78</sup>Clifford (1988) *The Predicament of Culture* and (1997) *Routes, Travel and Translation*

<sup>79</sup>B. Ferguson (1996) 'Exhibition Rhetorics' in R.B Greenberg, W. Ferguson & S. Nairne (eds) *Thinking About Exhibitions* (London: Routledge) pp175-190; Mieke Bal (1996) 'The Discourse Of The Museum' in Greenberg, Ferguson and Nairne (eds) *Thinking About Exhibitions*., pp201-218; Stuart Hall (1997) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. (London: Sage Publications); G. Celant (1996) 'A Visual Machine' in Greenberg, Ferguson & Nairne (1996) *Thinking about Exhibitions*, pp371-386; Bennett (1998) 'Speaking to the eyes' in Sharon Macdonald (ed) (1998) *The Politics of Display* (London: Routledge) pp25-35 and (1996) 'The Exhibitory Complex' in Greenberg, Ferguson & Nairne (eds) *Thinking About Exhibitions*., pp81-112

discourses relating to representation and social values (through the work of Baudrillard and Geertz) with semiotics to read exhibitions as political representations for identity making.<sup>80</sup> Macdonald, by drawing on Foucault as well as semiotic analysis, seeks to examine the relationship between knowledge, exhibitions and the exercise of power.<sup>81</sup>

One of the major ramifications for museological theorising and practice is a shift from that which is given as representation to an evaluation of the nature of representation, what makes representation possible and the processes of representation.

#### 1.4 The production of Maori - the conceptual and theoretical context

A study of the evolution of the representation of the "other" in museum exhibitions actually tells us little about Maori and their taonga, but a great deal about "ourselves" as westerners and our changing value systems.<sup>82</sup>

In New Zealand, research on the nature of museums, their collecting and representational practices within this critical framework is almost non-existent. There are however a number of publications in Anthropology and History that analyse the construction of national narratives and identity.<sup>83</sup> These raise issues that have direct application to the museum as a site for identity and history construction. For example Allan Hanson's controversial 1989 article 'The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and Its Logic' in *American Anthropologist* analyses the way concepts of Maori culture and tradition are socially produced within the framework of Anthropology and their political implications.<sup>84</sup> More recently in the publication *Fragments: New Zealand social and cultural history* (edited by Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum) articles investigate the making of history in public places including museums, the construction of the colonial landscape and objects as texts.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Ferguson (1996) 'Exhibition Rhetorics' in Greenberg, Ferguson & Nairne (eds) *Thinking About Exhibitions.*, pp175-190

<sup>81</sup>Macdonald (ed) (1998) *The Politics of Display*, pp25-35

<sup>82</sup>Kaepler (1991) 'Taonga Maori', p13

<sup>83</sup>For example Steven Webster (1993) 'Islands of Culture: The Postmodernisation of the Maori' in *Sites* (no.26, Autumn 1993) A Journal for South Pacific Cultural Studies, pp50-80

<sup>84</sup>Hanson, Allan (1989) 'The Making of the Maori: Culture Invention and Its Logic' in *American Anthropologist*, 91,1989, pp890-902

<sup>85</sup>Bronwyn Dalley and Bronwyn Labrum (2000) *Fragments: New Zealand social and cultural history*. (Auckland: Auckland University Press)

This thesis however draws on the critical framework founded out of post-structuralist thinking and semiotic analysis with specific reference to emerging museum theory. It uses two approaches to interrogate museums and the practices of interpretation and representation. Both reflect a deconstructionist approach to analysis as a means of exposing the premises and processes from which representations of other cultures have been constructed.<sup>86</sup> The first approach uses techniques associated with semiotics to evaluate the way in which the exhibition as a text constructs and conveys representations of other cultures.<sup>87</sup> The second approach explores the relationships between knowledge and power to interrogate the historical nature of museums and associated processes of collecting and research.<sup>88</sup>

This second approach is Foucaultian in nature and analyses how decisions made at particular moments in time constitute the system in which objects are valued, made sense of and representations of other cultures constructed.<sup>89</sup> It offers no definitive theory on knowledge or power but a way to examine representational practices.<sup>90</sup> Analytical practices such as these have further destabilised the authority of established disciplines used in the construction of meaning and identity in relation to indigenous cultural heritage.

Until the early 1980s there was a tendency to regard Maori people and the way their *taonga* (treasures) had been interpreted in museums as unproblematic. The assumptions underlying these values and meanings were largely ignored. As a result representations expressed through exhibitions were seen as neutral, reflecting an objective truth of Maori history and identity.

Both theoretical approaches (Semiotics and Foucaultian) provide the means for the analysis of the way Ethnology as a discourse within the context of the museum and the exhibition has been used to establish and authorise meanings in relation to Maori history and identity. The following discussions problematise these relationships and view practices of representation as a 'cultural text,' one which can be read within the current context as a means of understanding underlying cultural or ideological assumptions that have informed the development of collections and displays.<sup>91</sup> A critique such as this highlights the structural vulnerability of

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<sup>86</sup>L. Lidchi (1997) 'The Poetics and Politics of Exhibiting Other Cultures' in Hall (ed) (1997) *Representation*, p153

<sup>87</sup>Ibid. pp153-4

<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Clifford (1988) *The Predicament of Culture*, pp220-221

<sup>90</sup>McHoul & Grace (1993) *A Foucault Primer*, pviii

<sup>91</sup>Barringer & Flynn (eds) (1998) *Colonialism and the Object*, p5

notions of culture, tradition and national narratives produced within the New Zealand museum context.

Some of the concepts discussed in this thesis relating to the way Maori cultural heritage has been represented in museums have been widely accepted as truths, but the frameworks and meanings of these representations have not been investigated in any depth. These include the use of Ethnology as a parameter of viewing, that an evolutionary logic informed classifications and that the collection and display of Maori material culture followed that of natural history. The critical appraisals of the collecting and exhibiting processes discussed in subsequent chapters seek to uncover and identify what lies underneath this surface reality of collections and exhibitions.<sup>92</sup>

The museum as an institution is the site in which diverse cultures, subjects and historical timeframes meet through the collection and exhibition of material culture. James Clifford's 1997 publication *Routes, Travel and Translation in the late Twentieth Century* described a context such as this as a contact zone.

The expression "contact zone" is an attempt to invoke the spatial and temporal copresence of subjects previously separated by geographical and historical disjunctures and whose trajectories now intersect.<sup>93</sup>

The way Maori people and European colonisers met within the contact zone of the museum through material culture is the focus of this thesis. European and Maori people had different conceptual views on identity, history and lived realities. The question is how did curators reconcile these differences through material culture? How were Maori people and their material culture put into European codes of understanding to produce a coherent solution for understanding these differences?

At specific historical moments Maori material culture underwent a number of transformations in terms of attributed values and meanings. In relation to the object nothing changed in the way it looked, only the knowledge systems in which it was collected and the expectation of what it meant.<sup>94</sup> This phenomenon was acknowledged by H E Harrison in the 1920s in relation

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<sup>92</sup>Angela Brew(1999) *Conceptions of research in three academic domains* (Centre for Teaching and Learning, University of Sydney, unpub. mans.)

<sup>93</sup>Clifford (1997) *Routes, Travel and Translation*, p192

<sup>94</sup>D. Phillips (1997) *Exhibiting Authenticity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press) p30

to Ethnology, the object and the museum context. In an address to the Museums Association Conference at Wembley in 1924 Harrison made the following statement:

A MUSEUM specimen is an object which has suffered a radical change of environment. It has passed out of life, or out of use, or it may have on the other hand, emerged from a passive seclusion, but in any case its future depends upon the new context it secures.<sup>95</sup>

This self-reflective view on objects and museum collections was not embraced until recent years through critical museum and material culture studies. What this means is that at any given historical period we can write, speak or think about a given object or practice in specific ways and not in others. The implication for collecting and interpretative practices during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is that curators were constrained in their thinking, writing and representations of Maori within certain limitations. These limitations were the social and political context of the period and the accepted disciplinary framework for 'knowing' indigenous people - ethnological theory.

More recently James Clifford argues in *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature and Art* that interrogating decisions made in relation to collecting and classification and the values attributed to them at a given point in time is the key to the understanding of how meaning was formulated.

It is important to analyze how powerful discriminations made at particular moments constitute the general system of objects within which valued artifacts circulate and make sense.<sup>96</sup>

Hence mapping the production of Maori histories and identities within the museum's frame of reference involves an interrogation of the values and meaning imposed on objects at a given moment and how they were read within exhibitions.<sup>97</sup> Discriminations made by curators to privilege certain interpretations of Maori objects over others, and the way indigenous knowledges were supplanted or appropriated by them to suit their own needs for meaning making are also central themes. What impact have the power relationships of colonialism had

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<sup>95</sup>H.S. Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography' in the *Museums Journal April 1925*, Vol 24 , p227. A publication from an address given by H.S. Harrison Director of the Horniman Museum to the Museums Association Conference at Wembley in 1924.

<sup>96</sup>Clifford (1988) *The Predicament of Culture*, p221

<sup>97</sup>Phillips (1997) *Exhibiting Authenticity*, p197

on the interpretation of objects?<sup>98</sup> How did selections and collecting criteria differ at these two institutions and how did they impact on the practice of collecting?

Understanding identity as a concept within this context and the way collecting equated with identity retrieval is also a central issue. It involves the investigation of the object at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums as tangible evidence and as an authority about Maori life. Questions include what did collecting strategies say about Maori people, identity and heritage? How did the configuration of the collections at these two institutions narrate similar and differing versions of Maori life?

Clifford argues that identity does not exist in isolation from other people.<sup>99</sup> Hall also maintains that identity is a concept used to mark out and define differences between 'self' and 'others.'<sup>100</sup> On this basis other questions posed include how did curators use material culture to mark out differences between Maori people and Europeans to establish and maintain identity within and between these groups? How was identity, as written in material culture, then used to produce views on the nature and course of a Maori past?

Hall argues that knowledge must also work through certain technologies.<sup>101</sup> For example Ethnology as the predominant discursive practice not only informed representations of identity at the time but was the system used to constitute knowledge about Maori people through material culture. Here the thesis asks how did this knowledge become possible? How were European perceptions of Maori people translated into ethnological knowledges as a framework for 'knowing' Maori people? As a result how was ethnological method used by curators to give their speculative views about Maori people a material form and a firm foundation?<sup>102</sup> What were the similarities and differences between these two institutions in terms of theory and method? How did they impact on the narratives of identity and history produced through the collection? In what ways were curators dependent on western ideas of the natural world to develop their material knowledges of Maori people? How did natural history intersect with Ethnology in these two museums?

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<sup>98</sup>Barringer & Flynn (eds) (1998) *Colonialism and the Object*, p1

<sup>99</sup>Clifford (1997) *Routes, Travel and Translation*, p201

<sup>100</sup>Hall (1997) *Representation*, p3

<sup>101</sup>Ibid. p49

<sup>102</sup>Discourses assume a level of speculative spirit as expressed by Lyotard (1984) *The Postmodern Condition*.. This quote comes from an abridged version in A. Easthope, & Kate McGown (1992) *A*

Foucault argues that all knowledge is political in nature, constructed through perspectives and reflective of relationships of power, domination and subjugation.<sup>103</sup> On this basis according to Foucault knowledge also has implications for power.<sup>104</sup> In this context the thesis explores the problem of the workings of power through collecting and exhibiting. For example identity, according to Clifford, is a hegemonic concept that operates by discriminating differences between people within a context of power relationships.<sup>105</sup> In terms of these two institutions what were the dynamics between power, discourse and the production of Maori identity through material things? How were colonial power relationships connected with ethnological theory and mediated by curators through method to constitute identity and define the way Maori was to be thought about and studied.<sup>106</sup>

Within the context of the museum another key issue in representation is the symbolic power and the poetics of the exhibition.<sup>107</sup> Macdonald argues that the analysis of these exhibition 'taxonomies' and the way knowledge was constructed also rest on the concepts around which they are organised.<sup>108</sup> As a result how was this medium of representation used as a visual manifestation of the ideological structures and assumptions about Maori people embedded in collecting and classification? In what ways were space, language signs and images used to stand for and frame the meaning of classification and communicate ideas about Maori people at these museums? How was architecture and display furniture used to symbolise the power and the belief in the truths of the classification within which Maori people were framed? On what basis were the meanings of objects, their relationships with each other and their placement within the exhibition used to read Maori history and identity? In what way was the exhibition used to supplant previous meanings of objects and construct a more fundamental framework of 'knowing' Maori people? How were these representations of identity given credibility as truth statements about Maori people? In what ways were audiences imagined and what impact did it have on the types of representations produced? What does the

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*Critical and Cultural Theory Reader* (North Sydney: Allen and Unwin) p186 and Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, pxxi

<sup>103</sup>Foucault (1980a) *Power / Knowledge*, p93 and McHoul & Grace (1993) *A Foucault Primer*. For a discussion on the relationship of knowledge/power and the development of aboriginal identities and histories see Attwood & Arnold (eds) (1992) *Power, Knowledge and Aborigines*, pii. For a discussion on the relationship between knowledge/power and museological practice in the nineteenth century see Bennett (1995) *The Birth of the Museum*

<sup>104</sup>Macdonald (ed) (1998) *The Politics of Display*, p3

<sup>105</sup>Clifford (1988) *The Predicament of Culture*, p221

<sup>106</sup>Hall (1997) *Representation*, p6. See Hooper-Greenhill (1992) *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*

<sup>107</sup>Hall (1997) *Representation*, p6 and Ferguson (1996) 'Exhibition Rhetorics' in Greenberg, Ferguson & Nairne (eds) *Thinking About Exhibitions*, pp176-8

<sup>108</sup>Macdonald (ed) (1998) *The Politics of Display*, pp3-5

relationship between material things, space and the subject, Maori people, really tell us about lived realities? What were the commonalities and differences between exhibiting approaches used in the Auckland and Canterbury Museums? How did these impact on the particular visions of Maori people produced? What were the politics of these representations?

On a philosophical level museums were seen as authoritative sites of national identity. Knowledge was also seen as a commodity that museums produced.<sup>109</sup> Foucault in his 1974 article 'Human nature' suggests that to understand the way institutions operate in terms of the exercise of political power through knowledge was to deconstruct their seemingly neutrally-situated activities to reveal the true practices of meaning making.

[The] real political task in a society such as ours is to criticise the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticise them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked.<sup>110</sup>

The analysis of the way knowledge about Maori people was produced at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums necessarily involves a critical examination of the philosophy, mission and policies of these institutions to unmask these processes of meaning production.<sup>111</sup> Questions to be answered include how were Eurocentric world views and cultural practices connected to meaning-making. How did the power of these museums through their missions and policies drive the particular versions of Maori identity and history presented? In what way were these views presented as empirical statements about Maori life and history? How these views differ at the two institutions as a result of institutional missions? The following chapters interrogate and critically examine these questions.

The primary sources for this study are fragmentary. Nonetheless they are sufficient to reconstruct collecting and exhibiting practices of the time at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums. As a result the picture presented in subsequent chapters is constructed from a number of disparate sources. These include institutional and personal correspondence, annual reports of museums, collection inventories and accession registers, as well as pictorial evidence

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<sup>109</sup>Hooper-Greenhill (1992) *Museums and the Shaping of Knowledge*, p2. Also see Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p39. Flower was at that stage the Director of the British Museum of Natural History in London. His methods had an influence on Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum and Haast at the Canterbury Museum.

<sup>110</sup>Michel Foucault (1974) 'Human Nature' in F. Elders (ed) *Reflexive Water: The Basic Concerns of Mankind* (London: Souvenir Press) p187

<sup>111</sup>Ibid

of exhibitions and published accounts of research in journals. Publications and journal articles on museum practice and theory of the time provide a valuable way of interpreting the motivations and meanings behind collecting, objects and the rationale behind certain exhibiting practices.

Chapters 2 and 3 analyse collecting practices at the Auckland Museum, in particular the motivations and meanings behind these activities and the particular values inscribed in objects by curatorial selections to formulate a vision of Maori life, history and identity. Natural history collecting formed part of the discursive foundation in which Maori collecting was situated. As a result this discussion analyses the practice of natural history collecting and the way this logic was transferred to give form and structure to Maori collections. Institutional prerogatives and the way these practices worked together to give an empirical status to a vision of Maori people as narrated through objects is also a key focus for discussion.

The development and use of collections to produce a vision of Maori identity and history at the Canterbury Museum are the focus of Chapters 4 and 5. The discourses of Natural Science, Ethnology, the sub-discipline of Archaeology and the way they were used by Haast through objects to conceptually map and produce a truth statement about Maori identity and a sequence of indigenous history is the primary theme of Chapter 4. It traces the act of the transference of a Social Darwinian logic to the understanding of Maori history and identity. Chapter 5 explores the development of a vision of traditional Maori through collecting by Haast and subsequent curators and the motivations and meanings behind these practices. It seeks to investigate the particular classification systems used to develop this image in the late nineteenth century while documenting and analysing the shift from technology as an indicator of racial life to one which included social processes. Comparisons with collecting and classifying practices at the Auckland Museum provide a further insight into the motivations and meanings embedded in these activities.

As with collecting, the exhibition of natural history collections provided the foundation for the later display of Maori collections at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums. Discursive practices such as these provided a way of mapping out and understanding Maori people in terms of the science of the time. Chapter 6 explores the development of early exhibitory practices as sites for the production of truths about the natural world. It seeks to analyse the ideologies behind these practices, what they meant, how evidence was composed and ordered in a physical sense to produce a vision. The discussion critically examines each institutional

and curatorial strategy, its similarities and differences as a precursor to those on exhibitions of Maori material culture in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Chapter 7 explores the way Maori identity and history was narrated and read through exhibitions at the Auckland Museum from the 1850s to the 1920s. Through collecting and classifying, objects were encoded with meanings and values as a way for curators to produce a true and correct vision of Maori people. It was from this material foundation that Maori histories and identities were constructed and disseminated within the context of exhibitions. This chapter seeks to analyse the way natural historical approaches were used to provide a structure and form to materially map, memorialise and disseminate an empirical knowledge about Maori people. Discussions in this chapter provide a chronological account of the development of these discursive practices, how they were produced, read, their meaning and messages.

Chapters 8 and 9 chart the development of exhibitions of local and global history at the Canterbury Museum. They seek to analyse the way Haast's research on Maori identity and history were materialised and read in exhibitions and the semiotics of these representations. Discussions analyse how natural historical practices, in particular Haast's understanding of geology and Darwin's theory, were used by him to map and produce a version of history. The types of classification systems used, institutional philosophies and influences of his colleagues are also a focus for discussion. Chapter 9 examines the work of subsequent curators, their role in completing Haast's vision of history and the way the shift from technology to contextual representations was mapped and read in exhibitions. As with the chapters on collecting, examining the commonalities and differences between practices at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums is used as a contrast to expose the messages embedded in their respective representational practices. It is used as a way to debate the meaning of exhibition strategies at these two institutions.

The conclusion summarises each of the chapters in terms of the meaning of collecting and exhibiting Maori identity and history at these two institutions. It provides a concluding discussion on intellectual and physical legacies of the period as written in collections and their ramifications for debates on their reinterpretation.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Saving the records and mementoes of the Maori race

Collecting Maori at the Auckland Museum from the 1850s -1880s  
motivations and meanings

[A] museum man, working in an atmosphere of "specimens" and labels, he becomes of necessity museum-minded ... narrow and distorted... In his unofficial moments he may admit that his specimens were made for other purposes.<sup>1</sup>

#### 2.1 Obtaining 'good' specimens

From the early days of the Auckland Institute and Museum, collecting natural history specimens was the primary motivation for collection development.<sup>2</sup> The objective was to acquire those specimens seen as representative of the natural history of the colony. The scope for early collecting is outlined in *The New Zealander* of the 27th October 1852 in an advertisement soliciting donations.

The object of this Museum is to collect Specimens illustrative of the Natural History of New Zealand - particularly its Geology, Mineralogy, Entomology and Ornithology

Also

Weapons, Clothing, Implements &c., &c., of New Zealand, and the Islands of the Pacific. Any Memento of Captain Cook, or his Voyages will be thankfully accepted<sup>3</sup>

Particular emphasis was placed on those items illustrative of the geological structure and mineralogy of the country. Such a priority was outlined in a letter from Mr John Smith

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<sup>1</sup>Harrison (1937) 'Ethnology under Glass', p1

<sup>2</sup>References in the *Journal of the Auckland Museum Accessions Register* (1852) (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>3</sup>G. Archey (1967) 'The First Century' in Powell (ed) (1967) *The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute and Museum*, p8. The article points to a reference in *The New Zealander*, October 27th 1852 titled the 'Auckland Museum'

(honorary curator) to Mr G F Angus Esq of the Australian Museum on the 21st December 1853:<sup>4</sup>

I am most anxious to collect in the first place minerals as I feel they will be a more immediate advantage to this colony of course other Specimens are at all times acceptable.<sup>5</sup>

To educate the settlers on how to identify exploitable mineral deposits was a key objective behind collecting during the institution's early years. The provision of collections for the commercial exploitation of resources was intended to further the economic development of the colony. As the *Report of the Auckland Institute of 1875-1876* suggested:

[While] the mass of valuable information annually issued respecting the natural products and resources of the colony cannot but exercise a material influence upon the progress of the whole community.<sup>6</sup>

The acquisition of foreign geological specimens from familiar natural environments also acted as reference collections. These collections were used to aid colonialists to compare like specimens with like in order to identify the structure and nature of similar rich deposits such as gold in this 'new' environment. In Kirk's letter to the Trustees of the British Museum of the 22nd December 1853 he requested mineral specimens from various geological locations to serve as reference collections:

[Specimens] of minerals from different parts of the world, as they will be of more immediate advantage to this Colony as a reference - people are constantly searching here for Gold<sup>7</sup>

The need to identify natural resources was also evident with the acquisition of geological and palaeontological specimens obtained during a scientific survey of the North Island by the Austrian Novara expedition in 1859.<sup>8</sup> Additional geological specimens were also donated by geologist Dr Frederick Hochstetter. These collections were the outcome of his investigation and documentation of the natural environment of the Auckland province. Other resources

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<sup>4</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondance*, 1851-1861. 'Letter from Mr J.A. Kirk to Mr G.F. Angus, Esq., 21st December 1853.' p3 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute for 1875-76*. (Auckland: Daily Southern Cross Office 1876) p7

<sup>7</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondance*, 1851-1861. 'Letter from Mr J.A. Kirk to the Trustees of the British Museum, 22nd December 1853.' p6 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>8</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondance*, 1851-1861. 'Report to the Superintendant on the present state of the museum from J.A. Kirk, Auckland, 21st December 1861' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) For a discussion on Hochstetter's and Haast's surveys in 1859 see MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast, pp3-8 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

were also the focus for collecting. For example a complete collection of timbers illustrating the range of products available in the colony was also deemed important for the export industry.<sup>9</sup>

During this early period other specimens acquired included a collection of birds, shells and insects.<sup>10</sup> These acted as type specimens and stood for the defining characteristics of their species. Collecting specimens such as these was a way of documenting the fauna of this new country.

The nature of these collecting philosophies highlighted the political role of the institution as an instrument of colonial administration. Collections were intended to provide a vehicle to know, control, conquer and exploit this new world.

Although natural history collecting was the primary activity, there was a growing interest in the acquisition of Maori material culture as a way of documenting the indigenous race. Natural history collecting formed part of the discursive foundation on which collecting Maori was situated. As a result acquisitions during this period represented the transference of a biological taxonomic logic to Maori objects. This act of transference was evident by 1850 with requests by John Kirk (then secretary of the Auckland Institute) for the acquisition of Maori mats from Archdeacon Mr Williams of Poverty Bay according to representative criteria of specimens.<sup>11</sup>

In terms of a Linnean taxonomy, objects were defined as specimens according to their representative abilities. Each was intended to stand as a typical example of a particular group of physical characteristics.<sup>12</sup> From these groupings the natural world could be gathered together and ordered into classes (families) and series (species) on the basis of the relatedness of physical traits. A complete empirical knowledge of the natural environment was deemed to be achieved when all type specimens had been obtained.<sup>13</sup> From these collections the curator

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<sup>9</sup>MS 58 T.F. Cheeseman Box 8, Folder 1 (a) *Letters to T.F. Cheeseman from J.von Haast* 'Letter from Julius Haast to T.F. Cheeseman December, 20th 1875.' (Manuscript Collection, Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>10</sup>Reference in the *Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum* 1852. (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) and Archey, 'The First Century' in Powell (1967) (ed) *The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute.*, p7. The article cites a reference in *The New Zealander*, October 27 1852 titled the 'Auckland Museum'

<sup>11</sup>See *Walkers Dictionary.*, J. Walker (ed) (1858) (Dublin: J Duffy) Reference to specimen (n) 'a sample, a part of anything exhibited that the rest may be known'. p502

<sup>12</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882.* 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr James R. Gregory Esq., 15 Russell Street, Covent Garden, 5th June 1877.' p197 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>13</sup>Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p144

was able to know and document the natural world as a series of structural relationships between living things.<sup>14</sup>

The use of this logic for collecting Maori objects was intended to enable the gathering together of representative objects of material culture on the basis of the likeness of form. This would later enable curators to know and reconstruct a picture of Maori life. The way this concept operated however differed. The criteria of selection and values applied to objects varied due to the nature and intentions of the respective natural and cultural collections.<sup>15</sup> For example in Kirk's letter to Archdeacon Mr Williams of Poverty Bay he expressed a desire to obtain good specimens of 'New Zealand Mats' made according to traditional methods.<sup>16</sup>

As I am exceedingly anxious to obtain good Specimens of New Zealand Mats for this Institution Kaitaka dogskin and others, and as yours I believe is the only district in which they are now made. I take the liberty of asking you to obtain them. The only one at present is made from the Ti plant.<sup>17</sup>

Kirk's intention was to extend the range of examples in the collection by gathering other types of mats. The only type in the collection at that stage was one example made from the Ti plant. The role of this specimen, because it was the only example in the collection, was to stand for the typical physical characteristics that were attributed to mats. For example its defining characteristics included details such as form, shape, texture, methods of manufacture and use. In terms of natural history, typical examples were intended to stand for the particular physical and structural characteristics and included the same range of attributes, with the exception of criteria of use and methods of manufacture.<sup>18</sup>

The transference of this rhetoric of physicality to the classification of Maori objects privileged form over use and function. For example the use of the term mats implied its function to be a floor covering. Mats as a category however was also used to classify various styles of clothing because of its physical form as large rectangular woven textiles.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>14</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p103

<sup>15</sup>James Clifford (1996) 'Collecting Ourselves' in Pearce (ed) (1996) *Interpreting Objects and Collections.*, p262

<sup>16</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondance, 1851-1861.* 'Letter from Mr J.A. Kirk to the Venerable Archdeacon Mr Williams, Poverty Bay, New Zealand, 12th May 1850.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

<sup>18</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, pp112-113

<sup>19</sup>*Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Vol 2 Auckland. (1902) (Christchurch: Cyclopedia Co Ltd). pp174-5

Naming was a way of categorising objects according to their form, use and materials. As outlined the term mats was used to identify the form of its type category. This category was further defined by materials, for example dog-skin and Ti plant. As a result naming operated as a classification hierarchy similar to the hierarchy of taxonomy.

Criteria such as 'good' specimens referred to those objects selected as typical of their physical type and seen as genuinely authentic. In terms of natural historical interpretation 'good' specimens referred to those items selected as the best examples exhibiting the typical physical characteristics of a given species.<sup>20</sup> The application of criteria of traditional or authentic was specific to Maori collections. The application of this concept to Maori objects represented the beginnings of a desire to recoup aspects of the Maori race in a traditional form. This was achieved through the ethnographical collecting and the selection of objects seen as having particular representative abilities. Recouping authenticity was deemed to be achieved by the acquisition of objects from a locality where traditional and authentic methods were still used. It was seen as a way of ensuring that the remnants of traditional life were recorded materially.<sup>21</sup>

The development of a collection of Maori objects during this period appeared to be primarily by donation and items were actively sought by this process.<sup>22</sup> The first objects to be donated on the basis of available documentation included a carved walking stick, an *awhato* [sic] and a *tiki* (pendant) by W Balneaus from the Hot Springs at Rotomahama in 1852.<sup>23</sup> Some Fijian items were also acquired in the same year.<sup>24</sup> Objects donated in 1853 included a *ko* or Maori spade, a walking stick from the Southern Islands and a Maori comb presented by Major Hume of the 58th Regiment.<sup>25</sup> Further contributions were made to the collection in 1854.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882.* 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to L.R. Gregory, March 4th 1878.' p258 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>21</sup>Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p227

<sup>22</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondence, 1851-1861.* 'Letter from Mr J.A. Kirk to Reverend Colenzo, Aburui, 14th October 1856.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) Also see *The New Zealander*, October 27th 1852' in Powell (ed) (1967)*The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute and Museum*, p8

<sup>23</sup>See entries for 21st October 1852 in the *Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum*, 1852 p8 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>See entries for 8th September 1853 in the *Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum* 1852, p20 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>26</sup>See entries for 1854 in the *Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum* 1852 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

It appears from the Accessions Register that by 1857 the naming of objects to define their physical type, function and use had developed into a system of nomenclature.<sup>27</sup> The taxonomic rationale for the use of nomenclatures (first developed by Linneaus in his *Systema Naturae* published in 1766) was to provide a structure to classify specimens into sets as genera and species according to like features.<sup>28</sup> Once established, these categories provided a structure for curators to fix classification and frame collecting, to produce a catalogue of Maori life.<sup>29</sup>

The nomenclature established the character of the typical Maori specimen and the grouping that it was intended to represent.<sup>30</sup> For example *He patu rakau* - a carved weapon, *He Tarao* - Model War Canoe and *He Tata* - Canoe bailer [sic] identified each specimen by form while alluding to its function and use.<sup>31</sup> It was from this nomenclature (later to become a class) that other similar objects that exhibited closely related physical characteristics could be grouped together as a series. This system was tailored according to specific types of Maori material culture. The inclusion of a Maori name ensured that these categories remained racially specific.

Through the use of this nomenclature the curator assigned a new identity and history for objects. It divested objects of their provenance by subsuming details of their originating locations, history or social relationships. This was replaced with a singular attribute of form and to a lesser extent by function referenced by the object's name and its physical character. As a result objects were attributed meaning according to their physical and functional qualities.

The marginalisation of provenance also enabled these objects to be nationally representative of a Maori race. As a result *iwi* (tribal), *hapu* (sub-tribal) and *whanau* (family) diversity were subsumed by rules of nomenclature. This provided the first building blocks for the production of a national homogenous racial entity. A perceived tribal uniformity across the country in terms of types of material culture may have provided the curatorial rationale for the

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<sup>27</sup>Reference in the *Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum* 1852, p46 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>28</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p167

<sup>29</sup>Elsner & Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, p1 and *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII ELE-FAK (1879) (Edinburgh: Adam and Charles Black) p613

<sup>30</sup>J. Mattingly (1993) 'Artefact Study in Archaeology: Typological tradition and Socio-economic Themes' in D. Fleming, C. Paine & J.G. Rhodes (eds) (1993) *Social History in Museums: A Handbook for Professionals*. (London: HMSO) p134

<sup>31</sup>MS Papers 37-327. R. Burnett, 'Notes on Dr Hector's Life and Works.' pp 4,15 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscripts Collection) References in letters by Mr R.L. Holmes to Haast 1868-69.

development of nationally representative collections. According to British museum director H S Harrison, by the middle of the 1920s such a rationale was a well-established ideology for the representation of a national culture.<sup>32</sup>

Between the late 1850s and early 1870s the Auckland Museum acquired between one and two Maori objects a year. By the late 1850s items were also obtained by purchase from collectors and in some instances from the 'natives'.<sup>33</sup> In a letter to Reverend Colenso, Kirk referred to 'Being anxious to obtain for this Institution any native Mats, Carvings or Weapons' for purchase'.<sup>34</sup> This request reiterated the privilege given to naming as a way of defining an object's character and the selection of those examples made according to traditional native methods.

By this period it appears as if type categories included mats, carvings, walking sticks, weapons, pendants and ornaments (*heitiki*, comb), implements (spade), canoes (model war canoe) and canoe bailers. Each of these categories was seen as representative of an aspect of the race's material culture. The function of these objects was to provide insights into Maori lifestyles.

## 2.2 Forming a more complete collection of Maori specimens

The period between the middle of the 1870s and the early 1900s saw the greatest growth in collections of Maori objects at the Auckland Museum. Although Maori objects were represented in the collection from 1850, the systematic development of collections of Maori objects did not gather momentum until the middle of the 1870s.

By 1875 around 25 items appear in the Accessions Register.<sup>35</sup> This growing interest in collecting was due to a number of factors. In 1874 Thomas Cheeseman was appointed as the first professional curator. In his letter of appointment the job description required the

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<sup>32</sup>Harrison, 'Museums and Ethnography', p227

<sup>33</sup>See entries for 4th April 1857 in the *Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum* 1852, p46 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>34</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondence*, 1851-1861. 'Letter from Mr J.A. Kirk to Reverend Colenso, Aburui, 14th October 1856' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>35</sup>See entries in the *Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum* 1852. (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

development of a catalogue of each department.<sup>36</sup> This increased number of acquisitions represented the beginning of his catalogue of Maori life. Cheeseman's background as a botanist predisposed an interest in scientific collecting according to taxonomic principles. The opening of a new museum building in Princes Street in 1876 provided more space for the display of collections. This may also explain a more active approach to collecting prior to opening.

Collecting Maori material culture was primarily driven by global concerns for the loss of traditional cultures due to the perceived inevitable processes of natural selection. These narratives of demise and death had by this period become a motivational force for indigenous collecting initiatives on a global scale. According to 'Social Darwinian' theory, saving objects seen as indicative of a traditional life of various races was a way of reconstructing the evolutionary 'history of mankind'.<sup>37</sup> These relics of traditional life were seen as providing evidence of the human race in its infancy from which European races emerged.<sup>38</sup>

The perceived loss of traditional Maori lifestyles and material culture had been a motivation for ethnographical collecting from the 1850s. At first it appears as if the political and economic expansion of the British Empire and the associated process of acculturation meant the gradual disappearance of Maori society in its original form. In reality collecting represented a preference for the uncontaminated, the old and the original. These interests were at the root of the hurry to salvage indigenous culture.<sup>39</sup>

By 1875 these death narratives had become a major concern. Such concerns were expressed by Julius von Haast, Director of the Canterbury Museum during this period. These issues subsequently drove the development of ethnographical collections as a way of recording the traditional past. In a letter to Cheeseman on the 4th August 1887, Haast expressed his fear for the loss of authentic material culture and suggested that they work collaboratively on collecting items such as carvings, mats and tools.

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<sup>36</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872 - February 1882*. 'Letter to Mr Cheeseman by J.A. Kirk, Secretary of the Auckland Institute, January 3rd 1874.' p54 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>37</sup> *Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F. Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Professor Spencer Baird, National Museum, Washington D.C., U.S.A., July 21st 1885.' p310 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>38</sup> *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p614

<sup>39</sup> Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p49

'We ought to preserve these things before it is too late'<sup>40</sup>

The nature and extent of these collaborations is unclear from the sources. In a synopsis of collecting 20 years later Cheeseman cited similar concerns. He saw the perceived rapid disappearance of objects of authentic Maori manufacture as the motivational force behind the development of the Maori collection.<sup>41</sup> The impact of these concerns and Cheeseman's preferences for the old and authentic in terms of collecting are documented from the later 1870s.

By 1877 the desire to develop a 'complete' range of weapons, implements and tools had become a specific aim of the Auckland Museum.<sup>42</sup> This objective represented a shift from a process of accumulation that involved the gathering of object types to a more systematic approach that required the acquisition of a complete range of type examples within specified classes.<sup>43</sup> This shift in emphasis is documented in Cheeseman's letter to a donor Mrs Davis in 1877. In this letter Cheeseman commented:

the collection of a complete series of Maori weapons, implements, etc is one of the aims of the Institute we shall at all times be glad to receive any articles<sup>44</sup>

In terms of Cheeseman's natural history collecting the development of more complete sets as series equated with the complete representation of the component parts of the kingdoms of nature.<sup>45</sup> For example in 1877 Cheeseman acquired a series of 400 coleoptera and lepidoptera (insects) from New Ireland and New Britain.<sup>46</sup> By 1885 Cheeseman had begun developing a complete catalogue of the fauna of New Zealand.<sup>47</sup> On this basis it can be assumed that more

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<sup>40</sup>MS 58 T.F. Cheeseman Box 8, Folder 1 (a) *Letters to T.F. Cheeseman from J.von Haast*. 'Letter from Julius Haast to T.F. Cheeseman, August 4th 1887. (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>41</sup>MS 919 *Auckland Institute and Museum miscellaneous papers re: early days*, Circulars re: grant to Museum. 'Memorandum relative to the Proposed Subsidy to the Auckland Museum' by F.D. Brown, President of the Auckland Institute and T.F. Cheeseman, Secretary, Auckland Institute and Museum Library.' p1 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>42</sup>*The Comprehensive English Dictionary, Explanatory, Pronouncing, Etymological*. J. Ogilvie (ed) (1871) (London: Blackie and Sons) p231. Reference to 'complete' (a).

<sup>43</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*, 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mrs Davis, June 8th 1877', p202 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1884-85* (Auckland: William Atkin) p7

<sup>46</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1876-77* (Auckland: William Atkin) p10

<sup>47</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1885-86* (Auckland: Evening Star) p7

complete sets of these objects were seen by Cheeseman as a way of documenting a complete knowledge of Maori life.<sup>48</sup>

Like living species, the belief in the extinction of certain object types such as weapons and tools also precipitated their recovery. This concern is illustrated by the donation of an old Maori bone *mere* (fighting club) by Mrs Davis in 1877. In thanking Mrs Davis for her donations of Maori objects Cheeseman commented:

Implements of this kind are now extremely rare and difficult to obtain and we had not a similar specimen in the museum.<sup>49</sup>

As a result the recovery operation focused on the acquisition of types of tools and weapons not represented in the collection.<sup>50</sup> For example Cheeseman became actively involved in collecting items such as weapons and tools in the North Auckland area.<sup>51</sup>

During this period ethnological research centred on the study of tools, weapons and implements. Ethnographical items such as these were seen as positive testimony of the lifestyles and condition of the race and the course of evolutionary history.<sup>52</sup> The materials from which tools, weapons and implements were made and their methods of manufacture provided an insight into the evolutionary condition as outlined in an entry on Ethnology in *The Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1879.

Wood, bones, and rough stones were first used, then polished stones, afterwards bronze, and lastly iron, - each marking a new era<sup>53</sup>

The determination of the stage in history to which the Maori race belonged (according to a progressive logic) was a specific scientific research interest of Julius Haast, Director of the Canterbury Museum. On the basis of his research Haast assigned Maori people to the Neolithic period of the Stone Age. This process of mapping is the focus of discussions in Chapter 3. Although it does not appear that Cheeseman undertook this type of research himself, it is reasonable to assume that a scientifically confirmed identity such as this informed

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<sup>48</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mrs Davis, June 8th 1877.' p202 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>51</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr De Quatrefages, 23rd July 1877.' p220 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) De Quatrefages was a French ethnologist.

<sup>52</sup> *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879)

his collecting practices. The assignment of Maori people to an earlier stage in history and their portrayal as an unsuccessful race implied the inevitable demise of their culture. Cheeseman's desire to salvage authentic objects was a direct result of these evolutionary narratives of death and demise. Haast did correspond with Cheeseman on matters relating to Moa hunter research (which was the basis for the confirmation of the identity of Maori as Neolithic) at the Canterbury Museum that included offers of exchanges for duplicate material.<sup>54</sup> As a result it is highly likely that these two curators discussed his research results.

By the late 1870s collecting involved the recovery of other items considered rare or no longer available. Weapons, tools and implements however, continued to be the main focus for recovery. This desire was indicative of the curatorial intention to preserve the vestiges of the race of which there were few examples and particularly those objects that were 'in immediate danger of extinction' because they were no longer made and in use.<sup>55</sup> This equated with the extinction of species. As a result the 'extinction' of types equated to the loss of those items made according to 'old style' methods. The demand for and difficulty of obtaining Maori objects of this nature was reiterated in a letter by Cheeseman to Mr J T Abernathy of January 2nd 1879 relating to the acquisition of 'African curiosities' by the museum in exchange for specimens of Maori carvings.<sup>56</sup>

It is now difficult to get any really good and characteristic carvings done in the olden style<sup>57</sup>

These problems were due to a number of factors. This loss in authenticity was seen as a result of the adoption by Maori people of many European cultural and technological practices. This led to the demise of traditional methods used in the production of objects. Issues such as these were raised by Cheeseman in a letter to French ethnologist Mr De Quatrefages in 1877 in response to his request for an extensive collection of Maori weapons and tools.

Those latter articles once very common are now becoming rare, as the manufacture of them has long since ceased<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>Ibid. p617

<sup>54</sup>MS 58 T.F. Cheeseman Box 8, Folder 1 (a) *Letters to T.F. Cheeseman from J. von Haast*. 'Letter from Julius Haast to T.F. Cheeseman December 20th 1875.' (Manuscript Collection, Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>55</sup>*Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F. Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Mr Professor Spencer Baird, National Museum, Washington D.C., U.S.A, July 21st 1885.' p310 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>56</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr J.T. Abernathy, January 2nd 1879.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)p304

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to

Acquisition problems intensified by the middle of the 1880s. The expense of obtaining specimens of genuine Maori manufacture had also become an obstacle to the attainment of complete collections. In a letter to a London collector Mr H M Easting Cheeseman further commented that:

[It] is now extremely difficult and expensive to obtain articles of Maori manufacture. In spite of all our efforts we cannot obtain what we require for our own Museum, in order to exhibit a good and complete collection.<sup>59</sup>

By this time wooden tools, once common, had also become difficult to obtain due to the fact that were no longer in use and hence no longer produced according to traditional methods.<sup>60</sup> The perceived loss of these genuine objects due to the pressures of acculturation also drove a demand for exchanges.<sup>61</sup> This issue was borne out by Cheeseman in a letter to Professor Spencer F Baird (natural historian and ethnologist at the National Museum, Washington) in 1885. Those items made according to traditional methods and still in use were offered to Baird.

With respect to ... your desiderata - specimens illustrating Maori life ... you ask for special collections of tools, products, etc, such as those employed in carving, tattooing, building, etc, rather than a general collection of incomplete representations ... unfortunately that time has gone by for making any such special collections. The Maoris are a highly adaptive race, and at a very early period, after the advent of Europeans saw the advantage of using European tools and clothing, etc, and with very few exceptions abandoned their own. So that when museums became established in New Zealand it was nearly impossible to obtain any tools that were in everyday use when Cook first landed in New Zealand. The best that any Museum can do in the way of exchange is to send a miscellaneous collection - carvings, some implements that are still used, such as paddles, etc, stone adzes, calabashes, and so on.<sup>62</sup>

Although Spencer Baird's motives for recouping complete collections including tools, carvings and tattooing instruments are unclear, it can be assumed that he intended to illustrate

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Mr De Quatrefages, 23rd July 1877.' p220 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>59</sup> *Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Mr H. M. Easting, April 24th 1886.' p100 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>60</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Professor Giglioli Florence, August 13th 1883.' p138 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>61</sup> Appadurai (ed) (1986) *The social life of things*, Chapter Two, p4

ethnological ideas. As the nature and condition of a given race were seen to be written in objects, those items made by old methods of manufacture were seen as providing this evidence.<sup>63</sup>

Cultural value and the rarity of certain types of objects were also obstacles to the achievement of a more complete representation of the race and nation. For example items such as greenstone weapons or ornaments were highly prized by Maori people.<sup>64</sup> If such items were available, according to Cheeseman, 'wealthy collectors were always ready to buy them for prices which Museums could not afford'.<sup>65</sup> Specimens such as stone adzes however continued to remain plentiful due to the fact they were still in use.<sup>66</sup>

The effect of the entrance of Maori objects into this eurocentric system of meaning and value necessarily involved a new commodification process.<sup>67</sup> It involved the attribution of a new hierarchy of values that privileged the rare, old and the authentic. The selection and discrimination of objects on the basis of these values was determined by Cheeseman at the point of acquisition. Such values were shared by collectors and museum professionals alike.<sup>68</sup> The importance of scarcity as a force in commodification was clearly demonstrated through shifts in collecting foci from the rare and unique in the 1870s to the everyday by the 1880s. Everyday items also became scarce because they were no longer in use.

Apart from the 'loss' of good representative items, a lack of space within the museum and available display casing to place objects was also seen as seriously affecting the growth of collections. This situation emphasised the interdependent relationship between the development of collections and the need to arrange specimens in an exhibition. Space was a

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<sup>62</sup> *Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Mr Professor Spencer Baird, National Museum, Washington DC, U.S.A, July 21st 1885.' p310 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>63</sup> See C.M. Hinsley (1981) *Savages and scientists: The Smithsonian Institution and the development of American Anthropology, 1846-1910*. (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution)

<sup>64</sup> *Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to H. Rust, Pasadena, California, December 10th 1883.' p162 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>65</sup> *Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Professor Giglioli April 25th 1887.' p489 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.* and *Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Mr Professor Spencer Baird, National Museum, Washington D.C., U.S.A, July 21st 1885.' p310 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>67</sup> Igor Kopytoff (1986) 'The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process', in Appadurai (ed) (1986) *The social life of things*, Chapter Two, pp70-1

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

key element in expressing Cheeseman's vision of a Maori race in a material way.<sup>69</sup> These issues of exhibiting at the Auckland Museum are discussed in Chapter 5.

### 2.3 Salvaging the Maori race

The need to develop more complete collections illustrating Maori life had by the middle of the 1880s become a matter of urgency. This shift in institutional emphasis to the collection of Maori objects is documented in the *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum of 1886-1887*.

The formation of a more complete collection to illustrate the manners and customs of the Maori race is a matter that urgently requires attention, and in this the Council invite the active co-operation of the members<sup>70</sup>

The primary institutional collecting focus however continued to be on the development of natural history collections as illustrative of the colony's natural resources.<sup>71</sup>

By this time Cheeseman's desire to complete the Maori collection was also driven by exhibitory ambitions. In 1887 Cheeseman expressed a need to construct a separate hall for Maori and Polynesian collections. As a result collection development was undertaken in anticipation for the opening of the hall.<sup>72</sup> This event drove collecting towards a need to gather all categories of objects including endangered and common items. The collection was required to be more comprehensive in order to accurately represent and venerate the race as a whole in its authentic state.<sup>73</sup> In terms of Linnean catalogues, if collections were full of gaps it was seen as portraying an incorrect picture of a species.<sup>74</sup> On this basis it can be assumed that an incomplete collection of Maori objects would provide an incorrect picture of their technological achievements and lifestyles.

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<sup>69</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*.(Auckland: Wilson & Horton) p 7

<sup>70</sup>Ibid.

<sup>71</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 1884-85*.(Auckland: William Aitken) p7

<sup>72</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman Director to Hon. E. Mitcheson, Auckland, November 2nd 1889.' p689 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) and *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to The Private Secretary, Government House, Wellington from Mr Cheeseman [date unknown] 1892.' p254 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) Also see *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Professor Giglioli April 25th 1887.' p489 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>73</sup>*Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Mr H.M. Easting, April 24th 1886.' p100 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>74</sup>Harrison (1915) 'Ethnographical Collections and their arrangement', p222

A commitment to the development of this permanent memorial to the race through a more complete collection and a dedicated exhibitions space had by 1889 made an impact on institutional priorities. In a letter to collector the Honorable E Mitcheson of 2nd November 1889 Cheeseman commented:

One of the chief objects of the Auckland Museum is to obtain for public exhibition ... as complete a series as possible of articles illustrating the life, manners and customs, etc, of the Maori Race, such a presentation would be extremely valuable... it is intended in a year or two to erect a large hall specially for Maori exhibits, so that such exhibits ... be permanently housed and shown to the public.<sup>75</sup>

As a consequence collecting took on a specific salvaging and memorialising role for the purposes of public exhibition.<sup>76</sup> Integral to this 'saving' mission was the desire to recover all representative articles of genuine Maori manufacture.<sup>77</sup> These represented the last surviving remnants of the race. In the *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* for 1889-1890 the logic behind this recovery operation was explained.

In forming such a collection we have advantages and opportunities nowhere else possessed, and if we fail in this important branch of our duties, to us will be attributed the reproach of allowing the records and mementoes of the Maori race to perish or to pass into other countries.<sup>78</sup>

This self-proclaimed salvaging operation positioned Cheeseman as a saviour of the Maori race. This was intimately related to the museum's perceived role as a public educational institution.<sup>79</sup> It was from this location of superiority as the successful race that the recovery of this endangered past was undertaken and a Maori nation produced materially. According to Cheeseman no other museums had made such a commitment to preserve these vestiges in their entirety.

These motivations were also driven by the fact that the Auckland area had the largest Maori population and as a result had a responsibility to memorialise this past. Perceived moral

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<sup>75</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman Director to Hon. E. Mitcheson, Auckland, November 2nd 1889.' p689 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>77</sup> *Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Mr H.M.Easting, April 24 1886.' p100 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) Also see *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7 and *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1891-92*. (Auckland: H. Brett, Star Office) p7

<sup>78</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1889-90*. (Auckland: Wilson & Horton) p9

<sup>79</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman Director to Hon. E. Mitcheson, Auckland, November 2nd 1889.' p689 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

obligations to the Maori population to preserve their material culture were outlined in the *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum for 1889-1890*.

The Auckland Provincial District has always been the chief seat of the Maori population, and surely its public Museum should aim at the possession of the most complete collection in existence.<sup>80</sup>

Salvaging Maori objects on the basis of death narratives was used as a justification for the ongoing development of collections well into the 1920s.<sup>81</sup> This concern was evident in the comments of Professor J Johnson, guest speaker at the inaugural Anthropology and Maori Race Section meeting of 7th August 1922, in relation to the formation of the Anthropology and Maori Race Section.<sup>82</sup> In this address Johnson emphasised:

[The] importance of the Study of Anthropology and the necessity of acquiring knowledge of the native races and their cultures before it was too late<sup>83</sup>

An interest in the development of a more comprehensive collection of Maori specimens was also due to the donation of a number of Maori collections by local collectors R C Barstow in 1876 and C O Davis in 1887.<sup>84</sup> For example the Davis collection included specimens such as Maori mats, weapons and carved boxes.<sup>85</sup> Of note was the extensive series of mats that included 12 different types.<sup>86</sup> This series of mats, although a valuable addition to the existing collections, would have identified further gaps in type series. On receipt of this collection Cheeseman expressed a desire to extend the existing institution's collections and 'make them as complete as possible'.<sup>87</sup> In order to produce a more complete collection Cheeseman

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<sup>80</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1889-90*, p9

<sup>81</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, February 18th 1898.' p95 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>82</sup> MS 582 *Auckland Institute and Museum, Anthropology and Maori Race Section Letters and other papers ca 1922-1944*. 'Minutes of a meeting held in the library of the Institute, 8pm, 7th August 1922. An address relating to the formation of the Section by Professor J. Johnson.' p3 (unpub. manus. Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>84</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7

<sup>85</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman Curator to P.G. Davis, Auckland, June 17th 1887.' p503 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>86</sup> MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum Records miscellaneous papers re: early days*. 'Folder of the Auckland Institute and Museum - particular reference to the development of the Maori sections 89/215.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>87</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman Curator to P.G. Davis, Auckland, June 17th 1887.' p503 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

attempted to source specimens from dealers overseas 'as large numbers of such items had been regularly sent back to Britain, many of which were no longer obtainable in the Colony'.<sup>88</sup>

## 2.4 Completing the catalogue of a Maori race

Cheeseman's belief in the incompleteness of the collection as a catalogue of Maori life necessarily involved the adoption of a system that sought completeness.<sup>89</sup> To achieve this Cheeseman embraced a more defined set of rules of class and series to formulate his collecting practices.<sup>90</sup> This framework appeared to have been dictated by the needs of the ethnographical system of arrangement.<sup>91</sup>

The choice of this system by Cheeseman was no doubt due to his desire to represent in the new hall the specific ethnography of a Maori race which class and series were intended to serve.<sup>92</sup> On the basis of this scheme forming more complete series was seen as a way to 'illustrate the particular manners, customs and mode of life of the Maori Race'.<sup>93</sup> Such a system was adopted by many large museums including the British, Dublin and Edinburgh Museums around this period.<sup>94</sup>

This approach was a later incarnation of Jomard's geographical system developed in the 1840s.<sup>95</sup> Jomard, a geographer and curator at the *Depôt de Géographie* in Paris, collected a range of specimens to give an idea of the manners, customs and degree of civilisation of various races in an attempt to trace the progress of humankind.<sup>96</sup> Methods used to achieve

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<sup>88</sup> *Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F. Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Mr G. Graham, London, August 17th 1886.' p426 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>89</sup> Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting' in Elsner & Cardinal (eds) *The Cultures of Collecting*, p23

<sup>90</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to Professor Brown Goode from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, September 11th 1891.' p144 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>91</sup> Harrison (1915) 'Ethnographical Collections and their arrangement', p222

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.* p221

<sup>93</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman Director to Hon. E. Mitcheson, Auckland, November 2nd 1889.' p689 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) and *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to The Private Secretary, Government House, Wellington from Mr Cheeseman, [date unknown].' p254 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>94</sup> H.I. Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections in Museums' in *The Museums Journal* Vol 10, April 1911, p287

<sup>95</sup> Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p228

<sup>96</sup> Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p38

these objectives included type collecting and classification according to subjects, followed by the development of a series of classes, orders and genres based on material objects.

Such a system of class and series enabled Cheeseman to conceptualise Maori people, their life and institutions into manageable and definable categories that could be captured and represented in a material form.<sup>97</sup> This reconceptualisation was a development on the nomenclature approach and involved the classification of Maori people through their material culture into more defined categories of classes and series on the basis of their form. An example of how this process of transformation from context to class and series operated for exhibition purposes was illustrated in a letter from Cheeseman to the Honorable Mr E Mitchelson acknowledging the receipt of a number of articles on 9th December 1909. In this letter Cheeseman acknowledged:

[the] receipt of a number of articles - walking stick formerly belonging to Te Kuiti, a kumara spade once the property of Wahanui, a Tewhatewha belonging to Parene, two wooden meres and several flax cloaks ... the greater of these have been placed in their separate classes and are now open for inspection.<sup>98</sup>

Although the genealogical and historical associations of these objects were noted, these references to provenance were subsequently replaced by class.<sup>99</sup> The application of more definitive properties of class and series to objects was a more accurate way of homogenising Maori culture. It provided a series of clearly defined common denominators or benchmarks into which objects could be easily assessed and grouped according to like characteristics. The purpose of this process was first to create groupings as class and series that could illustrate individual aspects of Maori lifestyles. The collection as an aggregate of these parts was then intended to document a nationally representative racial unit.<sup>100</sup>

According to Susan Stewart the development of the collection involves forgetting the provenance of objects.<sup>101</sup> In this instance forgetting referred to the circumstances of an object's origin, context, history of ownership and use and its social relationships. Its replacement with class and series enabled Cheeseman to make a new Maori identity and history that equated

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<sup>97</sup>Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*, p7

<sup>98</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1909-1920*. 'Letter to Hon. Mitchelson, Auckland from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, December 9th 1909.' p100 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

<sup>100</sup>Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting' in Elsner & Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, p22

<sup>101</sup>Stewart (1984) *On Longing*, p152

with the intentions of the collection. The ultimate objective was to produce an authentic catalogue of the Maori nation.<sup>102</sup>

By 1917 documentation in the Accessions Register included references to provenance. Name, date of receipt and donor however, remained the primary means of identification. Additional categories included locality and referred to the place objects were found or originated. Where known the history of objects was documented in the section 'Remarks'.<sup>103</sup> Given that class and series were still seen as providing a more fundamental framework, the interpretation of these objects would have privileged classification above provenance.<sup>104</sup>

## 2.5 Expressing the essence of the race

The gathering of a full set of specimens by Cheeseman was seen as a way of salvaging the essence of the race, its manners, customs and mode of life.<sup>105</sup> Specimens both individually and as a series were intended to show how Maori people lived, their arts, manners, general modes of life, behaviour and customs.<sup>106</sup>

For example the role of the object as a metaphor for a custom such as tattooing was highlighted with the acquisition of an old Maori tattooed head.<sup>107</sup> According to Cheeseman, no collection was considered complete without the addition of a specimen of this nature.<sup>108</sup> These items were highly valued as they were unobtainable in New Zealand.<sup>109</sup> The only museum in the country to possess such a specimen was the Canterbury Museum, whose tattooed head was acquired by von Haast, the Director, from a dealer in London.<sup>110</sup> The Auckland Museum

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<sup>102</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1885-86*, p6

<sup>103</sup>See entries in the *Auckland Museum Collections Registers* for 1916 and 1917

<sup>104</sup>Clifford (1996) 'Collecting Ourselves' in Pearce (ed) *Interpreting Objects*, p260

<sup>105</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7 and *MS919 Auckland Institute and Museum miscellaneous papers re: early days*. 'Circulars re: grant to Museum. Memorandum relative to the Proposed Subsidy to the Auckland Museum' by F.D. Brown, President of the Auckland Institute and T.F. Cheeseman, Secretary, p1 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>106</sup>*MS919 Auckland Institute and Museum miscellaneous papers re: early days*. 'Circulars re: grant to Museum'. Memorandum relative to the Proposed Subsidy to the Auckland Museum' by F.D. Brown, President of the Auckland Institute and T.F. Cheeseman, Secretary, p1 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>107</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr Graham, April 30th 1878.' p266 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>108</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Professor W.H. Flower, September 11th 1882.' p46 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>109</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr Graham, April 30th 1878.' p266 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

procured a specimen in 1882 from Professor William Henry Flower of London (former member of the Royal College of Surgeons and Director of the British Museum of Natural History from the 1880s) in exchange for some Maori 'crania' (skulls).<sup>111</sup> In Cheeseman's letter of thanks to Flower he commented:

These came to hand a few days ago, and have been placed in our Museum. They are ghastly looking objects, but possess an interest here, as illustrating a remarkable Maori custom.<sup>112</sup>

With natural history collecting the application of taxonomic principles of class and series was seen as a way of producing a definitive catalogue of the natural history of a given district. The use of these same principles of class and series equated with the production of a catalogue of the general life of a people. The transference of this biological logic to cultural collections was outlined in the section on Ethnology in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* of 1879.

Just as the catalogue of all the species of plants and animals of a district represents its flora and fauna, so the list of all the items of the general life of a people represents that whole that we call a culture.<sup>113</sup>

This approach to the collection and classification of indigenous cultural life was embraced by a number of ethnographers during this time.<sup>114</sup> Cheeseman commented that each well-selected specimen and complete series was seen to represent the general life of the whole Maori race.<sup>115</sup> It reflected a shift from the individual object and its singular qualities as representative of its form and function to that of the seriality of the collection as an expression of racial essence.

According to the ethnographical system of arrangement (the system adopted by Cheeseman), complete collections of all types and variations in Maori material culture expressed racial essence in a number of ways and on a number of interpretative levels. On one level these collections were intended to show the tools and appliances made and used by the Maori race.<sup>116</sup> The illustration of the range of tools and appliances used by Maori people was expressed through the extended collection. The care that Cheeseman took to acquire objects

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<sup>111</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, 1882-1890.* 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Professor W.H. Flower of June 19th 1882.' p114 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>112</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>113</sup>Reference by E.B. Tylor in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p617

<sup>114</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>115</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882.* Letter from Mr Cheeseman to L.R. Gregory, March 4th 1878.' p258 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>116</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', p288

seen as authentic and illustrative of traditional methods of manufacture was a way of expressing a true and correct picture of the nature and range of these cultural items.

Expressing a sociological dimension of the Maori race through objects involved the reading of their physical characteristics and the range of type categories. For example the study of the physical characteristics of zoological specimens was seen as a way of determining the way animals lived, procured their food, and their habitat.<sup>117</sup> In the same way the study of the physical form of material culture of Maori people was seen to allude to their customs, the way they lived, procured their food and so forth.

Of particular interest was the demonstration of Maori industries before the advent of Europeans. Industry was expressed through a number of type groupings. For example a collection of polishing stones received in 1891 was, according to Cheeseman, intended 'to show how Maoris cut and polished their greenstone ornaments'.<sup>118</sup> The completeness of this collection of polishing stones was seen to provide an accurate indication of all the polishing processes involved in their manufacture.<sup>119</sup>

The textile industry was illustrated by the series of mats from the Davis collection. These objects were accompanied by ethnographical information on how they were made.<sup>120</sup> Cheeseman also commissioned a mat in the process of manufacture to demonstrate how mats were made.<sup>121</sup> According to evolutionists the demonstration of such industries provided the foundations from which later European industries evolved.<sup>122</sup>

The way objects would have been used to interpret the character, mode of conduct and level of intellectual or evolutionary development of Maori people is illustrated by the class of weapons.<sup>123</sup> By the early 1900s examples of weapon types included *tewhatewha*, *taiaha*, *pouwhenua* and *mere* that together formed an extensive series.<sup>124</sup> A near complete series of

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<sup>117</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p139

<sup>118</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1909-1920*. 'Letter to Vincent J. Blake Esq. District Surveyor, Tauranga from Mr Cheeseman, Auckland Museum, [date unknown].' p141 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>119</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>120</sup>MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum Records miscellaneous papers re: early days*. 'Folder of the Auckland Institute and Museum - particular reference to the development of the Maori sections, 89/215. (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>121</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to H. Mitchell Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, October [date unknown] Museum, Auckland, 1895.' p568 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>122</sup>Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p232

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.* p231

<sup>124</sup>*Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Vol 2 Auckland. (1902) pp174-5.

*mere* included specimens in stone, bone and wood.<sup>125</sup> The nature and range of these object types suggested that Maori people were warlike and spent a lot of time engaged in conflict. Large quantities of implements of war such as these examples were seen as common to the early stages of history.<sup>126</sup> As a result the existence of such an extensive class and series would have reiterated the place of Maori people as representative of this early phase in history.

In terms of moral development an extensive range of these items were read as indicative 'of the absence of the sacredness of human life except one's own'.<sup>127</sup> This lack of respect of human life was also seen as a characteristic trait of early history.<sup>128</sup> Cheeseman bore out this concept of barbarous lack of respect for human life as a Maori trait in the description of the history of a *mere* belonging to Te Kooti (Te Kooti was a leader of a Maori nationalist movement, the Hau Hau during the late nineteenth century).<sup>129</sup> In his notes on the arrangement of the collections in the Ethnographical Hall in 1900 Cheeseman commented:

One of the latter has a historical value on account of having belonged to the chief Te Kooti, the leader in a barbarous massacre of Europeans at Poverty Bay in the year 1868.<sup>130</sup>

One of Cheeseman's interpretative objectives was to illustrate the nature of and level of artistic skill and workmanship achieved by Maori people. For example carved boxes and bowls were intended by Cheeseman to be read as fine examples of the art of carving in terms of design and technical skill.<sup>131</sup> Many examples of weaponry in the collection also included fine decorative elements. Reading these objects was seen as a way of gaining an impression of the development of artistic skill in the early stages of history of which the Maori race represented. This relationship between artistic skill and level of evolutionary development was outlined by H I Roth (an anthropologist) in *The Museums Journal* Vol 10 April 1911. In his article Roth commented:

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<sup>125</sup>Ibid.

<sup>126</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', pp288-289

<sup>127</sup>Ibid.

<sup>128</sup>Ibid.

<sup>129</sup>For references to a number of objects and their historical associations see the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Vol 2* (1902) pp174-5 and MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum miscellaneous papers re: early days* . p3 (unpub. mans. Auckland Institute and Museum Library) Also see references to the acquisition of a *pataka* deposited by Mr F.D. Fenton in the *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1884-85*, p7

<sup>130</sup>MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum miscellaneous papers re: early days* . p3 (unpub. mans. Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>131</sup>MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum miscellaneous papers re: early days* . 'Description of the exhibitions, 5/11/1900.' p2 (unpub. mans. Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

On weapons especially in those from the South Seas, we find some of the earliest attempts at decorative art, in fact at this stage of culture weapons were almost the only article on which natives are able to exercise their artistic proclivities.<sup>132</sup>

A facet of life such as the procurement of food was illustrated by a series of perches and snares. For example the completion of a series of perches and snares was seen to act together to illustrate how birds were caught.<sup>133</sup> A range of fishing technology such as fishhooks, fishing lines, fishing weights, nets, mussel dredges and eel baskets was seen to demonstrate the range and nature of technology used in the practice of fishing.<sup>134</sup> It was also a means of gaining an insight into the way seafood was procured and the diet of the Maori race. For example fishhooks, eel baskets and mussel dredges suggested that ocean fish, eels and shellfish were eaten.

The collection of carved houses and *pataka* (storehouses) acted as an expression of the way people were housed, their architectural style and also the technical abilities of the Maori nation.<sup>135</sup> According to ethnographical observation at the time, the materials from which buildings were made were seen as a way of assigning a race to a specific epoch. The fact that Maori buildings were made of wood would have confirmed their place as a lower order. Races who constructed buildings in brick were seen as more advanced.<sup>136</sup>

The limitation of material culture to express the more immaterial aspects of the customs, manners and mode of life of races was acknowledged by ethnologists such as W H Holmes (Head Curator of the Department of Anthropology at the US National Museum) from the early 1900s.<sup>137</sup> As a result ethnographical field research became more important as a means to allude to these more esoteric aspects of life. Cheeseman's position on this issue and the extent to which he believed objects could fully express non-material aspects of life is unclear. His approach to ethnographical collecting however, suggested a belief in the potential of the object

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<sup>132</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', p289

<sup>133</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Elsdon Best from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, March 11th 1898.' p106 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>134</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1910-11*. (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) p8

<sup>135</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p617

<sup>136</sup>*Ibid.* and *Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Vol 2* (1902) pp174-5

<sup>137</sup>W.H. Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the exhibits of an Anthropological Museum' in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution 1901* (Washington D.C.: US National Museum) p256

and collection to provide positive and concrete records of the race rather than partial representations.<sup>138</sup>

The following chapter examines the process of collection completion which it was to provide Cheeseman with a definitive solution for 'knowing' Maori people. As a totalising collector, Cheeseman showed no constraint or hesitation in his compulsion to control and possess his desired image for the Maori race.

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<sup>138</sup>Susan M. Pearce (1994) 'Collecting Reconsidered' in Pearce (ed) (1996) *Interpreting Objects and Collections.*, p201

## CHAPTER THREE

### Completing the catalogue of the Maori race

Collecting at the Auckland Museum from the 1880s to the 1920s  
motivations and meanings

*[The] Council would strongly urge members that so far as the funds of the Institute will allow no time should be lost in completing the collections in the Museum intended to illustrate the manners, customs, and mode of life of the Maori race. Even now the task will be both difficult and expensive.<sup>1</sup>*

#### 3.1. The drive for completeness

Completing the catalogue of the Maori race at the Auckland Museum embodied a special finality to strive for and possess. Cheeseman's belief that class and series were finite in nature and extent drove these collecting agendas. This process of completion became so driven and so focused that it led to the need to construct perfect authentic specimens through renovation and replicas. The nature of these representations is outlined in Section 3.4. Given that this focus was on completing series, it can be assumed that most classes (as type categories of objects) were represented in the collection by the early 1890s. As a result the act of completing series involved the acquisition of specimens representing all examples within a given class.<sup>2</sup>

This approach to completion by Cheeseman reflected the transference of another principle of biological taxonomy to Maori collections. One of the key taxonomic principles was the idea that with any given species there were a finite number of variations on the standard type.<sup>3</sup> For example with his collection of New Zealand birds Cheeseman gathered a series of kiwis representing the full range of species in existence.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1889-90*, p9

<sup>2</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book May 1872 - February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Professor Giglioli, Florence, September 19th 1877.' p224 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) Also see *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1876-77*, p10

<sup>3</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums.*, pp125-127

<sup>4</sup>MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum Records miscellaneous papers re: early days*. 'Folder of the Auckland Institute and Museum - particular reference to the development of the Maori sections,

This belief in the fixity of species was transferred to the collection of Maori objects by Cheeseman's conviction that there was a finite number of variations on standard types of Maori material culture. Completion referred to the gathering of all series variations. For example within the class of mats the series included 'dogskin, feather and various kinds of flax mats, from the soft and silken *kaitaka* reserved for the use of chief men ... to the rough and shaggy *whariki*, the garment of slaves and common people.'<sup>5</sup> Series variations were represented by different styles, the materials from which they were made and their use value. Deviations from the standard characteristic type in biological taxonomy also referred to the adaptation of species to various purposes.<sup>6</sup> In terms of mats, series deviations reflected adaptations on the type by style and materials to a range of different functions. For example these included different types of clothing from chiefs to slaves.

Cheeseman's focus from the 1890s was on filling gaps in various series. In terms of completing these categories his focus was always on the next term in the series.<sup>7</sup> Baudrillard expressed this unfilled gap in a series as a level of curatorial frustration that needed to be satisfied.<sup>8</sup> From Cheeseman's collecting record it appears as if he was particularly meticulous in his attempts to systematise his collecting to gather sets of specimens. For example Cheeseman attempted to acquire specific type specimens of undoubted Maori manufacture from collectors and dealers. His requests were carefully detailed and endeavoured to selectively specify examples not represented in the collection. These gaps in series were defined according to specific type variations on the basis of the materials from which they were made and stylistic differences. In a letter to London dealer Mr Dunergue, Cheeseman specified:

I want to get such things as old fish-hooks ... greenstone ear-drops of undoubted Maori manufacture especially those tipped with bone or carved out of wood ... any greenstone ornaments whatever and particularly some good heitikis, carved stone images, small wooden carvings, Maori spades, etc, etc.<sup>9</sup>

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89/215.' 'Description of the exhibitions, 5/11/1900.' p4 (unpub. mans. Auckland Institute and Museum Library).

<sup>5</sup>*Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Vol 2 (1902) pp174-5

<sup>6</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums.*, p126

<sup>7</sup>Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting' in Elsner & Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, p19

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.* p13

<sup>9</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897.* 'Letter to Mr Dunergue Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland 1891.' p160 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

In this example the specification of ear ornaments suggested that this process of filling gaps required the identification of a range of stylistic details within these type classes. Once the range of differences was established, Cheeseman was then able to specify their physical character in order to recover the necessary examples. This resulted in the ever-increasing refinement of series according to minute details of difference based on an object's physicality. In terms of taxonomic collecting the recording of minute distinctions was a way of determining the possible variations in species.<sup>10</sup> In this instance the recording of minute details equated with the identification and recovery of all variations within a material culture series.

Although the Auckland Museum was seen to have an extensive collection of Maori objects, the loss of items overseas due to export was deemed to hamper this process of development and completion. In a letter to a colleague Mr H W Tiune, Cheeseman commented:

We ... certainly possess the best Maori collection in the Colony but I often wish we could get back some of the articles - meres, weapons of all kinds, implements etc, which were sent to England 40 or 50 years ago<sup>11</sup>

By 1898 however, the Auckland Museum Maori collections were considered to be the most extensive of any museum in New Zealand and indeed the world.<sup>12</sup> This status for the collection had been attained little more than ten years after an express commitment had been made to its formation. In the *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum of 1898-1899* it was stated that:

In no other public institution can a collection equally extensive be found, while several of the exhibits are absolutely unique of their kind<sup>13</sup>

It appears from entries in the letterbooks that by the late 1890s the collection continued to be developed primarily through offers. Cheeseman however did approach Elsdon Best (a collector and ethnographer, later to become the ethnology curator at the Dominion Museum, Wellington) to help him secure a 'number of articles such as musical instruments, flax girdles,

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<sup>10</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p15

<sup>11</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to H.W. Tiune Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, August 12th, 1892.' p218 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>12</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, November 27th 1896.' p666 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>13</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1898-99* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton) pp8-9

snare and *manaia*' (a beaked figure used as a motif in carving) to complete the collection.<sup>14</sup> In 1898 a number of prestigious items were acquired through Best. These included a greenstone *mere* of remarkable shape resembling the stone clubs used in the Chatham Islands, a greenstone *manaia*, two greenstone *pekapeka*, old bone combs and other carved bone ornaments.<sup>15</sup>

Of note in this class and series development was an interest in the collection of everyday or common objects as illustrative of domestic life. Although this process had begun a decade earlier, efforts had tended to focus on capturing those items seen as more prestigious and hence rare and endangered. The interest in domestic life was a reflection of the compulsion of the board and Cheeseman to complete sets and the desire to represent all aspects of Maori life materially. The 1898-1899 Annual Report singled out this achievement:

[The] Institute is indebted for the time and trouble he [Eldson Best] has taken in collecting a considerable number of articles, many of them illustrating phases of the domestic life of the Maoris, which so far have never been properly represented in our Museums<sup>16</sup>

Such initiatives were further endorsed in the early 1900s as the process of completing class and series became a reality for Cheeseman. For example the receipt of a series of pumice stones which had been almost entirely neglected up until this stage was seen as essential 'to make up anything like a complete collection of Maori handiwork'.<sup>17</sup>

The purchase of Captain Mair's private collection in 1901, previously secured on deposit for the opening of the Ethnological Hall in 1891, further extended the range and nature of these collections.<sup>18</sup> The importance of this collection to express a comprehensive picture of Maori life through an extensive series of types is outlined in an article in *The Auckland Weekly News* of the 5th December 1901.

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<sup>14</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Eldson Best from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, March 11th 1898.' p106 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>15</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1898-99*. pp8-9

<sup>16</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1909-1920*. 'Letter to Vincent J. Blake Esq., District Surveyor, Tauranga from Mr Cheeseman, Auckland Museum, [date unknown].' p141 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>18</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to H.W. Tiune Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, April 20th 1892.' p218 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) The nature and extent of the Maori collections held at the Auckland Museum was the result of developments over a number of years. For references see the *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to the Private Secretary, Government House, Wellington from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland [date unknown].' p254 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

The whole collection includes about 380 articles, comprising house carvings, carved weapons of all classes, articles of ornaments, such as greenstone ornaments, *heitikis*, musical instruments, such as wooden and bone flutes, shell trumpets, mats and other articles of clothing, canoe carvings, fishing weights, fern pounders, flax-beaters-in fact, pretty nearly all the articles that were used by the Maoris of olden days<sup>19</sup>

This collection, due to its quality and completeness, was seen as crucial to secure a satisfactory display in the new hall.<sup>20</sup> By 1902 the museum's collection was very well developed with some classes nearing 'completion'. The collection included classes of carved houses, carvings, canoes, a good series of weapons, implements of all kinds, fishhooks, fishing weights and net sinkers, spades, paddles, carved boxes and bowls, ornaments, musical instruments, mats and so forth.<sup>21</sup>

The importance of acquiring all possible available types for series development was also illustrated by the collection of *heitiki*, of which there were twenty-two specimens. Further items offered were seen as duplicates rather than new types and hence of little use as a means of completing the series.<sup>22</sup>

Other significant collections purchased included eighty-eight items from a collector, Mr C Douglas Todd. This collection included an ancient stone *pare* (carved slab over a doorway of a house) of 'the rare Taranaki type', a carved stone fire-carrier, an ancient finely carved bone *koauau* (bone flute) and *ngunguru* (stone flute), two old wooden fishhooks, a series of wooden tops and many greenstone and ordinary stone adzes.<sup>23</sup> This collection contributed to completing series to illustrate material culture associated with amusements and music.

By the early 1920s the Maori collections were perceived as being one of the institution's best features.<sup>24</sup> According to Cheeseman the development of extensive collections had enabled the museum to represent 'almost all the features of Maori life' by numerous examples.<sup>25</sup> As a

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<sup>19</sup>Major Mair's Collection of Maori Curios' in *The Auckland Weekly News*, 5 December 1901, p12

<sup>20</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to Mr H.W. Tiune, Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, April 20th 1892.' p218 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>21</sup>*Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Vol 2* (1902) pp174-5

<sup>22</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1909-1920*. 'Letter to Mr L.C. Goffe, Waitangi, Bay of Islands from Mr Cheeseman, Auckland Museum, June 8th, 1910.' p135 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>23</sup>*Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1916-17*. (Auckland: Wilson & Horton) p9

<sup>24</sup>T.F. Cheeseman (1919) *What is to be Auckland's War Memorial?* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton) pp2-5

<sup>25</sup>T.F. Cheeseman (1922) 'Auckland Museum' in *NZ Nature Notes*, 26, p27

result the collecting objectives set by the institution in 1889 had almost been achieved by the second decade of the twentieth century.

### 3.2. Ensuring authenticity

A central theme in this process of completion was Cheeseman's belief in the capacity of objects to serve as traces of an 'authentic' past.<sup>26</sup> This was combined with the ability to visualise and represent aspects of lifestyles and a whole cultural realm through objects.

A key concept that guided Cheeseman's collecting was the belief in the loss of authenticity. Coupled with this was a nostalgic notion in the existence of an authentic or traditional state. What was seen as valuable was the past. This was due to the fact that the contemporary present was witness to the acculturating effects Europeans had on Maori culture. As a result this state of authenticity according to Cheeseman was seen as the time immediately prior to the time Cook first landed in New Zealand.<sup>27</sup>

One of Cheeseman's concerns was how to faithfully represent and memorialise Maori people in their best possible authentic state through objects. His attempts to achieve these objectives and the constraints he faced (issues of acculturation and scarcity) are demonstrated through collecting initiatives outlined in Chapter 2.<sup>28</sup> Capturing that state through genuinely old items was difficult due to the age and rarity of these items. As a result of these issues the determination of authenticity was based on the ability of the object to act as an expression of an 'old Maori style'.

This concept of 'old Maori style' was defined in terms of the materials used in producing objects, their methods of manufacture and the age of objects. In order to qualify all items had to be made by 'real Maori', whether in the distant past (which was preferred) or the ethnographical present. These criteria sought to ensure that objects were genuinely authentic and were 'uncontaminated' by European influences.<sup>29</sup> Such a desire to represent Maori

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<sup>26</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882.* 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr De Quatrefages, 23 July 1877.' p220 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>27</sup>*Auckland Museum Letter Book 1882-1890.* 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Professor Spencer Baird, National Museum, Washington DC, U.S.A., July 21st 1885.' p310 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup>*Auckland Museum Letter Book 1897-1909.* 'Letter to Mrs Mary Ogden, Thames Rd. Paeroa from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, November 8th 1904.' p541 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

according to these criteria was evident from the 1850s.<sup>30</sup> By the late 1870s, collecting criteria also included concepts which encapsulated values of 'best' or most 'perfect' specimens according to this concept of 'old Maori style'.<sup>31</sup>

Ensuring that the achievements of the Maori race were accurately embodied in collections was also a concern. The notion of a traditional phase as the highest level of evolutionary advancement attained by the Maori race was supported scientifically by Julius Haast's research at the Canterbury Museum in the early 1870s. On this basis Cheeseman's desire to represent Maori in its 'best authentic state' equated as the highest level of achievement and advancement attained by Maori people.<sup>32</sup>

This criteria of 'best' was interpreted as items considered of 'good design and execution'.<sup>33</sup> Associated with this was the specimen's ability to represent the best example of its type. Aesthetic values relating to perceived levels of 'technical skill' or 'craftsmanship' were also in many instances integral to the concept of 'best', 'perfect' and 'good'.<sup>34</sup> The relationship between aesthetic value, good design and the ideal specimen is outlined in a letter by Cheeseman to an unknown recipient in November 1896.

We have been very successful in obtaining some elaborate carved houses, and other important Maori carvings, and have secured the only true Maori canoe left.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>For references to the desire to collect good specimens of mats representative of 'old style' manufacturing techniques see *Auckland Museum Early Correspondance 1851-1861*. 'Letter from Mr J.A. Kirk to Archdeacon Mr Williams, Poverty Bay, New Zealand, 12 May 1850.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>31</sup>For references to collecting criteria of good, characteristic and olden style in relation to carvings see *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr J.T. Abernathy, January 2nd 1879.' p304 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library). References to the collection of objects illustrative of Maori life when Cook first landed in New Zealand and items of antiquity and specimens made according to 'olden style' manufacturing techniques see *Auckland Museum Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Professor Spencer Baird, National Museum, Washington DC, U.S.A. July 21st 1885.' p310 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>32</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p614

<sup>33</sup>MS Papers 48-55 'Letter from A. Hamilton of the Dominion Museum to W.L. Buller, Junior Carlton Club, London, March 14th 1912, regarding the possible acquisition of some 'feather boxes...' (Archives and Manuscripts Section, Alexander Turnbull Library)

<sup>34</sup>MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum miscellaneous papers re: early days* p3 (unpub. mans. Manuscript, Auckland Institute and Museum Library) and *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1889-90*, p8

<sup>35</sup>*Auckland Museum Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, November 27th 1896.' p666 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

The possession of the rare and beautiful object by Cheeseman, as outlined represented his desire to possess the perfect specimen. For example with the purchase of the Maori House at Maketu, Cheeseman referred to it as 'the finest specimen of Maori work exactant [sic].<sup>36</sup> A *kakakura* [sic] received by the Museum in 1914 was described as a rare and beautiful object 'of which only one other perfect example exists in the Dominion'.<sup>37</sup> These objects were intended to represent Cheeseman's best state and embody his notion of the highest state of technical and artistic skill achieved by the race.<sup>38</sup>

The assessment of objects according to their form and workmanship was privileged over other criteria such as history of ownership and use. This hierarchy of criteria was outlined in a letter by Cheeseman rejecting an offer of a Maori weapon by Mrs Ogden of Paeroa in December 1904.

There is nothing remarkable in its shape or workmanship, it is not at all carved, but is plain as it...could be, and there is no history attached to it. It is not the style of thing that tourists or other collectors would care about.<sup>39</sup>

Objects of this nature, considered poor examples due to a lack of demonstrated technical skill and decoration, were not considered worthy specimens. This also reiterated Cheeseman's obsession with producing a statement about the highest level of technological advancement exhibited by Maori people through the collection. The production of a best authentic state was also guided by what Cheeseman believed would be of interest to tourists. As with today's tourists, seeking out authentic cultural experiences (in this instance by the exhibition of objects illustrating traditional lifestyles) was a key aspect of travel.

In order to produce an authentic and a 'best state', a valuation system (which operated in association with class and series) sought simultaneously to purify, authenticate and fix all objects both old and more recent to this imagined form.<sup>40</sup> Such a process of cleansing sought to eliminate undesirable qualities and outside contaminating influences.

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<sup>36</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to Mr H.W. Tuine Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Auckland Institute, Auckland, New Zealand, August 3rd, 1894.' p452 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>37</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1914-15*. (Auckland: Wilson & Horton) p11

<sup>38</sup> Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting' in Elsner & Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, pp9-10

<sup>39</sup> *Auckland Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Mrs Mary Ogden, Thames Rd. Paeroa from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, December 23rd 1904.' p553 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>40</sup> Elsner & Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, p5

This cleansing process operated through the selections and choices made by Cheeseman. It involved acts of inclusion and exclusion and value judgements by him as to what were the most appropriate specimens to represent his Maori race. Clifford refers to these systems as attributing positive and negative values to collections.<sup>41</sup> In terms of Cheeseman's criteria positive value referred to objects as 'good', 'typical', 'old' and 'perfect'. The binary and oppositional values that Cheeseman used to discriminate and reject objects as inappropriate included those that were seen as 'untypical', 'modern' and 'inauthentic' due to the materials and methods used to make them. Valuation processes such as these were summed up by Cheeseman's request from Mr Holmes (ethnographer) for a collection of ethnographical specimens from the Solomon Islands in June 1896.

Of course if articles are intended to be exhibited in a museum they must be very good of their kind, and not spurious imitations made for sale. I would very much prefer those that have been made to use, to the newer and more recently completed articles made only to sell. In fact an old specimen, as long as it is sound and perfect, is much better for Museum purposes than any other.<sup>42</sup>

Methods of valuation used by Cheeseman essentially authenticated this curatorial vision of the past and simultaneously discredited the modern present. Those items considered genuinely old were of highest representative value.<sup>43</sup> The value placed on old items ensured that objects were not influenced by European methods of manufacture or materials.

Value continued to be placed on old items into the twentieth century, as illustrated by the receipt of Maori carvings found at Hokianga 'believed to be the oldest work of the Maori Race in any public institution'.<sup>44</sup> A group of carvings from the Pukeroa *pa* (fortification site) in Rotorua were valued due to their antiquity and the fact that they were probably the only carvings of any size now remaining that had been entirely carved without the use of iron tools.<sup>45</sup> The use of iron tools was read as a European contaminating influence and therefore

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<sup>41</sup>Clifford (1988) *The Predicament of Culture*, p223

<sup>42</sup>*Auckland Museum Letter Book, 1890-97*. 'Letter to Mr Holmes, G.S. Southern Cross from Mr Cheeseman, June 24th 1896.' pp610-11 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>43</sup>Reference to the acquisition of a *pataka* in the *Auckland Museum Letter Book, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Director of the Auckland Museum January 10th 1890.' p706 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>44</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book, 1897-1909*. 'Letter to E.C. Blomfield Esq. Stipendiary Magistrate, Russell from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland [date unknown].' p409 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>45</sup>MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum miscellaneous papers re: early days*, p3 (unpub. mans. Manuscript Collection, Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

carvings that exhibited signs of being worked by them were not representative of traditional lifestyles.

By the later 1890s there was an increase in the number of new items acquired and commissioned for the purposes of completing collections.<sup>46</sup> Genuinely old items were in many instances no longer available or too expensive to purchase.<sup>47</sup> Modern specimens considered to be in a 'tolerably good Maori style' and authentically provenanced however, were deemed 'not as valuable' as genuinely old examples.<sup>48</sup> New items were only acceptable as good specimens if made in strict accordance with Maori rules'.<sup>49</sup> In a letter to Elsdon Best in 1898, Cheeseman clearly stated his criteria as follows:

[I] prefer old articles if can get them - new ones specially carved they should be made in strict accordance with Maori rules<sup>50</sup>

Little value was placed on those objects that incorporated European materials or were made according to modern techniques.<sup>51</sup> This was due to their perceived distance from this imagined point of authenticity. In most instances an examination of the physical attributes of objects was seen as the key to determining how close to an authentic and perfect specimen a given object may be. This was outlined in a letter by Cheeseman to his colleague and collector W H Skinner based in New Plymouth in 1919.

All carvings are of modern date - have no value from a museum point of view - can see the saw marks and the carvings are coarse and quite modern.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr De Quatrefages, 23rd July 1877.' p220 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>47</sup> *Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Professor Giglioli April 25th 1887.' p489 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>48</sup> This reference to value was a response to the offer of a carving to a Sydney museum that had previously been offered to the Auckland Museum some ten years earlier. See *Auckland Museum Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Director of the Auckland Museum to [recipient unknown] May 19th 1890.' p719 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>49</sup> *Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Elsdon Best from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, March 11th, 1898.' p106 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library); *Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Professor Giglioli from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, January 19th, 1899.' p198 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>50</sup> *Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Elsdon Best from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, March 11th, 1898.' p106 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>51</sup> *Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1909-1920*. 'Letter to W. H. Skinner, No. 5 York Terrace, New Plymouth, August 12th 1919 from T.F. Cheeseman Director of the Auckland Museum.' p704 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

In terms of modern items authenticity was also determined on the basis of the reliability of the Maori craftspersons involved in producing the work. In a letter to Professor Giglioli of the Zoological Museum in Florence in January 1899, Cheeseman made the connection between 'a proper Maori style' and the credibility of the carver in reference to the hafting of a stone adze to a modern handle. In this letter Cheeseman made the following comments:

[It] is of modern make, but nonetheless is a good specimen, carved in proper Maori style by a carver of the Arawa tribe, and is by no means one of the spurious imitations got up for sale to tourists.<sup>53</sup>

The age of the Maori person undertaking the work was a factor in the production of an accurate representation of authenticity. For example in another letter to Professor Giglioli of October 1896 the age as well as the reliability of a Maori person was seen as a crucial factor in the faithful hafting of an old axe handle to an adze.

I have received an old axehandle (Maori) and as I have plenty of axes that fit it the first time an old Maori visits the Museum that I can depend upon I will have it properly lashed.<sup>54</sup>

Activities such as these reflected steps in a reductive process and enabled the production of the collection to this imagined point in time. The collection of both old and new items, 'as long as they were genuine, contributed to the formation and completion of class and series. Both stood side by side within this classification scheme. Through this system of cleansing each object was reconfigured as a series of temporal references to a point of authenticity.<sup>55</sup> By this process Cheeseman displaced real time (the time of the present) and replaced it with a nostalgic imagined place in the past.<sup>56</sup>

### 3.3. Producing the perfect specimen

Cheeseman's desire to produce a complete collection that represented his old Maori style and a best possible form led to the refurbishment or modification of objects to reflect the 'perfect'

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<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Professor Giglioli from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, January 19th 1899.' p198 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>54</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Professor Giglioli from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, October 12 1896.' p644 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>55</sup>Stewart (1984) *On Longing*, p137

<sup>56</sup>For a discussion on how time was displaced through collecting see Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting' in Elsner & Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, pp15-16; Stewart (1984) *On Longing*, p151

specimen.<sup>57</sup> This process of modification was demonstrated by a *waka taua* (war canoe) that was refitted according to an 'old Maori style' as outlined in the Annual Report of 1885-1886.

The Maori war-canoe presented by the Government to the Museum has been brought from the native settlement at Orakei where it had been lying for so many years, and placed in a canoe-house erected at the south side of the Museum. Arrangements have been made for refitting in accordance with the old Maori style.<sup>58</sup>

Advice on how to present the canoe in the best possible manner was sought by Cheeseman through Maori people who had the appropriate knowledge.<sup>59</sup> The exact nature of this advice and who provided it is unclear from the sources.

The refurbishment of the *waka taua* for exhibition in 1886 involved the replacement and addition of carvings along its sides.<sup>60</sup> A feather decoration was added in 1893.<sup>61</sup> Once completed, it was considered one of the key specimens in the hall.<sup>62</sup> The canoe, described as 'magnificent' and in 'a perfect state of preservation', was later acclaimed as the only true Maori war canoe left.<sup>63</sup> The rationale behind these refurbishments was also a way of filling gaps in the collection. Where genuinely old items or specimens exhibiting the desired characteristics were not available, refurbishment of existing specimens to show an 'old Maori style' and a highest level of technical and artistic achievement was seen as a solution.

The drive to acquire items of a 'traditional' nature representative of old ways also involved the modification of objects by Maori people in an effort to represent and portray an authentic specimen. This process was also a way of producing desired specimens so that a more accurate portrayal of traditional Maori life could be constructed. For example the addition of hafted handles to stone adzes was seen to accurately demonstrate the nature of these objects

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<sup>57</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1885-86*, p7

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to Mr F.D. Fenton, Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Auckland Institute, June 20th 1893.' p310 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>60</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7; *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to Mr H.W. Tiune, Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, April 20th 1892.' p218 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>61</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to Mr F.D. Fenton, Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Auckland Institute, June 20th 1893.' p310 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>62</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to Mr H.W. Tiune, Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, April 20th 1892.' p218 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>63</sup>Cheeseman's description of the Maori Hall in 1922. See Cheeseman (1922) 'Auckland Museum', p27; *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, November 27th 1896.' p666 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

while showing how they were used. This work undertaken by 'old' Maoris ensured that it was done in a way to accurately demonstrate an 'old Maori style' as outlined in a letter by Cheeseman to an unknown recipient in 1890. In this letter Cheeseman requested:

[Can] you arrange with some old Maoris to mount two good sized stone adzes with handles....exactly as they would have been for ordinary work in the old days.<sup>64</sup>

This interest in the refurbishment of items according to a perceived best 'old Maori style' continued into the twentieth century. During 1902 and 1903 one of the museum's major purchases was the carved house, 'considered to be one of the best and most complete *runanga* houses in existence'.<sup>65</sup> For some years Cheeseman had been anxious to obtain a 'really good and complete Maori house' and this example was considered 'to be fully up to the mark'.<sup>66</sup> In preparation for exhibition, the house *Te Rangitahi* was renovated by experienced Maori carvers from Rotorua, where the house had originated, according to 'old designs'.<sup>67</sup> This process involved the carving of gable-boards as the originals were not available, and addition of *kakaho* (reed-work) for the roof and verandah.<sup>68</sup>

Although Cheeseman employed carvers from the area where the house originated, the execution of these 'old designs' was to a large extent constructed according to his curatorial vision of a best state. Cheeseman's vision was presented to the Maori craftspersons through photographs. For example Cheeseman sent photographs of *poupou* and *pare* (carved slab over the doorway of a house) to show what he wanted and how they should be carved.<sup>69</sup> The rafters were also made and painted in a scroll pattern selected from the Dominion Museum Director Augustus Hamilton's book on Maori art.<sup>70</sup> The production of beautiful carvings ensured that the house stood as a perfect example of the race's architectural achievements. In the Annual Report of 1906-7 the following comments were made about the house:

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<sup>64</sup>*Auckland Museum Letterbook 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to [recipient unknown] January 10th 1890.' p692 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>65</sup>*Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XXXIV 1902 (Wellington: Lyon & Blair) pp577

<sup>66</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Capt. Mair from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, May 8th, 1899.' p228 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>67</sup>*Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1904-5* (The Brett Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.) p8

<sup>68</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Mr Tene Waitere, Whakarewarewa, Rotorua from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, March 30th, 1906.' p659 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

[This house] is believed to be the most perfect example of its kind attached to any Museum, and the one in which most care has been taken to preserve a strict agreement with Maori style.<sup>71</sup>

The way Cheeseman chose to refurbish the house eliminated the provenance of the object and replaced it with value as representative of a perfect example of a type of carved house. This process of cleansing and the reassignment of value and meaning constructed the *runanga* as unproblematic and authoritative evidence of this point of authenticity.<sup>72</sup> The presentation of such an image was also demonstrated with the refurbishment of other carvings that were 'painted in scarlet or black as in the ancient village'.<sup>73</sup> According to Wheoki-Mane this practice was intended to evoke the sacred red ochre *kokowai*.<sup>74</sup>

Cheeseman's objective was to create a collection that was a paradigm of perfection.<sup>75</sup> The development of good and complete collections was also a self-endorsing, status-seeking ritual. The quality and completeness of collections that Cheeseman was committed to developing imbued the institution with power and prestige. The outcome, the complete and perfect collection, was a way of fulfilling the institution's national and global obligations. Those obligations were the salvage and memorialisation of the race at its highest state of achievement.<sup>76</sup> In 1896 Cheeseman concluded that 'Altogether we have the best Maori collection in the world'.<sup>77</sup>

Cheeseman was recognised for his efforts by the award of the Linnean medal for services to science in 1923. Although this honour was received primarily for his contributions to botany, his service to the science of Ethnology were also recognised. In a letter from the President of the Linnean Society in 1923, Cheeseman's contributions were outlined.

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<sup>70</sup> Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book, 1897-1909. 'Letter to C.E. Nelson Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, February 9th 1905.' p556 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>71</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1906-7*. (Auckland: Wilson & Horton) p8

<sup>72</sup> Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p60

<sup>73</sup> H.D. Skinner (1917) 'The Auckland Museum, New Zealand' in *The Museums Journal*, Vol 17, No 5, November 1917, p64

<sup>74</sup> Wheoki-Mane (1995) 'Defining and communicating cultural relativity in New Zealand museums', p16

<sup>75</sup> Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting' in Elsner & Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, p8

<sup>76</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to Mr Holmes, G.S. Southern Cross from Mr Cheeseman, June 24th 1896.' pp610-11 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>77</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, November 27th 1896.' p666 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

He has brought together a unique collection illustrating the past history and customs of the disappearing Maori civilisation, and has become a leading authority on the subject.<sup>78</sup>

Recognition of his work by the Linnean Society in this field reiterates the relationship between Linnean principles of collection development and the production of a catalogue of the Maori race. This followed a similar line to the production of his catalogue of the indigenous flora of New Zealand.

### 3.4 Legislating identity

These visions of authenticity and the concept of an old Maori style were institutionalised with the passing of the Maori Antiquities Act by the General Assembly of the New Zealand Parliament in 1901.<sup>79</sup> As a result 'Social Darwinian' notions of meaning and value in terms of Maori material culture were fixed as a true and correct statement about the significance and history of these objects.<sup>80</sup>

Through the Maori Antiquities Act value was placed on objects that were a great age, a relic or monument to the past and manufactured according to 'ancient' Maori methods that existed in times long past.<sup>81</sup> These criteria referred to objects both contemporary or made in the past. In the Act these criteria were outlined.

"Maori antiquities" includes Maori relics, articles manufactured with ancient Maori tools and according to Maori methods, and all other articles or things of historical or scientific value or interest and relating to New Zealand.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>78</sup>MS 58 T.F. Cheeseman Box 11, Folder 3 (d) *Linnean Society*. 'President of the Linnean Society address to Sir James Allen, High Commissioner to New Zealand 24.5.23.'

<sup>79</sup>MS 131 Auckland Institute and Museum Vol 11 *Augustus Hamilton Papers 1875-1910*. Folder 2, Items 1-20, [13] 'Maori Antiquities, 1901', No 21 [1 Edw VIII]. p38 (Manuscript Collection, Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>80</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Right Hon R.J. Seddon Premier, Wellington from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, October 9th, 1901.' p353-355 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>81</sup>MS131 Auckland Institute and Museum Vol 11 *Augustus Hamilton Papers 1875-1910*. Folder 2, Items 1-20, [13] 'Maori Antiquities, 1901', No 21, [1 Edw VIII]. p38 (Manuscript Collection, Auckland Institute and Museum Library); A. Hamilton (1905) *The Colonial Museum*. Dominion Museum Bulletin No 1 (Wellington: John Mackay Government Printer); *Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language*, Australasian Edition. N. Porter (ed) (1900) (Springfield Mass.: G. & C. Merriam Co.) p55

<sup>82</sup>For details on the scope of the Maori Antiquities Act see MS131 Auckland Institute and Museum Vol 11 *Augustus Hamilton Papers 1875-1910*. Folder 2, Items 1-20, [13] 'Maori Antiquities, 1901', No 21 [1 Edw VIII] p18 (Manuscript Collection, Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

One of the purposes of the Maori Antiquities Act was to prevent the export of Maori objects. This equated to the loss of authentic material records of the Maori race. One of its main supporters was the native minister Mr Carroll. This Act was also associated with a movement to establish a national Maori Museum in Wellington by Augustus Hamilton (later to become Director of the Dominion Museum). By retaining items such as these in the country they could then be available to establish a national collection for this new institution.

The passing of this Act however was seen as detrimental to the process of collection development at the Auckland Museum. The development of public collections was to a certain degree reliant on the exchange of duplicates with colleagues overseas. In a letter to the Premier the Right Hon R J Seddon, Cheeseman argued that where complete and representative sets were available for public exhibition, duplicates should continue to be available for this purpose.<sup>83</sup> His rationale for opposing the bill was that the museum had already preserved a complete record of the race and as a result duplicates of these items were seen as expendable.

### 3.5. Exchanging ethnological and anthropological specimens

Cheeseman was also interested in acquiring foreign ethnological specimens that were later used to form the basis of racial reference collections in the Ethnological Hall from the early 1900s.<sup>84</sup> These collections included material culture from other parts of Polynesia and Melanesia, North America and Africa.<sup>85</sup> Each collection was intended to embody man's early ideas, in particular the modern and prehistoric Stone Age.<sup>86</sup> The nomadic races of North America as well as Polynesia and Melanesia were still considered to be in the Neolithic Stone Age.<sup>87</sup> Attributing Maori people to the Stone Age and the more advanced Neolithic phase of this evolutionary division had been undertaken by Haast at the Canterbury Museum in the

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<sup>83</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Right Hon R.J. Seddon Premier, Wellington from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, October 9th, 1901.' p353-355 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>84</sup> *Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book, 1897-1909*. Letter to Major Shakespeare from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, July 20th 1905.' p602 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>85</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Professor Spencer Baird of the Smithsonian Institution, September 25th 1877.' p229 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) and *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr J.T.Abernathy, January 2nd 1879.' p304 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>86</sup> T.F. Cheeseman & J.H. Upton, *Auckland Museum*. (Auckland: Auckland Institute) [date unknown]

late 1860s. On this basis the gathering of these collections suggest that Cheeseman wanted to illustrate this phase in history and affirm the condition and place of the Maori race within the Neolithic stage.

Specimens representative of the Stone Age peoples of Northern Europe were used by Julius Haast at the Canterbury Museum to ascertain the age of the Maori population, the sequence of local history and the place of Maori society in an evolutionary framework (to be discussed in Chapters 4 and 5). The desire to acquire similar specimens of the Stone Age of Northern Europe from the dealer Mr A Celo of Brussels in 1889 also suggested that Cheeseman embraced Haast's research conclusions and wanted to show connections between European and Maori history through collections of like stone technology.<sup>87</sup> Cheeseman's requests for information about the localities in which these objects were found would have enabled the comparison of the Stone Age in different regions to allude to racial affinities and the diffusion of particular traits.<sup>88</sup> From these assessments more definitive conclusions could be made about where Maori people fitted into the scheme, and possible influences on their technology and art (form, decorative details and methods of manufacture).

Objects were used to compare not only the technological development of similar Stone Age people but also to demonstrate close racial affinities. For example a collection of Papuan crania and material culture attained from the collector Mr Goldie was used to compare technology, lifestyle and anthropological affinities with Maori and Polynesian examples. In the Annual Report for 1879-1880 Cheeseman stated:

The collection purchased from Mr. Goldie includes a number of crania of the Papuans, and also a series of articles illustrating their manners and customs: These will be useful for comparison with Maori and Polynesian specimens<sup>90</sup>

On the basis of Haast's research Maori people were also seen as having Melanesian traits (to be discussed in Chapter 4). The acquisition of this collection enabled Cheeseman to illustrate these racial affinities through material culture.

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<sup>87</sup> Canterbury Museum (1895) *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum*. (Christchurch: Lyttleton Times Co Ltd.) p145

<sup>88</sup> *Auckland Museum Letterbook, 1882-1890* 'Letter from T.F. Cheeseman, Director of the Auckland Museum to Mr Celo, Rue Traversière, Brussels [date unknown]' pp138 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>89</sup> *Auckland Museum Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F. Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Mr A. Celo, Rue Traversiere, Brussels, May 20th 1889.' [page unknown] (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>90</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute for the Year 1879-80* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton) p10

By 1923 Cheeseman had also developed a collection of foreign skulls that, like his ethnological collections, were intended to illustrate the evolutionary origins of the races of Europe.<sup>91</sup> This collection further reiterated Cheeseman's interest in illustrating early history and the origins of the Stone Age in Europe, the point to which Maori people had evolved. It does not appear from the sources as if Cheeseman attempted to use these collections to undertake his own ethnological research. His primary research focus was in botany.

Apart from Haast, Cheeseman may have been inspired to illustrate the Stone Age through the ethnological research of colleagues such as Professor Henry Giglioli (Director of the Zoological Museum of Vertebrates in Florence).<sup>92</sup> Cheeseman's relationship with Giglioli spanned more than 20 years, from the early 1870s into the 1890s.<sup>93</sup>

Giglioli was an evolutionist. His objective was to acquire a complete collection of authentic Maori specimens in order to accurately undertake an investigation and comparative study of the 'Stone - Age of both modern and ancient times'.<sup>94</sup> Given that modern Maori people were confirmed as part of this stage, such collections were crucial for Giglioli to reconstruct this point in history.

This stage in history and its Palaeolithic and Neolithic sub-phases were primarily determined on the basis of the comparative morphological study (the visual analysis of the structure, shape, form and materials) of tools such as adzes and the way they were made. History was then produced on the basis of morphological measurement through the Three Age System (the grading of races into Stone, Bronze and Iron Ages on the basis of materials used in technology) and Klemm's division of Stone Age populations into the Palaeolithic and Neolithic. Early Palaeolithic populations were determined on the basis of the presence of

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<sup>91</sup>MS 582 Auckland Institute and Museum, *Anthropology and Maori Race Section Letters and other papers ca 1922-1944*. Papers F2 of 4 69/24. 'Letter from J.H. Hudson to P.H. Buck Esq. M.D. D.S.O. G.P.O. Auckland 17th Nov. '23.' p1 (Manuscript Collection, Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>92</sup>*Auckland Museum Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F. Cheeseman, Director of the Auckland Museum to Mr Celso, Rue Traversière, Brussels [date unknown]' p138 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>93</sup>MS 58 T.F. Cheeseman Box 7, Folder 1 (g) *Letters from Professor Giglioli to T.F. Cheeseman*. (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>94</sup>MS58 T.F. Cheeseman Box 7, Folder 1 (g) *Letters from Professor Giglioli to T.F. Cheeseman*. 'Letter from Henry Giglioli, Direzione Del Museo Zoologico Dei Vertebrati, Firenze to T.F. Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum, 27 August 1885.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library); *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to Professor Giglioli, Firenze, June 11th 1891.' p96 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

chipped stone tools, whereas the more advanced Neolithic phase was determined on the basis of the presence of polished stone tools. To make an accurate assessment of the place of Maori people within the Stone Age, it was imperative that Giglioli acquire a complete series of Maori stone tool technology. As a result Cheeseman sent Giglioli a series of adzes of different sizes and shapes, all carefully named.<sup>95</sup>

Associated with these requests for Maori specimens, Giglioli also intended to develop specimens of stone implements, weapons and ornaments from other parts of Polynesia and Australia.<sup>96</sup> It is likely that Giglioli used the material culture of Tonga, Samoa and French Polynesia, particularly polished stone adzes, to reiterate the close racial and cultural affinities with Maori collections as well as their place in the Neolithic phase. With Aboriginal people however, their implements classified as chipped stone tools would have been used as a testament to their place as a more primitive Palaeolithic people less advanced than other Polynesian or Maori people.

In order to attain these foreign reference specimens Cheeseman established systems of exchanges with a network of colleagues throughout the world. It was a way of circumventing monetary exchange. As a result a global system of hierarchies of values and equivalences was established in order to acquire the necessary objects representative of the Stone Age.<sup>97</sup> A system of this nature reflected an extensive commodification of cultural objects developed and upheld by a select group of museum professionals who shared similar values, research and educational objectives.<sup>98</sup>

For example in 1877 Cheeseman attempted to procure from Professor Spencer Baird natural productions (Indian implements) from North America in exchange for 'Ethnological specimens relating to the Maori Race... skulls, implements, weapons, etc'.<sup>99</sup> In exchange for

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<sup>95</sup> *Auckland Museum Letter Book 1882-1890* 'Letter from T.F. Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Professor Giglioli, April 25th 1887.' p489 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>96</sup> MS58 T.F. Cheeseman Box 7, Folder 1 (g) *Letters from Professor Giglioli to T.F. Cheeseman*. 'Letter from Henry Giglioli, Direzione Del Museo Zoologico Dei Vertebrati, Firenze to T.F. Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum, 27th August 1885.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>97</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Professor Giglioli of Florence, September 19th 1877.' p224 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>98</sup> Kopytoff (1986) 'The cultural biography of things' in Appadurai (ed) (1986) *The social life of things*, Chapter Two, pp76-77

<sup>99</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Professor Spencer Baird of the Smithsonian Institution, September 25th 1877.' p229 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

these items the following year Cheeseman supplied Professor Joseph Henry (Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and Baird's supervisor) with an ordered series of Maori crania and ethnological specimens including implements, weapons and carvings that he had collected.<sup>100</sup> In January 1879, in correspondence with Mr J T Abernathy (a dealer), Cheeseman requested the acquisition of African curiosities by the museum in exchange for specimens of Maori carvings.<sup>101</sup>

Many of the Maori items exchanged were deemed duplicates and hence of little use for the development of the museum's collections. With the reorganisation of the museum in 1877, a number of these duplicate Maori ethnological specimens and crania were identified and offered to researchers overseas. As a result skulls, implements, and weapons that were seen as common types and hence also easily obtainable were offered to interested colleagues such as Professor Giglioli of Florence for their comparative research.<sup>102</sup> By the late 1890s however, there were few duplicate Maori items available for exchange due to a lack of availability of genuine and 'good' examples.<sup>103</sup>

The demand for collections to exchange meant that Cheeseman's collecting practices were not always reputable by today's ethical standards. For example in one instance it appears as if around 30 crania were stolen by Cheeseman from burial caves in the Whangaroa district in Northland.<sup>104</sup> Specimens were sent to Professor Henry Giglioli, Director of the Zoological Museum of Vertebrates in Florence, to Professor Joseph Henry and Professor Spencer F Baird of the Smithsonian Institution and to Jean-Louis Armand de Quatrefages, a French anthropologist, among others.<sup>105</sup>

By the 1890s, as a result of questionable collecting practices, the repatriation of human remains had become an issue. In one instance a group of 'Kawhia natives' requested the return of

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<sup>100</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Professor Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institution, April 20th 1878.' p265 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>101</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr J.T.Abernathy, January 2nd 1879.' p304 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>102</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Professor Giglioli of Florence, September 19th 1877.' p224 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>103</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Professor Giglioli from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, January 19th, 1899.' p198 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>104</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Professor Flower, May 25th 1885.' p281. (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) (Northland is the region north of Auckland in the North Island of New Zealand)

<sup>105</sup> Various references in the *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

'Maori preserved heads' they believed were stolen from burial caves.<sup>106</sup> Cheeseman however asserted that these items had been obtained from the Royal College of Surgeons in London and acquired as examples of tattooing practices.<sup>107</sup> As a result the circumstances surrounding calls for repatriation were created by the belief in ethnological discursive practices as the dominant cultural discourse. Collections were intended to provide evidence for this pursuit which overrode all other social and spiritual considerations.

Although researchers such as Haast and Giglioli were active participants in the proof of Social Darwinian theory and, as a consequence, colonial power-broking by the ordering of races, Cheeseman was an equal contributor by the memorialisation of Maori people at a best evolutionary state and, through the development of equivalent collections from other Stone Age peoples, to reinforce their position in history.

### 3.6 Value as a discursive practice

The way collecting, selection criteria and values placed on objects were culturally produced and genre specific was demonstrated with the proposed acquisition of the Mackelvie collection, owned by the Auckland Art Gallery, in 1894. For example some specimens that stood as type examples of a particular class were deemed unsuitable for exhibition in the art collection. This was due to differences in value between these two genres. The art gallery environment privileged aesthetic values above all others whereas a given specimen's representative value was the predominant criterion for museums. Some objects in the museum's collections, such as weapons, carvings, the *waka taua* and *pataka*, did fit both criteria, aesthetic beauty and design excellence, as well as having representative qualities. Many collections, particularly everyday items such as pumice stone net sinkers, horticultural implements and some types of stone adzes, did not necessarily embody the aesthetic value required for an art collection.<sup>108</sup> On this basis Cheeseman commented:

I have examined the few remaining articles of the Mackelvie collection which cannot be exhibited in the new cases for want of room, to ascertain whether any of them would be suitable for exhibition in the Museum. The following, which belong to classes of exhibits already largely represented in the Museum,

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<sup>106</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to M.J. Cork from Mr Cheeseman, Curator, Museum, Auckland, April 1st, 1893.' p290 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>108</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, 1890-97*. 'Letter to [recipient unidentifiable] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, June 12th, 1894.' p438 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

and which could hardly be exhibited in an Art Collection without some incongruity of appearance, ... list of those objects worthy of transferring<sup>109</sup>

These differences in value given to objects reflected the philosophies behind these two institutions at the time.<sup>110</sup> A scientific museum was seen as devoted to the morphological examination of specimens whereas art museums were dedicated to emotional responses to objects based on aesthetics. This also reflected the pedagogic intentions of the two institutions. For example museums were seen as places of learning whereas art museums were seen as places for admiration.<sup>111</sup>

The term 'specimen' and associated valuation processes continued to be the predominant method of selecting and ascribing value to Maori objects by staff at the Auckland Museum into the 1930s and the 1940s.<sup>112</sup> The attribution of the term reflected a continuing interest in the collection of objects to represent lifestyles to an imagined point of authenticity.

### 3.7 Cheeseman's vision

The central theme for collecting was the desire to record and later capture and preserve a predetermined vision of a Maori race. The assumed ability on the part of Cheeseman to objectify Maori people and their cultural situation into categories of objects created the potential for him to manipulate their life, history and identity in many ways. Baudrillard argues that this process of objectification was made possible due to the perceived inert quality of objects and the social distance from the subject.<sup>113</sup> In this instance the social distance between Cheeseman and Maori people enabled him to conceptually remove himself from their lived reality so that he could view them in the abstract. The belief that objects were empirical evidence of the past that embodied people's lives and intellectual capabilities (according to the Social Darwinian logic that informed his practice) enabled the seemingly natural transference of cultural life into categories of material culture.

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

<sup>110</sup>B.I. Gilman (1923) *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method*. Second Edition (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Press) pp80-81. Benjamin Gilman was based at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

<sup>111</sup>G. Brown Goode (1895) *The Principles of Museum Administration*. (York: Coultas & Volans)

<sup>112</sup>*Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1929-30* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton) p17; *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1931-32* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton) p23

<sup>113</sup>Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting' in Elsner & Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, p21

Through these processes of abstraction Kirk and later Cheeseman restructured the lifestyles of Maori people into a formal nomenclature which acted as a set of rules to frame object recovery through collecting. This nomenclature, although first a means of defining individual objects, provided the preconditions for the emergence of Cheeseman's vision of the Maori race. These categories were later reworked into class and series for the express purpose of completing Cheeseman's vision of the Maori race through objects. The adoption of this later approach represented the desire to develop a more defined, certain and truthful statement about Maori life.

The conceptual division of Maori societies into class and series made possible the gathering of objects as representative of the race into technological categories according to like morphological characteristics. By putting Maori objects into these mental sets of class and series and then practical sets, Cheeseman was able to master time and history, reduce and represent Maori societies as a series of definable material parts. This process also allowed classification of class and series to represent the Ethnography of the Maori race so that it could be presented as physical groupings in an arrangement in the Ethnological Hall (to be discussed in Chapter 7).

The methods used to determine the nature and form of the collection were acts of identity formation. Once complete, the collection made ideological statements about what was real Maori. Cheeseman's selection processes enabled him to fix the characteristics of his Maori race by a limited range of specific characteristics based on form and use. For example gathering all available types enabled Cheeseman to complete his image of the race and to represent all their modes of life. The replacement of the provenance and the cultural meaning of objects with class and series also ensured that each of these groupings acted as an expression of a general life of the race that would later sustain the reading of evolutionary discourses. As a consequence Cheeseman was able to construct a new identity for Maori people as a nationally representative homogenous Maori race through objects.<sup>114</sup> Classification such as this, based on the form of objects, was a standard approach used to demonstrate the stage of development reached before the influences of Europeans.<sup>115</sup>

Representing a complete and generalised Maori race rather than its individual historical specificity or diversity was a way of gaining an accurate impression of its overall mental

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<sup>114</sup>Ibid. p14

<sup>115</sup>Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p228

condition for analysis and judgement making.<sup>116</sup> Racial condition represented the overall evolutionary state exhibited by a given race. The way Maori people did things, their customs, manners and mode of life as inferred by these typical objects also contributed to the understanding of their thought.

Racial condition primarily rested on the assessment of the technological capabilities of the race exposed by the form of objects. As a result selecting the best objects according to their form and renovating others were ways for Cheeseman to ensure that specimens were the most accurate indicators of technological achievement. Privileging age and 'an old Maori style' as a value ensured that specimens represented a certain statement of authenticity from which accurate judgements could be made. As a result these collections were intended to represent the general as well as traditional life of this national Maori race.

Cheeseman's processes of selection allowed him to not only discipline time and history, and create a new identity for Maori people but also to legitimate his actions as a self endorsed saviour of the race. His actions of collecting, salvage and memorialising were embedded in power relationships (articulated through ethnological theory) and deemed to be determined by a higher power, the inevitable force of evolution and natural selection. As a result Maori objects became valued as national heritage and 'museumified' in the Auckland Museum.

Within this context Maori objects embodied many biographies simultaneously and stood for Maori societies on a number of planes.<sup>117</sup> These included historical distance in space and time; as authentic; nostalgic; pure; a relic of the past; as examples of fine workmanship; as representative of an aspect of race or collectively as a whole nation; as indicative of relative levels of development and concrete evidence of the early history of human kind.

These two chapters have examined the Auckland Museum collection in the making, its associated values, meanings and processes of production. The following Chapters 4 and 5

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<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

<sup>117</sup>Kopytoff (1986) 'The cultural biography of things' in Appadurai (ed) (1986) *The social life of things*, Chapter Two, p68

examine the processes of collection formation at the Canterbury Museum and how objects were used to narrate particular views of Maori identity and history.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### Registering the facts for research and instruction

Haast, archaeological investigation and the mapping of Maori identity and history at the Canterbury Museum - 1860s to 1880

*A museum is a register, in a permanent form, of facts, suitable of examination, verification, and comparison one with another.<sup>1</sup>*

#### 4.1 The desire to know and define a new environment

The development of the Canterbury Museum (established in 1861) and the institution's collections, as at the Auckland Museum, was driven by the desire to know and understand a new colonial context. Given that there were few technologies for the recording of the natural and cultural world, the only way of documenting this new environment was through collections of representative specimens.<sup>2</sup> The Canterbury Museum became a centre of knowledge about the Canterbury Province and New Zealand on the basis of this object-based epistemology. This knowledge base was actively sought through systematic collecting.

Julius Haast was appointed as Provincial Geologist for the Department of Geological Survey in 1860.<sup>3</sup> Subsequent collections were developed during the geological survey of the Canterbury province by Haast to 'know' and understand the geological resources of the region for commercial exploitation.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p74

<sup>2</sup>For a discussion on object-based epistemologies and the recording of evidence see Raymond Montpetit (1995) 'Museums and Knowledge: Sharing Awareness, Addressing Desire' in Michel Côté and Annette Viel (eds) (1995) *Museums: Where Knowledge is Shared*. (Montreal, Ottawa: Canadian Museums Association) p41

<sup>3</sup>MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast (unpub. mans. Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection) Also see S. Sheets-Pyneson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science*, p27

<sup>4</sup>The Canterbury Museum was established in 1861 as a result of a resolution passed two years previously by the Colonialists' Society to establish a natural history museum. See Sheets-Pyneson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science*, pp48-49

Understanding the new colonial situation required the redefinition of this natural and cultural environment in terms of a Eurocentric conceptual map of the time. This process according to Hall was a case of putting other environments and people into new codes.<sup>5</sup> The development and application of selection processes, classification systems and analytical approaches by the curator Julius Haast were ways of coding and understanding this new natural context for the purposes of utilisation.<sup>6</sup> Without classifying the contents of a new environment in terms of the known world, adjustment to it and the exploitation of it would not have been possible.<sup>7</sup> Subsequent discussions explore this process of conceptual redefinition, what it meant and how it operated through collecting and methods of analysis. Scientific methods of observation, measurement, comparison, classification, theorising and fact-finding provided the conditions by which Haast could later 'know' the cultural world.

This object-orientated epistemology centred on the belief that objects were sources of knowledges, the meanings of which could be revealed to anyone who studied and observed them carefully enough.<sup>8</sup> As a result the discovery of knowledge about this new world at the Canterbury Museum comprised two elements. These elements were not only the objects themselves and their physical characteristics but also the classification schemes into which they were placed by Haast.

As discussed with the Auckland Museum, the selection of objects deemed to be representative of their type was a way of rendering natural landscapes in a museum context. For example geological specimens at the Provincial Survey were used to stand for potential gold-bearing deposits.<sup>9</sup> In the case of the survey the geological structures in which gold was found were documented through an assemblage of specimens.<sup>10</sup> For example specimens gathered by Haast during a survey and classified geographically (according to principal river systems) and stratigraphically (according to their lithological characteristics and age) offered a way of

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<sup>5</sup>Hall (1997) *Representation*, p3

<sup>6</sup>J. Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters' Address to the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* (Vol 4: 1871) p66

<sup>7</sup>For a discussion on the relationship between classifying, understanding and the commodification of new environments see Kopytoff (1986) 'The cultural biography of things' in Appadurai (ed) (1986) *The social life of things*, Chapter Two, p70

<sup>8</sup>For a discussion on the idea of objects as sources of knowledges in American museums see Steven Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*. (Chicago, London: The University of Chicago Press) p4

<sup>9</sup>MS Papers 37 [25A] von Haast. Reference to Haast's 1863 survey of the West Coast, p28 (unpub. mans. Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

<sup>10</sup>'Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869', *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII* (1869) pp2-3, 5

representing the geological history of these features.<sup>11</sup> These activities simultaneously reflected processes of knowing and political desires to control and exploit the new colony.<sup>12</sup>

Haast's desire to acquire a complete series of specimens equated with the need to gain knowledge about geological processes and sequences on a local and regional level.<sup>13</sup> Each locality represented a distinctive bounded area of investigation and specimens were gathered to illustrate these geological micro-contexts.<sup>14</sup> For example a complete series of palaeontological and geological specimens from Waipara was, according to Haast, able to provide a definitive picture of the geological structures of the area.<sup>15</sup> Other collections recorded the localities of Nelson and the West Coast geologically.

As a result the drive to complete collections according to the concept of locality equated with the need to produce a conclusive statement about the structure and the various component parts of a given environment. The accurate portrayal of a locality by the recording of minute geological details through specimens was of paramount importance for scientific research. For example rocks gathered from a small area at the head of Lyttleton Harbour were used to illustrate the geological and the potential auriferous nature of the area.<sup>16</sup> The sum of locality collections would have facilitated the study of the geographical distribution of specific resources throughout the province.<sup>17</sup>

Sets of correspondences of 'known' specimens helped Haast to define this unknown geological context.<sup>18</sup> Although the survey's focus was on the resources of the Canterbury Province, type

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(Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>11</sup>*Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch 30 June 1868.*, p5. (Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, Canterbury Museum Archives). For a discussion on the development of Lyell's 'Principles of Geology' in the 1830s see Susan Pearce (1992) *Museums, Objects and Collections* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press) p103

<sup>12</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p66

<sup>13</sup>*Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, pp5-6 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868)

<sup>14</sup>'Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869', *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII* (1869) p4 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p15

<sup>18</sup>*Report by Julius von Haast Provincial Geologist, Geological Survey Department to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June. 1868*, p5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 F2, Canterbury Museum Archives)

collections from other areas were used as reference collections for the identification of local resources, fauna and flora. For example geological, zoological and botanical specimens gathered by Hockstetter and Haast during their 1859 survey of the Auckland and central North Island areas documented the environments of these regions.<sup>19</sup> This collection contained specimens illustrative of the geological structure of coal seams in the Auckland and Waikato regions. It is likely that these would have provided Haast with a reference collection to assist him with the identification of coal seams in the Nelson area.<sup>20</sup> A palaeontological collection gathered during the survey was appended with generic and specific names with reference to a type collection from other areas of New Zealand.<sup>21</sup> As a result two systems of classification operated at the Canterbury Museum to codify this new environment. Type collecting provided the means of representing geographical locations through assemblages, as well as national reference catalogues of resources, fauna and flora.

The use of the same object epistemological approach at the Auckland Museum meant that complete collections were also a vehicle for the production of a certain knowledge about a given resource or species. At the Auckland Museum during this period however specimen collecting was primarily for the production of a nationally representative synoptic collection. It was Auckland Museum's answer to the codification of the main component parts of the natural and cultural world.

As a consequence completing collections at the Auckland Museum had a national mandate. The production of national catalogues of resources and species was a way of recording the whole of the New Zealand landscape as a collection. From these visitors could gain an overview of all mineral resources present in the country rather than a detailed account of specific regions. Locality collections could only reproduce the specific geological history of a given region.

The differing emphases of the Auckland and Canterbury Museum in the early days was a result of the missions of these two institutions. The mandate of the Provincial Survey was to document local regions through systematic fieldwork for resource exploitation. An encyclopedic approach to collecting at the Auckland Museum was seen as an appropriate

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<sup>19</sup>See MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast, pp3-6 (unpub. mans. Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

<sup>20</sup>Sheets-Pyneson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science*, p30; MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast, pp3-7 (unpub. mans. Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection) and *Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, pp5-6 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868)

means for an educational and scientific institution of the time to document knowledge through objects. Although resource exploitation was an objective of the Auckland Museum, a reliance on donations and the lack of full-time paid staff precluded the possibility of systematically documenting regions.

Field research was the preferred means of acquiring specimens during this period as the quality and completeness was ensured. In the field the curator could compare a number of specimens and make a decision about those examples demonstrating the most representative traits.<sup>22</sup> One of the few collections of this nature at the Auckland Museum was Hockstetter's geological and palaeontological collection representative of various regions of the North Island. The concept of national catalogues was formalised as an institutional approach to collection development with the appointment of Cheeseman in 1874. The choice of class and series was an appropriate classification system to recover and document all the component parts of the environment.

By 1864 collecting at the Canterbury Museum had begun to shift from purely geological resource identification towards a more comprehensive representation of the natural history of the area.<sup>23</sup> This was evident with the acquisition of zoological and botanical specimens.<sup>24</sup> For instance a complete collection of geological, botanical and ornithological specimens from the Mount Cook region was a way of documenting the natural history of that locality.<sup>25</sup> Associated with this shift was Haast's growing interest in indigenous fauna such as the moa (large flightless birds of the species *ratite*) and the circumstances of the species' extinction.<sup>26</sup>

With this shift from geological resource identification to a museological role, Haast was also driven to represent the whole natural world. Like Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum, participation in a global system of exchange enabled Haast to develop a complete representation of the world through good type specimens. In the report to the Provincial Council in 1870 Haast commented that his principal aim was:

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid. p6

<sup>22</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p15

<sup>23</sup>'Report by Julius Haast on the Museum', *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings Session XXII* (1864) p9 (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F1 1864, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>24</sup>Ibid.

<sup>25</sup>Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII* (1869) p2 (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>26</sup>Reference in Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp67-68

[To give] a general insight into the beauty and diversity of the three natural kingdoms ... also to secure collections from the best authorities in their respective branches, so that they might serve as types.<sup>27</sup>

Acquisitions in 1868 for example included bird skins, skeletons, mammals, geological specimens, palaeontological specimens, prehistoric stone implements and Roman antiquities for comparative and illustrative purposes.<sup>28</sup> Although acquiring objects of this nature may seem strange to modern eyes, they were essential to the classificatory principles underpinning Haast's research. From such a comparative collection the local natural and cultural environment could also be more accurately identified and classified.<sup>29</sup> Foreign collections enabled him to identify and name local species and genera through the comparison of similar characteristics.<sup>30</sup> For example foreign palaeontological specimens were used to identify local types.<sup>31</sup> A New Zealand shell collection was also defined by foreign equivalents. Cultural objects such as European prehistoric stone implements were used as benchmarks to define a Maori identity and history. The way this process of identity formation operated through comparison is the focus of Section 4.4.

The development of exchanges was also a way for Haast to circumvent monetary transactions. Moa bones, due to their unique, rare and exotic nature, commanded a high commodity value on the international market.<sup>32</sup> This ensured that Haast was able to acquire the necessary specimens. As with the Auckland Museum the use of this system to acquire the necessary specimens was most likely a result of the institution's limited financial resources.

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<sup>27</sup> *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV (1870) 'Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum'* (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1. Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, B1/F6 1870, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>28</sup> 'Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869', *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII (1869)* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>29</sup> *Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch 30 June 1868.*, pp5-6 (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1. Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868. Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>30</sup> *Report by Julius Haast Provincial Geologist, Geological Survey Department to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June 1868*, p6 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 F2, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup> Sheets-Pyneson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science*, p31

For this system to operate, according to Kopytoff, clearly defined criteria and values of equivalences for the exchange of objects had to be established.<sup>33</sup> These values privileged scientific criteria.<sup>34</sup> The desired criterion according to Haast was the attainment of good authenticated foreign specimens identified by overseas authorities. Specimens of this quality were seen as critical to ensure the accurate identification and classification of local genera and species for deductive research purposes.<sup>35</sup> The accurate identification and labelling of objects was also a means of ensuring the usefulness of the specimen for future comparative investigation.<sup>36</sup> As a result collections acted as a register of scientific facts.<sup>37</sup>

Haast's desire to produce authenticated facts was consistent with scientific collecting of the time. Highest value was placed on those specimens that were well observed and well authenticated.<sup>38</sup> By following these processes the natural world could be accurately documented within a museum context.

The care Haast took to identify specimens was illustrated by the assistance given by Dr Hector (Director of the Colonial Museum) and Mr Triphook (a geologist) with the identification and classification of the geological and mineral specimens. The ornithological collection of New Zealand birds was named according to Dr Gray's classification.<sup>39</sup> Assistance and advice with naming local species were also given by Mr W Buller.<sup>40</sup> Palaeontological specimens and shell

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<sup>33</sup>Kopytoff (1986) 'The cultural biography of things' in Appadurai (ed) (1986) *The social life of things*, Chapter Two, pp76-77

<sup>34</sup>*Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch 30 June 1868*, p7 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>35</sup>Ibid. and MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast p42 (unpub. mans., Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand) and 'Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV* (1870) p5 (Canterbury Museum Records. Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870. Canterbury Museum Archives) Also see Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, pp20-21

<sup>36</sup>*Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, p7 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, unpub. mans, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>37</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p74

<sup>38</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p616

<sup>39</sup>J Edward Gray was the keeper of the British Museum's Zoological Department. He developed a classification scheme for ornithological collections during this period. This scheme was used by Haast to compare like specimens with like in order to properly name local species of birds. See D.K. van Keuren (1984) 'Museums and Ideology: Augustus Pitt-Rivers, Anthropological Museums and Social Change in later Victorian Britain' *Victorian Studies* (Autumn, 1984) p173 Also see *Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, p7 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, unpub. mans. Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

collections from New Zealand and other parts of the world were also 'appended with their generic or specific name'.<sup>41</sup> By 1868 all 7,887 specimens had been labelled.<sup>42</sup>

Despite the demise of the Department of the Geological Survey and the position of Provincial Geologist in 1868, Haast continued to take responsibility for the care of the collections.<sup>43</sup> He was officially appointed Director of the Museum in December 1868.<sup>44</sup> By 1870 a new museum building had been erected on the present site in Rolleston Avenue.<sup>45</sup> This new facility was built to accommodate the rapidly growing collections (which numbered around 25,000 specimens) and to provide space for the expansion of Haast's research and educational endeavours.<sup>46</sup>

## 4.2 The museum as a civilising and status-seeking ritual

The real objects of forming collections are two, which may be briefly called research and instruction.<sup>47</sup>

Civilising and status seeking ambitions were central to the mission and collecting activities of the Canterbury Museum from its inception.<sup>48</sup> The desire to know and exploit the environment, educate the masses and contribute to knowledge production, according to Haast, was the way for the new colony to attain the status of a civilised and great nation.<sup>49</sup> Given that knowledge

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid. p6

<sup>42</sup>Ibid. p7

<sup>43</sup>MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast, p35 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection) The survey was revived for a short period between 1874 and 1876.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid. p33

<sup>45</sup>The development of the current building is outlined in *The Canterbury Museum A Short Guide* (1946) (Christchurch: Canterbury Museum) p4 and MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast, p33 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

<sup>46</sup>H.F.von Haast (1946) *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast, explorer, geologist, museum builder* (Wellington: von Haast) p603

<sup>47</sup>Canterbury Museum (1900) *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum.*, Second edition. (Christchurch: Lyttleton Press) Board of Governors Introduction Refers to a quote by Sir W.H. Flower. This philosophy guided collecting and arranging strategies at the museum.

<sup>48</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p67 and Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV* (1870) p4 (Canterbury Museum Records. Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870 unpub. mans. Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>49</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p67. For a discussion on the relationship between museums, education and knowledge production and a civilising logic see K. Wilson (1993) 'Empire of virtue: the Imperial project and the Hanoverian culture' in L.Stone (ed) *An Imperial Nation at War* (New York, London: Routledge) Reference in Nicholas Mirzoeff (1998) 'Photography at the heart of darkness: Herbert Lang's Congo photographs (1909-15)' in Barringer & Flynn (eds) (1998) *Colonialism and the Object*, p170

was mediated through objects, large and instructive collections were imperative to fulfil these broader commercial, educational and research purposes.<sup>50</sup> For example between 1868 and 1870 the collection grew from around 8,000 to 25,000 specimens.<sup>51</sup> Hence curatorial collecting and research practices contributed to the 'achievement of civilisation'.<sup>52</sup>

To educate the settlers how to identify, make better use of and exploit available resources was, as at the Auckland Museum, a key theme in the institution's first decade.<sup>53</sup> This was facilitated by the collection of appropriate specimens to develop knowledge of and illustrate the natural environment. In Haast's address to the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury in 1871 he stated:

In a country like ours, with its resources only partly developed, with a great variety of fine and useful raw material, with a large and daily increasing agricultural population ... every step tending to teach its inhabitants to make better use of their dormant resources.<sup>54</sup>

Knowledge of the colony and its resources for commercial purposes was only one way of promoting the advancement of the nation. Well-educated and academically trained citizens, according to Haast, further contributed to its moral, cultural and technological development.<sup>55</sup> In terms of education Haast asserted that the colony could only 'become great and truly [sic] independent when its growing population had the means to obtain all those advantages which older countries now offer their youth'.<sup>56</sup> Haast further stated in his address:

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<sup>50</sup>Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV* (1870) p5 (Canterbury Museum Records. Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>51</sup>*Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, p7 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, unpub mans, Canterbury Museum Archives) and von Haast (1946) *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast*, p603

<sup>52</sup>For a discussion on the role of museums as a means of fulfilling colonial ambitions see Wilson, (1993) 'Empire of virtue' in L.Stone (ed) *An Imperial Nation at War*. Reference in Mirzoeff (1998) 'Photography at the heart of darkness' in Barringer & Flynn (eds) (1998) *Colonialism and the Object*, p170 For a discussion on the production of culture, representations and political struggle see Bhabha (1994) *The Location of Culture*, p20

<sup>53</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p66

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV* (1870) p4 (Canterbury Museum Records. Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>56</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p66

[How] very desirable it would be to have scientific and technical education introduced among us to further the sound advancement of the Province ... no further steps have been taken by the authorities of the Province, with the exception of the opening of the Canterbury Museum in a building of its own... Not that I wish for a moment to assert that scientific and technical education would offer a panacea for all shortcomings we have to contend with, because it is self-evident that many causes must combine advantageously to advance a nation ... the advantages gained just now by one great nation over another, to the utter astonishment of the whole civilised world, have, in many respects only been obtained by the daily improving system, of which scientific and technical teaching forms a portion.<sup>57</sup>

This concept of a museum for public instruction was first promulgated by Henry Cole in terms of British museums during the 1840s and 1850s.<sup>58</sup> It represented the emancipation of all classes by the provision of equitable access to knowledge.<sup>59</sup> By the early 1870s Haast had embraced this educating logic as a way of ensuring that the colony progressed towards the achievement of a civilised state. For example according to Haast all classes of the German Empire had become more highly educated while the French nation has remained comparatively stationary.<sup>60</sup> Given that classes of society were seen as reflecting similar stages of social and intellectual development as indigenous people, the education of all classes as a civilising ritual became a specific intention of the Canterbury Museum.<sup>61</sup> In his report to the Provincial Council on the arrangement of the collections in 1870 Haast outlined his specific pedagogic intentions:

[The] collections were open for inspection of the general public and accessible for the teaching of youth and for study and comparison for those people who wish to devote their time to scientific research.<sup>62</sup>

The founding and development of the Canterbury Museum during this period also took place within the context of a scientific knowledge revolution and associated disciplinary

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<sup>57</sup>Ibid. p67

<sup>58</sup>See Bennett (1995) *The Birth of the Museum*, p198

<sup>59</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, pp74-75

<sup>60</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p67

<sup>61</sup>Henrika Kuklick (1991) *The savage within: The social history of British Anthropology, 1885-1945*. (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press) pp98-99

<sup>62</sup>'Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV* (1870) p4 (Canterbury Museum Records Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870, Canterbury Museum Archives)

development.<sup>63</sup> As outlined, the production of scientific knowledge was the key to providing meaningful educational opportunities contributing to the intellectual development of citizens. It was within this broad pedagogic context that Haast believed that contributions made to the development of scientific disciplines and knowledge on a global scale were the most effective way of advancing the nation.<sup>64</sup> These objectives were manifest in Haast's efforts to produce scientifically based knowledge by the late 1860s and early 1870s.<sup>65</sup>

This motivation was reflected in a shift in Haast's collecting activities from a desire to know the environment through illustration by the use of appropriate specimens to explaining its evolutionary history. Explaining these narratives was sought through the proof of theories.<sup>66</sup> Objects took on a new role and were treated as facts to explain Haast's own ideas.

One of the main concerns of scientific research at this time (in particular zoology) was to find the natural classification of animals.<sup>67</sup> The morphological analysis of individual specimens was deemed a way to retrace the steps in the evolutionary development of species.<sup>68</sup> Classification as families, genera and species based on these analyses was intended to represent an order of progress. Haast's work on the moa represented his own contributions to this search, by finding a natural classification of this species of ratites.<sup>69</sup>

The first classification of moa was developed by Richard Owen, a British comparative anatomist at the Royal College of Surgeons in London. His research suggested that there was only one family of moa and five species.<sup>70</sup> Haast disputed his findings and hypothesised that

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<sup>63</sup>Montpetit (1995) 'Museums and Knowledge' in Côté & Viel (eds) (1995) *Museums: Where Knowledge is Shared*, p39

<sup>64</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p67

<sup>65</sup>Ibid.

<sup>66</sup>MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast. unpub mans. Reference to Haast's 1863 survey of the West Coast, p32 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

<sup>67</sup>For a discussion on the relationships between the study of the anatomy of animals and evolutionary theory during this period see *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p616. Also see Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*.

<sup>68</sup>Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p239

<sup>69</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p73; Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p10

<sup>70</sup>R. Owen, (1849) 'On *Dinornis*, an extinct genus of tridactyle struthious birds, with descriptions of portions of the skeleton of five species which formerly existed in New Zealand (Part 1)' *Transactions of the Zoological Society of London* 3, pp235-76 and Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p119

there were several genera and species of moa that became extinct at different times.<sup>71</sup> Haast also maintained that Owen's family of Dinornithae was the parent species of the moa.

Proving this theory represented a will to make these hypotheses true through material evidence.<sup>72</sup> It was within this context that Haast attempted to gather a complete collection of bones to understand the nature and range of standard types. These standards provided Haast with a means to differentiate different species of moa and to determine their physical structure for classification purposes.<sup>73</sup>

By the collection of immature bones of various species Haast attempted to reconstruct the early evolutionary stages of the family. Immature bones were intended to provide a key to identifying the physical characteristics of the family rather than those that were adaptive and developed in adulthood.<sup>74</sup> In order to reconstruct this path, bones of these individuals were treated as compounds analysable into elements.<sup>75</sup> The diagnosis and analysis of their surface characteristics and the structure of these specimens were seen as a way of exposing the natural classification of moa and the course of the species' evolutionary development.<sup>76</sup> Haast's study was based on the belief that the natural process of descent could be documented by observing modifications in the species structure.<sup>77</sup>

As a result of his research conclusions Haast revised Owen's scheme. He also included a number of new species in the scheme.<sup>78</sup> This new classification included two families of moa, Dinornis and Palapterygidae, two genera and eleven species.<sup>79</sup> An additional species was

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<sup>71</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p73. Also see Athol Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds - Moas and moa hunting in prehistoric New Zealand*. (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press) p22

<sup>72</sup>Hall (1997) *Representation*, p51

<sup>73</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p68-9

<sup>74</sup>Flower Sir W. H. (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p22

<sup>75</sup>Typical of these new analytical or museological sciences was the desire to present objects as compounds analysable into elements. Within this framework, analysis involved the diagnosis of surface characteristics and the workings of compounds as a way of exposing underlying processes. See J. Pickerstone (1994) 'Museological science? The place of the analytical / comparative in nineteenth-century science, technology and medicine', in *History of Science*, 32 (2), pp111-38

<sup>76</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters' and J.Haast (1874) 'Remarks on the extinct birds of New Zealand' in *Ibis* 1874, pp209-220

<sup>77</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p22

<sup>78</sup>*Report to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875 By Julius von Haast, Director*, pp2-3 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1, Files kept by Directors Previous to 1848, B1/F13 1875. Canterbury Museum Archives) and Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p77

<sup>79</sup>Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds*, p22

added in 1885.<sup>81</sup> Relationships at the familial and sub-familial level are still a question of debate.<sup>81</sup> More recent classifications group moa into two families (Dinornithidae and Anomalopterygidae), six genera and about twelve species.<sup>82</sup> As a result classification acted as a statement of the order in which moa evolved.<sup>83</sup> It was also a way of accounting for the different structures of various species.<sup>84</sup>

Ascertaining when species became extinct was achieved by taking into account where bones were found in terms of stratigraphical locations.<sup>85</sup> These collections were then compared to standard types and deductions made as to the timing of extinctions of various species.

Haast also believed that species lived in open country because of their physical structure.<sup>86</sup> The proof of this habitat idea involved plotting the locations where the bones of various types were found. On the basis of localities where they were recovered, Haast proved his hypothesis that moa occupied grasslands as opposed to forest regions.<sup>87</sup> Recent research however suggests that various species of moa inhabited diverse habitats from the high country, to forests and lowland grasslands, dune and scrub areas.<sup>88</sup>

The collection of foreign specimens contributed to the proof of Haast's ideas. For example type specimens of ostrich bones (obtained from Dr W H Flower, Conservator, Royal College of Surgeons, London) and other ratites were used to retrace their evolutionary development and identify the parent species of the moa.<sup>89</sup> Through comparative analyses with moa bones, their features and structure, Haast suggested that the cassowary may have been the originating species of both the moa and ostrich.<sup>90</sup> Recent research is exploring the possibility that moa descended from several different flying ancestors.<sup>91</sup>

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid. p188

<sup>82</sup>Ibid. p189

<sup>83</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p85

<sup>84</sup>Ibid. p102

<sup>85</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp68-9

<sup>86</sup>Ibid. p73

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

<sup>88</sup>Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds*, p189

<sup>89</sup>'Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869', *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII* (1869) p10 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>90</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p77

<sup>91</sup>Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds*, p188

Once all species had been classified, the evolution of all the component parts of nature could be ascertained. The care that Haast took to correctly name the New Zealand bird collection according to Gray's list, for example, was an attempt to contribute to a natural classification of other indigenous fauna.

The desire to produce knowledge, educate and civilise was further consummated through the institution's relationship with the Canterbury College (later to become the University of Canterbury). With the abolition of the provincial government system in 1875 the management of the museum was subsequently passed to the Board of Governors of the Canterbury College.<sup>92</sup> Haast was appointed Professor of Geology in 1879.<sup>93</sup> Specimens were selected and arranged specifically for teaching.<sup>94</sup>

This orientation was different to that of the Auckland Museum where interest was focused on illustrating the natural environment through specimens rather than the explanation of its history and evolutionary progress. It is likely that these differences can be accounted for by varying curatorial imperatives. In the case of the Canterbury Museum, Haast was an evolutionist whose collecting and classificatory activities were driven by a need to solve internationally significant problems relating to the natural classification of species. These activities were also driven by status-seeking and civilising rituals. The institution's later relationship with the Canterbury College further strengthened this ideological and professional commitment.

#### 4.3. The conceptualisation of Maori identities and the mapping of local history

Collecting Maori specimens was a natural extension of Haast's interests in 'knowing' and explaining this new colonial context.<sup>95</sup> His intention was to explain, illustrate and develop scientifically based truth statements about the ethnology of New Zealand.<sup>96</sup> The primary aims were to devise an objective and coherent account of the chronological sequence of historical

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<sup>92</sup>*Report to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875 By Julius von Haast, Director*, pp2-3 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1, Files kept by Directors Previous to 1848, B1/F13 1875. Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>93</sup>MS Papers 37 Folder 25A 'von Haast', p42 (unpub. mans., Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand)

<sup>94</sup>Ibid.

<sup>95</sup>See Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters'

<sup>96</sup>In the manuscript by Professor J. von Haast, *Notes to the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum*, p1 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A Canterbury Museum Archives)

events from the past to the present and to document the rise of the emerging civilised nation state. These two objectives, the way they were conceptualised and mapped in terms of archaeological investigation and ethnographical collecting, are the basis of the following discussions.

The collection of Maori objects for identity and history production grew out of Haast's interest in understanding the moa and the extinction of the species. His motivation for cultural collecting was to solve the relational problem between this species extinction and human populations.<sup>97</sup>

In 1849, Richard Owen, the British comparative anatomist who established the first identification and systematic description of the moa, concluded that the early Polynesian settlers were responsible for the bird's extinction. Owen also speculated that once the moa population had been depleted these early settlers resorted to cannibalism.<sup>98</sup> The Mantells (local naturalists) undertook subsequent archaeological investigations and asserted that cannibalism was of a very ancient date and was not as a result of the extinction of the moa.<sup>99</sup>

Haast was inspired by this debate and as a consequence developed a two-stratum theory of migration and settlement to explain the relationship between humans and moa extinctions.<sup>100</sup> The basis of Haast's theory was that an earlier native Palaeolithic population was responsible for the extinction of the moa. He also argued that this population existed well before the arrival and settlement of later Maori populations. In Haast's address to the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury in 1871 he argued:

[There] is ample evidence that the palaeolithic period, and with it a people most probably belonging to a different race from the present native inhabitants .... had passed away together with the different *Dinornis* species long before the Maoris settled here.<sup>101</sup>

His theory was based on his understanding of the stratigraphy of South Island sites. In these sites moa bones were found only in the basal deposits that were bereft of familiar Maori

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<sup>97</sup>See Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p67 and Ian Barber (1995) 'Construction of Change: A History of Early Maori Culture Sequences' in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol 104 No 5, December 1995, p358

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

<sup>99</sup>References in Barber (1995) 'Constructions of Change: A History of Early Maori Culture Sequences', in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol 104 No4, p358

<sup>100</sup>Ibid. pp358-361

<sup>101</sup>Reference in Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp67-68

objects.<sup>102</sup> He also believed that moa extinctions must have preceded the arrival of the Maori race since references to moa were rare in Maori traditions.<sup>103</sup> A belief in an earlier race was also developed on the basis of two Maori skulls found at the Selwyn River mouth (South Canterbury). These crania were sent to physiologist Professor Dr C G Carus, President of the German Academy of Naturalists, in 1868. On the basis of his morphological analysis, Carus believed these skulls were not of Maori origin but rather belonged to another unknown race.<sup>104</sup>

The proof of Haast's ideas involved solving two problems. The first issue was the relationship between the moa and human populations. Determining the age of these human populations was the key to ascertaining their association and contemporaneousness with the extinction of the moa.<sup>105</sup> The second problem involved the establishment of an identity for these early settlers, gaining an impression of their lifestyles and defining their relationships with later populations.

Haast's approach to these problems was formulated on the basis of a combination of two broad approaches. He relied on new interpretations of European prehistory with reference to the archaeological discoveries of Frenchman Boucher de Perthes and Darwin's *The Origin of Species* published in 1859.<sup>106</sup> Archaeological premises were the primary contributors to the formulation of his theories about the age of moa populations and the relationship between the extinction of the moa and early human populations. The classification and ordering of technology contributed to the formulation of Haast's theories about the sequence of history and the identity of local populations.

Boucher de Perthes first demonstrated a contemporaneous relationship between humans and extinct megafauna in 1847.<sup>107</sup> This relationship was ascertained on the basis of the discovery of rude flint implements (types of stone tools seen as indicative of a Palaeolithic population) and the bones of mammoth, woolly rhinoceros, lion and cave bear together in the gravels of a valley.<sup>108</sup> These discoveries and the stratigraphical association between faunal and human remains were seen to determine and prove the antiquity of human habitation in Europe.

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<sup>102</sup>Ian Barber (1995) 'Construction of Change', p359

<sup>103</sup>Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds*, p101

<sup>104</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p79; Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds*, p101

<sup>105</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp67-68.

<sup>106</sup>Ibid. p67 and MS papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast pp24-25 (unpub. mans., Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection, National Library of New Zealand)

<sup>107</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p67

<sup>108</sup>Ibid.

Using de Perthes' discoveries as a theoretical model, Haast believed that proving a relationship between the moa and an early Palaeolithic population in New Zealand was a way of confirming that the moa became extinct at the same time in history as the mammoth.<sup>109</sup> For example Haast asserted that having observed the geological position of moa bones in situ he believed that these huge birds were equivalent to the gigantic quadrupeds of the Northern Hemisphere in the post-pliocene period.<sup>110</sup>

The age and settlement of human populations in New Zealand, according to Haast, followed a similar sequence to Northern Europe.<sup>111</sup> Hence the confirmation of Moa hunters as Palaeolithic was also an important way of determining the identity, chronological age and level of development achieved by the early inhabitants of New Zealand.<sup>112</sup>

A progressive logic was later applied by European archaeologists to de Perthes' discoveries by the comparison of material evidence between sites. For example sites with polished stone tools were compared to those with rude flint tools. These comparisons were used by researchers as a testament to the progress of human technical and intellectual development from the early Palaeolithic to the later Neolithic stage. This hypothesis operated in much the same way as Darwin's theory related to the evolution of species.<sup>113</sup>

Haast used this approach to determine evolutionary progress in New Zealand. For example the excavation of a number of sites in different localities, stratigraphical relationships, and the analysis of technology, were according to Haast, ways of ascertaining the course of the local evolutionary sequence.<sup>114</sup>

The early influence of Darwin's evolutionary logic on Haast's research on the moa and human populations was expressed in an account of his address to members of the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury in 1862.

In the same address he welcomes the appearance of Darwin's "Origin of Species" which he recognizes as the great work of the age in Natural History; and he points out the bearing that the

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

<sup>110</sup>Ibid. p75

<sup>111</sup>Ibid. p68

<sup>112</sup>Ibid. p67

<sup>113</sup>W.R. Chapman (1985) 'Arranging Ethnology. A.H.L.F. Pitt-Rivers and the Typological Tradition' in G.W. Stocking Jnr. (ed) (1985) *Objects and Others Essays on Museums and Material Culture*, (History of Anthropology, Vol 13., Madison Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press) p20

<sup>114</sup>Barber (1995) 'Construction of Change', p358

doctrines of Darwin have upon the extinction of the various species of the genera *Dinornis*, *Palapteryx*, *Nestor* etc. The Glacial Epoch in New Zealand. [sic] the possibility of an earlier race of inhabitants than the Maori; and the movements of the land... - but with a Philosophical reservation of judgement, as awaiting for fuller evidence.<sup>115</sup>

The transference of the 'Social Darwinian' theory of racial hierarchies to the production of a Maori identity and history was initially achieved through the classification of material culture.<sup>116</sup> Although Social Darwinism is a twentieth century concept it refers to a cluster of eurocentric ideas about the development of cultures influenced by an evolutionary logic. Researchers used this logic as a tool to interpret cultural differences as a series of stages in a unilinear progressive history. For technologists reading history was through the observation of material culture that equated as the state of intellect of a given peoples. As a result technology acted as a sign by which an empirically based identity for Maori people could be formed by Haast.<sup>117</sup> The placement of this technology in a conceptual order allowed him to develop a rhetoric of time and the level of evolutionary development achieved by Maori people.<sup>118</sup>

In order for Haast to achieve a certain knowledge about Maori people, an identity had to be postulated and a means of measurement established.<sup>119</sup> The first step - the postulation of an identity - involved placing Maori people in European codes of meaning.

For an identity to be formulated in terms of technology, clear distinctions had to be established between material culture through classification.<sup>120</sup> This was coupled with the need to form recognised standards of value to articulate these differences.<sup>121</sup> Haast used the Three Age System (a hierarchical ordering system based on the material from which objects were made -

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<sup>115</sup>MS papers 37 Folder 25A, von Haast, unpub. mans., pp24-25 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection, National Library of New Zealand)

<sup>116</sup>For a discussion on the notion of the conceptual transference of Social Darwinian theories to other races during this period see Tony Bennett (1996) 'The Exhibitionary Complex' in Greenberg, Ferguson and Nairne (1996) *Thinking about Exhibitions*, p103

<sup>117</sup>For a discussion on the way empirical forms of knowledge were produced through classifying see Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p57

<sup>118</sup>For a general discussion on the way material culture was used during this period as a rhetoric of time see Bennett (1996) 'The Exhibitionary Complex' in Greenberg, Ferguson and Nairne (1996) *Thinking about Exhibitions*, p103

<sup>119</sup>Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p57

<sup>120</sup>Stuart Hall (1997) 'The Spectacle of the 'Other'', in Hall (1997) *Representation*, Chapter 4, p236. Also see Susan Pearce (1997) 'Making people' in Eileen Hooper-Greenhill (ed) (1997) *Cultural Diversity: Developing Museum Audiences in Britain* (London, Washington D.C.: Leicester University Press) p22

<sup>121</sup>Pearce (1997) 'Making people' in Hooper-Greenhill (ed) (1997) *Cultural Diversity*, p22

Stone, Bronze and Iron) as a classification system. Discriminations made on the basis of the technological contrast between Maori and Europeans provided the foundation for the formulation of a Maori identity. The way this value operated was on the basis of a ratio of relations, Haast the curator as representative of civilised society and Maori as the 'other'. It also provided the preconditions from which power relationships between Maori people and Europeans could operate.

For example Haast (like the majority of other researchers of the time) believed that races proceeded from a Stone Age, to a Bronze and finally to an Iron Age.<sup>122</sup> According to these assertions European societies were located within the Iron Age due to the nature of their iron technology.<sup>123</sup> The adoption of this approach of technological grading was outlined in his address to the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury in 1871.

The Iron age, those who, after the introduction of iron, almost exclusively employed this ore for the manufacture of their weapons and tools. Europe has been for many centuries in the last mentioned age.<sup>124</sup>

Part of this discursive practice was the belief that intellectual development was written in objects. The level of intelligence of the Maori race was measured on the basis of the absence or evidence of attributes seen in European society in terms of material and technological sophistication.<sup>125</sup> For example Maori people were defined as Stone Age due to the fact that their tools were made from stone.<sup>126</sup> To achieve this outcome Haast also evaluated Maori material culture in negative terms.<sup>127</sup> What was missing in terms of techniques and material confirmed the race's psychological condition or state.<sup>128</sup> Thus the absence of iron or bronze technology assigned Maori to a lower order. The resultant identity for Maori people essentially formalised the power relationships between these two groups expressed as a statement of identity.<sup>129</sup> The use of this single system of classification based solely on technology allowed

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<sup>122</sup>Reference in Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp67-68

<sup>123</sup>Ibid. p68

<sup>124</sup>Ibid.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid. pp67-68

<sup>126</sup>Ibid.

<sup>127</sup>For a discussion about the way these measurements were made with other indigenous cultures see, Nicholas Thomas (1995) 'After curiosity: Indigenous presences and national narratives in Australasian Museums' in *Museums Australia Second National Conference Proceedings Communicating Cultures* (Brisbane, Australia, 21st-25th November 1995, Museums Australia) p10

<sup>128</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p67

<sup>129</sup>Ibid. pp67-68

Haast to bring together and understand diverse cultures both past and present.<sup>130</sup> As a result history, time and Maori identity represented the ordering of Haast's mind through the discursive practices that informed his thought.<sup>131</sup>

Haast also believed that this order, as a progression from simple stone to complex iron technology, was the metaphor for chronological time and the sequence of history.<sup>132</sup> Progress from simple to complex during this period was, according to E B Tylor (a prominent British evolutionary anthropologist), governed by the laws of intelligence.<sup>133</sup> Haast saw the classification of moa as the order in which species evolved.<sup>134</sup> Technological grading as classification represented the order human societies had evolved. As a result the use of this concept by Haast exhibited the transference of the laws of biological evolution to human thought.

From this premise of Maori as a Stone Age people, Haast formulated his local prehistoric sequence according to Lubbock's 1865 sub-division for the Stone Age. This system (based on the form of the tools and the way they were made) enabled the division of populations into two distinct phases, the Palaeolithic and Neolithic, as a metaphor for progressive development.<sup>135</sup> This concept was used to ascertain the existence of and confirm racial identity and relationships between Haast's two populations in the local sequence. This act of identity

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<sup>130</sup>For a discussion on eurocentric psychological conditions that made these conceptual frameworks possible see Pearce (1997) 'Making people' in Hooper-Greenhill (ed) (1997) *Cultural Diversity*, p16

<sup>131</sup>Ibid.

<sup>132</sup>See Reference in Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp67-68. The chronology of such material as a rhetoric of time and progress was first proposed in the eighteenth century and further refined by Danish historian Videl-Simonsen in 1813 and Thomsen, curator of the Danish National Museum, in 1837. See Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, pp42-43. Based on local material held in museum collections, Thomsen compared, classified and arranged these antiquities according to their formal similarities such as substance and function. Classifications according to the material of objects such as stone, bronze and iron were used to establish a chronological sequence for the development of the human race which became known as the Three Age System. Galleries were arranged by Thomsen according to this principle. These developments stimulated archaeological investigation and the use of stratigraphy in order to establish chronological age similar to those proposed by Lyell for geology in the 1830s. The Three Age System did not appear to reach Britain until the late 1840s when a translation of 'A Guide to the Northern Antiquities' appeared in English. It was used by Franks, Keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities in 1866, to interpret and arrange collections. See Susan M. Pearce (1990) *Archaeological Curatorship*. (London, New York: Leicester University Press) p26.

<sup>133</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) pp614-615

<sup>134</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p85

<sup>135</sup>See Chapman (1985) 'Pitt-Rivers and the Typological Tradition' in Stocking (ed) *Objects and Others Essays*, pp26-27. John Lubbock was a British ethnologist and evolutionist whose interests during this period were in reconstructing early history by the study of prehistoric remains and modern savages.

formation was outlined in his article 'Moas and Moa hunters' published in *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol 4 1871. In this article Haast stated:

To the Palaeolithic period belonged those oldest inhabitants who used only flint and stone implements roughly chipped, without any attempt to polish them. 2nd To the Neolithic, those who had already advanced a considerable step in art, and those stone implements of well selected forms were more or less finely polished.<sup>136</sup>

His early race which was contemporaneous with the moa, was assigned an identity as Palaeolithic on the basis of their crude stone implements.<sup>137</sup> Maori on the other hand (the race existing at the time of the arrival of Europeans), was of Neolithic origins due to their polished stone tools.<sup>138</sup>

Foucault defines these standards of value (in this instance the analysis of stone tool technology into two divisions) as a means of constructing shades of difference as sequences of relations.<sup>139</sup> Discriminations made by Haast on the basis of whether tools were roughly chipped or polished, as visible physical differences, determined the sequence of history from Palaeolithic to Neolithic races. The latter, Neolithic phase was seen as more advanced due to the nature of their polished stone implements.<sup>140</sup> This completed the transference of a European historical model as a way of understanding the course of indigenous history.

It also appears as if Haast embraced an organisational system developed by Gustav Klemm to formulate the evolutionary progression of local history, relationships between the earlier and later populations. This system acted as a way of defining the type of evidence needed to prove his hypotheses. Klemm, a German antiquarian, collected archaeological and ethnographical objects in the 1830s. Through these two types of evidence (organised typologically) Klemm attempted to draw parallels between their physical features (outward appearance and the way they were made) to demonstrate technological development.<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>136</sup>Reference in Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p68

<sup>137</sup>Ibid.

<sup>138</sup>Ibid.

<sup>139</sup>Susan M. Pearce (1995) *On Collecting: An investigation into collecting in the European tradition*. (London: Routledge) p50

<sup>140</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp67-8

<sup>141</sup>Chapman (1985) 'Pitt-Rivers and the Typological Tradition' in Stocking (ed) *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums*, p25

The rationale behind this approach was that ethnographical evidence as positive testimony of the existing Maori race could be used to throw light on the identity, lifestyles and behaviour of the earlier race.<sup>142</sup> On this basis Haast used two types of evidence to prove his hypotheses. Archaeological evidence was used to define an identity of the Moa hunters. Ethnographical collections on the other hand were used to define the identity of later Maori populations. Through the comparison of the material culture of these collections Haast attempted to identify commonalities and differences in their character and lifestyles. Once established, these collections according to Haast were able to solve the problem of the origin and early history of Maori and the pre-Maori inhabitants of New Zealand.<sup>143</sup> The way this archaeological and ethnographical evidence was gathered and the values and meanings attributed to objects to prove his hypothesis are the focus of the following discussions.

Placing Maori people in these discursive codes of understanding by Haast was integral to the process of self-definition that sought to 'know', 'control' and 'define' this new cultural context. For example Haast viewed Maori as a 'far inferior race' due to the fact they had only advanced to the level of Neolithic.<sup>144</sup> From a political point of view the postulation and confirmation of this narrative by Haast placed Maori people at an intellectual and social distance while obscuring a mutual engagement in economic and political terms.<sup>145</sup>

These influences, the revolution in archaeology and Haast's conversion to evolutionary theory closely paralleled those of Augustus Henry Lane Fox (more commonly known as Pitt Rivers) during the early 1860s.<sup>146</sup> During this period Lane Fox was closely allied with the Darwin camp and was also influenced by the work of Klemm, de Perthes, Lubbock and the Three Age

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<sup>142</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p614

<sup>143</sup>MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast unpub. mans., pp40-41. (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection, National Library of New Zealand)

<sup>144</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp75

<sup>145</sup>For a discussion on the way Social Darwinian theory constructed these relations in terms of indigenous collections see Thomas (1995) 'After curiosity', p10. Bhabha also argued that the production of culture (which this example clearly demonstrates) was essentially a political struggle see Bhabha (1994) *The Location of Culture*, p20. The relationship between power, colonialist discourses and the construction of aboriginality are discussed in J.R. Beckett (1988) 'The past in the present; the present in the past; constructing a national Aboriginality' in J.R. Beckett (1988) *Past and Present: The Construction of Aboriginality* (Canberra: Aboriginal Studies Press) p195

<sup>146</sup>See Chapman (1985) 'Pitt-Rivers and the Typological Tradition' in Stocking (ed) *Objects and Others Essays on Museums*, p15. Augustus Henry Lane Fox adopted the name Pitt-Rivers in the 1880 to fulfil the requirements of a will which granted him a 25,000 acre estate. Pitt-Rivers was inextricably linked to museums and the use of evolutionary principles to organise cultural collections. He was interested in scientific research and the proof of these theories through collecting and exhibitions. He published a number of articles and books the most well known being Lt Gen A.L.F Pitt-Rivers (1906)*The Evolution of Culture and other essays*. (Oxford: Clarendon

System.<sup>147</sup> His objective was firstly to trace all humankind back to a single source, to demonstrate racial connections and then reconstruct localised historical sequences using these schemes.<sup>148</sup> Both Haast and Pitt-Rivers conceptualised objects as the material embodiment of intellectual capabilities and socio-economic relationships.<sup>149</sup> From this premise the use of objects and their classification (as demonstrated through the ordering of stone tools) provided both researchers with positive testimony and an unambiguous path to the meaning of cultural diversity. This operated in the same way as the classification of moa. The analysis and discrimination of their form and visible features was a way of accounting for the order and diversity of species.

With Haast the reconstruction of local histories was the first priority. Pitt Rivers was primarily interested in the global story rather than local sequences. One of Haast's research objectives was 'to properly place the races of man in an order of development from prehistoric to recent times'.<sup>150</sup> From his hypothesising it appears as if this objective was more closely tied to defining the place of Maori people in the global scheme.

Differences in the research emphases of Haast and Pitt Rivers can be explained as an outcome of geographical location and curatorial interests. Haast's situation predetermined a particular interest in indigenous fauna and people. The location of extensive moa deposits and early sites in the Canterbury province may also have contributed to the different emphases on collecting (Archaeology versus Ethnography) between the Canterbury and Auckland Museums. The Auckland Museum was located in an area with a comparatively large Maori population that predisposed an emphasis on ethnographical collecting. The South Island was a relatively unpopulated area. These differences can also be explained by curatorial interests. Cheeseman was not so interested in defining the course of local history through archaeological fieldwork. This ground-breaking work had already been undertaken in Canterbury by Haast by the time systematic collecting had begun at the Auckland Museum.

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Press). For a discussion of Pitt-Rivers influences see Chapman (1985) 'Pitt-Rivers and the Typological Tradition' in Stocking (ed) *Objects and Others: Essays on Museums*, pp25-27.

<sup>147</sup>Chapman (1985) 'Pitt-Rivers and the Typological Tradition' in Stocking (ed) *Objects and Others Essays on Museums*, pp19-27

<sup>148</sup>Ibid. pp39-40

<sup>149</sup>Pitt-Rivers (1906) *The Evolution of Culture*

<sup>150</sup>*Report to the Provincial Council: Papers Laid on the Table, Journal of Proceedings, Session XLI no 57* (1874) p28(Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F11 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives) and 'Memorandum by Dr. Haast, Director of the Canterbury Museum with Sketch Plan of proposed additions to Museum Buildings by order of His Honor the Superintendent', p3 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, F10 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

#### 4.4. Gathering the 'facts'

All the approaches outlined and used by Haast were a way of writing local history and formulating a strategy for discovery and reconstruction. Subsequent collecting activities involved the discovery and gathering of facts. It was a way of fixing the evidence of the past and giving Haast's predictions some degree of certainty.<sup>151</sup>

Haast's first strategy was the recovery of moa bones from geological deposits to ascertain the chronological age of the moa.<sup>152</sup> For example archaeological investigations undertaken at Glenmark (North Otago in the South Island of New Zealand) in 1871 involved the recovery of a large collection of moa bones. The discovery of these bones and their stratigraphic relationships in post-pliocene geological deposits provided evidence for Haast to confirm the antiquity of the moa population<sup>153</sup>. This was followed by excavations on a number of Moa hunter sites to recover 'facts' relating to the lifestyles of these early inhabitants and their relationship with the moa.<sup>154</sup> For example excavations undertaken at the Rakaia River mouth (South Canterbury, South Island) involved the collection of 'specimens of the tools and refuse of the food of those Ancient inhabitants of New Zealand'.<sup>155</sup> Moa remains were also found in these deposits.<sup>156</sup>

His third objective was to ascertain how far back he could trace the occurrence of polished stone tools in sites. Given that Haast's theories were established on the basis of stone tool technology (as representative of these two phases) evidence gathered included collections of Maori and Moa hunter stone implements. For example implements such as these were

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<sup>151</sup>See Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p68. For a discussion on the relationship between theory, the gathering and deciphering of material culture see Thomas Henry Huxley (1882) 'On the method of Zadig: retrospective prophecy as a function of science', in *Science and Culture and Other Essays* (London: Macmillian & Co)

<sup>152</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p75

<sup>153</sup>Ibid. pp 69,75

<sup>154</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp78-79

<sup>155</sup>Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII* (1869) p4 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>156</sup>*Notes to the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum Christchurch by Professor Julius von Haast, Director*, p5 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

donated by Thomas Cannon Esq from Little Rakaia.<sup>157</sup> Haast subsequently undertook archaeological excavations on Cannon's property.<sup>158</sup>

As with natural history collections, the recovery and analysis of objects according to individual sites as localities was a key concept in this process. Localities referred to discrete sites of human habitation or activity. For example according to Haast localities 'included camping grounds, burial sites, battle grounds and old Maori pahs'.<sup>159</sup>

Such axioms governed not only the way locality was conceptualised but also the way it was recovered, the nature of the evidence gathered and how it was read by Haast. It firstly contributed to the definition of individual local micro-contextual situations (as demonstrated with the recovery of moa bones and the reconstruction of the Moa hunters' diet and habitat). For example Haast's map of the Moa hunter encampment at the mouth of the Rakaia River illustrates this concept of locality as a contained site for the recovery of evidence of human activities (see Graphic 3).<sup>160</sup>

It was on this basis that the locality acted as a symbolic bounded site within which facts in the form of middens, objects, structures such as ovens and houses could be meaningfully interpreted.<sup>161</sup> In the case of cultural material each object was read as part of an assemblage rather than acting on its own as a way of building up a picture of the locality. For example each site's unique features were, according to Haast, portrayed by a range of specimens.<sup>162</sup>

These assemblages acted as a metaphor for the essence of the Moa hunter race. Reading these assemblages was intended to reconstruct lifestyles.<sup>163</sup> For example an extensive collection gathered during the excavation of a Moa hunter encampment at the mouth of the Rakaia

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<sup>157</sup>Reports on the Canterbury Museum by the Director and Trustees thereof, For the Year Ending 30th September 1871, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXV* (1871), p10 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F7 1871, Canterbury Museum Archives)

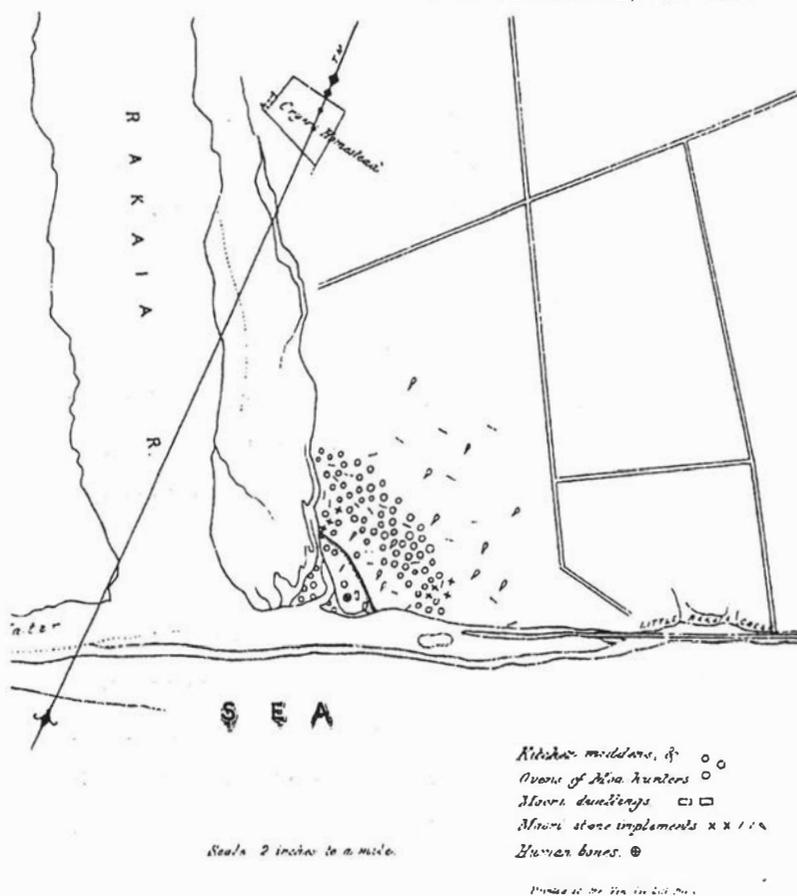
<sup>158</sup>Reports on the Canterbury Museum by the Director and Trustees thereof, For the Year Ending 30th September 1871, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXV* (1871) p10 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F7 1871, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>159</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p79

<sup>160</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p75

<sup>161</sup>For a discussion on archaeological evidence and the role of the concept of locality for the interpretation of assemblages see Susan M. Pearce (1994) 'Thinking about Things' in Pearce (ed) (1994) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, p130

<sup>162</sup>*Notes to the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum Christchurch by Professor Julius von Haast, Director*, p5 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)



Graphic 3. Map of the Moa hunter encampment at the mouth of the Rakaia River, North Otago in Haast, J. (1872a) 'Moas and Moa Hunters, Address to the Philosophical Institute of Canterbury' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol 4 1872, Plate V

River, according to Haast, provided evidence 'to judge, in some degree, the manners and customs of that interesting pre-historic people' the Moa hunters.<sup>164</sup> Haast however acknowledged that these chance survivals precluded any possibility of reconstructing the lifestyles of these people in their entirety.<sup>165</sup>

Each object was imbued with value as a fact.<sup>166</sup> Facts within this context referred to a range of disparate items such as implements, site structures, areas of activity, faunal remains and so forth. Each was intended to be read as part of an assemblage in order to make deductions about the race, its lifestyles and behaviour. For example kitchen middens, oven structures and their contents were used to make deductions about diet and food preparation.<sup>167</sup> Bones and the types of tools found together were used to determine what fauna was eaten and how it was prepared and consumed.<sup>168</sup> For example the analysis of dog bones broken and mixed with moa bones at the Rakaia Moa hunter encampment was, according to Haast, an indication that the dog as well as moa was a favourite food.<sup>169</sup> The presence of large flat stones and small boulders near ovens were, in Haast's view, used to break the bones of moa in order to extract marrow or for the pounding other materials.<sup>170</sup>

The configuration of activity zones within sites was also a way of contributing to defining the essence of the race.<sup>171</sup> The positioning of assemblages and activity areas allowed Haast to make deductions about behaviour. Due to the fact he found little evidence of meals near the ovens Haast suggested that offal had been thrown on a kitchen midden heap with chips of crude stone implements.<sup>172</sup> Behaviour was also inferred by the presence of stones from other localities (including the North Island) at the Rakaia River mouth. These items, according to

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<sup>163</sup>Ibid.

<sup>164</sup>Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII* (1869) p4 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>165</sup>Ibid.

<sup>166</sup>The role of the object as a fact was one of the dominant narratives of the period. See Clifford (1996) 'Collecting Ourselves', in Pearce (1996) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, p259

<sup>167</sup>In the manuscript by Professor J. von Haast, *Notes to the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum*, p6 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A p2, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>168</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p86

<sup>169</sup>*Notes to the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum Christchurch by Professor Julius von Haast, Director*, p6 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>170</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p82

<sup>171</sup>Ibid.

<sup>172</sup>Ibid.

Haast, inferred that people travelled over a great distance and that the locality must have been a favourite habitation spot.<sup>173</sup>

Inferences as to relative levels of evolutionary development exhibited by the human population and its impact on the interpretation of behaviour were also made on the basis of locality collections and assemblages. Pieces of obsidian for example found in a site in the interior of the Otago Province were, according to Haast, identical in lithological character as those found in Tauranga (Bay of Plenty, North Island).<sup>174</sup> Haast interpreted this as proof of communication between the North and South Island populations. From this evidence and the fact that he believed the race was too primitive to build canoes, Haast postulated that a land bridge existed between the North and South Islands in the deep past.

This concept was supported by Haast's research into moa species. The occurrence of similar species of moa on either side of Cook Strait further supported this idea of a land bridge.<sup>175</sup> From this evidence Haast deduced that at the time New Zealand was probably part of a larger continent.<sup>176</sup>

Such an axiom of locality continues in archaeological recovery and interpretative practices today. According to Pearce this rationale is based on the idea that objects exist in terms of a locational relationship to other artefacts and to the landscape.<sup>177</sup> The study of these relationships is seen as fruitful for the understanding of the role of the object rather than in isolation to others.<sup>178</sup>

On the basis of the premise adopted by Haast, each site acted as a distinct cultural entity and phase in the sequence. Reading the axiom of landscape and differences between localities operated as a clue to cultural differences and the passage of historical time.<sup>179</sup> Reading the relative quantities of moa bone in each site was a way of tracing the extinction of the moa over time. For example the Rakaia Encampment had large numbers of moa bone in the site, whereas Moncks Cave had a few split bones. Implements made from moa bone were found at

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<sup>173</sup>Ibid.

<sup>174</sup>Ibid. p83

<sup>175</sup>Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds*, p101

<sup>176</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp83-4

<sup>177</sup>Pearce (1994) 'Thinking about Things' in Pearce (ed) (1994) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, p130

<sup>178</sup>Ibid.

<sup>179</sup>Peirce F. Lewis (1982) 'Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene' in Schlereth (ed) (1982) *Material Culture*, p177

Moa Bone Point Cave but no raw material was found. At Brighton in Otago no evidence of moa was found in the site.

#### 4.5. Fixing the evidence

The sum total of these locality assemblages and Haast's deductions stood as definitive statements about these people.<sup>180</sup> Definitions of identity and racial essence were expressed in terms of thematic boundaries such as diet, age, racial type, stone tool technology, food preparation and racial relationships.<sup>181</sup>

The identity of these early populations as Moa hunters was confirmed on the basis of diet. The presence of moa bones and midden material in association with chipped and polished stone tools verified Haast's view that the Moa hunter people were contemporaneous with the moa.<sup>182</sup> The quantity and range of bones in most deposits also confirmed the importance of moa in the diet.<sup>183</sup>

Haast's profile of Moa hunters as primitive Palaeolithic peoples contemporary with similar people in Europe (formulated according to de Perthes' discoveries, the Three Age, Lubbock's and Klemm's schemes) was revised on the basis of the analysis of stone tools in sites.<sup>184</sup> This was replaced with assignment of an identity of Moa hunters to the Neolithic stage as outlined in the following unpublished manuscript.

With Ethnology and Anthropology ... to aid in solving the difficult problems of the origin and early history of the Maori and pre-Maori inhabitants of New Zealand... A comparison of the various remains and implements led to the conclusion that the so-called Moa-

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<sup>180</sup>Manuscript by Professor J. von Haast, *Notes to the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum*, p4 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>181</sup>For a statement of identity on the basis of each of these themes see Haast, *Notes to the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum*, p4 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>182</sup>Ibid.; MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast, unpub. mans., pp40-41 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection, National Library of New Zealand.) Also see Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p79

<sup>183</sup>In the manuscript by Professor J. von Haast, *Notes to the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum*, p4 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>184</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p79

hunters had reached a point analogous to that of the neolithic inhabitants of Europe and America.<sup>185</sup>

Given that the age and identity of Moa hunters were initially postulated on the basis of the comparison of stone tool technology from Europe and North America, sets of correspondences of foreign ethnological specimens were critical for the proof of Haast's theory. It was on the basis of the comparison of similar foreign examples with local assemblages that a coherent account of the depth and sequence of Maori history could be confirmed.<sup>186</sup>

As a result foreign ethnological specimens, primarily representative of Stone Age races were obtained through a system of exchanges. For example in 1869 a collection of prehistoric stone implements was sent by Mr J W Flower of Croydon England.<sup>187</sup> In 1874 museums from many parts of the world shipped collections that, according to Haast, included ethnographic objects representative of prehistoric to recent times.<sup>188</sup> In 1883 specimens of antiquities and North American ethnology were requested from Spencer Baird.<sup>189</sup>

The way these correspondences operated to confirm the chronological age of these populations is illustrated through the analysis of assemblages found at Moa Bone Point Cave (Sumner, Christchurch). For example adzes, blades, scrapers knives, drills, chert cores and obsidian flakes found in association with moa bones were used to prove human presence in the post-pliocene period. A flint implement demonstrating a typical Palaeolithic spear-headed pattern found in this deposit closely resembled those found in the mammoth and

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<sup>185</sup>MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast, pp40-41 (unpub. mans., Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection, National Library of New Zealand)

<sup>186</sup>MS Papers 37 Folder 23 von Haast. *Letter to Spencer Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and Director of the United States National Museum from Julius von Haast, November 16th, 1883.* (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection) For a discussion on the use of collections to form narratives on the basis of physicality see Stewart (1984) *On Longing*, pp161-162. Also see D.F. Jordon (1988) 'Aboriginal identity: uses for the past, problems for the future?' in Beckett (ed) (1988) *Past and Present*, p109

<sup>187</sup>'Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869', *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII* (1869) p9 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>188</sup>*Report to the Provincial Council: Papers Laid on the Table, Journal of Proceedings, Session XLI no 57* (1874) p28 (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F11 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>189</sup>MS Papers 37 Folder 23 von Haast. *Letter to Spencer Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and Director of the United States National Museum from Julius von Haast, November 16th, 1883.* (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

rhinoceros beds in Northern Europe.<sup>190</sup> This according to Haast was proof of the similar age of these human populations.<sup>191</sup>

The material, shape, texture and technical features of objects were deemed to bear the testimony of the age and identity of Maori people. This narrative was constructed by the filtering of an object's visible structure by Haast through the powers of observation.<sup>192</sup> No chronological relationships could be established on the basis of material culture unless their resemblance occasioned their comparison.<sup>193</sup> For example flint implements of a so-called oval shaped hatchet type found at the Rakaia River mouth, according to Haast, presented the 'same peculiar characteristics' as those found at Abbeville in France.<sup>194</sup> These Abbevillian implements were almost identical to those found by de Perthes with Pleistocene megafauna.<sup>195</sup>

A North American Indian implement called a *teshoa*, circular or oval in shape, sharp edged, convex on one side and flat on the other, according to Haast, if placed side by side was indistinguishable from those found in Moa hunter sites.<sup>196</sup> This instrument (defined as primitive technology), a scraper used for dressing buffalo skins, was also used in modern times by the Shoshone Indians of Southern Wyoming.<sup>197</sup> From this evidence Haast ascertained that although North American Indians were classified as Neolithic they also had Palaeolithic tools.<sup>198</sup> This view combined with the presence of polished stone tools in the oldest Moa hunter beds raised doubts in Haast's mind on whether a clear distinction could be made between two separate Palaeolithic and Neolithic races within the New Zealand sequence.<sup>199</sup> This issue was outlined in Haast's unpublished notes outlining his theories and evidence about the ethnology of New Zealand.

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<sup>190</sup>Professor J. von Haast, *Notes to the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum*, pp 2,7 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>191</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p85

<sup>192</sup>For a discussion on the use of these techniques used in the development of a natural historical narrative see Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, pp132-3 and Pickerstone (1994) 'Museological science? in *History of Science*, 32 (2), p117

<sup>193</sup>For a discussion on how these comparisons operated in terms of natural history specimens see Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p67

<sup>194</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p85

<sup>195</sup>Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds*, p101

<sup>196</sup>Professor J. von Haast, *Notes to the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum* Canterbury pp2, 7 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>197</sup>Ibid.

<sup>198</sup>Ibid.

<sup>199</sup>Ibid. p4

In regard to their stone implements we cannot separate the ancient inhabitants of New Zealand into a palaeolithic and neolithic race, even the oldest beds containing both polished and unpolished Stone Implements.<sup>200</sup>

It was on this basis combined with 'the absence of reliable Maori traditions relating to the moa' that Haast revised his two stratum theory.<sup>201</sup> By the late 1870s strict divisions of populations according to stone tool technology had also become an issue of conjecture on a global scale.<sup>202</sup>

As a consequence of these stratigraphical relationships, a lack of reliable Maori oral traditions about moas and similarities in stone tool technology (between Maori and Moa hunter populations), he concluded that there were the two periods in history rather than two separate migrations. Moa hunters were an earlier Maori phase. These phases were designated as 'pre-traditional' and 'traditional'. In Haast's manuscript *Notes to the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand* he stated the following:

In former publications I used the term prehistoric for the Moa-hunters but think, in order to show that there are no written records of any kind, and only traditional accounts concerning the succeeding generations, that the terms pre-traditional and traditional are the most appropriate.<sup>203</sup>

This sequence of progressive development was also seen as continuous. For example Haast claimed that in localities where separate Moa hunter and Maori remains were found together it represented the transitional phase between the two phases.<sup>204</sup>

Cheeseman collected similar specimens representative of the Stone Age from the late 1870s. Rather than being used as means of proving theories, they operated as a series of material and technological references to show similarities and differences between races of a similar Neolithic stage in history. His decision to collect items such as these must have been informed by Haast's research outcomes.

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<sup>200</sup>Ibid. p2

<sup>201</sup>Ibid.

<sup>202</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) pp614-619

<sup>203</sup>Professor J. von Haast, *Notes to the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum*, p2 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>204</sup>Ibid. pp2-3 and Barber (1995) 'Construction of Change', p359

Collective conclusions made on the basis of locality collections, in particular the presence or absence of human remains, were key concepts in defining Moa hunters as a non-cannibalistic race. The definition of Moa hunters as non-cannibalistic was important in terms of disproving Mantell's theory that cannibalism was of a very ancient date. For example no human remains were found in kitchen middens or ovens in Haast's Moa hunter sites.<sup>205</sup> The means of cooking food was seen as 'in the same manner as the Maoris of the present day'.<sup>206</sup> This conclusion also contributed to the view that the continuation of racial practices was indicative of a continuous local sequence.

The assignment of an identity according to racial type and origins was determined on the basis of cranial comparisons, stylistic motifs seen in material culture and oral traditions.<sup>207</sup> For example Haast identified the race as having strong Melanesian affinities (as well as Polynesian characteristics) on the basis of crania.<sup>208</sup> These affinities, according to Haast, were similar to contemporary Maori populations.<sup>209</sup> This evidence further supported his idea of racial continuity in the local sequence.

Speculations as to racial origins were also made by Haast through the analysis of ancient rock paintings in several localities. The figures and symbols they contained were, in Haast's view similar to those of the most ancient inhabitants of Burma and India.<sup>210</sup> The desire to ascertain influences such as these was, according to Tylor a way of answering questions of independent invention and psychological influences that more advanced races had on the process of evolution.<sup>211</sup> On the basis of these two types of evidence Maori racial and cultural origins were inconclusive.

Maori objects of an ethnographical nature donated to the Canterbury Museum provided additional evidence to further define the relationships between these two phases and the sequence of development (as postulated by Klemm). Examples of objects acquired included stone implements, a *taiaha* (long spear) and various carvings received from Walter Buller. These 'fine objects of Maori workmanship illustrating former and present times' according to

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<sup>205</sup>Professor J. von Haast, *Notes to the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum*, pp2,4 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>206</sup>Ibid. p4

<sup>207</sup>Ibid. pp1, 2

<sup>208</sup>Ibid. p1

<sup>209</sup>Ibid. p4

<sup>210</sup>Ibid. p2

<sup>211</sup>See Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p46

Haast helped 'to set to rest the question as to the age of the Moa hunters and the extinction of Moas'.<sup>212</sup> For example Haast used Maori greenstone objects as a comparative tool to confirm the relationship between these two phases. According to Haast Moa hunters did not possess implements of greenstone due to the lack of such artefacts in Moa hunter layers.<sup>213</sup> This evidence contributed to his view that the moa were extinct before the traditional Maori phase.

Collecting Maori objects defined as ethnographical at the Auckland Museum did not begin in a systematic way until the 1870s. The differences in strategies apart from curatorial interests may also be the result of the fact that Haast had by the early 1870s already confirmed and defined the position of Maori in the global scheme. As a result the Auckland Museum saw its role to focus on the salvage and recovery of this state. At the Auckland Museum one past was documented, the culmination of the local sequence - the highest state of advancement. Collections were intended to document and memorialise a traditional Maori phase technologically rather than to illustrate the course of a local evolutionary sequence.

Later research undertaken by Roger Duff in the 1940s and 1950s suggests that the Moa hunters were East Polynesian in origin.<sup>214</sup> Recent data suggests that this population settled New Zealand around 700 years ago.<sup>215</sup> In terms of the moa it appears as if modern species existed 25,000 years ago with all species surviving into the human era.<sup>216</sup> On the basis of subsequent archaeological investigation it appears as if hunting occurred between the 13th and 17th centuries and peaked around the 14th century.<sup>217</sup> Although there is currently no conclusive

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<sup>212</sup>Report on the Canterbury Museum by the Director and Trustees thereof, For the Year Ending 30th September 1871, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXV* (1871) p12 (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F7 1871, Canterbury Museum Archives). Also see Report of the Director of the Canterbury Museum for the financial years 1872-73 To the Trustees of the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, 30 September 1873. *Report to the Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table: Report on the Canterbury Museum for the year ending 30 September 1873, Session XL no 27, 1872-3*, p5 (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948 B1/F9, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>213</sup>*Notes to the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum Christchurch by Professor Julius von Haast, Director*, p8 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>214</sup>Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds*, p6 See R.S. Duff (1956a) *The Moa-Hunter period of Maori Culture*. (2nd edition) (Wellington: Government Printer)  
A J Anderson (1991) 'The Chronology of the Colonisation of New Zealand' in *Antiquity* 68 (1991) 65:p792

<sup>215</sup>Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds*, p4

<sup>217</sup>M S McGlone, A J Anderson, R N Holdaway (1994) 'An Ecological Approach to the Polynesian Settlement of New Zealand' in Douglas Sutton (1994) (eds) *The Origins of the First New Zealanders* (Auckland University Press) p154

evidence on why the moa became extinct, various theories suggest that this was due to the introduction of predators, over-hunting and habitat destruction.<sup>218</sup>

Haast's major contributions to museum practice during this period were the establishment of an identity for Maori people in terms of a 'Social Darwinian' logic and the form and course of indigenous history. It represented Haast's curatorial privilege in determining a Maori identity and the sequence of local history through conceptual and material fixing on the basis of his own ideas and the prevailing intellectual climate of the time. These versions of history and identity were to form the basis of subsequent collecting and classificatory practices.

The following chapter examines the development of ethnographical collecting by Haast and subsequent curators. It looks at the way that collecting and the choice of selection criteria and classification were used to formulate a particular view of a more recent Maori history and the future of the race.

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<sup>218</sup>Ibid. p191

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Completing collections and the production of a traditional Maori identity and history

Ethnographical collecting at the Canterbury Museum,  
1870s to 1920s

*A question that arises at the outset concerns the significance attached to the term "material culture,"... we are dealing with material objects made for ends that are other than material.<sup>1</sup>*

#### 5.1. Saving the evidence of the traditional Maori phase

With the development of the Maori House (an exhibitions space in the form of a *whare runanga*) in 1875, Haast expressed a desire to acquire a complete collection of Maori specimens of an ethnographical nature.<sup>2</sup> These objects to date had been used as facts in solving the problem of the definition of the local historical sequence and the relationships between Mōa hunter and later Maori populations.

Haast's desire to represent a complete historical narrative of New Zealand was a new development. It appears as if the drive to complete this story through active collecting, as in the case of Auckland Museum, was driven by the Darwinian concept of natural selection and the impending extinction of the Maori race. As Haast argued in 1875:

it ought to be our endeavour to make the race as complete as possible , ... as to save the records of an interesting people which .... in years to come ... will lose their former original customs and habits and assimilate with the European Immigrants and their descendants<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Harrison (1937) 'Ethnology Under Glass', p4

<sup>2</sup>*Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875 .'* pp4-5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>3</sup>*Report of the Director to the Provincial Council, Christchurch April 20th 1875, p5* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives)

Haast's confirmation of the place of Maori at an early stage in history as a Neolithic race further supported the inevitability of the race's death narrative.<sup>4</sup> Coupled with these concerns was the fear that at an undefined point in time the authentic traditional life of the Maori race would be lost.<sup>5</sup> This loss of authenticity equated with the disappearance of reliable facts about the original customs and habits of the Maori race as written in objects. The systematic collection of Maori objects at the Auckland Museum was in its formative stages at this time. By the late 1880s these same concerns at the Auckland Museum not only referred to the recording of their customs and habits but also to a loss of authentic objects to accurately memorialise a Maori race at its highest state of advancement.

Memorialising Haast's traditional phase through collections was also integral to his exhibiting objectives. His interest in ethnographical collecting was concurrent with the commissioning of the Maori House as a public exhibitions space. The development of such a collection offered Haast the possibility of more completely and materially expressing this imaginary phase.<sup>6</sup> As he explained in 1875:

The ethnological objects of New Zealand both of historic and prehistoric times have been placed in the Maori House<sup>7</sup>

Collecting was intended to define, envelop and recoup aspects of a traditional Maori life.<sup>8</sup> In this sense Haast's ethnographical collecting initiatives on a local scale were a way for him to contribute to a global pool of scientific data about history.<sup>9</sup> In terms of the discursive practices of the time, traditional lifestyles in the present were a way of constructing the past. This was akin to natural history collecting where contemporary forms of life were a means of understanding life forms in the past.<sup>10</sup> This premise was based on the rationale that the deep past could never be fully known. The only real hope of researchers to fully reconstruct the course of history was by the recovery of contemporary societies such as Maori who were 'left-overs' of early history.

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<sup>4</sup>Reference in Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p68

<sup>5</sup>*Report of the Director to the Provincial Council, Christchurch April 20th 1875*, p5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>6</sup>For a discussion on the production of imagined pasts through collecting see Stewart (1984) *On Longing*, p151

<sup>7</sup>'*Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875.*' pp4-5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>8</sup>Stewart (1984) *On Longing*, p135

<sup>9</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p47

<sup>10</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p109

There are few references in the primary sources to the criteria used by Haast to select objects. Some insight is provided through subsequent acquisitions made by him from the Ethnographical Department of the British Museum during a trip to Europe in 1886. The selection of new examples as opposed to duplicates suggested that Haast sought to represent the Maori race through a synoptic collection of specimens in a similar way to that seen at the Auckland Museum during this period. As he explained in a letter to his son in 1886:

The Ethnological Department of the British Museum gave me some nice things, and they are putting all their Maori duplicates together, so that I can look over them, and select what we have not got<sup>11</sup>

The desire to account for Maori life on the basis of type specimens meant that selections appeared to be made on the basis of the discrimination of form (those types not already held in the collection) rather than their functional or historical relationships. References to Maori objects as fine examples of workmanship suggests an interest in recouping examples that exhibited technical and artistic excellence in a similar way to Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum.<sup>12</sup>

By the late 1880s, immediately prior to Haast's death, Maori people and indigenous history were represented by two collections at the Canterbury Museum. The meaning of these two collections can be summed up as follows. Both collections (archaeological and ethnographical) were intended to represent and temporalise the race at two different stages in New Zealand history. The distant past (pre-traditional) was represented as an archaeological collection. Given Haast's focus on defining the early stages of the sequence, archaeological collections enabled him to allude to the essence of the pre-traditional phase of Maori history. A more recent past (traditional) was ethnographical in origin. Maori material recovered archaeologically was deemed to provide the connection between these two phases. From these two collections one ethnological story of New Zealand was produced through material culture.

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<sup>11</sup>Letter from Julius von Haast to his son H. von Haast, October 8th 1886 in the *Lyttleton Times*, December 15th 1886 in MS Papers 37-283 (Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand)

<sup>12</sup>Report on the Canterbury Museum by the Director and Trustees thereof, For the Year Ending 30th September 1871, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXV* (1871) p12 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F7 1871, Canterbury Museum Archives)

The symbolic boundaries for the conceptualisation of his two phases and the methods for their recovery were different (in the case of Archaeology by locality and Ethnography according to the classification of type). The values assigned to objects (archaeological material as facts and ethnographical material as specimens) and how they worked together (facts as part of assemblages) or independently (the individual specimen as type) to develop a vision was a result of the nature of the evidence and the intentions of these two collections.

Due to the disparate survival of archaeological material and as a consequence an incomplete record of the early phase, assemblages worked together as facts from which deductions about the race's lifestyles and behaviour could be made. The intention of these facts was to demonstrate the progress and workings of Haast's local historical sequence.<sup>13</sup> Change was integral to this local scheme particularly in terms of pre-traditional Maori. The comparison of each locality grouping equated as a series of phases within the sequence. Each site represented a point in early history. Within each site stratigraphical layers represented change over time that were deemed to represent finer degrees of localised evolutionary change and progress.

Whereas archaeological facts were intended to demonstrate the workings of progress (change and continuity), ethnographical specimens were intended to provide positive testimony of the outcomes and effect of evolutionary laws on the Maori race. The traditional phase represented the highest state of advancement reached by the race before the arrival of Europeans. Due to the existence of a broader range of objects and a more complete record, each specimen on its own was intended to represent an accurate statement about an aspect of traditional Maori life. In both instances the specimen and fact achieved an objective status due to their material tangibility as a record of the past.

The definition of a traditional phase by Haast and the use of ethnographical collections to document that point in evolutionary history provided Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum with a concept to work within to focus his own collecting initiatives.

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<sup>13</sup>For a description on the use of objects as facts for the proof of evolutionary narratives see *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p616

## 5.2. Completing an ethnological story of progress

After Julius von Haast's death in 1887, successive curators Mr H O Forbes, (1888-1892), Captain F W Hutton, Professor of Science (1892-1905) and Edgar Waite (1906-1914) continued to systematically collect Maori objects. It appears however that there was little active archaeological investigation undertaken after Haast's death. Systematic fieldwork of this nature did not appear to resume at the Canterbury Museum until the 1940s after the appointment of Roger Duff as Ethnologist.

The role of a definitive local collection during this period was to complete the ethnological story of New Zealand.<sup>14</sup> As the museum had a well-developed archaeological collection representative of a 'pre-traditional' Moa hunter phase, efforts focused on the development of the ethnographical collection as indicative of traditional Maori. As the *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum of 1895* stated:

[our aim is]

1: To make as complete a collection of possible specimens illustrating the Natural History and Ethnology of New Zealand.<sup>15</sup>

In order to fill gaps in the local story concerning the traditional phase, Maori ethnographical objects were acquired through exchanges with the Auckland and Wanganui Museums.<sup>16</sup> In 1900 Augustus Hamilton donated a Maori paint-stone and rubber, two nephrite beads and wooden net-floats.<sup>17</sup> A number of unspecified specimens were purchased from Maori people of the Urewera area through collectors including Elsdon Best.<sup>18</sup> Other items acquired during this period included canoes, paddles, stone adzes and nephrite beads.<sup>19</sup>

Systematic collecting was also facilitated through ethnographic fieldwork. For example during 1908 Edgar Waite undertook a collecting tour of Maori settlements, visiting Hawkes

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<sup>14</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) (Lyttleton Times Co. Ltd) pp144-5

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Reference in *The Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand Annual Report of the Board of Governors For The Year 1892-3* (Christchurch: Christchurch Press) p12

<sup>17</sup>*The Canterbury College, Christchurch New Zealand, Twenty-Seventh Annual Meeting, Board of Governors, Held on Monday March 26, 1900 Annual Report of the Chairman and Statement of Accounts* (Christchurch: Willis and Aitken) p15

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

Bay, New Plymouth, Rotorua and the Bay of Plenty.<sup>20</sup> The nature of these acquisitions is unclear from the sources.

These processes of completion were contemporaneous with those at the Auckland Museum. The perceived imminent extinction of the Maori race had by the late 1880s and early 1890s become the driving force behind filling gaps in collections. The belief in the extinction of certain categories of objects since European contact reiterates the impact death narratives had on ethnographical collecting and collection completion at both institutions.<sup>21</sup> For example certain categories of canoes were considered extinct or endangered and recovering these classes were seen as of the utmost importance. In the museum guide of 1895 the following was stated:

When Captain Cook came to New Zealand the Maori had double canoes (Whaka-unua) but these have been extinct for a long time. Of the war canoes (Whaka-taua) the only one in existence is in the Auckland Museum; but an excellent model (Case 5) gives a good idea of their appearance.<sup>22</sup>

In this instance both institutions attempted to recoup extinct categories of material culture by differing means. At the Auckland Museum a *waka taua* was acquired and renovated to represent the best of its class. At the Canterbury Museum this same category was represented by a model. These differences can be accounted for by the fact that there were larger Maori populations in the North Island and as a result Cheeseman had greater access to potential ethnographical acquisitions. Questions of authenticity, classification, their relationship to differing notions of completion at these two institutions and what they meant in terms of the image of Maori produced are the focus of discussions in Section 5.4.

Given that the Canterbury Museum's collecting program was driven by 'Social Darwinian' theories, a second collection development objective was stated. This focused on the documentation of the rise and progress of the human race through foreign type collections. In the guide of 1895 this aim was described as follows:

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid. and *The Canterbury College, Christchurch New Zealand, Twenty-Eighth Annual Meeting, Board of Governors, Held on Monday March 25, 1901 Annual Report of the Chairman and Statement of Accounts* (Christchurch: Willis and Aitken) p15

<sup>20</sup>See Roger Duff *Special Subject File Research: Extracts from museum correspondence of ethnological interest.*, p76 (References extracted by Duff 1887-1935. 4/2 F443 Canterbury Museum Records)

<sup>21</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p215

2: To make typical collections illustrating the Natural History of the World, and the rise and progress of the human race.<sup>23</sup>

It was acknowledged by the institution that foreign collections could only be fragmentary (as opposed to complete) due to the fact they had to be sourced from overseas.<sup>24</sup> This prevented the development of comprehensive sets of specimens to produce a definitive statement of the condition of each race for comparative purposes. As a compromise, collecting involved the solicitation of a few select items that were seen as typical or representative of a specific race.<sup>25</sup>

Filling gaps in synoptic foreign collections was intended to map the course of history and document the former phases from which progressive European races derived.<sup>26</sup> Given that each stage in history was seen as an outcome of a previous phase in history, documenting the embryonic steps in this narrative through collections was imperative.<sup>27</sup>

As a consequence existing primitive peoples were seen as important sources of information about the early condition of man (which Maori people were seen as representing). Particular emphasis was placed on the gathering of material relating to Stone Age peoples existing at that time.<sup>28</sup> The perceived complexity of contemporary European races and their societies made the study of the development of this stage in history very difficult.<sup>29</sup> It was on the basis of this premise that the documentation of these 'simpler' forms of society was a way of establishing gradual progressive development.<sup>30</sup>

Such material also provided the opportunity to illustrate and compare other Stone Age peoples who were seen as representing a similar stage in history as Maori people. For example in 1891 Forbes requested stone, bone and shell specimens of modern Stone Age peoples from Professor Giglioli in exchange for Maori specimens he had sent him in 1887.<sup>31</sup> In correspondence with Professor H A Ward of the Smithsonian Institution, Hutton requested 'more specimens of the Archaeology and Ethnology of the aborigines as well as of the existing

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid. pp144-5

<sup>24</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1906) (Christchurch: T.E. Fraser) p2

<sup>25</sup>Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) pp144-5

<sup>27</sup>Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*, p1 and Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p48

<sup>28</sup>Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*, p28

<sup>29</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p236

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>*Roger Duff Special Subject File Research: Extracts from museum correspondence of ethnological interest.*, p64 (References extracted by Duff 1887-1935. 4/2 F443 Canterbury Museum Records)

Indian races of the United States, Mexico, Central America and South America'.<sup>32</sup> The representation of Stone Age peoples in the past was also a concern. Further requests by Hutton to T J George, Curator of the Northampton Museum, included objects representative of Palaeolithic and Neolithic implements.<sup>33</sup> As demonstrated by Haast's research, Neolithic implements were a key to identifying the age and chronological placement of Maori people in an evolutionary scheme. Such implements provided additional comparative evidence of the state of the Maori race.

The collections of Roman, ancient British, Anglo-Saxon and Medieval antiquities were used to document and illustrate the Bronze and Iron ages of the past.<sup>34</sup> Ethnographical and archaeological collections of Chinese, Japanese, North American and Indian material acquired in 1896 were intended to document the lives of past and present Iron, Bronze and Stone Age races.<sup>35</sup> Hutton in the Annual Report of 1896 outlined the nature of these acquisitions:

[Collections] representing the domestic life of Chinese and Japanese, also a very interesting collection of the Ainos, who were the ancient inhabitants of Japan. The Indian collection has been added to by a plough, ancient weapons, and several old idols which give a good representation of the Hindu pantheon.<sup>36</sup>

On the basis of Forbes' and Huttons' letters to colleagues, criteria used to solicit exchanges of foreign collections referred to the technological grading system (Stone, Bronze and Iron) and also geographical, racial and type classifications. Ethnographical collections also attempted to recover evidence of social development by documenting institutions such as religion and domestic life materially as outlined above with the Chinese, Japanese and Indian collections. The conceptualisation of diverse societies according to these boundaries provided convenient categories for mapping history on the basis of technology and social life. As a result the specific histories and the lived realities of these people were subsumed and replaced with these more fundamental frameworks of classification.

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<sup>32</sup>'Letter from F.W. Hutton, Acting Curator to Prof. H.A. Ward, Rochester, New York, September 29th, 1892' in the *Outwards Letter Book, 1889-1907* (Canterbury Museum Records 3/1 148 [new Ref B72/#148] Director's Correspondence)

<sup>33</sup>'Letter from F.W. Hutton to T.J. George, Curator, Northampton Museum, 15th September 1892' in the *Outwards Letter Book, 1889-1907* (Canterbury Museum Records 3/1 148 [new Ref B72/#148], Director's Correspondence)

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>*The Canterbury College, Christchurch, New Zealand, Twenty-Third Annual Report Presented to the Board of Governors on Monday July 13th 1896, Annual Report of the Chairman and Statement of Accounts 1896* (Christchurch: Christchurch Press) p8

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

The acquisition of casts of objects highlighted the fragmentary nature of available collections. It enabled a more complete representation of technology and social institutions where genuine collections were not available to narrate these stories. For example casts of the lid of the sarcophagus of the Egyptian Queen of Amases II and a Babylonian boundary stone obtained from the British Museum documented the religious life of these respective civilisations.<sup>37</sup> Completed stories could subsequently provide a body of accurate data for research and teaching on ethnological matters.<sup>38</sup>

Foreign collections of Stone Age people gathered by Cheeseman during the same period suggest that Cheeseman's interests were primarily technological. His requests reflected an interest in acquiring objects such as implements and weapons rather than collections illustrating social life.

### 5.3 Broadening the evidence base - Ethnography and Anthropology

In terms of natural science the study of the lower forms of biological life was seen to provide an insight into the evolutionary development of fauna and flora. With cultural life this equated with the discipline Ethnology. It involved the study of the perceived lower forms of human life (a condition to which Maori people were assigned by Haast) as a way of documenting evolutionary history.<sup>39</sup> The legitimacy of the application of these laws of biological development to cultural situations had been a question of debate during the 1870s and 1880s.<sup>40</sup> According to Tylor these debates centred on a lack of definiteness of principle and evidence that fell short of a scientific standard.<sup>41</sup>

By the 1890s the endorsement of Ethnology as a natural science by the Museum board consolidated the discipline and completed the transference of this natural historical biological logic and method of classification as a way of understanding Maori people. The endorsement of this approach laid to rest the possibility of any doubts about the way identity and Maori history was to be produced through collecting at the Canterbury Museum. As a result the discourse was invested with power as a way of constructing an empirical statement about Maori people through objects. The classification of cultural research as a branch of natural science is outlined in guide to the collections of 1895.

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid.

<sup>38</sup> *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p145

<sup>39</sup> Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*, p2

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. pp2-3,17 and *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition Vol VIII (1879) p616

The branches of Natural Science that include in their study objects which can be preserved in a Museum are (1) Geology...(2) Biology...(3) Ethnology, or the study of Man, and of the objects fashioned by Man. These great branches of Science are again sub-divided... Ethnology into (a) Anthropology, or Human Anatomy; (b) Ethnography, or Man as he exists at the present time and (c) Archaeology, or Man as he was in past ages.<sup>42</sup>

The limitations of objects as a testament to the evolutionary condition or level of intelligence of a given race were acknowledged by ethnologists such as Holmes during this period.<sup>43</sup> Condition as a concept involved the assessment of the level of civilisation exhibited by a race on the basis of the presence or absence, high or low of the industrial arts, the way implements and vessels were manufactured and the materials from which they were made.<sup>44</sup> Many races were attributed by Holmes to the same grade such as Neolithic (for example Maori people) on the basis of technological condition, but were more advanced in other areas of life.<sup>45</sup> Each stage of evolution represented an integrated complex of habits, beliefs and social structures which objects on their own could not possibly determine.<sup>46</sup> As a result additional means of measuring intelligence were added to the repertoire and included the assessment of the degree of social, religious and political organisation exhibited by a given race. It was a way of determining finer shades of evolutionary difference.

It was on this basis that a range of sub-disciplines such as Anthropology, Ethnography and Archaeology was used to interrogate the condition of Maori and other races.<sup>47</sup> This additional evidence base (particularly Ethnography and Anthropology) in conjunction with material culture was seen to more accurately express the essence, technological and psychological state of races.

For example Anthropology was a way of understanding how evolution had transformed the physical nature of races over time.<sup>48</sup> Given that material culture as an expression of intellect was ordered in terms of form and technological sophistication, the next question was the way

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<sup>41</sup>Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*, p1

<sup>42</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p3

<sup>43</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', pp255-278. Also see Henrika Kuklick (1991) *The savage within: The social history of British Anthropology, 1885-1945* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press)

<sup>44</sup>Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*, p2

<sup>45</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p257

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.* pp256-257 and Kuklick (1991) *The savage within*, p84

<sup>47</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p3

in which intelligence was written into the brain. At the Canterbury Museum race and mental capacity were documented through collections of crania classified according to Blumenbach's division of humankind into five original varieties.<sup>49</sup>

Ethnographical observation was seen as 'positive testimony' of the state of a society's knowledge, laws, customs and habits.<sup>50</sup> Contemporary ethnographical evidence of 'stationary races existing in their non civilised state' was deemed to provide a more accurate reading of European history.<sup>51</sup> This concept was embraced by curators at the Canterbury Museum to provide a more accurate picture of the behaviour and customs of those races seen as ancestral phases of European history. As it was explained in *The Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* for 1895:

[While] some of the nations have progressed, others have remained stationary and some may have retrograded. The stationary nations present us, as it were, with pictures of former stages in the history of progressive nations, and it is this which makes the study of Ethnography so interesting.<sup>52</sup>

Stationary races included Australia, Polynesia (of which Maori was a sub-group), Africa and the nomadic tribes of North America, as they were still considered to be in the Stone Age.<sup>53</sup> As a consequence curators at the Canterbury Museum relied on ethnographical description about Maori people and these other races to supplement the reading of lifestyles, behaviours and technological development from objects. In real terms the lived realities of Maori people were subsumed by ethnographical description which was read as a signifier of past European life.

By the later nineteenth century publications about Maori people were dominated by ethnographical description and the interpretation of oral tradition.<sup>54</sup> Due to the nature and extent of this published material it is not surprising that this evidence was used by the Canterbury Museum to explain material culture.

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<sup>48</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition Vol VIII (1879) pp614-615

<sup>49</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p143. Johann Blumenbach (1752-1840) was the founder of one of the first Anthropology and Ethnography museums in the world, situated at the Georgia-Augusta University at Göttingen, Germany. His main research interest was in craniometry and was instrumental in defining classifications of race. See Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p37

<sup>50</sup>See Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*, p1

<sup>51</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p251

<sup>52</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p145

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>54</sup>Barber (1995) 'Construction of Change', pp357-358

This broad evidence base was presented in a series of guides to the collection produced in 1895, 1900 and 1906.<sup>55</sup> Objects still remained the primary source of evidence. Ethnographical description was used to present a more detailed impression of the technological details of objects, the habits, beliefs and social structures of races. Anthropological collections and associated descriptions in the guides outlined the defining physical characteristics of races.

Recouping this range of characteristics of a traditional Maori race in its stationary state necessarily required the development of circumscribed criteria for classification to frame their life through objects and ethnographical description.

At the Auckland Museum condition was intended to be read through technology. The recovery of Maori technology, particularly tools, weapons and implements in a best and highest state of development, supports the reading of Maori intelligence by technical, artistic and industrial criteria.

#### **5.4. Universal boundaries for reading the workings of progress**

The classification of Maori objects at the Canterbury Museum was intended to satisfy two needs. The first objective was a framework to gather and represent the specific ethnography of the Maori race. Given that one of the key curatorial objectives was to document the rise and progress of the human race through racial ordering for research and ethnological teaching, a means to assist comparative assessment was also imperative.<sup>56</sup>

A belief in universal laws of human development implied that societies could be reduced to classification for measuring and quantifying condition. As a result comparisons between empirically constituted groupings for racial ordering involved the selection and definition of a relatively limited group of characteristics as classification.<sup>57</sup> In terms of Ethnology during this period these characteristics included subsistence activities, modes of settlement, race, economy as well as material culture.<sup>58</sup> Each characteristic (representative of a particular behaviour or lifestyle of a race) could then be compared with others in order to demonstrate finer degrees of evolutionary difference.

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<sup>55</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895); *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum*, Second Edition (1900) and *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum*. (1906) (Christchurch: T E Fraser)

<sup>56</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) pp144-5

<sup>57</sup>Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p139

<sup>58</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p616

In terms of material culture, ethnographical objects were gathered and classified according to a series of classificatory boundaries as ethnological categories of investigation. This was a way of comparing and conceptually understanding disparate material culture on a global scale.<sup>59</sup> Categories included 'Food, its nature and preparation'; 'Weapons of War'; Tools and Implements'; 'Shelter and Clothing'; 'Commerce and Industry'; 'Burial' and so forth.<sup>60</sup> According to Holmes these represented key areas of racial activity and material culture traits deemed to be universal.<sup>61</sup>

As a result these categories provided universal benchmarks for assessing the condition of and comparing ethnographical collections belonging to each race on a basis of technological and lifestyle traits.<sup>62</sup> For example technological traits included 'Tools and Implements' whereas lifestyle attributes included categories such as 'Food, its nature and preparation'. These classifications were seen as the most important cross-racial comparative organising principles for the study into 'the material progress of man.'<sup>63</sup>

Maori objects were classified according to these technological and ethnographically based categories of classification. As result Maori societies were reduced to a few typical 'facts' from which they could be quantified and measured. For example classification included 'Weapons'; 'Tools'; 'Implements for Procuring and Preparing Food'; Clothing and Textile Manufactures'; (industry); 'Ornaments and Amusements' and 'The Burial of the Dead.'<sup>64</sup> These represented categories for both technological, social assessment and comparison.

With ethnographical themes, collecting required that the curator seek out suitable specimens that could work together as an assemblage to illustrate a particular topic. For example with the trait 'Implements for Procuring and Preparing Food', the preparation of food was not only represented through a range of objects but also food samples such as *punga punga* (bread).<sup>65</sup> Small flax plates were included in the assemblage to illustrate how food was served.<sup>66</sup> Ethnographical descriptions supplemented the information that could be gleaned from objects and explained daily routines in terms of meals and the way they were prepared in earth ovens.

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid. p614

<sup>60</sup>Ibid. p616

<sup>61</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p267

<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p616

<sup>64</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p214-223

<sup>65</sup>Ibid. pp216-218

<sup>66</sup>Ibid. p217

The way food was procured was classified by type specimens such as fishhooks, eel nets and bird spears, fern root pestles, an agricultural spade and summarised by ethnographical description. As a result narrating these themes involved the classification of objects by their function as opposed to form.

To serve the needs of technological and material grading, tools, implements and those objects indicative of housing and industry were classified by material and form. These included 'Carved Wood' and 'Stone Implements'. The choice of these categories was a way for the curator Forbes to make statements about the condition of the Maori race on the basis of materials used in technology. For example the predominant use of wood for shelter demonstrated by the category 'Carved Wood' was seen as demonstrating the primordial state of the race as a relic of early history.<sup>67</sup> Given that stone technology was the defining factor in assigning a Neolithic identity for Maori people, this grouping would have also acted as metaphor for the evolutionary condition of the race. It would have also provided a category for direct comparison with the similar technologies of other races on the basis of the Three Age System.

Other collections were organised by form and then by material. These included 'Weapons' and 'Canoes.' This was also a way of documenting technology types for comparative purposes. For example with the class of 'Weapons' objects were classified into each type such as the *mere*, *waha-ika* and *taiaha*.<sup>68</sup> The names of objects operated as a nomenclature to organise and define the morphological character of objects within these categories. *Mere* for example were described as flat clubs with a hole in the handle end. The materials from which these types were made were used to define the series. For example series of *mere* was defined on the basis of materials such as bone, stone or wood<sup>69</sup> From these, other racial type categories of weapons could be compared and analysed on the basis of form, material and method of manufacture.

Other type categories included 'Fine Flax Mats', 'Rough Flax Mats' and 'Dogskin Mats.' These appeared to be an extension of the 'Textile Manufactures' category and stood for a complete catalogue of all grades of textiles produced.<sup>70</sup> It is likely that the inclusion of these specialised type categories was also seen as way of exhibiting the unique material culture of the Maori

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<sup>67</sup> Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p267

<sup>68</sup> *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895), p219

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.* pp214, 218, 219

race just as catalogues of particular species of plants and animals were seen as peculiar to certain districts.<sup>71</sup>

It was on the basis of these potentially finite organising principles, which offered the possibility of cross-cultural comparison, that a more complete Maori ethnographical collection of type specimens came into existence.<sup>72</sup> The choice of these classification systems (theme, type and material) by Forbes and Hutton served their interests by representing a complete picture of the specific ethnology of the race while providing possibilities for technological and social assessment.

For this classification to operate, according to Holmes, the curator had to attain a sufficiently distant point of view in order to observe a greater group of facts.<sup>73</sup> These categories provided curators at the Canterbury Museum with the conceptual distance to describe objects and observe the behavioural characteristics of a traditional Maori race. This process involved the conceptual restructuring of the Maori race (material culture and ethnographical information) into boundaries of material, type and theme.

Criteria for collecting also included the acquisition of objects according to their association with people.<sup>74</sup> This third objective was outlined in the *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum of 1895*:

3: To make a collection of relics which, although worthless in themselves, have an interest from an association with persons or localities.<sup>75</sup>

This suggests a move towards the recognition of an object's history and genealogy. For example under the category of 'Weapons', one type example was attributed to Chief Mohi of Raupaki, near Lyttleton (the harbour of Christchurch). It appears from this example that although objects were acquired due to their association with individuals, their provenance was replaced by classification. In this instance history was subsumed by the object's classification as a type specimen illustrative of the technological grouping of weapons. References to its history were recouped through the guidebooks.

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<sup>71</sup>Taylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*, p7

<sup>72</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p2

<sup>73</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p257

<sup>74</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p2

This classification system appeared to have its origins in von Siebold's geographical and Jomard's comparative approaches. German physician, botanist and ethnographer Phillip von Siebold proposed a system in 1843 that sought to classify each distinctive group of material culture traits geographically.<sup>76</sup> His intention was to illustrate the original traits in the early history of mankind that were deemed to be preserved due to their isolation from civilising influences.<sup>77</sup> As a relic of early history and as a race with the potential to exhibit original European traits, it would have been seen as appropriate to organise Maori people geographically. This classification however had a two-fold objective. It enabled the viewer to gain a fair idea of the race's accomplishment as a whole, while enabling the comparison of material culture from different geographical areas to reconstruct the course of human history.<sup>78</sup>

Jomard's comparative approach, first proposed in 1828, favoured a classification system that ordered objects according to a mixture of functional and technological categories as classes such as food, clothing, building materials and types of activity such as agricultural tools, weapons of war and so forth.<sup>79</sup> Although it was never implemented, it was known to ethnologists in Britain.<sup>80</sup> This system was further developed by Christy, a prehistorian and colleague of Pitt-Rivers at the Danish National Museum in the early 1860s.<sup>81</sup> Objects were organised into activity categories such as 'Weapons of War' for the explicit purpose of comparing the material culture of races.<sup>82</sup> Categories such as these represented standards for the structuring of all societies and constructing resemblances while providing the ability to compare like category with like.

The adoption of this scheme represented similar systems of measurement used by Haast to establish an identity and history for his pre-traditional Moa hunter phase. Similar thematic and technological boundaries were used to compartmentalise and describe the race. These included diet, food preparation and tool technology. The use of similar categories enabled a more direct and accurate comparison between the pre-traditional and traditional phases. It

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid.

<sup>76</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p40

<sup>77</sup>Ibid. p41

<sup>78</sup>Ibid. p42

<sup>79</sup>Chapman (1985) 'Pitt-Rivers and the Typological Tradition' in Stocking (ed) *Objects and Others Essays on Museums*, pp24-26. Jomard was the conservator of the Kings Library in Paris and was responsible for the older royal collections of curiosities and the newer collections of ethnographic material gathered during exploratory voyages.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid. p25

<sup>81</sup>Ibid. pp25-26

<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

also enabled the completion of the local ethnological story on the basis of similar benchmarks of classification.

Within this context collecting and classifying material culture was a way of establishing a greater number of the facts about Maori social development, the way traditional Maori lived and their technology. The choice of the classification system and the methods used to determine the nature and form of this collection, like those of Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum, were acts of identity formation. Through these processes Forbes and Hutton manipulated and produced a Maori identity through material culture to serve the discursive practices of history making at the time.

Maori identity was accounted for through these collections by a series of classifications. Firstly the geographical metaphor provided a convenient boundary for demarcating a perceived national culture. Within this classification further subdivisions sought to structure, fix and characterise the Maori world on the basis of a number of perceived empirically-based technological and lifestyle traits. Together these processes of abstraction and the manipulation of Maori societies into these standard categories sought to produce a statement about their general life as a more fundamental framework. This was achieved by replacing provenance, history of ownership and use of objects with generic racial activities organised on the basis of their function as well as type and material categories. Fixed categories organised on the basis of the form, function and the material of objects, while subsuming the provenance and history of objects, enabled the capture of the social and technological condition of the race at an imagined moment of time. This was for the express purpose of reading and writing early European history. As a result the lived realities of Maori societies were replaced by the classification of the form, material and function of objects. These mental and practical sets were a way of mastering Maori people and their identity. Recouping European history and time was achieved by the reading of these material and social characteristics. It was on this basis that indigenous history was replaced by European history.

This process of collecting and disciplining material culture and Maori life by classification built on Haast's work. It represented a shift from technological assessment to one that sought to more explicitly narrate racial essence. It was also a way of manipulating Maori societies into a form for comparison in order to further define their place in history with a greater level of accuracy.

Within the context of these classifications, objects and collections stood for Maori societies on a number of levels. These included historical distance in space and time; as a relic of the European past; as indicative of lifestyles, technology, behaviours and racial activities; empirical data representing a universal racial trait; as a statement of condition and as a material metaphor for identity. As a whole the collection stood for a homogenous Maori nation.

At the Auckland Museum one system of class and series was used to represent a Maori race. This system of class and series was determined on the basis of specific types of Maori material culture. The use of this scheme enabled Cheeseman to customise his collecting in order to construct a complete Maori race in terms of all possible material forms.

Similarities existed between these two museums in terms of classification. The geographical metaphor was used to define a national traditional Maori race for ethnographical collecting and classification. Both used specimens as a means of representing the range of technologies and the sociological essence of the race. In the case of the Canterbury Museum however, ethnographical description and thematic groupings attempted to more explicitly recoup the function, use and sociological context of objects.<sup>83</sup> Classifying objects by form was a system used at both the Auckland and Canterbury Museums. This was for the express purpose of organising series groupings of Maori material culture.

In the case of the Auckland Museum particular emphasis was placed on the acquisition of representative objects that exhibited the best characteristics (most technically sophisticated and authentic) of their type. This was due to Cheeseman's compulsion to produce a perfect image of a highest state. While curators at both museums were informed by a progressive logic, Cheeseman chose to document a best racial condition as written in technology. At the Canterbury Museum while documenting the race, curators attempted to prepare objects by classification for a role in writing a social as well as a technological history of European societies. This is evident in the differing ways objects stood for Maori societies. At the Auckland Museum the emphasis was on representing Maori people through objects as pure, authentic and as a best technological achievement.

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<sup>83</sup>For a discussion on how objects were divested of function and context through collecting see Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting' in Elsner & Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*

Both approaches represented the application of empirical classificatory structures for capturing Maori people and their lives. Like species, the grouping of class and series at the Auckland Museum sought to dissect the race into 'natural' type groupings determined by the visible form and structure of objects. In the case of the Canterbury Museum the systems used to empirically 'know' Maori people were determined on the basis of a series of 'objective' universal boundaries of classification as well as natural groupings of class and series with separate classes for material.

## 5.5 Notions of completion

With the use of a more defined ethnological system by the 1890s, the traditional phase became more refined and complete. According to Hutton, by 1896 this objective had been achieved with the suggestion that the Maori ethnological collection was now very complete.<sup>84</sup>

Although the use of fixed categories (theme, type and material) embodied a belief that there was a finite number of examples to illustrate them, the drive to complete these collections in some instances was not as obsessive as at the Auckland Museum. In terms of themes such as 'Amusements', illustrating this aspect of life through a few selected objects such as toys, carved walking sticks and musical instruments overrode the need to represent all possible examples of a particular type.<sup>85</sup> Type categories such as the series of mats at the Auckland Museum however, suggested an interest in completing categories in order to accurately portray the nature and scope of the textile industry.

The concept of completion at the Canterbury Museum also appears to have been driven by a desire to complete the national evolutionary narrative from the distant past to the contemporary present. This was implied by the collection of objects exhibiting external influences and representative of the post-contact period. For example the collection included a cast of the Tamil bell believed to be evidence of Portuguese contact with Maori people prior to Cook's arrival.<sup>86</sup> Other objects included whaling memorabilia; a musket and pistol brought to Akaroa by the French; a musket belonging to Tawhiao, the 'Maori King'; a Maori flag and a

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<sup>84</sup>In reference to the acquisition of a large collection of 69 objects the curator F.W. Hutton refers to the Maori collection as being very complete. *The Canterbury College, Christchurch New Zealand, Twenty-Third Annual Meeting, Board of Governors, Held on Monday July 13th, 1896 Annual Report of the Chairman and Statement of Accounts*, p9

<sup>85</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p216

<sup>86</sup>Ibid. p218

red ensign 'taken during the Maori wars' in the late 1860s.<sup>87</sup> Objects such as these were seen as material evidence of relationships between Maori people and other races while documenting the psychological influence of others on the race's development.<sup>88</sup> These objects were only a small component of the overall collections and hence of only secondary importance.

Overcoming the problem of gaps in collections to narrate a story of Maori life and national history involved the description of the 'missing' specimens in the guides within the context of their lifestyle or technological categories. For example references were made to type examples in other museums. In the category 'Canoes' references were made to the only perfect war canoe in existence (*Whaka-tauua*) which was held in the Auckland Museum.<sup>89</sup>

Due to Cheeseman's technological focus and his desire to memorialise the race through material culture, the only way to complete collections was to gather every possible type and variation. The desire to salvage a complete and perfect image of the Maori race in a material form at the Auckland Museum through the use of specific class and series by necessity required that a full set be obtained. The need to complete a perfect picture was the driving force behind Cheeseman's obsession with the recovery of the old or the authentic object before they disappeared. His need to produce a pure vision of the race rather than a whole narrative required the elimination, through collecting criteria, of 'contaminated' objects that exhibited European influences.

Systems of ritual cleansing were not as rigorous at the Canterbury Museum as those at the Auckland Museum. This was demonstrated by the acquisition of contemporary cloaks incorporating non-traditional materials in the category 'Textile Manufactures'.<sup>90</sup> In this instance the question of authenticity or perceived value was seen as acceptable because they were made by 'Maoris'. In the category 'Weapons' a large greenstone *mere* (*Mere-pounamu*) of European manufacture was included.<sup>91</sup> The rationale behind its inclusion was that it was a 'good imitation of Maori work'.<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>Ibid. pp218-9. Akaroa was a French settlement established on Banks Peninsula near Christchurch around 1840. The 'Maori wars' represented a fight for independence by Maori people from the colonial administration and were primarily in response to land confiscations by the government in the 1860s.

<sup>88</sup>Ibid. pp218-219

<sup>89</sup>Ibid. p215

<sup>90</sup>Ibid pp212, 219

<sup>91</sup>Ibid. p219

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

The reason for this less rigorous approach at the Canterbury Museum appears to be two-fold. Firstly Cheeseman's desire to memorialise the race meant that a perfect image had to be recouped according to rigorous selection criteria. Secondly the lack of readily available objects due to the location of Christchurch in an area with a small Maori population would have necessitated the acquisition of examples of lesser authentic value.

With the construction of a Maori race through collections at the Auckland Museum one identity and one past was ascribed solely through the classification of objects. The classification used was intended to produce a pure racial isolate. All time and Maori history was made synonymous with the collection to a fixed point. In the case of the Canterbury Museum two identities, pre-traditional and traditional, and objects exhibiting post-European influences represented a series of points within a continuous local sequence.

The following chapter explores the development of natural historical representational practices at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums. As exhibiting Maori at these two institutions drew on natural historical models, these practices provide a precursor to the subsequent discussions on arranging.

## CHAPTER SIX

### Arranging the natural world

#### Exhibiting natural history at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums 1850s to the 1880s

*What a museum really depends upon for its success and usefulness is not its building, not its cases, not even its specimens but its curator. He and his staff are the life and soul of the institution, upon whom its whole value depends.<sup>1</sup>*

#### 6.1 A room respectably stored with specimens and curiosities

The Auckland Museum, officially opened to the public on Wednesday 27th October 1852, was located in the Old Government Farmhouse, situated in Symonds Street (the Grafton Road area of present day Auckland).<sup>2</sup> Within this building one room was designated as a display space.<sup>3</sup> A second room was also allocated for exhibition purposes but due to the lack of available specimens had not been prepared by opening day.<sup>4</sup> Little information survives relating to these first exhibitions. The nature and intentions of this representation however can be pieced together through references to associated collecting practices, institutional policy statements and the priorities of the curator, Honorary Secretary J A Smith.

The opening exhibits prepared by Smith consisted primarily of geological specimens, stuffed birds and a general collection of other miscellaneous natural history specimens such as shells, insects and curiosities.<sup>5</sup> A description of these exhibits was outlined in an article in *The New Zealander* of October 27th 1852.

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<sup>1</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p12

<sup>2</sup>Reference in the *Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum* 1852. (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>3</sup>Archev (1967) 'The First Century' in Powell (ed) (1967) *The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute and Museum*, p 7. Article refers to *The New Zealander*, October 27 1852 titled the 'Auckland Museum.'

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>Reference in the *Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum* 1852.(Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

[A] very satisfactory commencement has been made by the zeal of Mr J.A. Smith, whose efforts have already been attended with so much success that a room respectably stored with specimens and curiosities of various kinds is now prepared for inspection ...The whole of the furnishing have [sic] been gratuitously supplied...Although, of course there is not yet a great deal to be seen, yet there are many specimens of New Zealand minerals, some handsome stuffed birds, shells, insects, and various other things amongst which an hour may be very agreeably and instructively spent.<sup>6</sup>

The use of the term 'stored' in the above quote implied that the purpose and intentions of display and storage were synonymous. From this statement it also appears as if the philosophy behind the exhibition was to act as a repository for the preservation of objects and collections for perpetuity.<sup>7</sup>

In addition, the terms 'specimen' and 'curiosity' to describe the role of objects within this context suggested the application of two exhibitory intentions situated side by side within this broader repository framework. The role of the specimen within this context was to stand for the range of typical characteristics exhibited by its type or species. Those objects given this specific taxonomic role were the geological, mineralogical, entomological and ornithological items.<sup>8</sup>

Given that there were few specimens in this display and as a result the collection was incomplete at the time, it is likely that each object stood on its own as a visual sign of its type. As a collection these specimens of birds, shells, insects and minerals provided an overview of some of the main features rather than a comprehensive picture of this 'new' natural environment. The lack of more complete collections for series formation precluded any possibility of fully representing a reference catalogue of each species. The only collections of which there were a significant number of examples were those representing minerals. Given that the understanding of the geological and mineral structure of the colony was a priority for

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<sup>6</sup>Archey (1967) 'The First Century' in Powell (ed) (1967) *The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute and Museum*. Article refers to *The New Zealander*, October 27 1852 titled the 'Auckland Museum', p7

<sup>7</sup>There appeared to be no division between exhibition and storage functions at the Auckland Museum until the 1880s. See the *Auckland Institute Letter Book, 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr J Mackelvie, April 25th 1882.' p11 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library); *The Imperial Dictionary of the English Language, English Technological and Scientific*. J. Ogilvie (ed) (1861) (Glasgow: Blackie and Sons) Vol 2. Reference to the term 'stored' (v), p875

economic development, these objects were intended to illustrate the nature of the colony's natural resources.<sup>9</sup> The careful examination of the morphological characteristics of these examples was deemed to enable people to gain an understanding of the physical characteristics of exploitable minerals so that rich deposits could be identified in the field.<sup>10</sup>

The object as a curiosity also acted on its own. Its function however, was 'to gratify the senses due to its novel, unusual or rare nature' rather than by any predetermined representative value.<sup>11</sup> It is likely that this term referred to those miscellaneous items that were not seen as having any particular characteristic type qualities.

Labelling provided the means of naming specimens for identification purposes.<sup>12</sup> For example contributions made to the Museum on 3rd July 1852 included two hundred printed labels. The content of these labels and their interpretative role is unclear from the sources.

A number of glass cases were given to the museum in 1852.<sup>13</sup> These provided cabinets for the orderly placement and viewing of the collection. Due to their solitary representational capabilities, objects placed within these containers acted as a series of visual statements about New Zealand's natural environment. With curiosities, the visual observation of their physical characteristics was intended primarily to engender emotional responses in visitors such as the strange, unusual, rare or exotic.

Together this exhibition functioned as a statement of the natural products, resources and fauna of the colony. It represented an encyclopedia in the making and enabled this 'new' world to be captured and 'museumified' in a material form. An approach such as this was reminiscent of the Italian cabinets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that were

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<sup>8</sup>See Archey (1967) 'The First Century' in Powell (Ed) (1967) *The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute and Museum*. Article refers to *The New Zealander*, October 27 1852 titled the 'Auckland Museum', pp7-8

<sup>9</sup>Ibid. For a discussion on the establishment of species by nomenclature see Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, pp154-155

<sup>10</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondance*, 1851-1861. 'Letter from Mr J.A. Kirk to Mr G.F. Angus, Esq., 21st December 1853.' p3 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>11</sup>*The Imperial Dictionary of the English Language*,. Ogilvie (ed) (1861) Vol 2. Reference to the word 'curiosity' (n) p288; *Walkers Dictionary*. Walker (ed) (1858) Reference to 'curiosity' (n), p209

<sup>12</sup>Prior to opening two hundred printed labels were donated for ticketing specimens. Reference in the *Journal of Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum 1852*. July 3rd, 1852. (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>13</sup>Reference in the *Journal of Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum 1852*. July 3rd, 1852, (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

illustrative and encyclopedic in nature.<sup>14</sup> In order to tame New Zealand physically it needed to be understood intellectually through the observation of specimens. Educationally it enabled people to become familiar with unfamiliar things so that they could 'know' the new colony and its resource potential.

A more complete collection of geological, zoological and palaeontological collections was obtained during a scientific survey of the North Island by the Austrian Novara expedition during the late 1850s.<sup>15</sup> Additional geological specimens were donated and subsequently arranged by Dr Frederick Hochstetter. The nature of the exhibition however is unclear from the sources.<sup>16</sup>

Few additions were made to the exhibition between the late 1850s and early 1860s. During this period however, the collection was 'totally neglected and some specimens such as the stuffed birds and skins suffered considerable moth damage'.<sup>17</sup> By 1867 the Auckland Museum was relocated to the old Post Office building in Princes Street.<sup>18</sup>

## 6.2 A curator is known by the company his specimens keep<sup>19</sup>

Early attempts at the production of a physical encyclopedia of the natural history and geology of New Zealand were the first steps in the adoption of a Linnean biological and taxonomic logic for exhibition purposes. The adoption of this concept was seen as a way of translating the natural environment of New Zealand into a museum format while adding a greater intellectual value to objects by ordering them into a coherent classification system. It was to form the institution's predominant philosophy behind the representation of the natural world from the mid 1870s, and from the later 1880s, Maori societies.

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<sup>14</sup>O. Impey and A. Macgregor (1985) *The Origins of Museums* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

<sup>15</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondance*. 1851-1861 'Report to the Superintendent on the present state of the museum from J.A. Kirk, Auckland, 21st December 1861.' p17 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) For a discussion on Hochstetter's and Haast's surveys in 1859 See MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast, pp3-8 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

<sup>16</sup>See Archey (1967) 'The First Century' in Powell (ed) (1967) *The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute and Museum*, p10

<sup>17</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondance* 1851-1861. 'Report to the Superintendent on the present state of the museum from J.A. Kirk, Auckland, 21st December 1861' p17. (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>18</sup>Archey (1967) 'The First Century' in Powell (ed) (1967) *The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute and Museum*, pp11-12

<sup>19</sup>Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p227

The first overt acknowledgement of the use of this catalogue concept for exhibiting coincided with the appointment of Thomas Cheeseman, a botanist, as curator in 1874. In his letter of appointment of the 3rd January 1874, Cheeseman's duties in terms of collecting and arranging were outlined.

In the Museum you will have to look after the presentation and arrangement of the various objects making such alterations as may from time to time be directed or sanctioned by the Council, and forming a catalogue in each department.<sup>20</sup>

As a result the arrangement was the physical expression of these catalogues as classification. In Professor F D Brown's (President of the Auckland Institute) address to the members of the Auckland Institute in 1886 he stated that the usual approach employed for arrangements of natural history specimens at the Auckland Museum was to convey all possible knowledge on a given subject.<sup>21</sup> This Linnean concept was based on the assumption that 'once all type specimens had been obtained and a continuous, ordered and universal tabulation of all possible differences recorded a certain knowledge of the world could be known'.<sup>22</sup> Within the discursive context of the Auckland Museum all possible knowledge equated with the display of complete sets of all type specimens representative of a species or resource. If collections were threadbare and full of gaps it was seen to be misleading for the public.<sup>23</sup> Hence the process of completing collections as outlined in Chapters 2 and 3 was a way of making sure that the arrangement provided a definite physical statement about some aspect of the natural or cultural world.<sup>24</sup>

As a botanist Cheeseman would have been a practitioner of Linnean taxonomic classification. It was on this basis that Cheeseman believed that completed collections and their arrangement formed a way of illustrating 'the correct idea about the nature, structure and classification of the component parts of the natural world'.<sup>25</sup> Arrangements were also seen as a way of improving the museum's core educational and referential functions due to their ability

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<sup>20</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872 - February 1882*. 'Letter to Mr Cheeseman by J.A. Kirk, Secretary of the Auckland Institute, January 3rd 1874.' p54 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>21</sup> 'Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) (Wellington: Lyon & Blair) p597

<sup>22</sup> Foucault (1970) *The Order Of Things*, p144

<sup>23</sup> Harrison, H.S. (1915) 'Ethnographical Collections and their Arrangement', p222

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>25</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1884-1885*, p7

to present a complete and hence objective view of the world.<sup>26</sup> Objects could only carry meaning insofar as visitors came to view them and walked away with the intended knowledge.<sup>27</sup> This was dependent on collections being arranged and displayed in the proper way.

During this period the collection of type specimens of minerals was the only part of the collection organised systematically because it was the only catalogue near completion.<sup>28</sup> This was due to the institutional priority placed on the representation of resources that were commercially exploitable.

The way the arrangement and morphological analysis operated to expose knowledge about mineral resources is illustrated by the acquisition of a series of minerals from Europe purchased in London in 1877.<sup>29</sup> Here taxonomic categories of class and series and their arrangement were used to understand geological structures. In Cheeseman's letter to Mr James Gregory he requested that these specimens be characteristic and correctly identified. These criteria were to ensure that they accurately stated the defining features of their type.

[The] purchase of a series of Rock specimens stratigraphically arranged...The specimens to be characteristic and well selected, correctly named, and of a size suitable for Museum purposes<sup>30</sup>

Given that these specimens were foreign examples of which Cheeseman had little knowledge, his request also included that they be arranged in their proper stratigraphical relationships. As a result the composition of the collection represented the passage of geological time. How their stratigraphical relationships were reproduced in a physical sense is unclear from available sources. References to the 'size of specimens suitable for museum purposes' represented the act of physical transference of natural landscapes into a museum context.

The display of a series of rocks such as these acted as a reference collection for identifying the physical characteristics of similar local mineral resources.<sup>31</sup> This was achieved by the

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<sup>26</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890* 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to D. Tole Esq., Commissioner of Crown Lands, Auckland, November 5th 1880.' p413 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>27</sup> Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, p24

<sup>28</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute for the Year ending February 16th, 1874* (Auckland: W.C. Wilson) p7

<sup>29</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute for the Year 1880-1881* (Auckland: William Atkin) p9

observation and comparison of the visible surfaces of local specimens with like foreign examples as outlined in the Annual Report for 1881-2.<sup>32</sup>

The type collection of minerals purchased in Europe ... has attracted considerable attention for visitors and is frequently consulted for the identification of minerals.<sup>33</sup>

It was on this basis that physical displays such as these acted as a metaphor for the character and likely location (by the display of their stratigraphical relationships) of potentially exploitable resources.<sup>34</sup>

As series were further developed, refinements were made to these arranged catalogues. Hence the arrangement was a work in progress, continually reworked and regrouped into finer subdivisions to accommodate new specimens representative of variations on the standard type.<sup>35</sup> As with collection completion these refinements were a way of producing a more accurate representation of the nature and structure of the natural world.

Due to the process of collection completion for example, by 1888 an extensive series of New Zealand minerals, ores and rocks was placed on display.<sup>36</sup> These were to provide a more complete statement about geological structures. As these collections grew they were further subdivided according to locality. In 1896 mineral displays included collections representing the goldfields of the Hauraki (near Auckland) and other districts.<sup>37</sup> These arrangements, presented in ten display cases, through an extensive series of specimens illustrated the characteristic geological structures of each district in more detail. Specific emphasis was placed on the representation of the morphological character of the gold-bearing lodes through

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<sup>30</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872 - February 1882.* 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr James R. Gregory Esq., 15 Russell Street Covent Garden, 5 June 1877.' p197 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>31</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondence 1851-1861.* 'Letter from Mr J.A. Kirk to Mr A.F. Angus, Esq 21 December 1853.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>32</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1880-81*, p9 and *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7

<sup>33</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1880-81*, p9; *Report of the Auckland Institute for the Year ending February 17th 1873* (Auckland: William Atkin) pp6-7

<sup>34</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1876-77*, p10

<sup>35</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, pp125-127

<sup>36</sup>*Auckland Museum Letter Book 1882-1890.* 'Letter to Mr Walker Esq., East Cape from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, [date unknown].' pp686-708 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library); *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7

<sup>37</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909.* 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, December 22nd 1897.' p70 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

an appropriate series of mineral specimens with type bearing characteristics.<sup>38</sup> Showing regional variation in geological structures through separate series and arranging specimens to show their stratigraphical relationships was intended to improve the mineral identification potential of the arrangements.<sup>39</sup> These exhibits were specially designed to serve the needs of miners.<sup>40</sup>

The arrangement and comparative analysis of local and foreign geological collections were also a way of suggesting the familiar and exploitable and the exotic and exploitable.<sup>41</sup> For example silver ores from the mining districts of Utah and Nevada acquired from the Smithsonian Institution were seen to be of great value for comparison with those from mines in Thames and other districts.<sup>42</sup> This highlighted the role of the arrangement as a political act for the control and commercial exploitation of this new colonial context.

Representing this new environment was not always synonymous with exploitation but also represented more general pedagogic intentions. For example the juxtaposition of New Zealand specimens and a foreign series of shells meant that visual analysis of their physical attributes enabled visitors to identify local species they may encounter.<sup>43</sup>

The connection between complete collections, a definitive arrangement and a certain knowledge also led Cheeseman to believe that physical catalogues in all divisions of living things were ideally required first before collections could be put on display for the public.<sup>44</sup> The first step in this process of exhibiting a natural historical catalogue was the definition of the character of each species by small type collections. This according to Cheeseman enabled the representation of the main features of the natural world. This concept was outlined in the Annual Report of 1884-5.

At the same time, it is hoped that progress will be made in forming such small type collections as may be necessary to give to the student or intelligent visitor a correct idea of the main facts connected with the structure and classification of the component parts of the various kingdoms of nature.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1898-99, p9

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872 - February 1882.* 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Professor Joseph Henry, 30th April, 1878.' p264 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>42</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1886-87, p7

<sup>43</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1887-88 (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) p7

<sup>44</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1885-86, p7

<sup>45</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1884-85, p7

Type specimens were chosen to exhibit the principal structural characteristics of each class of species. These provided the key morphological points to be considered when gathering other species variations to complete the series.<sup>46</sup> As a result the world was defined by a limited group of structural characteristics.<sup>47</sup> From these type references Cheeseman was then able to build up his exhibition catalogues. For example in 1885 a start was made on the development of a complete collection to illustrate New Zealand fauna for exhibition purposes.<sup>48</sup> By 1900 the arrangement of New Zealand birds was near completion. Groupings of species included kiwis (apetryx) and parrots (kakapo and kea).<sup>49</sup> Other catalogues included specimens of moa and other extinct flightless birds of New Zealand.<sup>50</sup>

By this stage collections illustrating all families of living things both local and foreign were in various stages of completeness. This suggests that Cheeseman was not only interested in mapping out and exhibiting a specimen encyclopedia of New Zealand but also the world. For example in 1877 Cheeseman acquired a very fine series of 400 coleoptera and lepidoptera (insects) from New Ireland and New Britain.<sup>51</sup> With the collection of foreign birds most families were represented including 600 species.<sup>52</sup> It appears however as if most arrangements of foreign collections comprised small type collections rather than catalogues of all species variations. For example apes and monkeys were represented by type specimens of orang-utang, chimpanzee, the gibbon, the probodis monkey and others.<sup>53</sup>

From an educational point of view it gave visitors an overview of all living species while providing a detailed account of the New Zealand situation. According to Flower museum collections such as these were intended to be used for consultation and reference for those who were able to read their contents.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p16

<sup>47</sup>Foucault (1970) *The Order Of Things*, p139

<sup>48</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1885-86*, p7

<sup>49</sup>MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum Records miscellaneous papers re: early days*. 'Folder of the Auckland Institute and Museum - particular reference to the development of the Maori sections, 89/215.' 'Description of the exhibitions, 5/11/1900.' p4 (unpub. mans. Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1876-77*, p10

<sup>52</sup>MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum Records miscellaneous papers re: early days*. 'Folder of the Auckland Institute and Museum - particular reference to the development of the Maori sections, 89/215.' 'Description of the exhibitions, 5/11/1900.' p4 (unpub. mans. Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>53</sup>Ibid .

Cheeseman's intentions in arranging catalogues of living things appear to be twofold. The first objective was to enable visitors and researchers to familiarise themselves with and identify species. The reading of each specimen's physical features such as form, structure, composition, size and colour within the context of the series was a way of establishing a visual identity for a particular species.<sup>55</sup> For example the indigenous and extinct family of moa was represented by a type specimen of the species *Dinornis* along with other members of the order ratite such as ostrich and emu. A reconstructed moa was also placed with an articulated skeleton so that visitors could observe their anatomical as well as other physical attributes (see Graphics 4 and 5). For instance the reconstructed example provided morphological information about size, height, stance, colour, coat and so forth. As a rendition of an extinct species some of this data would have been based on conjecture. From these observations the key physical characteristics of the moa could then be established. The placement of moa with other ratites enabled visitors and scholars to view all families within the order and structural variations between them. The specimens chosen represented 'authored' types, each illustrating the principal structural characteristics of each class.

The second objective was to facilitate careful investigations into the life history of particular species by the observation and comparison of their structure and visible surfaces. For example Cheeseman planned to complete the monograph of birds for arranging by gathering additional specimens to show different stages in their growth and seasonal changes in their plumage.<sup>56</sup>

The educational and research value of the arrangement was not only based on the idea of the presence of complete sets of specimens representative of all existing types but also the quality of those specimens. Poor specimens were seen to lead to incorrect observations about a species defining features and structure.<sup>57</sup> The importance of really good and characteristic specimens was expressed in Cheeseman's requests for lions, tigers, leopards and a panther from a London taxidermist.<sup>58</sup> In Cheeseman's letter to Mr G Gerald he stated:

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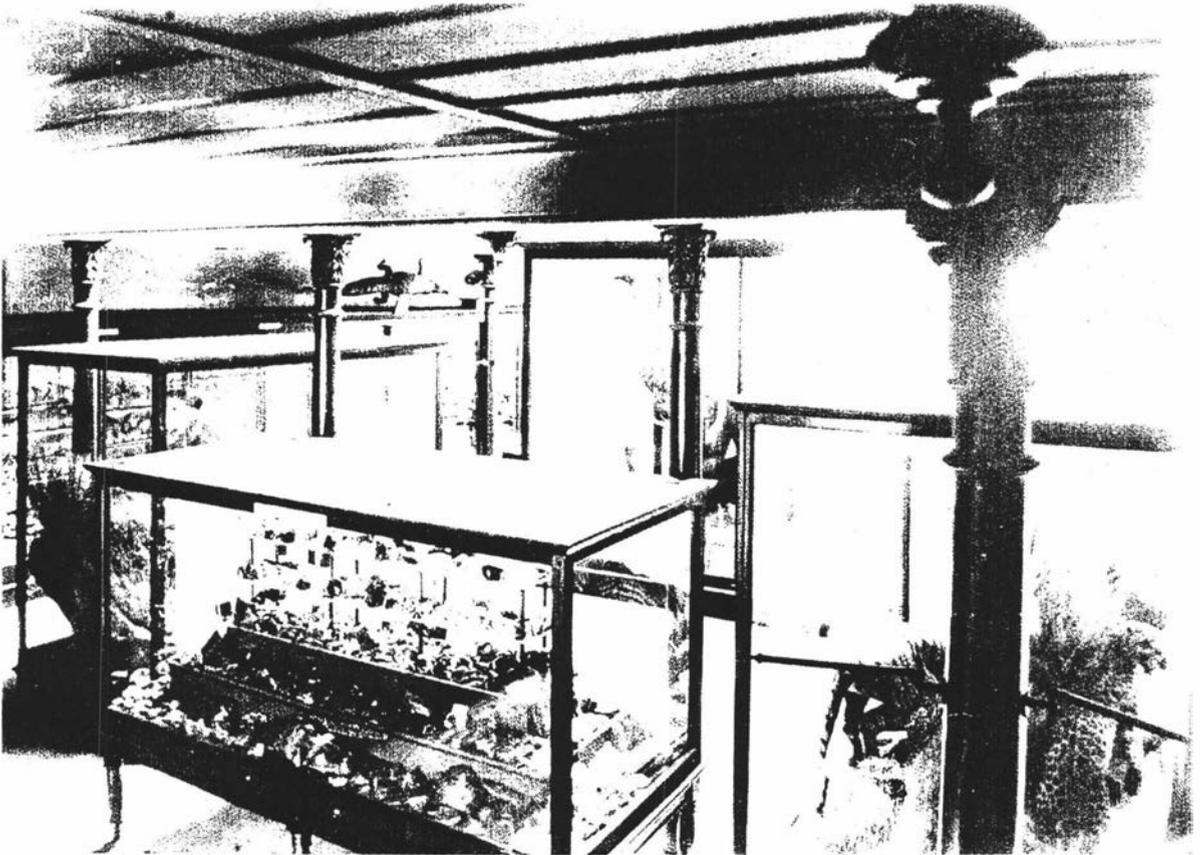
<sup>54</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museum*, p15

<sup>55</sup>Pearce (1992) *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p82

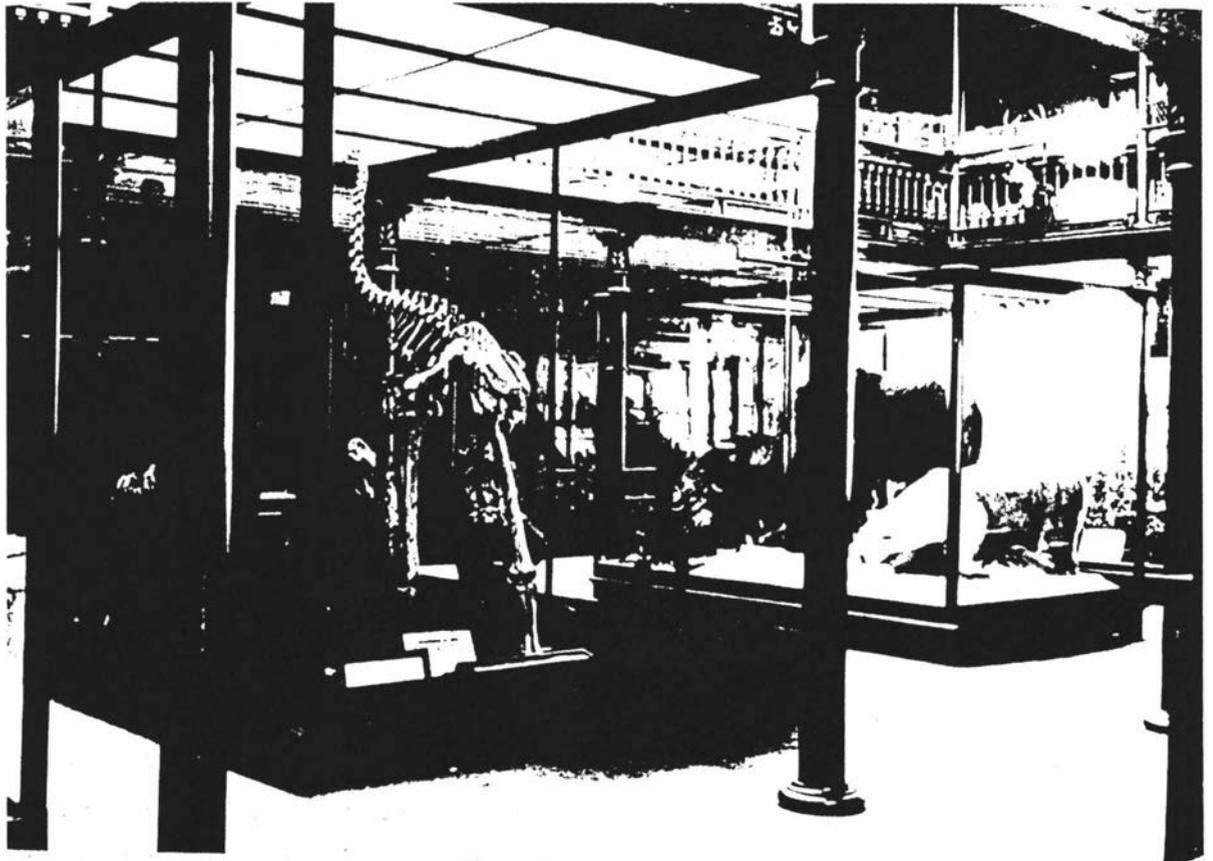
<sup>56</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7

<sup>57</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p20

<sup>58</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book, 1897-1909* 'Letter to G. Gerald & Sons, 61 College Place, Camden Town, London from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, November 20th 1903.' p452 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)



Graphic 4. Interior of the original gallery, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, showing the ornithological, feline and Kauri gum displays, 1928 (Collection of the Auckland Museum)



Graphic 5. Interior of gallery space showing the grid layout, Ratite and bear species display, Auckland Museum, Princes Street [date unknown] (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

We are anxious that the specimens should be really good and characteristic, that they should be set up in the best style of taxidermy, properly grouped etc<sup>59</sup>

Producing good specimens was the role of the taxidermist. The reconstruction of an animal to represent its best characteristics and attitude was dependent on the taxidermist's skill and his/her understanding of its form, proportions and stance.<sup>60</sup>

Arranging natural history collections, as with minerals, involved the physical organisation and placement of specimens into designated groupings of class and series on the basis of their like physical characteristics.<sup>61</sup> For example in Graphic 4, with the ratite display (in the centre of the image) the type example of moa was placed together with other members of the order ratites, such as ostrich and emu, on the basis of their physical similarities. Also shown in Graphic 4 (in a case on the far wall) were various small birds grouped in series according to like physical characteristics.

For Cheeseman the arrangement of living things according to class and series provided a way for him to discipline them and insert them into a coherent framework based on similar structural characteristics so that the natural world could be understood.<sup>62</sup> As a result the identity and life history of species was read by visitors and researchers on the basis of their visible structures such as form, composition, colour, size and shape.

The authority of the arrangement and taxonomic classification as a device to represent the world was sustained by the discursive foundation in which Cheeseman was located.<sup>63</sup> During the mid to late nineteenth century scientific taxonomies were a widely accepted approach for arranging as a means of producing a coherent account of the natural world.<sup>64</sup> As a result of these influences and established methods Cheeseman does not appear to have questioned or even reflected on his arranging practices.

As the visual study of morphology was the key to knowledge about the natural world, making groupings visible and displaying specimens so that their physical attributes could be

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<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museum*, p17

<sup>61</sup>Ibid. pp9,16,17 & 114; *The Comprehensive English Dictionary*, (1871) Ogilvie (ed). Reference to 'arrangement' (v) p72

<sup>62</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museum*, pp10-11 & 114

<sup>63</sup>Hall (1997) *Representation*, p49

<sup>64</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*

seen and compared was paramount.<sup>65</sup> For example display cases were a critical factor in the effective presentation of these schemes.<sup>66</sup> These units provided a metaphor for classification as they were designed to provide linear and ordered compartments by which the curator could divide and place specimens on the basis of their like physical characteristics.<sup>67</sup> Display cases also provided a metaphor for geographical boundaries. For example with the display of minerals each of the ten display cases was intended to represent a defined geological area in miniature.

The way these cases acted as containers to physically demarcate class and series groupings and assist the comparison of like examples is illustrated by the display of a series of kauri gum (see Graphic 4 foreground). With this example a complete collection of kauri gum was placed together in a free-standing case. Other class groupings included the order ratite, bears and deer also displayed in large free-standing cases (seen in Graphics 4, 5 and 7 left corner).

Display cases also produced a viewing environment for the inspection of specimens. Particular attention was given to the placement and mounting of specimens to facilitate close examination and comparison of their morphological features.<sup>68</sup> For example the bird collection (Graphic 4, far left side) was placed in a linear series within a wall case. Each specimen was placed in space so a clear view could be obtained of its visible surfaces.

Visual inspection was also facilitated by the use of appropriate positioning and mounting. For instance internal display furniture improved the capacity for visitors to inspect these bird specimens. The placement of these birds on plain wooden stands enabled them to be mounted in their natural attitudes and enhanced the ability to observe their structure and physical features.<sup>69</sup>

Given that the educational value of the arrangement was dependent on this process of visual identification, it was imperative that each specimen in the collection be properly labelled. In 1885 two-thousand blank cards with black borders were obtained from Professor Ward for

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<sup>65</sup>Bennett (1998) 'Speaking to the eyes', in Macdonald (ed) (1998) *The Politics of Display*, pp25-35 and Flower (1898) *Essays on Museum*, pp114, 115 and Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p133

<sup>66</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1876-77*, p10

<sup>67</sup>For a discussion of the relationship between classification and the use of display cases see H.G. Beasley (1933) 'New Suggestions on Museum Lay-out', in *Museums Journal* Vol 32, February 1933, p421 and *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1884-85*, p7

<sup>68</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museum*, p15

<sup>69</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872 - February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Sidney Weitman, 27th March 1876.' p143 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

ticketing (labelling) purposes.<sup>70</sup> Through labelling all other details of provenance were eliminated and replaced by the more fundamental value of name and classification which reflected a given specimen's structural organisation. For example with the moa it would have been labelled as moa (family) and Dinornis (species). Mineral labels were printed overseas according to Cheeseman's specifications.<sup>71</sup> The exact nature and content of specific labels is unclear.

Under this system Cheeseman organised objects and living things into new sets of relationships. As a result they entered a new structure of being and order based on the analysis and description of their visible properties. In reality arranging as classification was nothing more or less than an expression of the actual amount of structural affinity between different objects.<sup>72</sup> On this premise the nature and diversity of the world was fixed by a few defining physical characteristics of things translated into classification. Within the arrangement living things were stripped of all other histories and contexts and placed next to each other according to their common features with their surfaces visible.<sup>73</sup> Foucault argues that within this context specimens were bearers of nothing but their own individual names.<sup>74</sup> Although this fact was recognised by museum professionals such as Flower at the time, it was the interpretative ability of the arrangement that was seen as the key to knowledge.<sup>75</sup> Unlocking this knowledge was dependent on understanding the meaning of the order and reading objects in the right way. Cheeseman believed that through the act of arranging he could control, understand and illustrate an empirical truth about the world and the way it was ordered.

### 6.3 Architectural design as a metaphor for classification

Illustrating reference catalogues of the natural world through classification as class and series necessarily involved the design of a space that could facilitate linear and ordered arrangements.<sup>76</sup> Grouping things according to their morphological characteristics required

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<sup>70</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from T.F.Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum to Professor Ward, December 8th 1885.' pp361-362 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>72</sup> Flower (1898) *Essays on Museum*, p115

<sup>73</sup> Foucault (1970) *The Order Of Things*, p131

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>75</sup> Flower (1898) *Essays on Museum*, p115

<sup>76</sup> Harrison (1915) 'Ethnological Collections and their Arrangement', p223 and Flower. (1898) *Essays on Museum*, p11

their physical grouping and placement in a serial and linear way. Space was also required to ensure that each specimen's visible surfaces could be examined. Mechanical obstacles to the achievement of this goal however were due to the size and an incompatible layout of spaces in the existing buildings as outlined by the Museum Council in the *Report for the Auckland Institute* in 1874.

The Council regret that on account of the inadequate amount of space at their disposal, it has not been possible to make better arrangements for exhibiting the various objects for the purposes of study and reference.<sup>77</sup>

In order to reconcile these spatial needs a new building was commissioned in Princes Street and opened in August 1876.<sup>78</sup> The exterior of this building is shown in Graphic 6. Cheeseman argued that the gallery should be architecturally designed and spatially specified to suit his arranging objectives.<sup>79</sup> Its size and specification were outlined by Cheeseman in a letter to an unknown recipient in 1875.

[A] room about 80ft by 56, surrounded by a gallery 14ft wide, with a flight of stairs to it with a landing at one end.

Such a hall ought to be lighted from above, and sidelights might, if necessary be dispensed with.<sup>80</sup>

The gallery according to Cheeseman was intended to provide adequate arranging space for a minimum of ten years.<sup>81</sup> The width of the gallery was later reduced from 14 ft to 9ft.<sup>82</sup> It is likely that this was due to a lack of funding.

The main exhibitions area was a central hall on the ground floor. This was combined with a series of mezzanine galleries. The interior of the gallery was reminiscent of a Greco-Roman design with its plastered friezes, columns and spatial configurations based on a grid layout (see Graphics 4, 5 and 7). Useable floor and wall space to produce these linear configurations was

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<sup>77</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute for the Year ending February 16th 1874*. p6 and *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1876-77*, p10

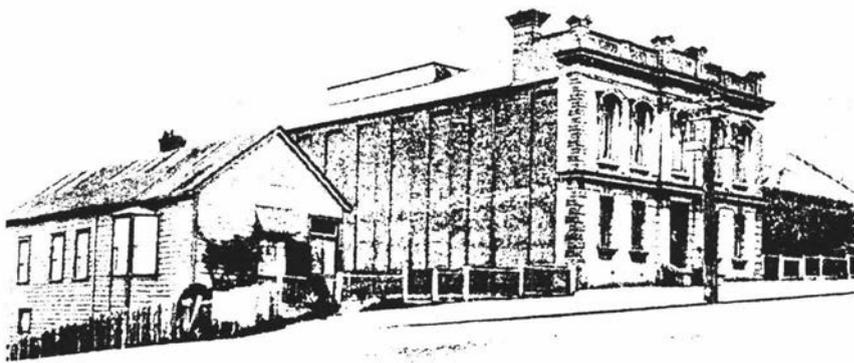
<sup>78</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872 - February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr P Herapath Esq., June 17th 1875.' p93 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

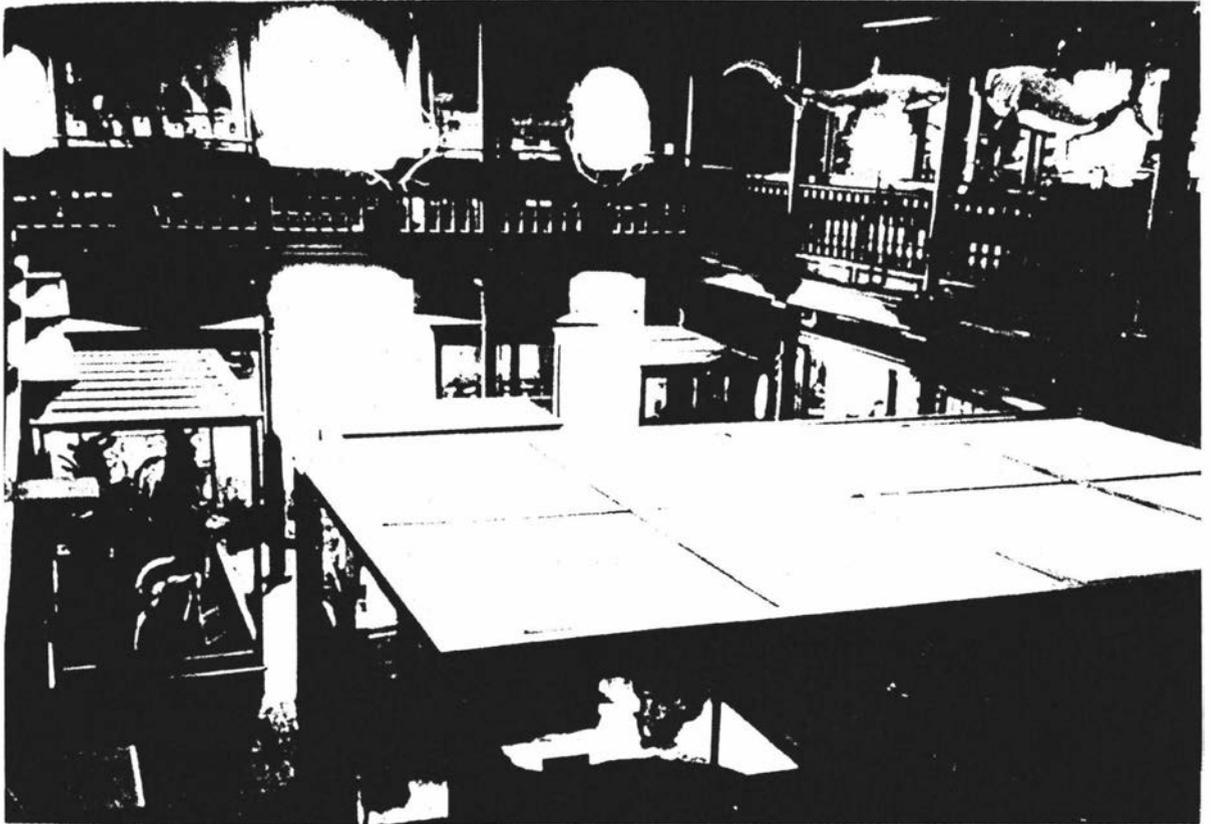
<sup>80</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872 - February 1882*. 'Letter by Mr Cheeseman, Secretary to [recipient unknown], Museum, Auckland July 21st 1874.' p76 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>82</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872 - February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr P Herapath Esq. June 17th, 1875.' p93 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)



Graphic 6. Exterior of the Princes Street building with the caretaker's cottage on the left and Ethnological Hall on the right [date unknown] (Collection of the Auckland Museum)



Graphic 7. View from the mezzanine gallery showing the design of the internal spaces, Auckland Museum, Princes Street [date unknown] (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

maximised through the elimination of windows.<sup>83</sup> Top-lighting was employed as a technique for the effective natural illumination of specimens.<sup>84</sup> Permanent wall and table cases as well as internal display shelving based on this grid represented the production of a linear route of sentences (class and series) in which to place these catalogues (see Graphics 5 and 7).

The internal spaces were painted in a 'dead white colouring and the pillars and stairs were varnished'.<sup>85</sup> The choice of a neutral colour scheme reinforced the idea of the museum laboratory and the desire to focus on the visual examination of the object without distraction. This approach was reminiscent of other museum buildings developed to facilitate similar interpretative and presentation strategies.<sup>86</sup> The authority of the architectural space as a structural and visual metaphor for the support of these linear narratives further endorsed this classificatory logic as a true expression of how life was structured and ordered.

Although the effective use of the building for the arrangement of collections was intended to be ten years, by the late 1870s and 1880s space had again become a problem due to a large number of acquisitions.<sup>87</sup> Combined with a shortage of money to purchase new display cases, this appeared to preclude any real attempt by staff to collect, classify and arrange other catalogues according to any pre-determined classification system.<sup>88</sup> The relationship between space, class and series formation and arranging is outlined by H S Harrison (Director of the Horniman Museum and Library, London) in his 1915 article in *The Museums Journal* on the arrangement of ethnographical collections.

[The] opportunities of forming series ... are only rivalled by the inadequacy of the accommodation provided for the display of collections. The real tragedy of this inadequacy can only be fully realised by those in charge of the collections, but we all of use appreciate the fact that they are woefully crowded and to a large extent wasted.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>Beasley (1933) 'New Suggestions on Museum Lay-out', p422

<sup>84</sup>Flower, Sir W. H. (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p51

<sup>85</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872 - February 1882* 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr P Herapath Esq. April 24th 1876.' p155 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>86</sup>For references to nineteenth century museum buildings see Flower (1898) *Essays on Museum*, p51; Bennett (1995) *The Birth of the Museum* and Conn, Steven (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*

<sup>87</sup>'Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) p598

<sup>88</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7 and *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1887-88*, p7

<sup>89</sup>Harrison (1915) 'Ethnographical Collections and Arrangement', p221

#### 6.4. The new museum idea - arranging for research or popular education?

Providing popular educational experiences was embraced as an institutional philosophy for arranging collections from the 1880s. A Linnean approach continued to be the predominant classificatory foundation for the arrangement, as it provided a perceived truth statement about the nature and order of the world. With this object epistemology, intellectual access to knowledge was dependent on the relationship between the viewer and the exhibition. As a result targeting the general public as an audience involved the elaboration of scientific arrangements in a way that the meaning of the classification (the nature of specimens and their relationships with others) could be made more 'visible' and hence have greater educational value. The needs of a general audience (as opposed to scientifically trained) were later to have a significant impact on the way Maori collections were interpreted and presented by Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum.

Developing arrangements at the Auckland Museum to serve these audiences followed international debates about the roles of museums at the time. Were museums to be institutions for scientific research or primarily vehicles for popular education? What audience should be privileged in the way arrangements are developed and interpreted?

Dr John Edward Gray (Keeper of the British Museum Zoology Department) in his address to the British Association at Bath in 1864 first raised these conflicting questions and their impact on contemporary arranging. According to Gray museums were established 'for the diffusion of instruction and rational amusement among the mass of the people, and secondly, to afford the scientific student every possible means of examining and studying the specimens'.<sup>90</sup> According to Gray the first objective had been largely lost sight of and sacrificed to scientific classification.<sup>91</sup>

The tensions between these two roles and how old standards of arranging could be improved for the future gave rise to an approach termed 'the new museum idea' in the 1880s. This

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<sup>90</sup>The desire to facilitate the education of the general public was expressed at the Australian Museum in 1885 and by the British museums association during the same period. See references in Bennett (1998) 'Speaking to the eyes' in Macdonald (ed) (1998) *The Politics Of Display*, pp27-8. Another museum professional who expressed the same ideas was Brown Goode, see *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to Professor Brown Goode from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, September 11th 1891.' p144 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) and Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p37

according to Flower was the keynote of nearly all museum reform at the time.<sup>92</sup> The concept attempted to reconcile these two divergent interests and establish approaches to arranging collections that could satisfy the needs of both audiences. Dual systems of arrangement were seen as one solution. This involved the separate display of collections for study and public exhibition.<sup>93</sup>

As a result of these debates, museums were redefined as sites for public and moral education as well as for scientific research and training during the Victorian era.<sup>94</sup> Working class constituents previously excluded from educational endeavours were now given equal access to museums. A mission such as this was also integral to a moral pedagogy that sought to convey attitudes towards art, heritage and technology, ethics of self-refinement and perceptions of citizenship.<sup>95</sup> This concept of equal access to the rich and the working class and its civilising intentions was outlined by Professor Brown Goode in his 1895 publication *Museum Administration*. Cheeseman endorsed Brown Goode's principle as an institutional mission in the 1915 publication, *The First Fifty Years of the Auckland Institute and Museum*.<sup>96</sup>

The future of the Museum, as of all similar public institutions, is inseparably associated with the continuance of modern civilisation, by means of which those sources of enjoyment which were formerly accessible to the rich only, are now, more and more, placed in the possession and ownership of all the people, with the result that objects which were formerly accessible only to the wealthy, and seen by a very small number of people each year, are now held in common ownership and enjoyed by hundreds of thousands.<sup>97</sup>

By the 1880s arrangements designed for popular education predominated over those developed purely for scientific research in many museums. The way museums made their collections more instructive and interesting to general audiences was a matter for individual experimentation.<sup>98</sup>

This new museum philosophy was adopted by the Auckland Museum. Such competing roles were the focus of enduring tensions - the need to produce a scientifically based

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<sup>91</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p37

<sup>92</sup>Ibid. p38

<sup>93</sup>Ibid.p51

<sup>94</sup>van Keuren (1984) 'Museums and Ideology', pp172-189

<sup>95</sup>Thomas (1995) *After curiosity*, p9

<sup>96</sup>Cheeseman (1917) *The First Fifty Years of the Auckland Institute and Museum*, p20

<sup>97</sup>Ibid.

<sup>98</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, pp40-41

authoritative statement and the production of an interpretative system that could be meaningfully read by the lay person. Popular educational interests however prevailed.

Gray's concerns were repeated almost word for word by Professor F D Brown (President of the Auckland Institute) in his anniversary address to Auckland Institute members on the 18th May 1886.<sup>99</sup> Scientific classificatory arrangements were seen by Brown as a reflection of the expertise and interests of the institution's management and the desire on the part of curators to undertake scientific research rather than for the communication of ideas and concepts to lay persons.

After a time scientific classification entered the field, and the objects were arranged according to some system, elaborated by those who had paid attention to the special subject. It then became possible for the visitor who possessed the key to the classification to find his way amongst the collections, and even to observe instances of similarity or dissimilarity with reasonable facility; to those, however, who were not furnished with the key, the new arrangement offered no more and no better lessons than the old. To this day the great majority of museums remain at this stage, and they do so because those responsible for their management are conversant with the meaning of the classification.<sup>100</sup>

Although audiences shared a conceptual map with the curator in terms of a cultural background, a shared conceptual language of the classification was a point of contention. Providing that connection between conceptual mapping and specific conceptual languages was a key issue in ensuring that messages embodied in these representations could be meaningfully interpreted.<sup>101</sup> Reading the right messages rested on the way specimens were observed and examined. This was dependent, according to Flower, on scientific mental training that the lay person did not have.<sup>102</sup> He described this ability to judge in the right way as a precious gift of the scientific profession.<sup>103</sup>

On the basis of these concerns approaches were subsequently developed to guide the visual examination of specimens and facilitate accurate judgement making. Brown proposed the establishment of an additional classification system for lay visitors, to more clearly show

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<sup>99</sup> 'Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) pp595-602

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. p596

<sup>101</sup> Hall (1997) *Representation*, pp5-8

<sup>102</sup> Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p28

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

'relations, points of similarity and of dissimilarity, between objects ... [and] to bring these points into prominence'.<sup>104</sup> This was to be achieved by 'special groupings, plentiful descriptions on labels and illustration.'<sup>105</sup> He also maintained that the arrangement for the benefit of the learned be as complete and as well ordered as possible.<sup>106</sup> From such a complete and accurate representation, meaningful scientific research could also be undertaken.

According to Brown the collections arranged for general visitors should be as attractively and fully displayed as possible.<sup>107</sup> Those for research however should be to a great extent kept in draws and cupboards and only those specimens that are in some way especially remarkable displayed in showcases.<sup>108</sup>

Brown's approach was a local response to the dual collection concept. In this instance dual systems within one arrangement as opposed to two separate schemes were deemed to satisfy these needs. This solution was primarily due to space and resource issues that did not allow for two separate displays.<sup>109</sup> His proposed strategies, although acting as testimony to classificatory truths for research purposes, were also intended to explain the nature of the order for visitors. According to Cheeseman arrangements such as these could also provide recreational opportunities.<sup>110</sup>

While attempting to convey specific meanings, these approaches also aimed to teach habits of viewing classification and registers of aesthetic, natural historical and historical recognition.<sup>111</sup> For example Brown believed that through these interpretative techniques he could teach visitors how to read specimens by outlining the points to be noted and comparisons to be made.<sup>112</sup> This was also outlined in his anniversary address to the Auckland Institute.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> 'Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) p596

<sup>105</sup>Ibid. p597

<sup>106</sup>Ibid.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid.

<sup>108</sup>Ibid.

<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to the Town Clerk, March 16th, 1879.' p313 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>111</sup>Thomas (1995) 'After curiosity', p8

<sup>112</sup>'Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) p596

<sup>113</sup>Ibid. p597

Imagine to yourselves a case devoted to the exhibition of varieties in the feet and legs of birds. You would find in it the long-legged, flat footed heron or crane, the web-footed and short legged water-fowl, the bird of prey with its powerful talons, the burrowing bird, the climbing bird, the running bird, and all others possessing typical forms of feet; you would find accompanying each a drawing of the conditions under which it was accustomed to live and seek its food, or,...you would find these conditions actually imitated; you could observe that many of the birds had near them drawings of the fossil birds of their ancestors, ...of their feet and legs; perhaps you might even see the fossils themselves. Further, to each bird would be attached a label, not an ordinary bald and meaningless description, but one in which attention would be drawn to the points to be noted, and comparison suggested with other inmates of the case. From such an exhibit, a visitor who had never seen or heard of any other bird than a sparrow would learn or be almost forced to learn, whole chapters of ornithology. His interest in the subject would be aroused, he would cease to confine himself to feeble or flippant comments, and would finally return to his home with the firm intention of finding out more about birds.<sup>114</sup>

By the 1890s, Brown's proposed solution was implemented by Cheeseman in arrangements. For example in geological displays, each series grouping was accompanied by geological maps, diagrams and sketches to illustrate their structural and stratigraphical relations.<sup>115</sup> The physical character of each specimen was elaborated by textual description.<sup>116</sup> Access to objects for visual observation was also improved. Some specimens were mounted on wooden tables or laid out on cardboard trays so that they could be removed for inspection.<sup>117</sup>

By 1896 other devices were proposed to make the intellectual ordering systems that governed the arrangement more apparent. In a letter to Mr A Boilli, Director of the Museo Martotilli in Barcelona, requesting information about their labelling system Cheeseman suggested that different coloured cards could be used to differentiate classes of cabinets.<sup>118</sup> A device such as this was seen as particularly useful for differentiating structural divisions of fauna and flora.

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<sup>114</sup>Ibid.

<sup>115</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1897-1909.* 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, December 22nd 1897.' p71 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

<sup>117</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897.* Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland' [date unknown] pp707-8 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>118</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897.* 'Letter to A Bofilli, Director, Museo Martotilli, Barcelona, Spain from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, July 16th 1896.' p615 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

Implementing this approach was not seen as feasible however due to difficulties in attaining the necessary coloured cards from Europe.<sup>119</sup>

Explaining class and series groupings and guiding visitors in their understanding of the morphological characteristics of specimens were two aspects of this process. Demonstrating the natural contexts of species was another way of more expressly illustrating their physical nature and habits.

For example on a visit to an Austrian taxidermist Hodek, Flower noted his technique of arranging birds on natural tree branches instead of wooden stands to more explicitly reveal their natural contexts and physical nature.<sup>120</sup> In 1889 Cheeseman used a similar contextual concept for the arrangement of his bird collection. He mounted individual birds in natural stances on modelled tree trunks and placed each series in a diorama to imitate their natural environment.<sup>121</sup> This was intended to more accurately illustrate the essence, habits and environmental context of particular species of birds. Formal pedestal mounting, as previously employed, operated primarily as a way of positioning specimens for morphological observation.<sup>122</sup>

These compositions further contributed to the understanding of the species' morphological characteristics by more expressly demonstrating their natural poses. The lifelike representation of the original specimen, perfect in form, proportions and attitude was seen as almost as valuable for conveying information on the species' morphological points as the living creature.<sup>123</sup> This approach was also evident pictorially with the display of the lion specimen and a separate case with tigers and a leopard. Here the specimens were mounted in a natural pose on a rocky outcrop complete with appropriate flora (see Graphic 4). From this the physical characteristics and stance of these cats could be observed and an impression gained of their habitat.

Over the ensuing years Cheeseman also applied this scheme for mapping and reading an identity and history for Maori people in the Ethnological and later Maori Hall. The use,

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<sup>119</sup>Ibid.

<sup>120</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p45

<sup>121</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mr C.F. Adams, Taxidermist, Pennsylvania Ave, Washington D.C. February 25th 1889.' p627 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>122</sup>Ibid.

<sup>123</sup>Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p17

meaning and the messages to be conveyed about Maori people on the basis of these strategies is a key theme of the following chapter.

## 6.5 Knowing and representing natural resources

Arranging collections at the Provincial Geological Survey (to become the Canterbury Museum in 1862) was for the purpose of 'knowing' and representing the mineral resources of the Canterbury Province for future economic development. As provincial geologist in charge of the collections, Julius Haast's duties were to 'classify and arrange' specimens to illustrate the natural history of the province of Canterbury.<sup>124</sup> Although the arrangement of geological collections was the primary role of the Survey, by 1864 exhibits also included the representation of other natural history specimens such as zoological and botanical specimens. This equated with Haast's desire 'to further the love of natural history and geology in our community by giving opportunities for inspecting the collection'.<sup>125</sup> This statement reflects the beginning of a shift from the mission of the geological survey to the pedagogic intentions of a museum.

Collections were arranged in two rooms in the Provincial Government buildings in Christchurch.<sup>126</sup> Many of these exhibitions focused on illustrating the geological structures of specific localities. For example palaeontological and geological specimens were arranged to illustrate the particular localities of Waipara (North Canterbury) and Lyttleton Harbour (near Christchurch), the West Coast (western coast of the South Island) and Nelson (north western corner of the South Island).<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup>Haast was appointed to the position of Provincial Geologist in 1860. See MS Papers 37 - 283 Von Haast (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection); Sheets-Pyneson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science*, p27; *Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>125</sup>'Report by Julius von Haast on the Museum', *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings Session XXII*, p9 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, B1/F1 1864, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>126</sup>'Report by Julius von Haast on the Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings Session XXX*, p2 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868 Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>127</sup>Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII*, pp3,5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

Arranging exhibits according to these locality groupings and the morphological study of the characteristics of individual specimens enabled visitors to identify rich deposits. For example the arrangement of specimens to illustrate the auriferous nature of the West Coast region was for the purpose of identifying potential gold bearing deposits.<sup>128</sup> Through the morphological analysis of the arrangement of rock formations in the Nelson area, Haast was able to discover a lucrative coal seam.<sup>129</sup>

Why Haast chose to group and arrange these geological specimens by locality rather than by type was due to a number of reasons. By 1868 Haast's objectives were clearly stated and involved the arrangement of collections so that visitors and scholars could gain knowledge of the province's geology, processes and sequences on a local and regional rather than a national level.<sup>130</sup> By undertaking systematic fieldwork Haast was able to document and illustrate the geology of each locality in detail through a range of specimens. As a result displaying this range of specimens enhanced the ability of visitors to successfully identify rich deposits in specific areas. If he had followed Cheeseman's practice at Auckland and arranged by catalogues this could have only provided general information about the defining characteristics of individual rock types. As a form of structural categorisation the catalogue approach did not easily allow for the representation of specific geographical locations.

Given that specimens were arranged by locality it can be assumed that display cases acted as metaphors for these geographical locations and Haast's specific sites of investigation. Through each case arrangement Haast attempted to reproduce the geological nature of localities such as the West Coast and Nelson as an exhibition.

To illustrate the geology of an area and its geological processes, Haast's objective in his layout was to accurately depict the composition and relationships between different rocks that made up his locality as an assemblage. This positioning concept was based on the belief that rich deposits such as gold and coal existed in terms of a locational relationship to other rocks.

The arrangement of a locality collection was intended to reconstruct the rock formations of a given area through the presence and placement of all rock types. As a result each case

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<sup>128</sup>For a discussion on Haast's collecting and research activities see MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast. p28 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection. This reference refers to Haast's 1863 survey of the West Coast.

<sup>129</sup>Sheets-Pyneson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science*, p27

represented complete geological formations and the placement of specimens was intended to replicate the locational relationships as they were found in the field.

As with the Auckland Museum, morphological study provided the key to the identification of and knowledge about these resources. The observation of the physical characteristics of the resource to be identified such as gold or coal, its form, colour, texture and composition enabled visitors to gain an understanding of its principal features.<sup>131</sup>

Given that the identification of geological processes and sequences was also a key part of the investigation at the Canterbury Museum, morphological study also included a comparative element. The value of the locality arrangement as an educational and reference tool was the ability of specimens to work together in an assemblage as a metaphor for the whole geological structure and its stratigraphy. The study of each specimen, their physical differences and similarities and position within the group (as a metaphor for their location in the formation) was intended to enable visitors to gain an impression of the stratigraphical relationships between various rock types and where resources might be located. It was also imperative that these resources were correctly named so that prospectors could accurately identify and map each rock type in the field.<sup>132</sup> It was this analytical process that helped Haast to identify the coal seam in Nelson.<sup>133</sup>

The different ways collections were grouped (Linnean catalogues at the Auckland Museum and by locality at the Canterbury Museum) was a result of the mandate of these two institutions, the way collections were acquired and the interests and training of the respective curators. The mandate of the Provincial Geological Survey was to systematically document in detail the geology of each locality and arrange these so people could more accurately identify the resources of a particular region. As a geologist Haast was trained in the arrangement of collections to represent geological structures, processes and stratigraphy.

At the Auckland Museum during the 1860s the institution had no paid full-time staff to undertake systematic fieldwork and to arrange collections accordingly. Arranging type specimens was seen as the best means to 'museumify' natural landscapes and produce a

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<sup>130</sup> *Report by the Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, pp5-6 Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868

<sup>131</sup> Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p16

<sup>132</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>133</sup> Sheets-Pyneson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science*, p27

coherent account of this new environment on a national level. First and foremost the focus was on presenting specimens so that visitors could gain an understanding of the particular characteristics of individual species and resources. Where specimens came from and their locational relationships with others within geological formations do not appear to have been a major consideration during this period. This was due to the fact that the collection was in its infancy. The Auckland Museum was also reliant on donations to develop its specimen catalogues for the purposes of arrangement. The unpredictable nature of donations meant that the catalogue could only be partial and an incomplete representation of the natural world. At this stage Hockstetter's collection of geological specimens was the only collection arranged in any systematic way. This was due to the circumstances of their acquisition as the products of a systematic survey of the North Island.

At the Canterbury Museum completing arrangements involved further systematic fieldwork in a particular locality. Subsequent rearrangements were often undertaken during the course of a survey due to the acquisition and classification of new type specimens that were deemed to further express key geological relationships.<sup>134</sup> Haast was assisted with the arrangement of these collections by Mr P L Holmes, Clerk of the Geological Survey Department.<sup>135</sup> Arranging these collections was a case of advancing knowledge about a particular locality by solving the mystery of their geological make-up through specimens.

As a result specific cases could offer complete representations of a designated locality. Once all localities were documented, an overview could then be made of the natural history and geology of a particular area. For example by 1869 there was a complete collection of the geology of Banks Peninsula and geology and palaeontology of Waipara.<sup>136</sup> A complete range of geological, botanical, ornithological and entomological specimens from the Mount Cook region portrayed the natural history of the locality.<sup>137</sup> Illustrating the fauna and flora of local districts, according to Flower, by the 1890s was a pedagogic strategy considered an essential part of any museum.<sup>138</sup> It was a way of familiarising visitors with the natural environment of

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<sup>134</sup> *Report by the Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, p2 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>135</sup> *Ibid.* p4

<sup>136</sup> *Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869, Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII*, pp3, 5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.* p3

<sup>138</sup> Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p21

specific areas. In the case of the Canterbury Museum this was carried out to high level of detail due to Haast's systematic collecting activities.

## 6.6 An insight into the beauty and diversity of the natural world <sup>139</sup>

By the late 1860s the philosophical shift from the survey to a museum was complete and coincided with the demise of the Provincial Survey in 1868. The collections were open to the public under the auspices of the Canterbury Museum in December 1867 in the Government buildings.<sup>140</sup>

By this stage Haast's objective was to represent the diversity of the natural and cultural world.<sup>141</sup> Principal collections on display in 1868 were birds, rocks, fossils, shells, botanical specimens and prehistoric implements.<sup>142</sup> Ensuring the economic success of the Canterbury Province continued to be a major issue. For example by 1870 Haast was also arranging specimens to display economic sciences such as farming.<sup>143</sup> The nature of these exhibits however is unclear from the sources.<sup>144</sup>

By the late 1860s, the arrangement of collections according to classification schemes had become well established.<sup>145</sup> Several classificatory systems operated simultaneously. What system was chosen to represent different aspects of the collection was dependent on the concepts Haast was trying to illustrate as well as the nature and circumstances of a given collection's formation.

Illustrating the geology of specific localities continued but greater emphasis was placed on showing sequences. Like earlier examples, the purpose of this approach was to provide better and more accurate data for the identification of rich deposits. For example one system

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<sup>139</sup>Report by Julius Haast on the Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXX*, p2 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>140</sup>Ibid.

<sup>141</sup>Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV*, p5 (Canterbury Museum Records Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>142</sup>Ibid. p4

<sup>143</sup>Ibid. p5

<sup>144</sup>Pictorial evidence to show how displays worked during this period is meagre.

<sup>145</sup>*Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXX*, p1 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, Canterbury Museum Archives)

involved the arrangement of collections according to major geological formations such as river and mountain systems. This was made possible by Haast's systematic investigation of these formations. Within these groupings, specimens were organised by their physical characteristics but also according to their geological age. The way these collections were arranged was described by Haast in his report to the Secretary of Works of the 30 June 1868.

To afford any facility for close examination I have arranged the specimens obtained during the survey, geographically (according to principal river systems, or isolated mountain systems) and afterwards each section according to their lithological characteristics and age.<sup>146</sup>

Through comparative assessments of the physical nature of specimens within these groupings, Haast could represent and the visitor could gain an understanding of the general geological make up of the specified river or mountain system. As with earlier arrangements, through the visual analysis of a given specimen's material qualities (texture, colour and composition), an understanding could be gained of its identifying lithological characteristics.

One innovation was Haast's attempt to represent geological processes and sequences (stratigraphy) through the ordering of specimens by age. The geological sequence for these river and mountain systems was interpreted by observing the order of the group as representative of each phase in the development of these formations.<sup>147</sup> By the study of the geological specimens in the context of this order and the discrimination of their physical similarities and differences, detailed knowledge of stratigraphic relationships could be ascertained. As a result minute shades of difference in the material qualities between rocks in the order suggested the passage of millions of years.

A similar approach was taken at the Auckland Museum from the middle of the 1870s. Here the representation of stratigraphy and the age of rock formations was also used as a means for the identification of rich resource deposits. The first exhibit of this type, the series of rock specimens from Europe, was arranged as a type collection rather than by locality. As a result it acted as a generic collection of specimens rather than representative of the composition of a specific formation. By the 1880s and 1890s, once more fieldwork had been undertaken and collections became more complete, specimens were grouped according to locality and as representative of specific rock structures.

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<sup>146</sup> *Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, pp5-6 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2, Canterbury Museum Archives)

At the Canterbury Museum Haast appears to have been influenced by the work of geologist Lyell in the way he arranged his geological collections. In Lyell's *Principles of Geology* published in the 1830s he proposed the idea of chronological stratigraphy for geological specimens.<sup>148</sup> As a consequence geological collections were the first specimens to be arranged according to a principle of orderly change over time and read in terms of differences in the visible surfaces of specimens.

A similar approach was also taken with the display of palaeontological collections. Here fossil specimens gathered during the survey were grouped primarily on the basis of age rather than by locality. It is likely that this approach was a way of incorporating local specimens with general type specimens from other parts of New Zealand according to one classificatory scheme. The ordering of all these fossil specimens by chronological age suggests that it was Haast's intention to represent the passage of time. The nature of these palaeontological arrangements was also described by Haast in his report to the Secretary of Public Works of 30 June 1868.

The palaeontological collections of the survey have been arranged according to their age, and in order to give a complete view of the fossiliferous rocks of New Zealand the fossils from other portions of the colony which do not occur or have not yet been discovered in this Province, have been placed in their proper position.<sup>149</sup>

By presenting the fossiliferous rocks of the province for viewing and analysis, Haast hoped that visitors could identify these examples in the field and gain an understanding of the types of rock formations that contained fossil material. The reference collection from other parts of the colony, including items that had not yet been discovered, assisted prospectors to identify similar resources in the area. In many instances, the presence of fossiliferous rocks suggested rich coal deposits.

Grouping fossils by age rather than by locality was a generic approach and a way for Haast to represent the evolutionary sequence of living things. Each display case acted as a metaphor of biological time whereas individual specimens represented a point in the evolutionary

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<sup>147</sup>Ibid.

<sup>148</sup>Pearce (1992) *Museums, Objects and Collections*, p 103

<sup>149</sup>*Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, pp 5-6 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2, Canterbury Museum Archives)

sequence. As a result millions of years were represented and compressed into these arrangements. The defining characteristic of this approach was the application of an evolutionary dimension to New Zealand biological collections through an arrangement. It also reflected the transference of general principles for ordering geological collections to biological collections.

At the Auckland Museum Cheeseman did not order biological collections by age but instead arranged them by fixed structural categories of class and series. This was due to his interest in displaying catalogues and the observation of the structural features of each species in isolation rather than illustrating the passage of evolutionary time.

Although Haast spent many years undertaking field research and arranging collections, he felt that his knowledge of New Zealand geology was still imperfect. As with Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum, Haast was also 'completeness' driven.<sup>150</sup> Complete arrangements were a way of telling a full story about a particular topic no matter what system was used (type collections, localities or groupings by age).

One of the systems Haast used was the arrangement of type collections similar to those developed later at the Auckland Museum with the appointment of Cheeseman. As with the Auckland Museum, exhibiting type collections was intended to illustrate the main facts of the three natural kingdoms of zoology, botany and geology. These exhibitory intentions were outlined in a report to the Provincial Council on the arrangement of the collections in the museum by Haast in 1870.

[The aim is to give] a general insight into the beauty and diversity of the three natural kingdoms...also to secure collections from the best authorities in their respective branches, so they might serve as types...for the purposes of teaching.<sup>151</sup>

Haast began building these collections by the gathering of 'authored' types through exchanges as well as by fieldwork.<sup>152</sup> As with the Auckland Museum it represented an encyclopedia in the making.

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<sup>150</sup> 'Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV*, p6 (Canterbury Museum Records, Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.* p5

<sup>152</sup> Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII*, pp18-19

In the same 1870 report on the arrangement of collections Haast refers to the display of a large collection of New Zealand birds. This suggests that, like Cheeseman in later years, Haast was interested in completing series representative of all species variations. Other collections however, appear to be less developed, such as foreign mammals .

I have placed the skeleton of Moa (or Dinornis) and other recent skeletons, in the so called Coffee room of the Provincial Council, which has been temporarily allowed for the use of the Museum, also some attached moa bones, the large collection of New Zealand birds, a few foreign stuffed mammalia etc.<sup>153</sup>

The arrangement of type collections also included these foreign natural history collections. For example specimens gathered during the geological survey were placed in two rooms in the northern portion of the Government buildings along with 'geological, palaeontological and mineralogical collections from foreign parts'.<sup>154</sup> As the actual comparison of specimen with specimen was the basis of zoological and botanical research, these arrangements enabled local examples to be compared with foreign equivalents for identification.<sup>155</sup> For example this matching and identification process was done with collections of recent shells of New Zealand and other parts of the world.<sup>156</sup>

Developing type arrangements was a standard practice for naturalists during this period. On this basis it can be assumed that the intention of the arrangement of these type collections was to introduce people to the structure and nature of principle life forms. As with the Auckland Museum knowing this new environment equated with being able to correctly identify the morphological characteristics of living and inanimate things.

More importantly, type collections at the Canterbury Museum were intended to provide opportunities for visitors to observe the evolutionary development of life-forms. By developing these collections Haast also had on hand the necessary evidence to undertake

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(Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>153</sup>*Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, pp5-6 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>154</sup>*Letter by Julius von Haast Provincial Geologist, Geological Survey Department to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June 1868*, p5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 F2, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>155</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p20

comparative research and arrange collections to express evolutionary relationships.<sup>157</sup> For example collections of Mollusca, Echinodermata and Radiata from New Zealand and foreign countries were arranged 'in order to afford an opportunity for the comparison of recent forms with fossil ones of the lower classes of life'.<sup>158</sup>

Darwin's key concept of natural selection was based on the idea that existing forms of life were derived from other forms by a natural process of descent with modification.<sup>159</sup> Any regular change in the structure of specimens equated as progressive change over time.<sup>160</sup> Using fossil collections such as these during this period was seen as a safe foundation to research and demonstrate the doctrine of evolution. It was a way of showing particular organisms that lived in the deep past and how modern equivalents evolved by gradual modification from their predecessors.<sup>161</sup> Haast's desire to compare these collections from the deep past with more recent history demonstrates his intention to trace evolutionary paths.

Tracing the path of evolution involved a familiarity with the physical characteristics of the species of mollusc or insect the naturalist was attempting to research. Plotting this process of descent worked by the analysis of particular attributes and modifications of features in the same or different species to ultimately trace a particular characteristic back to its origins.<sup>162</sup> The accurate assessment of this evolutionary path was dependent on making the right comparative judgements about the relative level of sophistication demonstrated by the particular structural characteristics of a part or the whole specimen.<sup>163</sup> These species were then conceptually ordered by the researcher as an expression of their place in an evolutionary framework. In the arrangement of Haast's type collections an evolutionary framework was not evident as a physical arrangement, rather specimens were presented as evidence from which researchers could trace their chosen traits. These arrangements represented Haast's first attempt at exploring and writing an evolutionary sequence for New Zealand.

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<sup>156</sup> *Letter by Julius von Haast Provincial Geologist, Geological Survey Department to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June 1868, p5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 F2, Canterbury Museum Archives)*

<sup>157</sup> Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p20

<sup>158</sup> *Letter by Julius von Haast Provincial Geologist, Geological Survey Department to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June 1868, p5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 F2, Canterbury Museum Archives)*

<sup>159</sup> Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p22

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.* p23

<sup>161</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.* p102

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.* pp103-4

This logic was later transferred to cultural collections by ethnologists in Europe and the United States and used to produce the technological or evolutionary series. Pioneered by Pitt-Rivers, objects from different racial collections were grouped by function primarily and by form to demonstrate the general lines of evolutionary development of a particular appliance, art or craft.<sup>164</sup>

Well labelled specimens were imperative in order to carry out meaningful research or pedagogic activities. Learning through morphological study involved memorising the characteristic features of a type specimen and matching these observations to its correct name and classification.<sup>165</sup> As a consequence labelling specimens at the Canterbury and Auckland Museums sought to present specimens as representative of their class by a generic or specific name.<sup>166</sup>

Haast however intended that these arrangements also be used to aid future investigations into the study of geology and natural history and the process of descent.<sup>167</sup> As a consequence Haast took great care to ensure that each specimen was accurately identified and correctly named by authorities.<sup>168</sup> If specimens were classified incorrectly then the resultant research would be flawed. For example geological, mineralogical, ornithological specimens were named by authorities in the field.<sup>169</sup>

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<sup>164</sup>Harrison (1915) 'Ethnographical Collections and their Arrangement', p223. Also see a statement by Pitt-Rivers relating to the objectives of an ethnological museum when he presented his collection to the University of Oxford in 1874 in D. Murray, (1904)*Museums: Their History and their Use* (James MacLehose and Sons, Glasgow) Vol 1 pp 243-4 and Lt. Gen. A.L.F. Pitt-Rivers (1906) *The Evolution of Culture and other Essays* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

<sup>165</sup>Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV (1870)* (Canterbury Museum Records Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870 p6 Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>166</sup>*Report by the Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June 1868*, p7 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>167</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>168</sup>Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p22

<sup>169</sup>*Report by Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June 1868*, p7 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, Canterbury Museum Archives) and Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV (1870)* p6 (Canterbury Museum Records Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870 Canterbury Museum Archives)

## 6.7 Space and the expression of classification

Haast's commitment to the public exhibition and the ordering of many of the collections according to classification was hindered by the lack of space.<sup>170</sup> A need for more space for the materialisation of classification schemes as an exhibition was also a concern of Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum during the 1870s and 1880s. Space was synonymous with the demands of the arrangement, as spatial relationships provided the visual and volumetric terms of the classification system being represented.<sup>171</sup> With the rapid growth in the collections at the Canterbury Museum, which by this stage numbered close to 25,000 specimens, space for arrangements had become critical. As a result one third of the collection was still in the storeroom.<sup>172</sup>

As with the Auckland Museum the random placement and crowding of specimens seriously compromised correct morphological observations while creating inappropriate relationships and distracting influences. Specific problems associated with the arrangement of these collections at the Canterbury Museum included the difficulty of integrating new specimens into established arrangements and the crowding of those items which 'provided less facility for the examination' of their visible surfaces.<sup>173</sup> As a result the pedagogic and research functions of the arrangement were undermined. Haast tried to remedy these problems as much as possible by removing specimens from display while selecting those that best reflected the ideas he was trying to portray.<sup>174</sup>

Other arranging difficulties included the necessity to separate collections of a similar type into various rooms within the Government buildings 'by which a general view could not be

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<sup>170</sup> *Report by the Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June 1868*, p2 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868)

<sup>171</sup> Celant (1996) 'A Visual Machine' in Greenberg, Ferguson & S. Naime (1996) *Thinking about Exhibitions*, p375

<sup>172</sup> *Report by the Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30 June 1868*, p2 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, Canterbury Museum Archives) and von Haast (1946) *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast* ) p603

<sup>173</sup> *Letter by Julius von Haast Provincial Geologist, Geological Survey Department to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June 1868*, p2 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 F2, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

obtained'.<sup>175</sup> In order to make meaningful comparisons it was imperative that specimens were arranged together in the same space.<sup>176</sup>

Driven by the desire to overcome these problems and further his own research objectives through arranging, Haast put forward plans for the establishment of a new purpose built museum. Haast's intentions were outlined in a report to the Secretary of Public Works in June 1868.

May I be allowed to express by sincerest wish that these collections will soon be placed in a suitable building where their use will be greatly increased. As a means of practical education in geology and Natural History.<sup>177</sup>

The new building was finally opened on 1st October 1870.<sup>178</sup> Within a short time however, space for arranging had again become critical due to the rapid growth in collections both local and foreign. As a consequence of these space issues much of the collection remained in storage.<sup>179</sup>

Further additions were proposed and a two-storeyed Gothic addition, constructed at right angles to the original building, was completed in 1872 as shown in Graphic 8.<sup>180</sup> The first section was opened to the public in March 1873 and the remainder in July of the same year.<sup>181</sup> Recurring resourcing issues in terms of space and adequate display furniture had a major influence on the timing of and implementation of arrangements of Maori and foreign

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<sup>175</sup>Ibid. pp2-3

<sup>176</sup>Ibid

<sup>177</sup>*Report by the Julius Haast, Provincial Geologist to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June 1868*, pp7-8 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F2 1868, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>178</sup>The development of the current building is outlined in *The Canterbury Museum: A Short Guide* (1946) p4 and MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast, p33 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

<sup>179</sup>'Report of the Director of the Canterbury Museum for the financial years 1872-73 To the Trustees of the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, 30 September 1873.' *Report to the Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table: Report on the Canterbury Museum for the year ending 30 September 1873, Session XI no 27, 1872-3*, pp5-6 (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1 B1/F9 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>180</sup>*Report to the Provincial Council: Annual Report of the Canterbury Museum for the financial year ending 30 September 1872, Session XXXIII (1872)* (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1 B1/F8 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, Canterbury Museum Archives) and Sheets-Pyneson (1988) *Cathedrals of Science*, p4

<sup>181</sup>'Report of the Director of the Canterbury Museum for the financial years 1872-73 To the Trustees of the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, 30 September 1873.' *Report to the Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table: Report on the Canterbury Museum for the year ending 30 September 1873, Session XI (40) no 27, 1872-3*, p1 (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1 B1/F9 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, Canterbury Museum Archives)

collections. The way architectural space operated as a way of expressing Haast's narratives of locality, chronology and evolutionary history for Maori collections is discussed in Chapter 8.

### 6.8 Arranging according to carefully thought out theories<sup>182</sup>

The arrangement of collections in the new building was an extension of Haast's previous work. The gallery, as illustrated in Graphic 9, is the two-storeyed addition constructed in 1872. Its design was reminiscent of the Auckland Museum Princes Street building opened in 1876. The ordered and rectilinear layout of the space and mezzanine gallery facilitated the arrangement of collections according to principles of classification and division. Physical, spatial and positioning devices were used to enhance these classificatory objectives. The area was divided by barriers that protected and encapsulated series. For example the grouping of moa (at the back of the gallery) and a comparative anatomical grouping of mammals (in the foreground) were bounded by railings and mounted on plinths. Each specimen was mounted to show its visible surfaces from all sides for examination and comparison.

By design, display cases acted as a linear route of sentences for the placement of species series. For example in Graphic 9 the wall case in the far left corner contains a series of birds arranged systematically according to Dr Gray's (an ornithologist based at the British Museum) list of birds. The arrangement of birds according to Gray's scheme demonstrates Haast's commitment to the organisation of collections according to current scientific thinking and the research of world authorities.<sup>183</sup> A description of the display is outlined in Haast's report to the Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Canterbury College in 1875.

The Birds with the exception of the extensive New Zealand series have been arranged systematically, according to Gray's list of birds, representatives of the family NZ. genera having been added, which not only makes comparison between them easier, but shows us also what the Museum collections are still deficient.<sup>184</sup>

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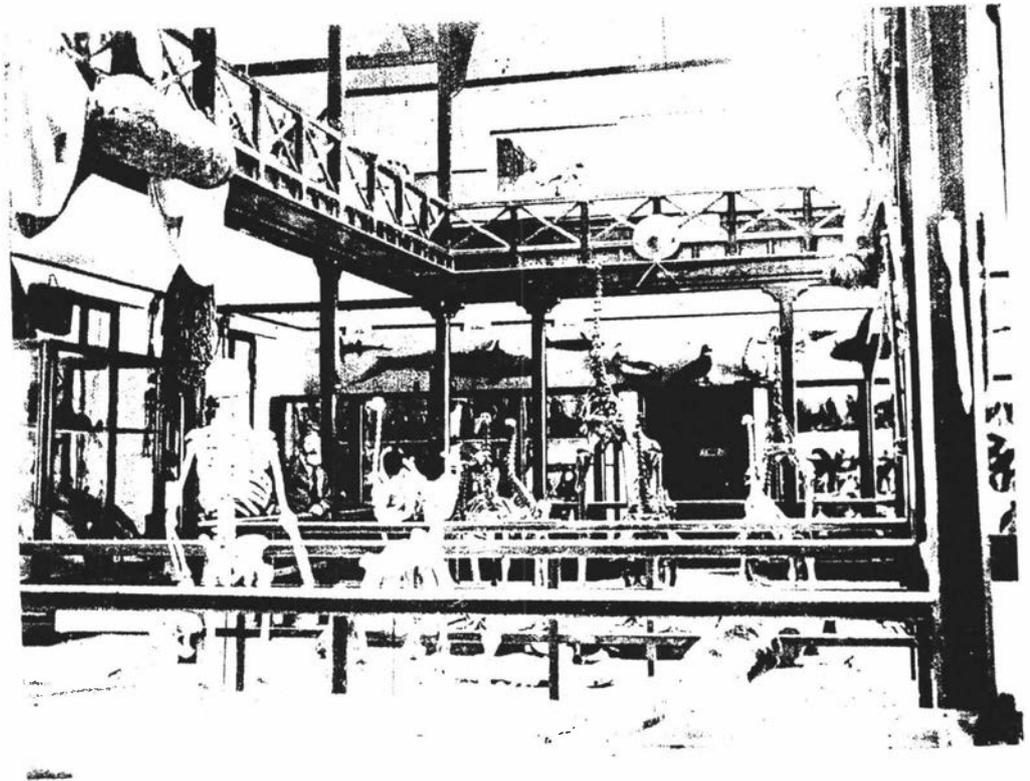
<sup>182</sup>MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast, p32 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

<sup>183</sup>*Report to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875 By Julius von Haast, Director, pp2-3* (Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1 B1/F13 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>184</sup>*Ibid.*



Graphic 8. Sketch of the Canterbury Museum, Rolleston Avenue, Christchurch, in 1876. The original building is shown on the left and the 1872 addition on the right. (Collection of the Canterbury Museum)



Graphic 9. Interior of the exhibition gallery, Canterbury Museum, showing the arrangement of ornithological and mammal collections with Julius Haast on the left, 1872 (Collection of the Canterbury Museum)

Collections were divided into separate rooms according to departments of natural history.<sup>185</sup> The main hall (as shown in Graphic 9) contained mainly ornithological and comparative anatomy collections. By dividing collections in this manner Haast could group them to give a general overview of a particular branch of science. For example grouping all birds together enabled himself and visitors to study the morphological characteristics of birds, understand the characteristics of genera, or to trace the evolution of particular characteristics such as the development of the wing or the beak.

By the middle of the 1870s a greater emphasis was placed in the arrangement of collections according to Haast's own theories and what he considered were the natural classifications of living things.<sup>186</sup> The purpose of these arrangements was to contribute to the advancement of knowledge.<sup>187</sup> Although it is not clear from the sources what this statement meant, descriptive information about his subsequent arrangements demonstrates its meaning and message.

Through Haast's research on the moa he ascertained that there were two families of moa, two genera and 11 species. As a result he arranged the moa collection according to his new classification and presented it as a truth statement of the 'natural relationships' between these birds. Details of this arrangement are outlined in Haast's report to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury College in 1875.

The collection of the unarticulated type *Dinornis* of the *Dinornithidae* has been ticketed... and is exhibited together with a large series of immature bones, showing the specific difference between the different genera very clearly.....the material has been brought together over a number of years will be of considerable scientific value ... showing at a glance what...features my new classification of the *Dinornithidae* have been based <sup>188</sup>

As the visible expression of Haast's new classification (as shown in Graphic 9 at the back of the gallery), this exhibition of moa was intended through study to reveal the secret of the bird's

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<sup>185</sup>Report of the Director of the Canterbury Museum for the financial years 1872-73 To the Trustees of the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, 30 September 1873.' *Report to the Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table: Report on the Canterbury Museum for the year ending 30 September 1873, Session XI (40) no 27, 1872-3*, p1 ((Canterbury Museum Records, 4/1 B1/F9, Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>186</sup>MS Papers 37 Folder 25A von Haast., p32 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

<sup>187</sup>Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p20

<sup>188</sup>*Report to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875 By Julius von Haast, Director* p3 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1/F13, Canterbury Museum Archives)

evolution.<sup>189</sup> The natural classification of moa was based on the belief that members of the group having similar characteristics were descended from a common ancestor and became differentiated into species by various means.<sup>190</sup> By analysing the visual patterning, shape and structure of anatomical specimens an empirical truth about the species origin could be exposed.

In this instance Haast's parent species, *Dinornis*, was the focus of investigation. Specimens were chosen to illustrate Haast's classificatory concepts and the process of descent. Selecting and arranging specimens to show particular characteristics was no longer solely based on authored types. The group, through carefully considered specimens that included immature bones, was intended to mark out a path of descent and show the differentiation of genera from the parent type.<sup>191</sup> For example immature bones provided the key to tracing resemblances between all species, as standard characteristics were more evident in the early stages of life than in adulthood.<sup>192</sup> From these the researcher was able to work out what were the standard features of all types rather than those that were adaptive characteristics of particular species.<sup>193</sup>

Through the comparative analysis of the anatomy of these specimens, visitors and scholars could establish a series of identities and an order of physical differences between the various moa skeletons. By tracing the percentage of resemblances in their structure, visitors and scholars were able to reconstruct the path through which the species evolved from its parent family *Dinornis*.<sup>194</sup> Considering that Haast believed that various species occupied different habitats, it is likely that the study of the minute structural differences between each specimen provided an insight into how each type varied according to the locality in which it was found.<sup>195</sup>

The sources are unclear about how interpretative access was provided to this classificatory system or the way visitors were guided in their observations. It is likely that ticketing gave an identifying name to each skeleton according to Haast's nomenclature for his classification families, genera and species.

Although both Cheeseman and Haast linked species in the arrangement by structural features their variations were read differently. It appears as if Cheeseman had an older more orthodox

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<sup>189</sup> Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p167

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid. pp115

<sup>192</sup> Ibid. p119

<sup>193</sup> Ibid.

<sup>194</sup> Anderson (1989) *Prodigious Birds*, p22

approach to arranging and morphology. As a Linnean cataloguer his interest was in educating people to observe and identify the structural and visible features of species. Each family arrangement and species series was examined in isolation as a way of gaining an impression of its specific form.<sup>196</sup> This pedagogic process is described during this period as the uncovering of the facts of morphology.<sup>197</sup>

For example Cheeseman's arrangement of ratites was a way of illustrating the nature and the physical character of the members of the group. Morphological analysis focused on gaining an impression of the defining characteristics of the moa in comparison with other species of ratite. There do not appear to be any specific sources that show that Cheeseman used these collections to demonstrate a path of evolutionary descent from a parent species.<sup>198</sup> This system did not preclude other researchers from reading variations as evolutionary modifications. The presence of all types and their variations provided the necessary data to undertake this type of research.

Although Haast was interested in the morphological characteristics of each species he moved beyond identification and sought to understand variations in the structure of species in terms of evolutionary modifications and the process of descent. By observing these minute changes in form and their comparison with other examples he could physically reconstruct the course of history and time. The difference between these two orientations (morphological facts and evolutionary modifications) equated as differences between the work of Cheeseman as a member of the Linnean Society and that of Haast as an evolutionist.

Haast's interest in organising collections according to what he considered were natural classifications is also demonstrated by his arrangement of mammals. This display is also outlined in his report to the Chairman of the board in 1875.

The Mammals have been placed together as near as possible according to their natural classifications.<sup>199</sup>

The relationship between evolutionary theory, morphological study and arranging was further demonstrated with the display of representative skeletons. A Moriori skeleton

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<sup>195</sup>Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p15

<sup>196</sup>Ibid. p102

<sup>197</sup>Ibid. p103

<sup>198</sup>Ibid., pp166-167

<sup>199</sup>*Report to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875 By Julius von Haast, Director*, p2 (Canterbury Museum 4/1 F/13, Canterbury Museum Archives)

(indigenous people from the Chatham Islands, who like Maori people, were Polynesian but considered a degraded race) was placed with a gorilla and European example (as shown in Graphic 10, left to right). Each stood as evidence of the anatomical characteristics of its respective types as variations of the family primate.<sup>200</sup>

It is likely that Haast's decision to place skeletons on display was due to the fact that anatomical structures were seen as the most valuable form of evidence for research during this period. The rationale was that the skeleton was the framework around which the body is formed and hence gave the researcher an outline of the general morphological character and organisation of the animal from which evolutionary paths could be revealed.<sup>201</sup>

Haast's choice of specimens was for the express purpose of revealing the order of evolutionary descent of the European type and the Polynesian type from the gorilla. Through comparative anatomical morphology the closeness or distance of the physical attributes of the European or Moriori from that of gorilla was a way of reconstructing this path. According to Professor W H Flower one of the most important anatomical characteristics that distinguishes Europeans from the lower animals and marks them as superior to inferior races is the size of the protrusion of the lower part of the face in relation to the brain.<sup>202</sup> For example in the gorilla skull that protrusion was pronounced. The Moriori skull showed a greater protrusion than the European type on the right.

The features of the Moriori skeleton, particularly the structure of the skull, were read as a closer match to the gorilla. This provided an anthropological metaphor for the placement of the Polynesian type in the deep past and Europeans in more recent history. As a result this arrangement reinforced the view that Europeans represented a more evolved form than Polynesians and was a justification for writing Maori people out of contemporary life while viewing them as a relic of early history. This approach also demonstrated how Haast used arranging as a means of reading sequential change and increasing complexity within the context of evolutionary theory. This display completed the transference of an evolutionary logic to human history. The steps were from geological collections to living things (as seen with palaeontological collections and moa) then to humans through physical Anthropology.

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<sup>200</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits' p256

<sup>201</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p88

<sup>202</sup>Ibid. p245



Graphic 10. Moriori, Gorilla and European anatomical display, c1872  
(Collection of the Canterbury Museum)

Haast's objective through arranging was to facilitate research into a number of areas. These included the structure and evolutionary development of species, working out problems connected with variations of species, fixing the limits of the geographical distribution of fauna and flora or determining the span of geological time and the New Zealand sequence. All systems required that specimens be positioned so that close examination and comparison could be undertaken. As a result four approaches to the arrangement of specimens were instituted by Haast. These included locality groupings for producing a detailed account of specific areas, the production of an historical timeline by the ordering of specimens by age and catalogues of type specimens for tracing morphological paths. The last category was arranging by subject the selection of specimens to illustrate his own theories about natural classifications and the concept of descent.

Both Cheeseman and Haast attempted to produce truth statements about the natural world. These curators assumed a power to order the world and life itself. Cheeseman's arrangements were intended to be descriptive through the placement of species into fixed categories based on their structural affinities. The value of the object was determined by its structure. Given Cheeseman's more orthodox approach to arranging, his exhibitions could be interpreted as a process of controlling the world by placing objects in their proper compartments according to their form. The intentions of the display could be easily read because of these obvious structural parameters.

Haast was more interested in viewing these structural connections as generic relationships.<sup>203</sup> He tried to read, and in some instances physically sequence, structural and visible differences between objects, and arrange them as an order to expose the truth of biological history and the passage of time.

### **6.9 Catering for the didactic needs of popular and scholarly audiences**

The way exhibitions were developed at the Canterbury Museum and how the needs of differing audiences were satisfied also followed international debates at the time. By 1870 reconciling the didactic needs of popular and scholarly audiences was one of Haast's concerns.

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<sup>203</sup>Ibid.

Whereas Auckland Museum was primarily committed to providing popular educational opportunities, Canterbury Museum had three broad mandates in terms of intellectual access to arrangements. These were scientific research, academic teaching and popular education.<sup>204</sup> According to George Brown Goode (Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution) in 1881 the ideal national museum had three roles: to preserve the material foundations of scientific knowledge, to encourage research and to educate the popular mind.<sup>205</sup> Haast's efforts to educate these three audiences demonstrated his commitment to the growth of a museum at the forefront of contemporary practice.

Both Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum and Haast saw museums as cultural instruments and an index of civilisation. The differing emphases on their targeted audiences can be explained by the underlying philosophies of the two institutions. At the Canterbury Museum Haast saw science as the means of saving the world and promoting a state of civilisation. The close association of the Canterbury College with the museum, Haast's collecting and research activities and the mission of the museum suggest that he believed that accurate knowledge and a scientific manner of thought was the key to promoting, the physical, mental and moral welfare of the nation.<sup>206</sup> It was from this solid empirical knowledge base that the education of all classes, particularly youth, was to become possible by promoting rational thought and hence facilitating their intellectual development.<sup>207</sup> The arrangement of New Zealand 'productions' for general educational purposes as well as for scientific research and teaching was a concept embraced by curators at the Otago Museum.<sup>208</sup> This museum was also affiliated to a university.

Civilising rituals at the Auckland Museum however were focused on the moral uplift of the underclasses and the general public as a means of maintaining a state of civilisation.<sup>209</sup> During this period these classes were seen, like primitive people, as children, morally, rationally and

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<sup>204</sup>Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV 1870*, p4 (Canterbury Museum Records, Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>205</sup>G. Brown Goode (1881) 'The Organisation and Objects of the National Museum', Appendix 4

<sup>206</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p67 and Hinsley (1981) *Savages and scientists*, p92

<sup>207</sup>Kuklick (1991) *The savage within*, p99

<sup>208</sup>MS58 T.F. Cheeseman Box 9, Folder 3 *Letters from F.W Hutton to T.F. Cheeseman, 1874-1901*. 'Letter to T.F. Cheeseman, Curator of the Auckland Museum from F.W. Hutton, Christchurch, 10th July 1883.' (Manuscript Collection, Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>209</sup>Cheeseman (1917) *The First Fifty Years*, p20. Also see Kuklick (1991) *The savage within*, p100

intellectually immature.<sup>210</sup> Educating the 'popular mind' was promoting the development of rational thinking.<sup>211</sup>

At the Canterbury Museum arrangements were designed to provide access to three targeted audiences, the general public, for the teaching of youth, and for study and comparison for those people who wished to devote their time to scientific research.<sup>212</sup> To provide the necessary information to make his civilising goals become a reality, Haast had to ensure that his arrangements serviced all these needs. One solution to the problem was to separate general and popular collections from the series devoted to education and research.<sup>213</sup> This was to be achieved by a dual collection approach. By placing systematic collections of geology, mineralogy, palaeontology and conchology on trays in cupboards, arrangements could then be restricted to the display of a representative series of specimens to illustrate the main facts of a particular topic.<sup>214</sup>

This approach does not appear to have been implemented by Haast. As a result these diverse audiences were served within one arrangement. For example with Haast's geological displays, contributions were made to economic development by educating people to identify, find and make use of local mineral resources. Well-ordered and complete arrangements with correctly identified specimens could also provide a meaningful tool for the teaching of geology and palaeontology, as well the provision of accurate information for research.<sup>215</sup>

As with the Auckland Museum it appears as if Haast at Canterbury followed the general principles of the 'new museum idea' similar to the Auckland Museum.<sup>216</sup> It was a way of

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<sup>210</sup>Kuklick (1991) *The savage within*, pp99-101

<sup>211</sup>Ibid.

<sup>212</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p66 and 'Report on the Arrangement of the Collections in the Canterbury Museum by Dr J. Haast FRS Director of the Canterbury Museum' *Report to the Provincial Council Journal of Proceedings Session XXXIV (34) 1870* p 5 (Canterbury Museum Records, Files kept by Directors Previous to 1948, 4/1 B1/F6 1870, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>213</sup>Report on the Canterbury Museum by the Trustees and Director thereof For the Year Ending 30th September 1871 *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXV 1871*, p12, 4/1 B1/F7 (Canterbury Museum Records Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>214</sup>*Report to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875 By Julius von Haast, Director*, pp2-3 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1/F13, Canterbury Museum Archives) and Flower. (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p1

<sup>215</sup>Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII (1869)* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>216</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p41

giving greater intellectual value to objects. As shown in Graphic 9, the number of specimens was restricted, with each specimen placed so it could be distinctly seen with a clear space around it for examination. Specimens selected for exhibition had a specific purpose either to stand for its type or illustrate a particular principle as demonstrated with the grouping of the moa or the series of birds according to Gray's classification. As well as providing a properly arranged museum according to these principles, the care that Haast took to label his collections also expressed his commitment to educational and research pursuits.<sup>217</sup>

Whereas the Auckland Museum acted as a book of nature while trying to find a social balance between scientific and popular education, the Canterbury Museum attempted to display the fruits of research that had nationalistic as well as scientific implications. In both instances these institutions attempted to provide democratic access to knowledge by improving the relationship between the object and the viewer in order to unlock a more true and meaningful knowledge.

The following three Chapters 7, 8 and 9 critically examine the way Maori societies were given form and meaning in exhibitions through objects. They analyse how natural historical method and the particular theories that governed these arrangements were transferred to cultural collections.

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<sup>217</sup>Ibid. p57

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Illustrating the manners, customs and mode of life of the Maori Race<sup>1</sup>

Exhibiting Maori identity and history  
at the Auckland Museum from the 1890s to 1920s

*The adoption of European dress and European methods of living have much diminished the interest in the natives, and practically the only place where the tourist can see anything real Maori is in Museums.*<sup>2</sup>

#### 7.1 Aspects of Maori life and technology

The exhibition of Maori material culture during the formative years of the Auckland Museum does not appear to be documented in the sources. It is likely however that the first display held in the Old Government Farmhouse did include Maori objects held in the collection such as mats, as well as a number of recent acquisitions. For example several Maori objects were gifted to the museum on 21st October 1852, a few days prior to the opening on Wednesday 27th October.<sup>3</sup> These included a carved walking stick, an *awhato* [sic] and a *heitiki* (pendant).

The role of Maori objects in terms of this representation can be deduced by the criteria used to assess objects during this period. As outlined in Chapter 2, Maori objects acquired at this time were imbued with value as specimens and were attributed specific representational abilities as typical examples of their type, such as a mat or *heitiki*.

As a result the display of available and 'good' representative specimens illustrated aspects of Maori life and technology. For example mat specimens stood for the Maori textile industry whereas a *heititki* was representative of the types of objects produced for personal ornamentation. The selection of these objects according to criteria of authenticity (methods of

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<sup>1</sup>*Cyclopedia Of New Zealand*, Vol 2 (1902) p174

<sup>2</sup>A. Hamilton (1902) *Notes on the proposed Maori Museum addressed To Members of The Legislative Council and Of The House of Representatives.*, p 6 (unpub. mans. Archives and Manuscripts Section, Alexander Turnbull Library)

manufacture or age) ensured that their physical presence within the display expressed a true traditional form.<sup>4</sup> Given the criteria of type and authenticity, from which selections were made, it can be assumed that these objects were interpreted on a number of levels. For instance they would have operated as examples of technological and artistic achievement, as examples of a characteristic style, to illustrate aspects of Maori life, as remnants of the past and as the last remaining vestiges of the race. Given the unfamiliarity of these cultural objects to the museum's audiences (which would have been primarily European) it can be assumed that they were also read by visitors as exotic or curious due to their unusual nature.

The lack of more substantial Maori collections precluded the possibility of a more complete picture of the race being presented. This position was a reflection of the respective priorities of the curator and the institutional mission whose primary focus was on the representation of natural resources. By the late 1850s these authentic statements of Maori material culture had been extended to include a number of mats, carvings, walking sticks, weapons, pendants (*heitiki*, comb), implements (spade), canoes (model war canoe) and a canoe bailer.<sup>5</sup> Maori collections formed part of Cheeseman's process of catalogue completion. Collectively these series contributed to the production of a picture of the indigenous natural and cultural landscape.

## 7.2. Enlargement is required to remove the incongruity of arrangement

As with natural history inventories, the production of a catalogue of the Maori race was well underway by the late 1870s. By the late 1880s many series were nearing completion. This process of completion was driven specifically for arranging purposes. Although Cheeseman intended to arrange these collections to produce a picture of the Maori race and 'to make apparent the range of their modes of life and customs', a lack of space precluded this possibility.<sup>6</sup> As with natural history specimens, space for the visible expression of the Maori race as classification was a key prerequisite for arranging as outlined in the Annual Report of 1886-7.

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<sup>3</sup>See entries for 21st October 1852 in the *Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum* 1852, p8 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>4</sup>*Auckland Museum Early Correspondence* 1851-1861. 'Letter from Mr J.A. Kirk to Archdeacon Mr Williams, Poverty Bay, New Zealand, 12th May 1850.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>5</sup>*Journal of the Accessions Register of the Auckland Museum* 1852, p46 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>6</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1891-92., p7; F.D. Brown (1892) 'Auckland Museum' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol. XXVII (1892)

In the present building it is impossible to properly classify and arrange the collections, and the general appearance of the museum and its value as a teaching institution suffer from the fact that the most incongruous objects have of necessity to be exhibited in juxtaposition.<sup>7</sup>

This situation seriously compromised Cheeseman's interpretative and educational objectives for the Maori collection. The availability of space for the proper arrangement of Maori collections was also a result of prevailing institutional and curatorial priorities, which sought to focus on the exhibition of natural history specimens.

The collective arrangement of Maori collections was imperative for Cheeseman to express his own view of the race. His desire to place all Maori collections together in one space suggests the influence of Franz Boas at the US National Museum in 1887. Existing typological arrangements at the US National Museum meant that collections were ordered by type as an evolutionary sequence rather than geographically.<sup>8</sup> This prevented the arrangement of a conclusive statement of a given race's nature and identity as written in all the specimens that made up the collection. As a consequence Boas proposed that the art and characteristic style of a given people could only be understood by studying their productions as a whole.<sup>9</sup> In a letter to a donor, Mr J F Gurrant of Paparoa in 1894, Cheeseman outlined the importance of exhibiting all Maori collections together and adhering to a classification system to convey the message of the arrangement. In this letter Cheeseman stated:

[The] use of a Museum to the public depends entirely on the classification and proper arrangement of the exhibits and it would obviously be impossible to follow any system of classification if each donor's specimens were to be exhibited separately.<sup>10</sup>

Although the problem in this instance was not a lack of space for groupings but rather the placement of objects according to donor, the outcome was the same. The placement of individual objects without reference to their classificatory relationships meant that the arrangement was rendered virtually meaningless.

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(Wellington: Lyon & Blair) p703 and *The Standard Dictionary of the English Language.*, (1893) I.K. Funk (ed) (London: Ward, Lock & Co Ltd) Reference to 'display' (v), p529

<sup>7</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7

<sup>8</sup> I. Jacknis (1985) 'Franz Boas and Exhibits' in Stocking (ed) (1985) *Objects and Others Essays on Museums*, p79

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to Mr J.F. Gurrant, Paparoa from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, January 9th, 1894.' p382 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

Due to these space constraints, from the 1870s until the late 1880s Maori specimens were randomly placed amongst a diverse range of other natural and cultural specimens.<sup>11</sup> This was due to the fact that there was only one gallery space. The nature of the problem was reiterated by the President of the Auckland Institute Professor F D Brown in his address to members in 1886. In this address Brown outlined his concerns about the existing arrangement and stated the following:

[In the arrangement] diverse objects are placed side by side for instance Greek Statues surround a Maori House, against the back of which a case of stuffed monkeys is placed. Many have to be placed too high or too low, so that it is difficult for the visitor to examine them; small specimens are squeezed under or between larger ones ... a few have to be placed behind others ... Other classes of specimens are not much better situated for example the Polynesian ethnological specimens on the south side of the gallery.... impossible to display the whole collection.<sup>12</sup>

Graphics 11 and 12 illustrate these incongruities such as the placement of Greek statues next to the Maori House. A solution to the problem was the separation of classes of specimens into separate halls. These divisions according to Brown were ideally by departments or disciplines such as natural history, sculptures and Ethnology.<sup>13</sup> Once these great classes were separated (the Maori race as part of Ethnology) exhibits could then be designed for the instruction of visitors. Classificatory groupings could be organised, individual specimens positioned for the observation of their morphological characteristics and labelling systems employed to establish their type identity. More importantly it enabled audiences to gain an impression of each series without visual distraction.<sup>14</sup> The importance of these physical class divisions and the impact of existing practices on the educational value of the collection were outlined by Brown in his anniversary address to members of the Auckland Institute in 1886.

This subdivision is not only valuable from the administrative point of view, but is necessary in order to avoid incongruous ideas being simultaneously thrust on the visitor. Take our museum - which is not subdivided, for the simple reason that there is but one room, and that an insufficient one, in which to place all the collections.

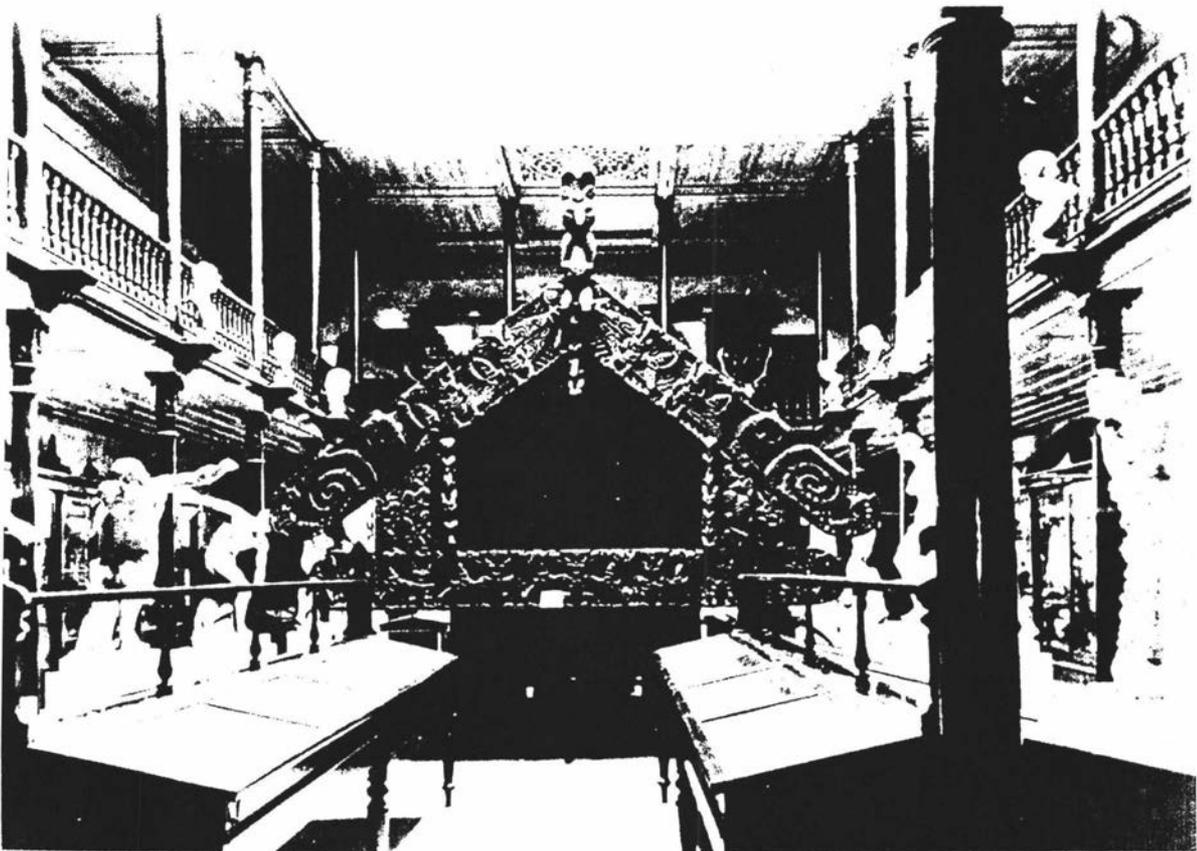
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<sup>11</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum*. 1886-87. p7

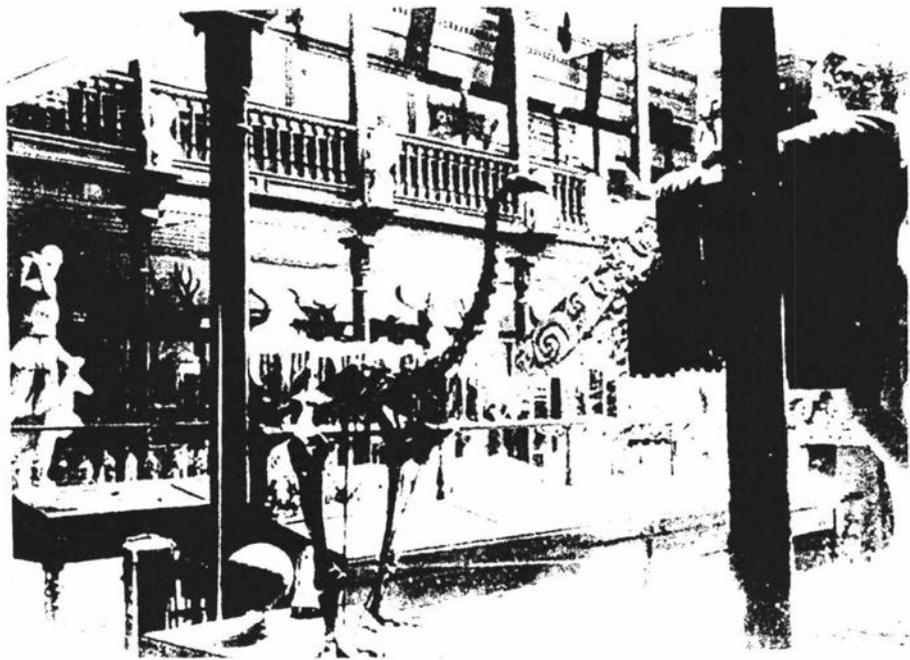
<sup>12</sup>'Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) (Wellington: Lyon & Blair) p598

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.* p598 and *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1886-87. p7

<sup>14</sup>'Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) p601



Graphic 11. Interior of the original gallery illustrating the 'incongruous' arrangement of collections, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, pre-1891 (Collection of the Auckland Museum)



Graphic 12. View of the original gallery showing the juxtaposition of natural and cultural specimens, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, pre-1891 (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

Here we find that, while we are endeavouring to obtain definite ideas with regard to the skeleton of the moa, our attention is suddenly diverted by the brilliant colours of a vase of wax flowers; we are no longer musing upon the mysteries of artificial flower-making, than we are called off to wonder at the peculiarities of Maori architecture; [sic] but while we are attempting to decipher the hieroglyphics emblematic of Maori tradition, we become conscious that close by us is the divine form of Aphrodite, and that a goddess from Olympus is smiling down upon the recent ornament of a Maori village.<sup>15</sup>

Like the random placement of natural history collections, the indiscriminate arrangement of disparate objects not only compromised Cheeseman's ability to properly display them but was also seen to lead to an 'incongruity of impression' by distracting visitors in their analysis of specimens. Juxtapositions were seen to overshadow objects and in some instances according to Harrison create inappropriate relationships between the sacred and the profane.<sup>16</sup> Some of these incongruous relationships were seen to border on the ridiculous. For example the class of mats was displayed individually on the railing of the mezzanine floor with classical sculptures as illustrated in Graphic 13.

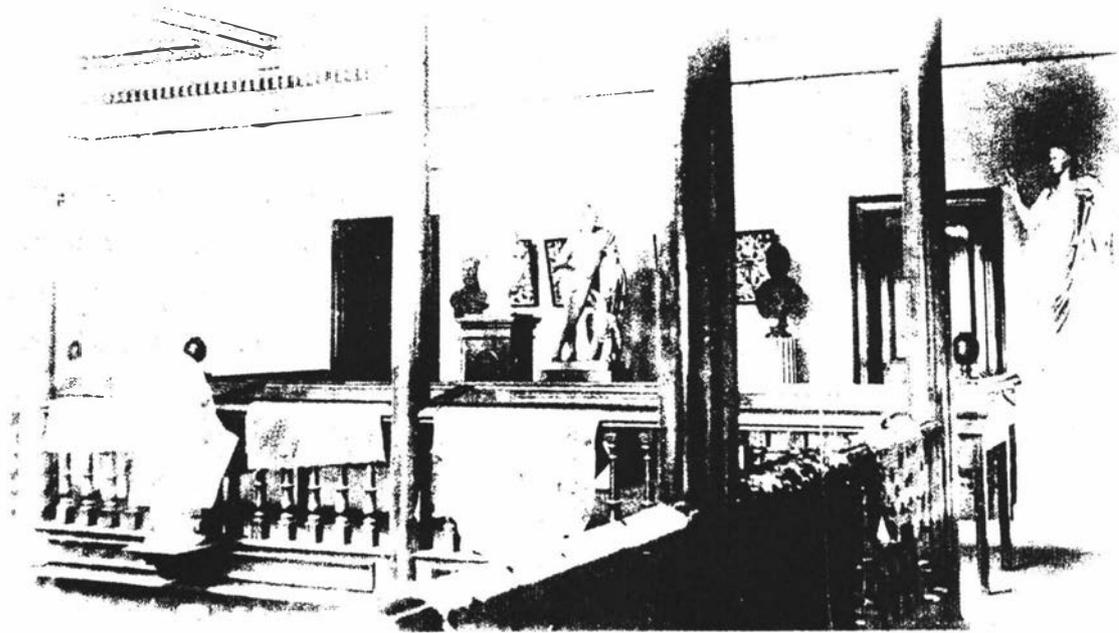
The morphological analysis of these mat specimens was severely restricted by physical constraints, inappropriate juxtapositions and the lack of appropriate mounting to make their visible surfaces more apparent. It was Cheeseman's intention that visitors examine them to gain an understanding of how each example was made. Due to each specimen's physical distance from others in the series, easy and direct observation and comparison of their physical attributes were difficult. The positioning of specimens as a series together was imperative to facilitate comparisons and judgements about the level of technological development demonstrated by Maori people in the textile arts.

Within this context each object could only act as a visual sign of its type rather than as an element in an overall picture of Maori life. As a result it is likely that visitors were restricted in their reading of specimens as an expression of a relic of an authentic and lost past, as examples of fine workmanship and as curiosities (the unfamiliar, old and rare).

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<sup>15</sup>Ibid. p598

<sup>16</sup>Harrison (1915) 'Ethnographical Collections and their Arrangement', p223



Graphic 13. Mezzanine floor display showing a series of mats exhibited with classical statuary, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, c1880s (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

Brown also felt that the lack of a systematic or proper arrangement for the Maori collection had reduced the possibility of attracting bequests and gifts of 'native works.'<sup>17</sup> These concerns were also outlined in Brown's anniversary address to the members of the Auckland Institute in 1886.

To subdivide our collections would be of very great value in quite another way. At present it is not clear that we are particularly interested in any special branch, and hence any person who may have devoted his attention to some subject, such as the accumulation of specimens of native work, is not led to feel that we also are engaged in the same direction. Gifts and bequests, which as everyone knows, are the great support of institutions such as this are not attracted, but find their way to England or to other towns in the colony, where it is presumed they will be more prized and displayed with better effect.<sup>18</sup>

As with divisions of natural history the first step in the establishment of such a systematic arrangement for Maori collections was their separation from other objects and placement together within a discrete space to enable viewing and contemplation. In the years 1886 and 1887 the Maori collection was displayed in the entrance hall as outlined in the Annual Report of that year.

The miscellaneous Maori carvings, formerly scattered in various parts of the Museum, have been brought together and placed in the entrance hall. The formation of a more complete collection to illustrate the manners and customs of the Maori race is a matter that urgently requires attention, and in this the Council invite the active co-operation of the members.<sup>19</sup>

It was not until a commitment had been made by the Museum Council to the construction of the Ethnological Hall in the late 1880s that a real possibility of progress began to be made on a collective representation of the Maori race by classification.<sup>20</sup> A critical factor in the design of the hall according to Brown in the *Transactions of the Auckland Institute* in 1892, was the allowance of space to facilitate the process of collection completion. In this paper Brown stated:

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<sup>17</sup>'Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) p598

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7

<sup>20</sup>Brown (1892) 'Auckland Museum' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol. XXVII (1892) p703

[With Maori collections] if they were to make any further advance, ... an additional hall in which they could place their ethnological collections and especially their specimens of Maori workmanship...no grand ornamental, permanent edifice was required, but one in which attention was paid to the necessity for elasticity in the accommodation, for facility of modification, so that additions and rearrangements could be effected without restriction...before long they would be able to place before the public such a well-ordered and complete collection of Maori workmanship as befitted...a city the history of which was so intermingled with that of the natives.<sup>21</sup>

As with natural history, completing collections was a way of ensuring that all knowledge about the Maori race was present so that an accurate image could be represented in the arrangement.<sup>22</sup> As gaps were identified in the collection and new variations on series were obtained, series groupings had to be reworked and rearranged to accommodate these new types. Hence this new space was intended to act as an architectural metaphor not only for linear arrangements but also for the process of knowledge completion about Maori people.

The desire to develop a discrete demarcated space for the arrangement of Maori collections was an act of self-enclosure. According to Cheeseman it had the potential to provide a memorial of the lost arts, manners, customs and mode of life of the Maori people for the general public.<sup>23</sup> It also enabled him to produce a permanent physical statement about Maori people.<sup>24</sup> A commitment to a new hall at that time was inspired by evolutionary ideologies and the perceived need to memorialise an authentic version of this dying race for perpetuity.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum*. 1886-87, p7

<sup>23</sup>MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum Records miscellaneous papers re: early days*. 'Folder of the Auckland Institute and Museum - particular reference to the development of the Maori sections, 89/215.' 'Circulars re: grant to Museum.' Memorandum relative to the Proposed Subsidy to the Auckland Museum' by F.D. Brown, President of the Auckland Institute and T.F. Cheeseman, Secretary. p1 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library); *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1882-February 1890*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman Director to Hon. E. Mitcheson, Auckland, November 2nd 1889.' p689 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library); *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1889-90*, p8

<sup>24</sup>Stewart (1984) *On Longing*, p151

<sup>25</sup>It appears as if Cheeseman first articulated the desire to establish complete collections of Maori specimens as early as 1877. See the *Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book, May 1872 - February 1882* 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to Mrs Davis, June 8th 1877.' p202 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library). By 1886 collecting Maori specimens had become an institutional priority. See *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1886-87*, p7

The promise of a dedicated hall was also an incentive for Captain Gilbert Mair to place his collection on deposit for the exhibition in this new gallery.<sup>26</sup> Acquiring this collection however, was seen as imperative to ensuring a satisfactory display in the new hall. This was due to the collection's quality and completeness.<sup>27</sup> Mair's collection had previously been on exhibition in the Early History Court at the Dunedin exhibition in 1891.<sup>28</sup> By its display in this section it appears as if by the 1890s it was generally accepted that Maori people was attributed to an early stage of history. This evolutionary state was first 'proven' by Haast in the early 1870s.

Mair's collection of specimens was exhibited in a specially designed display case because it was 'considered numerous as representative of Maori life, in excellent condition, and of undoubted authenticity'.<sup>29</sup> For the first time this collection enabled Cheeseman to present a comprehensive and cohesive view of the habits and mode of life of a nationally representative Maori race albeit on a miniaturised scale. In the Report of 1891-92 the response of visitors to this display was outlined as follows:

It has attracted a large number of visitors, and is continually referred to by people desiring to become acquainted with the habits and mode of life of the Maori race.<sup>30</sup>

This display was also intended to facilitate the study of Maori history and Ethnology.<sup>31</sup> The perceived ability for this display to support such a study was due to a combination of factors. For instance the nature and extent of the collections were seen as a near complete record of Maori life. This would have satisfied Cheeseman that the typical characteristics of the race were present. Secondly the allocation of a designated space enabled him to divide specimens physically into classes and series and place them in their proper groupings for viewing purposes. Thirdly the quality of the specimens ensured that the collection represented the best and most authentic statement about Maori life. From this, accurate judgements could then be made about the race's technical and artistic abilities and lifestyles. Such a

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<sup>26</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland to Capt. Mair, November 6th, 1890.' p41 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library). The letter refers to the supply of information for the proper labelling of specimens; *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1890-91*, p8. Captain Mair was a private collector.

<sup>27</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to H W Tiune Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, April 20th 1892.' p218 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>28</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1890-91*, p8

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1891-92*, p7

<sup>31</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1890-91*, p8

consideration however was of secondary importance.<sup>32</sup> Its primary intention was to enable visitors to gain an impression of the Maori race, its habits, customs and mode of life through groupings of material culture.

### 7.3 A hall devoted to the ethnological portion of the collections

The establishment of the Ethnological Hall at the Auckland Museum in 1892 provided a permanent home for the Maori collection. It enabled Cheeseman to finally group the whole collection to illustrate the manners, customs and mode of life of the Maori race. The development of this space according to Cheeseman was warranted due to the quality and completeness of the collection and its status as the largest publicly held repository of Maori objects in the colony.<sup>33</sup> In a letter to the Government Private Secretary regarding the opening of the hall, Cheeseman outlined the intention of the arrangement.

I may state that the Hall has been erected for the purposes of exhibiting to the public a collection illustrating the manners, customs and mode of life of the Maori Race. This collection has been in the process of formation for a number of years and has at length attained sufficient importance to warrant its being placed in a separate hall. It is undoubtedly the best public collection in the colony.<sup>34</sup>

Cheeseman believed that the same natural divisions of orders, families, genera and species governed the underlying structure of the Maori world. Through the grouping of objects on the basis of form into similar class and series divisions, he intended to portray the customs, manners and mode of life of Maori people.

Just as natural history arrangements were intended to illustrate catalogues of local fauna and flora, arrangements of Maori material culture stood as a complete catalogue of the ethnography of the indigenous race.<sup>35</sup> One of Cheeseman's interpretative intentions of this type of arrangement, as outlined with natural history, was to familiarise the general public with the unfamiliar things within this new environment. In terms of Maori collections it enabled citizens and tourists to become familiar with the local 'native' population.

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

<sup>33</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to the Private Secretary, Government House, Wellington from Mr Cheeseman, September [date unknown].' p254 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library). This letter refers to the proposed opening of the Ethnological Hall by the Governor General

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

<sup>35</sup>Reference by E.B. Tylor in *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p617.

Whereas collecting was intended to salvage traditional Maori lifestyles, the arrangement acted as a permanent memorial to the race. This objective was outlined by Cheeseman twenty years later in a memorandum to the national government requesting a subsidy for the Auckland Museum operating budget.

About twenty years ago the authorities of the Auckland Museum recognised that objects of Maori workmanship were fast becoming scarce, commenced the formation of a Maori collection, with the view of providing a permanent memorial of the arts, manners and customs and mode of life of the Maori Race... As a result of these years of patient and consistent labour, a most important and comprehensive Maori Museum has been formed, which is not only a source of enjoyment and interest to the people of Auckland, but cannot fail to be of permanent value in elucidating the Ethnography of the Maori Race.<sup>36</sup>

According to Augustus Hamilton in his bid for a new national Maori museum, popular interest was focused on what was considered real Maori. The adoption of European dress and lifestyles had according to him diminished interest in the natives.<sup>37</sup> As Cheeseman was also interested in providing popular educational experiences, his choice of subject for exhibition, a pure authentic Maori race, was also driven by these perceived interests and expectations. As seen at international exhibitions at the time, the presentation of authentic and exotic natives was a way of constructing a spectacle for popular entertainment.<sup>38</sup>

The Maori race came into existence at the Auckland Museum on the basis of the Ethnographical System. Cheeseman's choice of the Ethnographical System for arranging was also driven by its ability to represent the general life of a given people as a cohesive entity. Cheeseman used this system to discipline diverse objects so at a glance visitors could 'know' Maori people whose characteristics were represented by his choice of objects.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>36</sup>MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum Records miscellaneous papers re: early days*. 'Folder of the Auckland Institute and Museum - particular reference to the development of the Maori sections, 89/215.' 'Circulars re: grant to Museum.' Memorandum relative to the Proposed Subsidy to the Auckland Museum' by F.D. Brown, President of the Auckland Institute and T.F. Cheeseman, Secretary, p1 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>37</sup>Hamilton (1902) *Notes on the proposed Maori Museum addressed to Members of The Legislative Council and of The House of Representatives*, p6 (unpub. mans. Archives and Manuscripts Section, Alexander Turnbull Library)

<sup>38</sup>Richard D Altick (1978) *The Shows of London*. (Cambridge Mass.: Belknap Press)

<sup>39</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, pp40-1

One of this system's other features that was attractive to Cheeseman, was the tenet that a given race's original traits could be preserved.<sup>40</sup> Recovering these original traits for arranging purposes was demonstrated by the criteria of value used to construct Cheeseman's authentic race through collecting. From these uncontaminated collections a true expression of Maori people as a relic of early history could be represented.<sup>41</sup>

By the early 1900s the Ethnographical System had been adopted by most of the large museums in Britain including the British, Edinburgh and Dublin Museums.<sup>42</sup> Other systems used at the time were the technological or evolutionary method.<sup>43</sup> These schemes were practically the same and involved the arrangement of objects representative of all races according to their similar use.<sup>44</sup> Arranging involved the linear placement of these objects as an evolutionary sentence based on their perceived relative sophistication in form. This approach however, precluded any possibility for visitors to gain a general impression of the nature and lifestyles of any particular race.

The ethnographical arrangement was also intended to sustain evolutionary discourses about the placement of a given race within a framework of progressive development on the basis of their technology and art.<sup>45</sup> These intentions were outlined in Roth's (a British ethnologist) 1911 article in *The Museums Journal* on the use and display of anthropological collections. In this article Roth stated:

[The] idea is to give within a certain or uncertain perspective a view of the manufactures of any given people, in order that we may get some notions it may be as to their productions, or to understand their position in the scale of art of manufactures, or to get some knowledge as to their general state of culture or a fair idea as to what sort of people they are.<sup>46</sup>

It was also Cheeseman's intention that the arrangement contribute to an evolutionary understanding of Maori people. For example he embraced these ideas and believed that 'the artistic and domestic productions of the Maori people were capable of suggesting correct ideas of their thought and mode of life'.<sup>47</sup> Brown also saw the arrangement as a means of

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<sup>40</sup>Ibid. p41

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', p287

<sup>43</sup>Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p229

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', p286

<sup>46</sup>Ibid.p287

<sup>47</sup>Cheeseman & Upton, *Auckland Museum*. [date unknown], p1

demonstrating the condition of races such as the Maori nation, 'its prosperity or adversity by its art'.<sup>48</sup> A philosophy such as this saw ethnographical articles in daily use by the natives as embodying their thought and mental capabilities, the forces on which evolutionary discourses rested.<sup>49</sup>

It was on the basis of this belief that completed arrangements were seen to provide a statement of the racial condition of a given people. Accurate judgements could then be made about a race's technological and artistic abilities by the analysis of the physical qualities of all objects. From this an identity could be assigned based on the perceived stage of evolutionary development attained by a given race.<sup>50</sup>

By the second decade of the twentieth century the arrangement of Maori collections in the hall was seen to allow accurate judgements to be made about the Maori race. This shift in the intentions of the arrangement from a purely illustrative function to one that expressed evolutionary discourses correlated with this process of collection completion. The ethnographical arrangement was only arbitrary until all the characteristics of Maori life were present and fixed. As a result Cheeseman believed that the arrangement could provide recreation and instruction for every class of the community from the general public to scholarly research.<sup>51</sup> It could provide at a glance the artistic nature and technological character of the race as well as sustain research into their condition.

The use of the completed arrangement for situating Maori people in an evolutionary scheme and the assignment of an identity was clearly expressed by H D Skinner (curator at the Otago Museum) in *The Museums Journal* in 1917.<sup>52</sup> In his article Skinner made the following statements about Maori identity and history on the basis of the morphological characteristics of objects at the Auckland Museum:

[With the Maori arrangement] here is perhaps the best opportunity that now exists in the world of studying the highest achievement of savage art. For surely no other savage people has ever equalled the complete mastery in execution and design of the Neolithic Maori. The walls of the hall are lined with fine

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<sup>48</sup>'Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) p597

<sup>49</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', p286

<sup>50</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p9

<sup>51</sup>Cheeseman (1919) *What is to be Auckland's War Memorial?*, p5

<sup>52</sup>Skinner (1917) 'The Auckland Museum', pp64-66

pieces of carved woodwork, but what takes the attention first and holds it is the great war-canoe with its splendid decoration of featherwork and wood-carving ... the perfect curve of the great ocean-going hull is in itself, apart from all decoration, a masterpiece of grace. The carved store-house of Pokiha Taranui next takes attention. This lavish display of decorative detail marks the decline of Maori art...in which the preoccupation has been decoration, to the detriment of the main design. From it one turns in relief to the work of the older carvers whose tools were of stone or bone. Of such works the most notable is a barge-board...that is undoubtedly the finest piece of Maori decorative carving that has come down to us.<sup>53</sup>

Each specimen and the sum of these objects equated as an accurate statement about the artistic and technical abilities of the race. Judgements were then made and an identity for Maori people constructed also exclusively on the basis of the physical characteristics of objects. For example Skinner sustained his view that Maori people, as a Neolithic people, were the highest achievers of their stage in the visual arts on the basis of the morphological analysis of the design and the methods of manufacture employed in the production of a range of objects. Cheeseman's selection criteria played an important role in judgement making. Like natural history specimens, quality examples were imperative in order to ensure correct morphological deductions. In terms of Maori specimens those that were genuinely old, good examples of their type or renovated according to the best style, were essential to make accurate assessments about their place in history and their highest evolutionary state.

#### 7.4 Space as a representational tool

Early in 1892 the construction of the new hall was completed. The gallery was a regular rectangular brick addition to the south side of the original building with a concrete floor, an iron and glass roof and a floor area of 100ft x 50ft.<sup>54</sup> The structure had no windows to maximise wall space for the positioning of display cases.<sup>55</sup> It was lighted naturally by a skylight running the length of the roof to enable the visual inspection of specimens.

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<sup>53</sup> Skinner, H.D. (1917) 'The Auckland Museum, New Zealand' in *The Museums Journal*, Vol 17, Nov 1917, No5 pp64-66

<sup>54</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Auckland Institute and Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, November 27th 1896.' p666 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>55</sup> For reference to the importance of wall space for arrangements See H.G. Beasley (1933) 'New Suggestions On Museum Lay-out' in *Museums Journal*, Vol 32, February 1933, P422

The completion of the new hall allowed for the systematic arrangement of these specimens according to a predetermined plan. In the *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* for 1892-3 this plan was outlined in broad terms.

[In the Ethnographical Hall] a considerable number of large exhibits, many of which were necessarily scattered here and there in the old building-thus interfering with any systematic arrangement of the contents-have been brought together and arranged in a definite plan. The main building has been freed from the mass of heterogeneous articles, while the Maori collection, now by far the most complete in the colony, has been suitably displayed and exhibited.<sup>56</sup>

Cheeseman's blueprint for the gallery involved the assessment of the relative proportions of space required for the arrangement of each grouping of objects (carvings, the canoe and storehouses). This was followed by the specification of display cases to accommodate the series collections of smaller objects.<sup>57</sup>

As with the first gallery, the design and use of space was a way of setting the boundaries and controlling and symbolising the language of the classification system. The configuration of the gallery as rectangular and linear allowed for the provision of systematic and ordered arrangements of specimens according to these fields of class and series.

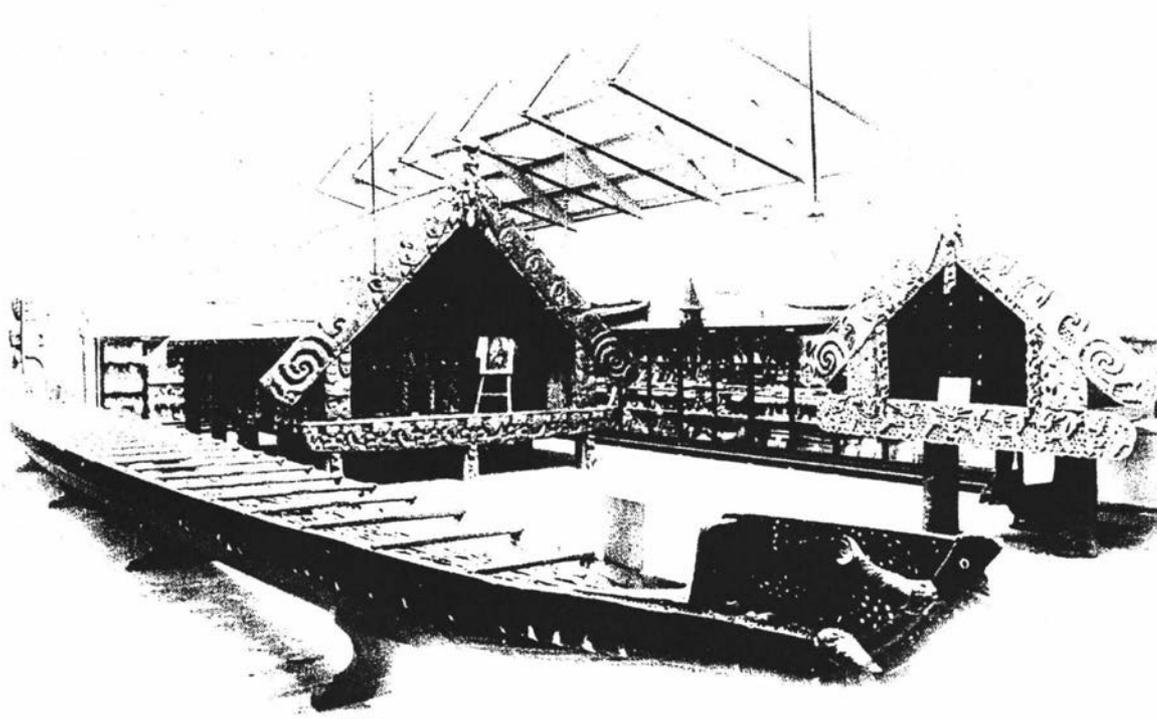
For example the inclusion of two 100ft display cases to fit each side of the gallery constructed a series of sentences for the placement and viewing of the smaller objects according to class and series as shown in Graphic 14. The walls at each end of the gallery were reserved for the mounting of Maori carvings. The centre of the space was used for the placement of the larger representative objects such as the *waka taua* (war canoe), *pataka* (storehouse) and *whare runanga* (meeting house) also illustrated in Graphic 14. This scheme was outlined by Cheeseman in a letter to a colleague in 1892 in which he explained the use and division of space:

[With the arrangement of the Maori collections] our large Maori War Canoe...carved Maori House occupy the centre of the Hall...the ends are covered with the larger Maori carvings and the

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<sup>56</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1892-93 (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) pp7-8

<sup>57</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-1897. 'Letter to H W Tiune Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, August 12th 1892.' p244 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) and Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p18



Graphic 14. Interior of the Ethnological Hall, Auckland Museum, Princes Street [date unknown] (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

two sides are furnished with two show cases, each 100ft in length to take the smaller articles.<sup>58</sup>

The simplicity of this space according to Professor F D Brown was a means of offering a degree of flexibility so that changes could be easily made to the arrangement of the collection.<sup>59</sup> The provision of a flexible space for growth equated with the desire to complete series groupings to more fully represent Maori life. Rearrangements of groupings became a particular issue from the early 1900s as collections neared completion.

The separation of ethnological collections from those of natural science and their placement into a dedicated hall reiterated the use of space as a means of defining collections according to disciplinary boundaries. It reflected the materialisation of Brown's desire to separate collections by classes into separate halls. The use of the discipline Ethnology as a device to separate and define Maori collections was outlined in the Annual Report of 1892-3.

[With the collections] the new hall has been devoted to the exhibition of the ethnological portion of the Museum collections, and particularly to that part illustrating the habits and mode of life of the Maori race.<sup>60</sup>

The display of these collections in a hall labelled as 'ethnological' reiterated a place and identity of Maori people as remnants of early history from which higher races evolved.<sup>61</sup> The predominant collections were Maori and Polynesian which represents a primary division of collections by race and geographical location and subdivisions by ethnographical classification.<sup>62</sup>

## 7.5 The language of classification

The fit-out and arrangement of the hall was Cheeseman's responsibility and between April and August of 1892 he was engaged in organising the collections within the space.<sup>63</sup> In his

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<sup>58</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-1897. 'Letter to H W Tiune Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, 12th August 1892.' p244 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>59</sup> Brown (1892) 'Auckland Museum' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol. XXVII, p703

<sup>60</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1892-93, p7

<sup>61</sup> *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879) p614

<sup>62</sup> Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p228

<sup>63</sup> Reference to the arrangement of the collections in the new hall see *Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-97. 'Letter to Mr T.J. Brassey Esq. from Mr Cheeseman Secretary, April 24th 1892.' p219

arranging Cheeseman followed the principles of the new museum idea. Key prerequisites were the development of a 'correct' classification scheme and good quality specimens.<sup>64</sup> Both these objectives were achieved through his collecting practices and aimed to produce exclusive and well-selected groupings.

Cheeseman was committed to using the most advanced interpretative techniques to explain classification and for the mounting of objects for inspection. This was outlined in his letter to Professor Brown Goode in September 1891.

We are just commencing the erection of some additions to our Museum Buildings, which is intended to devote to the exhibition of our Anthropological Collections...the whole of the contents...which is at present in far too crowded a condition. When doing this, we wish to take advantage, so far as our circumstances will permit, of the many improvements in arrangements..., both in the classification of the specimens and in displaying them.<sup>65</sup>

Well-arranged and labelled arrangements were seen as the most advanced means of exhibiting at the time.<sup>66</sup> Goode, an education advocate of note, was particularly interested in developing labelling and classification systems to facilitate general educational purposes.<sup>67</sup> He believed that the key to meaningful educational experiences was firstly to develop an accurate classification scheme and then to explain that scheme for the public through descriptive labels.<sup>68</sup>

An efficient educational museum may be described as a collection of instructive labels each illustrated by a well-selected specimen.<sup>69</sup>

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and *Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-97. 'Letter to H W Tiune Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, August 12th 1892.' p244 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>64</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-97. 'Letter to Professor Brown Goode from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, September 11th 1891.' p144 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library); Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p41

<sup>65</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-1897. 'Letter to Professor Brown Goode from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, September 11th 1891.' p144 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>66</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p57

<sup>67</sup>G. Brown Goode (1895) *The Principles Of Museum Administration* (York: Coultas & Volans) and Gilman (1923) *Museum Ideals of Purpose and Method* Second Edition, p77

<sup>68</sup>Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, p20

<sup>69</sup>G. Brown Goode (1888) 'Museum History and Museums of History', a paper presented to the American Historical Association in Washington DC, December 26-28, 1888: Reprinted in the *Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (1897) Part II (Washington: Smithsonian Institution)

In was on the basis of Goode's expertise in terms of pedagogic initiatives that Cheeseman requested information about labelling systems including mineral and anthropological examples with sizes, type and materials.<sup>70</sup> He also asked for a number of publications to assist with the classification of specimens and working drawings of display cases.<sup>71</sup> This information was a way of ensuring that his division of Maori collections into class and series followed an accepted procedure used for other ethnographical collections. Display case specifications provided a standard grid for the division and arrangement of series groupings. Sample labels gave Cheeseman a standard to work from for the development of his own labelling system. This documentation provided him with the most up to date way for defining the character of each specimen and for textually expressing their characteristic morphological points.

Cheeseman's collecting activities were determined by his arranging needs and the intellectual intention of the exhibitions. As outlined by Brown and Cheeseman the exhibition had two intentions, to provide a correct idea of Maori life and the illustration of their level of artistic and technical development as an intellectual state. Class and series provided the classificatory rationale that the arrangement rested on and from which interpretation was based. For example the conceptual division of Maori societies into class and series enabled the gathering and placement of objects as representative of the race into technological categories according to like physical characteristics. This allowed classification as representative of the ethnography of the race to be presented as material groupings.

Classifying as a physical act enabled the curator to manipulate and place these predetermined groupings of class and series into meaningful physical relationships that could be read.<sup>72</sup> Objects were defined by form in the same way as natural history specimens. Cheeseman's arranging technique involved the discrimination of physical differences and similarities between specimens by eye and the placement of those with like attributes together.<sup>73</sup>

As a result the exhibition in the Ethnological Hall represented groupings of objects patterned according to their form. For example Graphic 15 illustrates the arrangement of fishnet sinkers

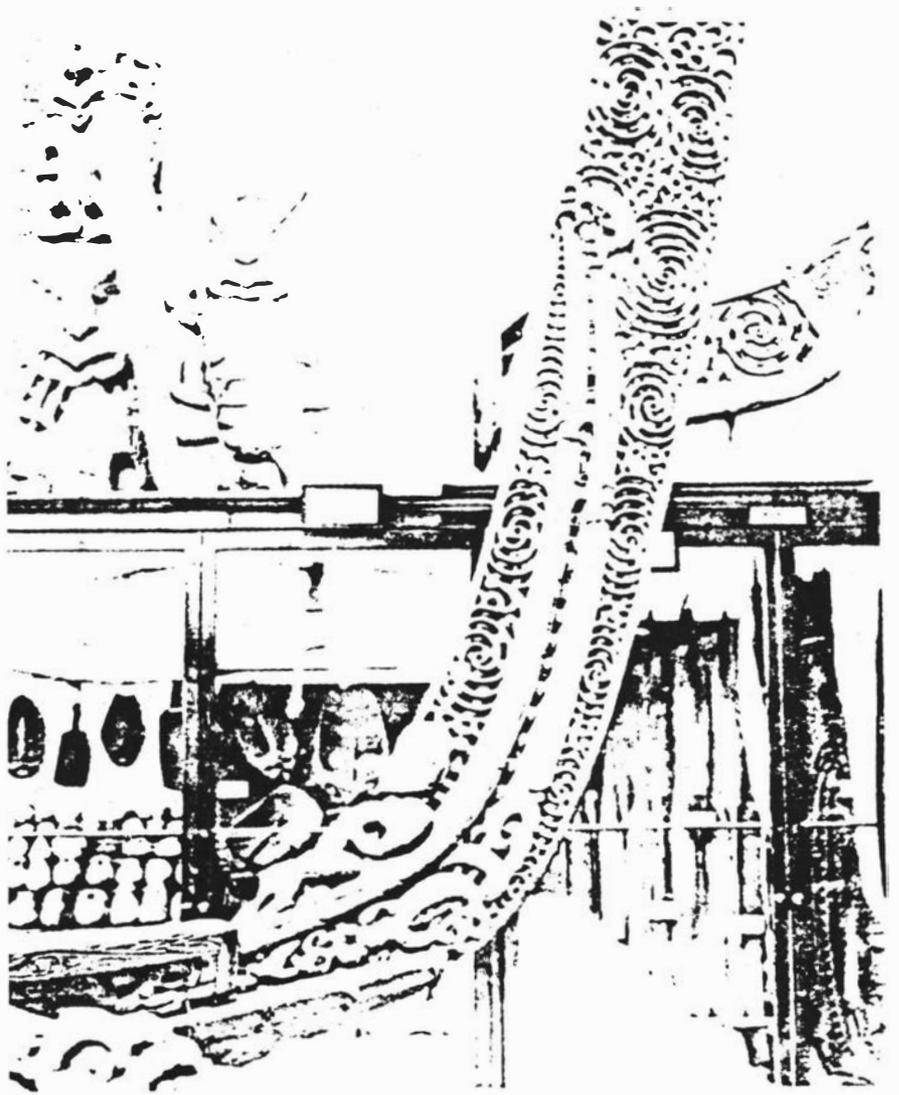
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<sup>70</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897* 'Letter to Professor Brown Goode from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, September 11th 1891.' pp144-145 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>71</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-1897*. 'Letter to Professor Brown Goode from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, April 21st 1892.' p217 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>72</sup>Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting', in Elsner & Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures Of Collecting*, p22

<sup>73</sup>*The Comprehensive English Dictionary*, Ogilvie (ed) (1871). Reference to 'classify' (v), p207



Graphic 15. Section of wall display case showing series of fishing technology, canoe bailers and paddles [date unknown] (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

(on the far left), canoe bailers (in the centre) and paddles (on the right). Another example of this method of grouping is shown by the display of a series of carvings and large canoe paddles on the end wall of the hall as shown in Graphic 16. Here the carvings and canoe paddles are placed in their respective groupings according to like physical characteristics and arranged in a series according to size.

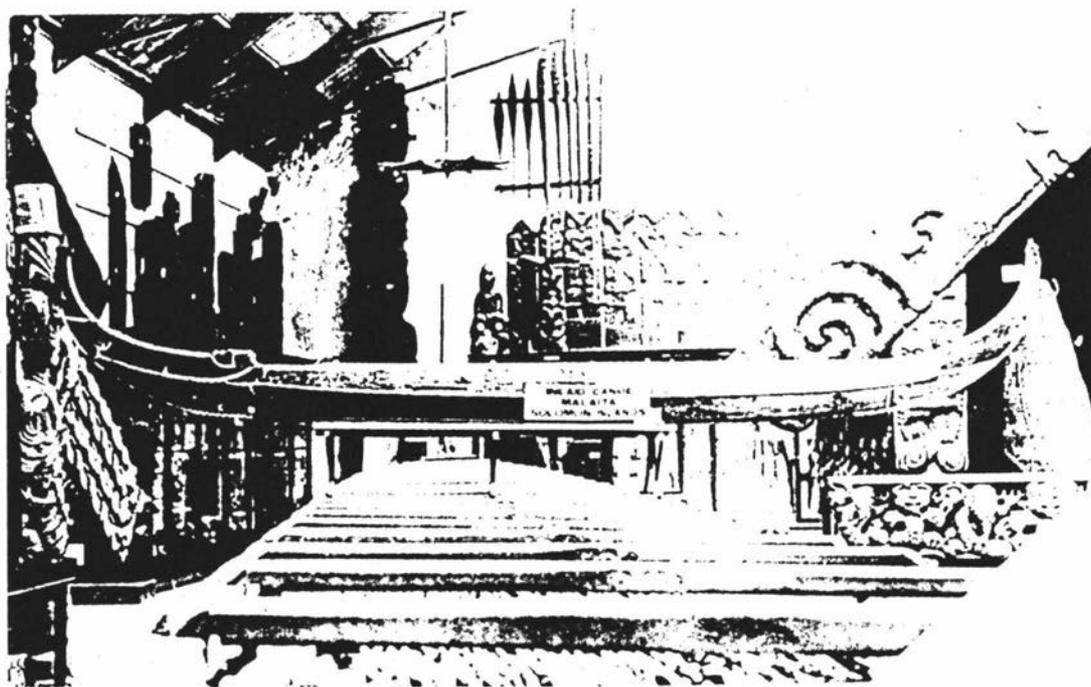
Each class such as weapons equated with Cheeseman's division of specimens according to genera. Series groupings within the class of weapons equated with the arrangement of species such as *mere*, *tewhatewha*, *taiaha* and so forth. Series groupings were also patterned on the basis of variations in physical form and material. For example with the display of Cheeseman's *mere* (fighting clubs as shown in Graphic 17), the various series variations were grouped in symmetrical arrangements according to their physical form, design and the materials from which they were made. For example in the top panel greenstone *mere* feature at each end of the grouping, both similar in shape and design. The example on the right is slightly narrower in shape. The specimens placed on either side of these were two carved whalebone *mere* also similar in shape and design with the example on the left smaller and narrower. Collectively these specimens were intended to visually represent the nature and range of characteristics exhibited by their type, in this instance fighting clubs.

Cheeseman used the 100ft built-in showcases for three purposes. These were to protect objects, to provide a field of view for their physical examination and a structure for the placement of objects as a series of visual sentences for each technological-functional aspect of the race. The linearity and ordered nature of the internal design of the large display units assisted in the definition and formation of class and the division of these schemes into series (as shown in Graphic 14). Each grouping was intended to illustrate the range of manufactures in its class and provide statements about how Maori people lived and the technologies they used in certain activities.

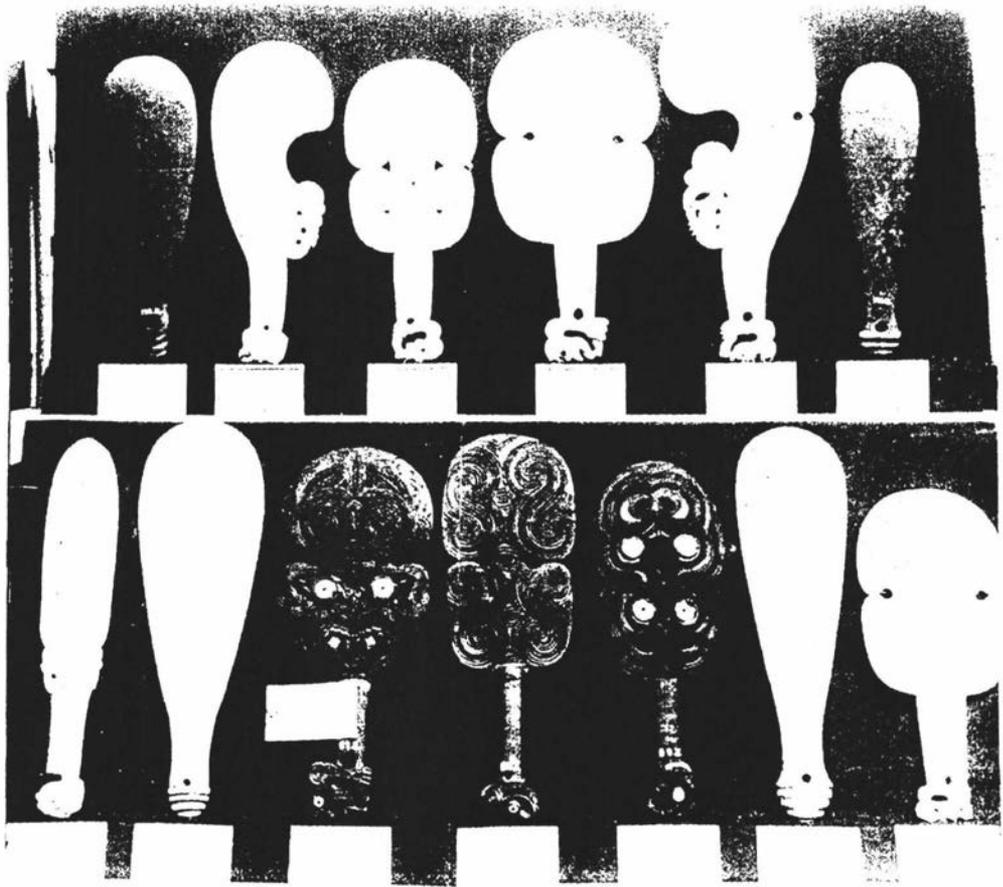
The influence of overseas practice and the role of display furniture as vehicles of containment and regulation were clearly illustrated in the development of new showcases in 1910. According to Cheeseman these cases were designed after the pattern of those at the South Kensington museum.<sup>74</sup> The use of display cases for these purposes was expressed by H G

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<sup>74</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book*, 1909-1920. 'Letter to H. Dobbie Esq. Market Street Epsom from Mr Cheeseman, Auckland Museum, October 4th 1910.' p175 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)



Graphic 16. Interior of the Ethnological Hall showing the display of the Malaitan canoe and *waka tau*, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, c1890s (Collection of the Auckland Museum)



Graphic 17. Series of *mere* (fighting clubs) 1902 (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

Beasley (Director of the Cranmore Ethnographical Museum) in *The Museums Journal* some forty years later. In his article Beasley stated the following:

[In arranging] it is inadvisable to distract the vision by the continuous vista of unrelated objects, it becomes necessary to break up our case into compartments of suitable size, and at the discretion of the curator ... he has to deal with a series of "cells" for the most part regulated by the width of the case doors ... a combination of door areas.<sup>75</sup>

Like the division of bird collections, each display case was broken up into compartments or cells as a way of framing series. Framing series by these means was illustrated by the display of canoe paddles, canoe bailers and net sinkers (as shown in Graphic 15).

Some groupings of classes and series were placed next to each other and were intended to be read together. This equated with Cheeseman's placement of adjacent genera groupings and species divisions as a collection to demonstrate these structural relationships. For example the adjacent series (as species divisions) of fishing weights, net sinkers, canoe bailers paddles and a canoe prow (left to right as shown in Graphic 15) expressed the activity of fishing and the ways fish were caught. By reading the composition of this larger grouping, visitors were intended to gain the idea that fishing was done by casting nets and by line fishing from canoes. The series of fishhooks is not shown in this image. The way Maori people hunted birds was represented by a series of bird snare specimens which were placed together with perches as a means of illustrating how they were caught.<sup>76</sup> According to Cheeseman it was impossible to represent such a function with perches alone.<sup>77</sup>

According to Flower this type of methodological arrangement was primarily aimed at describing species morphologically. It was used by Linneaus and his contemporaries for the representation of animals.<sup>78</sup> Cheeseman used this approach to 'describe' the Maori race and all components of life through objects.

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<sup>75</sup>Beasley (1933) 'New Suggestions on Museum Lay-Out', p423

<sup>76</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Elsdon Best from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, February 2nd 1899.' p203 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

<sup>78</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums and other subjects*, p167

## 7.6 Speaking to the eyes

With ethnological collections, like those of natural history, the morphological analysis of specimens by sight was given an almost exclusive privilege to determine knowledge about races and their history.<sup>79</sup> It was on the basis of this visual logic that the possibility for the existence of such a scheme for knowing Maori existed. Sight determined the selection of appropriate objects by the discrimination of their form. Arranging was dependent on the positioning of objects on the basis of the same criteria of form. Sight also provided the key to the meaning of the arrangement and how messages were conveyed to and accessed by the targeted audience, the 'general public'.

The examination of the form and visible surfaces of individual objects within the context of series was, according to Cheeseman, a way of gaining an idea of the sort of people the makers were, their character, habits, customs and mode of life.<sup>80</sup> As a result there were two parts to this morphological study. Each individual object and its physical attributes were seen as proving statements about the level of technical skill, workmanship and the artistic achievement of the Maori people.<sup>81</sup> These formal qualities and the range of series groupings of technology were seen to demonstrate how Maori people lived, their customs and daily activities and as a consequence their mode of life. For example a fishhook could be analysed according to its technical and decorative features which were deemed to allude to Maori people's technological and hence mental state. The materials from which fishhooks were made such as stone, bone and shell exposed their position in history as Neolithic. Morphological studies of its form such as its hooked feature also alluded to how fish were caught and as a result contributed to an understanding of their mode of life. Reading a range of objects such as the series demonstrating fishing technology was intended to be read to expose the various ways fish were caught.

Positioning objects to enhance the interpretative objectives and educational value of arrangements was a key feature of natural historical displays and the new museum idea. This involved the isolation of individual objects from others, their mounting on a suitable

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<sup>79</sup>Foucault (1970) *The Order Of Things*, p133

<sup>80</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book*, 1890-1897. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland to [recipient unknown] [date unknown] 1895.' p605 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) and *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1892-93*, pp7-8

<sup>81</sup>Cheeseman & Upton, *Auckland Museum*. [date unknown] and Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886. 'Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in *The Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute Vol XIX* (1887) p597

background and placement in a position so they could be easily viewed.<sup>82</sup> As with natural history specimens this act of exhibiting positioned the specimen as an object for knowledge production so that it might be visually analysed, measured and defined according to its physical attributes.<sup>83</sup> Cheeseman followed these guidelines in the way he displayed individual objects. His acts of composition involved the preparation, positioning and mounting of objects so that they could speak to the eyes.<sup>84</sup> The way Cheeseman displayed these specimens is outlined in the *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* for 1892-93.

With the intention of rendering the collection as useful as possible to visitors, the whole of the specimens in the show-cases have been mounted on suitable stands. Each article is placed in a position which will allow it to be readily seen and examined, and is provided with a full descriptive printed label.<sup>85</sup>

Smaller objects were mounted together on red cloth-covered stands to enhance their visual examination, as shown in Graphic 15 with the display of net sinkers, paddles and canoe bailers.<sup>86</sup> This technique of mounting was also used extensively for the display of natural history specimens.<sup>87</sup> The way these smaller objects were mounted at the Auckland Museum was described in detail by F A Bather in his report *Colonial Museums* in 1894.

The objects partly rested on a ledge at the bottom of the stand and are partly attached to the board by a fine wire. Each stand can be lifted out of the case without disturbing its other contents and specimens can be inspected. These stands are usually put at the back of the case while other objects are placed on the main shelf in front of them... Method of exhibition chiefly adapted for ethnographical objects.<sup>88</sup>

For example specimens defined by Cheeseman as the type *mere* (fighting clubs) were mounted individually on two stands that could be removed from the display case for visual

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<sup>82</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p33

<sup>83</sup>Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things* p6

<sup>84</sup>Tony Bennett (1998) 'Speaking to the eyes' in Sharon Macdonald (ed) (1998) *The Politics of Display* (London: Routledge) pp25-35

<sup>85</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1892-93, p8

<sup>86</sup>Reference to the use of red cloth as a means of mounting Maori specimens see *Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book* 1909-1920. 'Letter to R.W. Bell, Esq. Waihi from T.F. Cheeseman Director of the Auckland Museum, April 18th 1919.' p669 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>87</sup>For a description of methods employed in the exhibition of geological specimens see *Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-1897. 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland[date unknown].' pp707-8 and *Auckland Institute Letter Book*, 1897-1909. 'Letter to [unknown recipient] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, December 22nd 1897.' p70 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library). Similar techniques were employed in the display of geological and ethnological specimens.

<sup>88</sup>F.A. Bather (1894) *Colonial Museums* The Report of the Museums Association 1894, p211

inspection as shown in Graphic 17. Each object was isolated in space to facilitate a clear view of its morphological and decorative features.

According to the 'new museum idea' and Brown's prerequisites for an educational display, each specimen exhibited was intended to have a definitive purpose.<sup>89</sup> The purpose of each specimen as demonstrated by Cheeseman's strict criteria for selection was to illustrate the characteristics of its type. It was on this basis that no absolute duplicate was to be included in his series arrangement.<sup>90</sup> For example in Cheeseman's display of *mere* each specimen exhibited slightly different physical characteristics (material, size, decorative elements) as a deviation on its type.

Questions to be raised and revealed to the audience as observable data were based on the individual object's formal characteristics of shape, configuration, colour, texture, material and decorative elements. The type of interrogative research sought by this kind of morphological analysis is outlined in Elliot's recent model for material culture study.<sup>91</sup>

For example this process was intended to invoke questions as to why and how the object was made, what function it performed, what could the object's function reveal about the maker and what degree of sophistication was revealed by the object's style, method and construction.<sup>92</sup> Due to Cheeseman's technological focus he had a particular interest in elucidating the way objects were made and the materials from which they were made. This equated with a desire to illustrate and facilitate visitors to make judgements as to the race's technological capabilities. For example Cheeseman's objective with the display of the series of mats was to give the visitor an idea about how Maori made their mats.<sup>93</sup> As a result he commissioned a mat to demonstrate the manufacturing techniques employed in the production of this type.<sup>94</sup> Manufacturing techniques were exposed visually 'by pegging out the mat and placing the unworked strands in an extended position'.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>89</sup> Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) p597

<sup>90</sup> Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p18

<sup>91</sup> R. Elliot (1996) 'Towards a material history methodology' in Pearce (ed) (1994) *Interpreting Objects and Collections.*, pp109-124

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. p118

<sup>93</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-1897. 'Letter to H. Mitchell Esq from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, October [date unknown] 1895.' p568 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>94</sup> Ibid.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

Given its role as representative of the manufacturing processes of the class, this demonstration specimen was intended to assist visitors in the reading of the way other mats such as dogskin, feather and various kinds of flax examples were made.<sup>96</sup> The morphological characteristics of each of these specimens, their style, their materials and their method of manufacture were intended to be analysed. From this judgements could then be made about the producer and the degree of technological and artistic sophistication employed in textile production. Given that Maori people were considered relics of the early history of humankind, demonstrating the processes of textile manufacture was seen as a way of gaining an impression of the foundations of similar European industries.<sup>97</sup> For example the most primitive textiles involved the simple weaving of reeds and grasses.<sup>98</sup> This demonstration specimen with its weaving process exposed along with a complete series of type examples illustrating a best style would have proven that the Maori textile industry had advanced beyond this primitive form. The modification of objects such as the hafting of handles on stone adzes was intended to illustrate an accurate picture of the specimen, and a correct view of how they were made and used.

While each specimen was intended to illustrate Maori workmanship and allude to some cultural activity the larger objects, the *pataka* (storehouse), *runanga* (meeting house) and *waka taua* (war canoe) were also attributed meaning as works of art. Their decorative elements were intended to be read to produce a definitive and accurate statement of the artistic achievements of the Maori race.<sup>99</sup> Each specimen was defined and read according to its morphological characteristics, with particular emphasis placed on its decorative details. For example the class of *pataka* (storehouse) were defined as houses raised on legs with the whole of their ornamentation and carvings on the outside.<sup>100</sup> Meeting-houses or *whare runanga* however were also carved but were decorated on the interior.<sup>101</sup> Although these attributes were privileged in interpretation, each specimen also provided statements about a Maori mode of life such as food preservation and housing respectively.

Ensuring that each of these specimens stood as an accurate representation of Maori artistic skill was a concern of Cheeseman. The renovations of objects such as the *waka taua*, (like natural history specimens and the art of taxidermy) not only contributed to the completeness and authenticity of the material image of the race but were also intended to provide an

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<sup>96</sup>*Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Vol 2 (1902) pp174-5

<sup>97</sup>Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p232

<sup>98</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', pp289

<sup>99</sup>Skinner (1917) 'The Auckland Museum', p65

<sup>100</sup>'Third Meeting: 2nd July, 1894.' *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol. XXVII (1895) (Wellington: Lyon & Blair) p674

accurate statement of best practice. The presentation of a very best image of Maori capabilities was outlined by Cheeseman in a letter to T W Whaka of Rotorua relating to the refurbishment of the *whare runanga, Te Rangitahi* in 1906.

As the work is for a public institution, where it will be seen by thousands of people, it is absolutely essential that all the work shall be done in the very best style.<sup>102</sup>

The way these morphological characteristics were analysed to make assessments of the level of technical and artistic sophistication reached by Maori people is shown by the analyses of the refurbished *waka taua* (war canoe). For example the *waka taua* was read technically as the finest example of canoe making (see Graphic 14).<sup>103</sup> The splendid decoration of the woodcarving and featherwork according to Skinner was testament to the artistic skill of the race. The perfect curve of the hull was seen, apart from its decoration, as a masterpiece of grace and hence technological achievement.<sup>104</sup> It was on this basis Skinner assigned Maori people a state as the highest achievers of savage art.<sup>105</sup> This clearly demonstrates how the analysis of the form of objects was privileged over their cultural role, history of use or genealogical associations. Each object was screened as lines, surfaces, forms and reliefs from which judgements could be made.

The specimen according to Baudrillard reflected a fusion of its absolute singularity and the indefinite seriality of the collection.<sup>106</sup> The relationship between the singular object and that of the series ensured that all the race's productions were fully represented. Through morphological analysis the individual specimen expressed its particular characteristics. On the other hand the cultural series documented all available variations on the type, each representing shades of difference in materials, decorative elements and shape (as shown with the series of *mere* in Graphic 17). Once all series variations were recorded the evaluation of the sum of its elements could sustain accurate judgements about Maori technological abilities. For example visual judgements made of all series of carvings, in particular their decorative elements, according to Skinner demonstrated the race's character, ability and level of

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<sup>101</sup> Ibid.

<sup>102</sup> *Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to T.W. Whaka, Rotorua from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, May 16th 1906.' p686 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>103</sup> *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Vol 2 (1902) pp174-5

<sup>104</sup> Skinner (1917) 'The Auckland Museum', p65

<sup>105</sup> Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting' in Elsner and Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, p11

development. These analyses also confirmed his belief that Maori people represented the highest stage of savage artistic endeavour.<sup>107</sup>

In terms of interpretation Baudrillard argues that the collection floated between a practical specification of function and absorption into a set or collection where it enters a latent and repetitive discourse.<sup>108</sup> In this instance the series reiterated and reinforced the same statement of the function of a given type over and over. For example with the display of canoe paddles in Graphic 15, each series variation repeated the same statement about its function and use as a paddle. These statements of function contributed to an understanding of the Maori mode of life in terms of water transport.

The display of *heitiki* also demonstrated this relationship between the singular object and the repetitive series as shown in Graphic 18 (in a freestanding case on the far right). Although this photograph is post 1905 (evident by the house *Te Ranginui* shown on the far right) it clearly demonstrates the function of the repetitive series. Here forty-eight examples of *heitiki* as a collective series reiterated the same statement about the function of the series as neck pendants. Each series variation (shape, materials, style and decorative elements) was recorded by a specimen and placed in space for visual examination. The sum of these variations would have been used to develop a definite picture of the race's technical and artistic abilities in terms of personal ornamentation.

With the collection of mats the complete series was capable of illustrating the range of textile manufactures from simple to more complete forms. As with natural history specimens the structural properties and visible surfaces of all mat variations in the series was a way of determining the life history of the race.

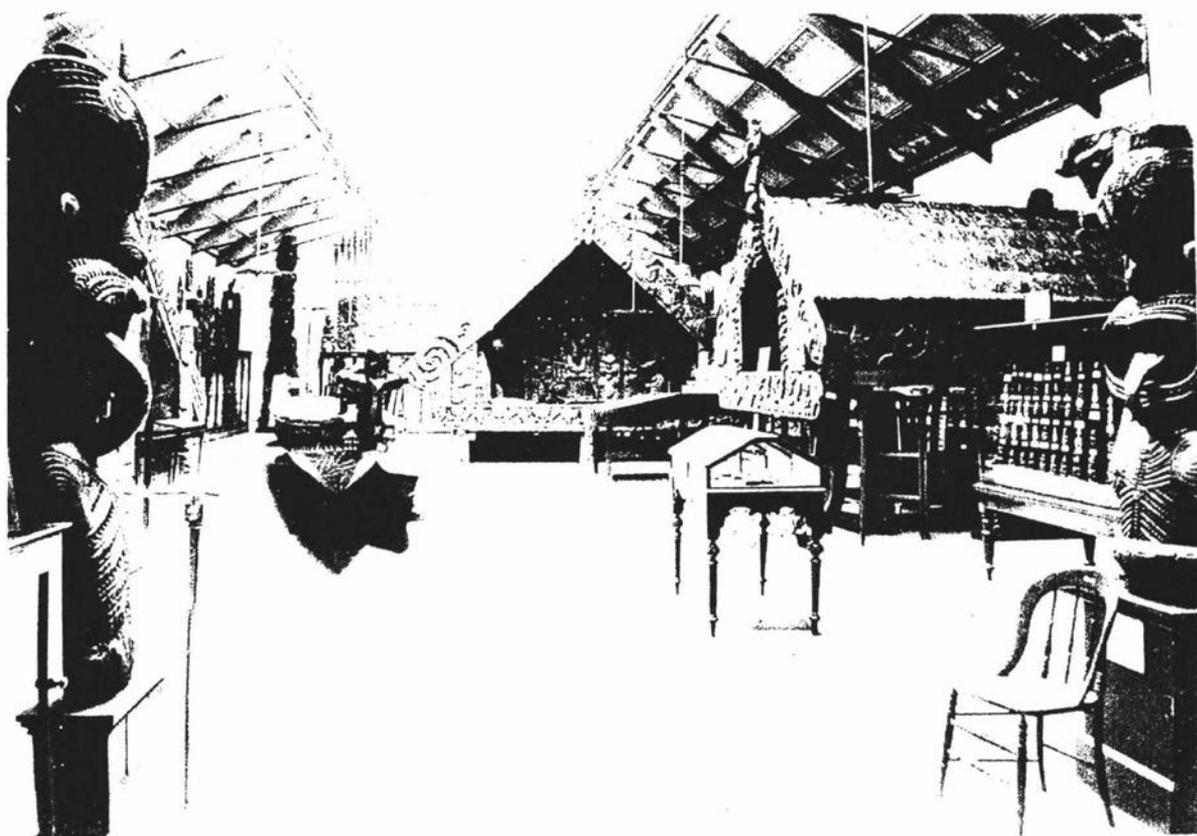
The continuity of these notions of observable data in material culture analysis highlight the continued belief that an object's physicality can reveal specific information about the nature of culture in the same way that natural history specimens could expose the nature of a species.<sup>109</sup> In this instance the visual analysis of the form of individual objects, and the collective as

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<sup>107</sup>Skinner (1917) 'The Auckland Museum', p65

<sup>108</sup>Baudrillard (1994) 'The system of collecting', In Elsner and Cardinal (eds) (1994) *The Cultures of Collecting*, p14

<sup>109</sup>See Elliot (1996) 'Towards a material history methodology' in Pearce. (ed) (1994) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, pp109-124; Pearce (1994) 'Thinking about Things' in Pearce (ed) (1994) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, pp125-132 and Jules Prown (1996) 'Mind in matter: an introduction to material culture theory and method' in Pearce (ed) (1996) *Interpreting Objects and Collections*, p135



Graphic 18. Interior of the Maori Hall showing the display of *heitiki* on the far right, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, c1905-1920s (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

demonstrated by Skinner, were used to formulate equations about the race's mental condition for the assignment of 'identity. To modern eyes this information is seen to be partial as opposed to an absolute truth about a given subject.

### 7.7 Labelling - the structured management of meaning

As with classification the accurate naming of objects according to the 'new museum idea' was a way of ensuring that specimens were correctly identified. Cheeseman's intention was to append labels to all articles to facilitate their identification.<sup>110</sup> This objective was expressed by Cheeseman in a letter to a donor, M E Walker of East Cape in the 1890s.

Every specimen is supplied with a full printed descriptive label so that each can be exactly identified.<sup>111</sup>

Articles suspended over showcases or placed high on the walls were identified by a large label with its designated name. This strategy was employed to enhance the identification of a given specimen due to its viewing angle and position.<sup>112</sup>

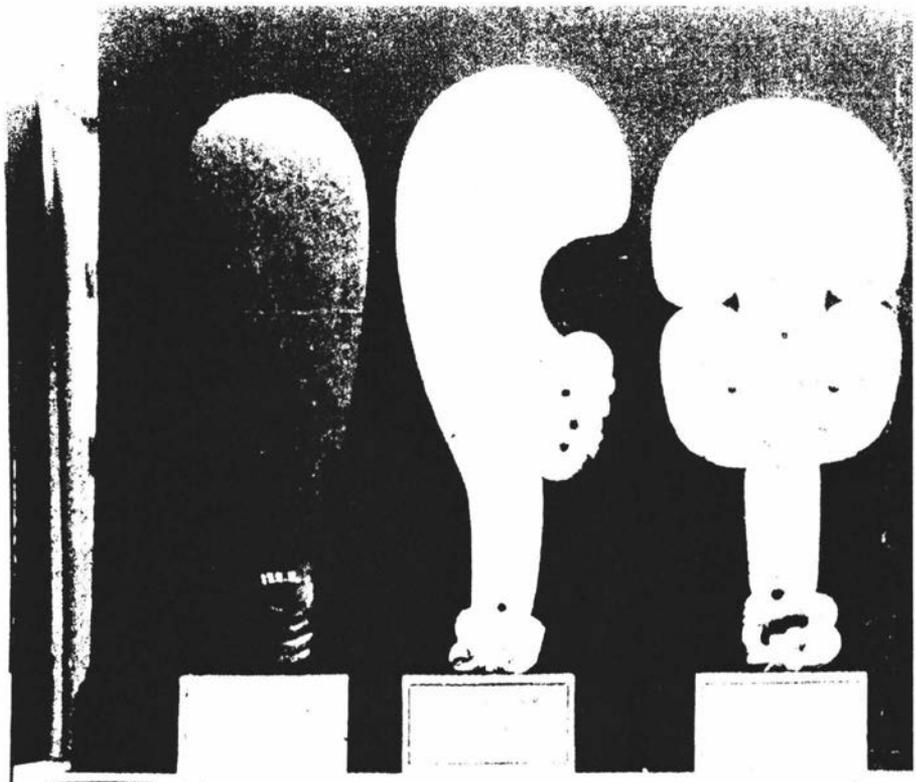
The labelling of each object expressed its type and morphological character. For example each specimen was defined by its name (part of an established nomenclature) in English and Maori. The materials from which each individual specimen was made further defined its individual morphological character. This was illustrated by the series of *mere* as shown in Graphic 19. For example the *mere* (top left) were labelled *Greenstone Mere - Mere Pounamu* and *Carved Whalebone Mere - Waha Tau*. It appears as if most objects were identified by an English name followed by its Maori equivalent. This is demonstrated by the labelling of canoe bailers as *He Tata - Canoe Bailer*. This textual hierarchy would have been due to the fact that the nomenclature was formulated on the basis of an English system of naming. It also provided easy identification for visitors, the vast majority of whom would have been English speakers. By including Maori in the nomenclature, labelling referred to the object's originating context. This however was merely to serve the need of class and series identification rather than allude to Maori values and meanings.

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<sup>110</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97*. 'Letter to Mr Walker Esq., East Cape from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, [date unknown].' p686 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library) East Cape is located in on the east coast of the North Island between the Bay of Plenty and the Gisborne region.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>112</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book 1890-97* 'Letter to H Hermondez Esq. from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, October 26th, 1896.' p652 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)



Graphic 19. Detail of the series of mere showing the Greenstone Mere - *Mere Pounamu* and Carved Whalebone Mere - *Waha Tau*, 1902 (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

The content of labels provided the desired visibility to Cheeseman's classificatory structures and interpretative intentions. Labelling guided the visual analysis of the physical character of each specimen, its form and the materials it was made from rather than expressing its use and function. The object was intended to be viewed as a whole, defined according to its type identity and then measured and judged by its individual parts as characteristic differences.<sup>113</sup> With the *mere*, each label was intended to define its collective type and then point out the individual specimen's defining characteristics, for example materials (whalebone or greenstone) and the presence or absence of decorative elements such as carving (see Graphic 19).

Like the process of mounting and placement, labelling privileged the individual over the serial.<sup>114</sup> For example with the series of *mere* each object was defined individually with no general label to define the nature of the series. Interpretative strategies such as these further reinforced Cheeseman's intention for visitors to view each object individually and then make judgements about the collective nature of the series, its form and function. The use of labelling also textually symbolised history subjugation and the desire to represent a generalised Maori race for analysis purposes. This subjugation process was demonstrated with the labelling of *mere* where naming and the explanation of the form and function of specimens was privileged over other values.

### 7.8 Providing a more human focus

The limitations of the visual analysis of the object on its own as a way of conveying the use, function and mode of life that specimens were intended to represent, were acknowledged by Cheeseman.<sup>115</sup> Alluding to an object's function and aspects of Maori life as shown with fishhooks and fishing technology, was reliant on the reading of the form of specimens and the range of series. Labelling privileged the interpretation of the form of objects rather than their function or the mode of life to which they belonged as demonstrated with the display of the series of *mere*. This was due to Cheeseman's preoccupation with the technological and artistic reading of objects.

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<sup>113</sup>Foucault (1970) *The Order of Things*, p53

<sup>114</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1892-93*, pp7-8

<sup>115</sup>For a discussion on the limitations of the visual analysis of objects to impart sociological information see Harrison (1937) 'Ethnology under Glass', p7

As a result photographs were employed to provide supplementary sociological information that could not be solely gleaned from the visual examination of the material object.<sup>116</sup> It also represented the emerging interest in the illustration of the context of objects as well as the study of their form and technological features.<sup>117</sup> Methods such as these during this period were intended to provide a more human focus to the exhibition.<sup>118</sup> It was a case of inserting people into classification for specific pedagogic intentions. Their use in ethnological arrangements at the Auckland Museum was described by F A Bather in his report *Colonial Museums* in 1894. In this report Bather commented that:

[Each specimen and series] has an explanatory printed label and is often accompanied by a photograph taken in the country from which it comes and showing its use by living men. Consequently it is possible for the least intelligent visitor to obtain an immense amount of interesting and accurate information.<sup>119</sup>

This approach was intended to provide a more exact impression of the character and context of the specimen so that lay people and the serious researcher could 'gain a better understanding of the people, the nature of their arts and general state of culture.'<sup>120</sup> Cheeseman's intention was to supplement the reading of objects with additional visual contextual information so visitors could gain a better understanding of the use and social context of specimens. His ultimate objective was to enable audiences to gain a better understanding of Maori lifestyles, their technological and artistic achievements and as a consequence state of mental development.<sup>121</sup> For example in the display of personal ornaments made of bone, graphics were used to show how hair-combs, ear and neck pendants were used (as shown in Graphic 20). With the grouping of hair combs for example a graphic showing their use was placed next to the series as illustrated in Graphic 21 (a close up of the left side of the 'Personal Ornaments' case). Within this context photographs operated as a way of illustrating the functional character of the series while demonstrating the relationship between its form and how it was used. From this more accurate judgements could be made by visitors about the Maori mode of life, in particular personal adornment as well as the level of technical and artistic skill employed in this activity.

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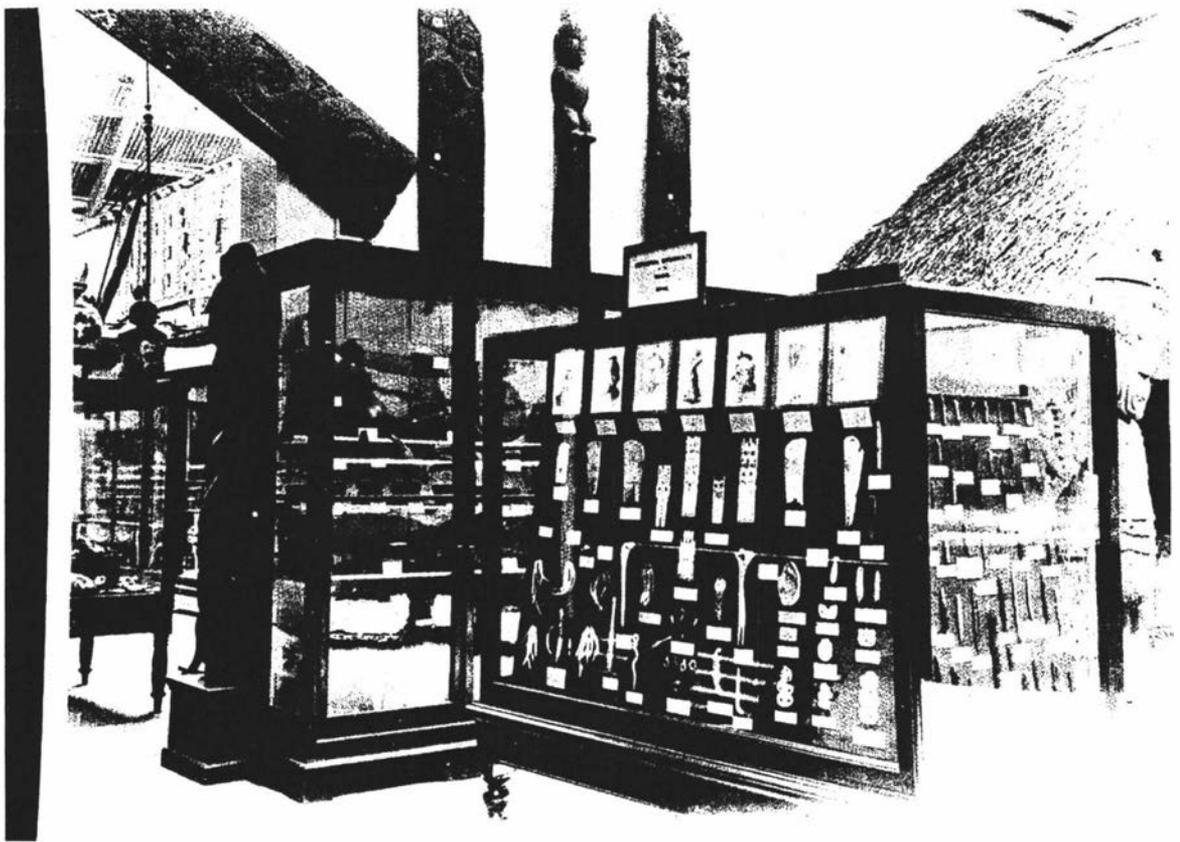
<sup>116</sup>Ibid.

<sup>117</sup>For a discussion on the shift from a technological to contextual focus see Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p227

<sup>118</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', p288

<sup>119</sup>Bather (1894) *Colonial Museums*, p210

<sup>120</sup>For a discussion on the use of graphics in arrangements see Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p227



Graphic 20. Display of personal ornaments made from bone, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, c1905-1920s (Collection of the Auckland Museum)



Graphic 21. Display of hair-combs in the 'Personal Ornaments' case, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, c1905-1920s (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

The adoption of this technique was the outcome of the institutional emphasis on popular education and the 'new museum idea'. It represented the implementation of an aspect of Brown's suggested 1886 scheme, in particular the use of illustrations and photographs to make classification more accessible to general audiences. Graphics such as maps, diagrams and sketches had begun to be used to more clearly illustrate context in geological arrangements during the 1890s.<sup>122</sup>

The Maori arrangement according to F D Bather in his report on colonial museums was a success. This was due to the completeness of the collection and its ability to fully illustrate the manners and mode of the life of the Maori race.<sup>123</sup> The techniques used by Cheeseman to mount specimens in display cases also contributed to its success.<sup>124</sup> As a result, an overseas colleague (who remains unknown) requested some photographs of the arrangement to inform his own arranging practices.<sup>125</sup>

### 7.9 Making classification more intelligible

Access to the collection was improved in 1898 with the production of a detailed catalogue. Its purpose, according to Cheeseman, was to present the history and origin of each article as far as it was known.<sup>126</sup> It is likely that this catalogue was intended to assist visitors in their reading of individual objects. Whereas photographs provided a visual impression of their nature and use, the catalogue attempted to recoup their history and provenance by the inclusion of ethnographical description. The availability of ethnographical description to supplement objects may have been a result of Elsdon Best's field research and collecting expeditions to Maori communities. Cheeseman drew on Best's field collecting in order to complete his collection.

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<sup>121</sup>Cheeseman. & Upton *Auckland Museum*. [date unknown], p1 and 'Auckland Institute, First Meeting: 18th May 1886.' Anniversary address presented by Professor F.D. Brown, President in the Chair' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute* Vol XIX (1887) p597

<sup>122</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-1897. 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland[date unknown].' pp707-8 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>123</sup>*Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-1897. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland to [recipient unknown] May 15th 1896.' p605 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>124</sup>Ibid.

<sup>125</sup>Ibid.

<sup>126</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1898-99., p8

The desire to document an object's place of origin was a way of fixing the source of specific object types and styles.<sup>127</sup> In terms of natural history specimens this was a way of alluding to the distribution of particular species. Cheeseman instituted this form of documentation in the labelling of Maori objects as a way of showing local differences in workmanship, distribution of different classes of material culture and series variations.<sup>128</sup> It extended the interpretative potential of a given specimen's morphological details by allowing visitors to gain an impression of the distribution of specific types.<sup>129</sup> The inclusion of origin also represented an acknowledgement in the arrangement that Maori culture varied regionally.<sup>130</sup> The concept of a generalised race still prevailed as the predominant category for interpretation, as ascertaining the condition of the race was still reliant on gaining a broad overview of Maori technological capabilities rather than regional 'peculiarities'. The provenance of objects was well documented in the collections register by the early 1900s.<sup>131</sup>

It is likely that the inclusion of origin may have represented the influence on Cheeseman's collecting and arranging activities of the emerging culture area concept developed by Boas and the American Historical School in the 1890s.<sup>132</sup> This was an extension of the geographical/ethnographical scheme used by Cheeseman and sought to define and attribute cultural traits to specific localities. In a broader context the objective was to trace the distribution of cultural traits and explain similarities and differences between cultures on the basis of historical factors such as diffusion or independent invention rather than by evolutionary theory.<sup>133</sup> The environment in which cultures originated was also seen to have an impact on the nature and lifestyles of a given culture.<sup>134</sup> As a result it is likely that these collections were intended to be read as statements about the impact the environment had on the nature, range, form, function of and materials used in material culture.

There is little information on the arrangement of the other ethnographical collections in the hall. The other significant collection was from the Pacific, notably Polynesia and Melanesia. It

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<sup>127</sup>Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p228

<sup>128</sup>Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1914-15, p10 and *Inwards/Outwards Correspondance Auckland Institute and Museum, AR2 6 M1929*. 'Letter to Mrs M.J.H. Murray, Wairoa Estate via Pahia, Bay of Islands, 2nd of January 1929 from the Director.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>129</sup>Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p228

<sup>130</sup>For example the inclusion of the origin of objects was a way of regionally defining Africa within arrangements. Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p228

<sup>131</sup>See *Auckland Museum Collections Register*. Entries for 1916 and 1917 (Auckland Museum)

<sup>132</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, pp52-57

<sup>133</sup>*Ibid.* pp53-55

<sup>134</sup>*Ibid.* p54

appears as if these objects were placed amongst the Maori collection. Some of these placements were strategic and intended to facilitate direct racial comparison. For example an inlaid canoe from Malaita in the Solomon Islands was mounted on top of the *waka tau* (war canoe) to enable people to make a direct visual comparison between these two specimens of the same type (as shown in Graphic 16). Here the role of fixing an object's place of origin as a way of referencing its geographical and racial affiliation is clearly demonstrated through labelling and positioning.

During this period Maori people were seen to have Melanesian traits. Haast's research contributed to this belief in racial affiliations. The juxtaposition of these two objects would have enabled visitors to compare physical attributes and to assess the existence of technological and artistic affinities between Maori and Melanesian people.<sup>135</sup> Both canoes were similar in shape and had prow decorations.

Labelling alluded to the canoe's characteristic features and points of similarity for comparison. Describing the canoe's method of decoration (inlaid as opposed to carved as seen with the *waka tau*) was a means of guiding visual examination and the assessment of its stylistic and artistic features. As both races were representative of the Neolithic period of the Stone Age it is likely that the juxtaposition of objects was for the purpose of making judgements about their relative levels of technical and artistic achievement. Within this context a question to be raised by comparison of the morphological features of these two canoes was whether Maori people more advanced in terms of canoe technology and artistic decoration than Melanesian people from Malaita. It was a way of positioning both races in history in terms of technological grading. A series of crania of Papuans and articles illustrating their manners, customs and mode of life were also used for comparison with Maori and Polynesian specimens for similar comparative morphological studies.<sup>136</sup> The nature of this display however is unclear from the sources.

## 7.10 Representing a correct idea about Maori life

The subsequent development of the hall from the late 1890s and early 1900s represented a desire on the part of Cheeseman to refine his definitive catalogue of the Maori race. By the

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<sup>135</sup>MS582 *Auckland Institute and Museum, Anthropology and Maori Race Section Letters and other papers ca 1922-1944*. Papers F2 of 4. 'Letter from J.H. Hudson to P.H. Buck Esq. M.D. D.S.O. G.P.O. Auckland 17th Nov. '23.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>136</sup>*Report of the Auckland Institute for the Year 1879-80.*, p10

early 1900s most series were nearing completion. As with natural history arrangements, as gaps were filled in series the collections had to be rearranged to accommodate new specimens. Augmentation processes such as these reflected readjustments to the existing order through refinements to series.<sup>137</sup> It was a way for Cheeseman to improve on his classification scheme and develop a more accurate vision of each individual part and the ethnography of the race as a whole.

The development of an accurate classification scheme about the Maori race was closely tied with the 'new museum idea' and the desire to provide better educational opportunities.<sup>138</sup> A more complete material image equated with the necessary evidence for visitors to gain a correct understanding of the nature and abilities of the race.<sup>139</sup>

The first major rearrangement of the collection was undertaken in 1898.<sup>140</sup> During that year the whole of the collection was rearranged and renumbered. For example additions to the collection included a new greenstone *mere*. Its acquisition required the rearrangement of the series of *mere*.<sup>141</sup> The addition of a series of house carvings deposited by Sir L Buller required the rearrangement of the class.<sup>142</sup> On completion the exhibition according to Cheeseman represented the biggest and most extensive collection of Maori objects in the world.<sup>143</sup>

These adjustments did not represent a shift in the discursive foundation of the arrangement. Cheeseman was still committed to representing a generalised ethnography of the race through the arrangement of objects according to their morphological similarities. The continuation of this philosophy is demonstrated in a description of the Ethnological Hall in the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Auckland Edition in 1902.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1919-20 (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) p8 and *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. (1911) H.W Fowler., and F.G. Fowler (eds) (Oxford: Clarendon Press). Reference to 'arranged' (v) P45

<sup>138</sup> *Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-97. 'Letter to Professor Brown Goode from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, September 11th 1891.' p144 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>139</sup> Cheeseman & Upton *Auckland Museum*. [date unknown] p1

<sup>140</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1898-99, p8

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>143</sup> The nature and extent of the Maori collections held at the Auckland Museum was the result of developments over a number of years. For references see the *Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-1897. 'Letter to The Private Secretary, Government House, Wellington from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland.' p254 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library); *Auckland Institute Letter Book* 1890-1897. 'Letter to [recipient unknown] from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, New Zealand, November 27th 1896.' p666 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library).

<sup>144</sup> *Cyclopedia Of New Zealand*, Vol 2 (1902) pp174-5

[A] large annexe principally devoted to the exhibition of articles illustrating the manners, customs and mode of life of the Maori race. This department is unrivalled in the colony, and visitors anxious to form the correct idea of the Maori life of the olden days cannot do better than spend an hour or two examining it. Prominent among the exhibits is the huge war canoe, Toki-a-tapiri

Next in interest to the canoe is the large carved house known as "Te Puawai o Te Arawa," Another and smaller carved house which is shown formerly stood on the shore of Lake Rotoiti...

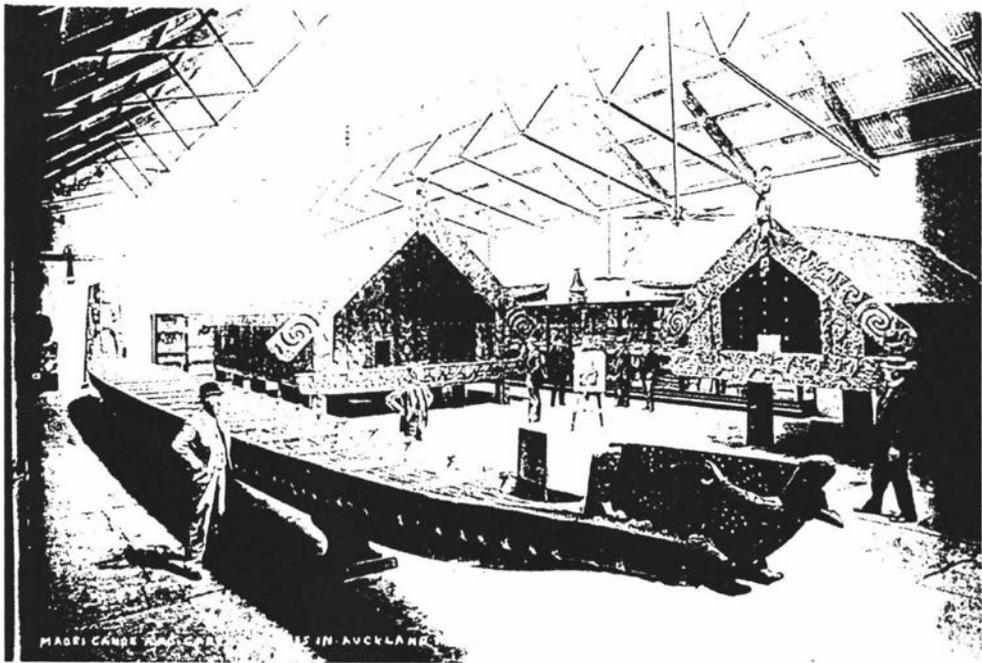
At the extreme end of the hall are placed two large carvings of exceptional interest. One is the gateway of the Pukeroa pa,...The other is the upper part of a huge "tiki" or carved post, from the walls of the same pa.

The show-cases built along the sides of the hall contain a large collection of the smaller articles of Maori workmanship. There are good series of weapons, starting with the larger ones, as the battleaxe or tewhatewha, the taiaha, or short spear, the pouwhenua, or wooden sword, and descending to the smaller, such as the meres or fighting clubs-some of wood, some of whale's bone, and others of ordinary stone or the much-prized greenstone...Implements of all kinds are well represented. Stone axes of various shapes and sizes; chisels and gouges; fern beaters and flax pounders; fish hooks, fishing weights and net sinkers; spades and paddles; and many other articles too numerous to particularise here. The carved boxes and bowls exhibited are worth careful examination...Ornaments, such as greenstone heitiki and pendants, combs, etc. are shown in great variety. There is also an interesting collection of musical instruments, comprising trumpets of shell and wood, and flutes of wood and bone...Several cases are devoted to the exhibition of the clothing of the Maoris. There are dogskin mats, feather mats, and the various kinds of flax mats, from the soft and silken kaitaka, reserved for the use of the chief men of the tribe, to the rough and shaggy whariki, the garment of the slaves and common people. The whole of the exhibits are carefully mounted and displayed and furnished with printed descriptive labels.<sup>145</sup>

The layout of the Hall in 1902 is also illustrated in Graphic 22. Cheeseman the author of the arrangement is standing in the foreground.

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<sup>145</sup>Ibid. For the original draft of the article including ethnographical descriptions of the larger specimens see MS919 *Auckland Institute and Museum Records miscellaneous papers re: early days*. Folder of the Auckland Institute and Museum - particular reference to the development of the Maori sections, 89/215. 'Description of the exhibitions, 5/11/1900.' (unpub. mans. Auckland Institute and Museum Library)



Graphic 22. Interior of the Ethnological Hall with Thomas Cheeseman on the left, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, c1902 (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

Cheeseman accounted for the Maori world by the sum of the elements of the collection. Each well-selected specimen and the collective series were seen to represent the whole race.<sup>146</sup> As with natural history arrangements this representation was nothing more or less than an expression of the actual amount of morphological affinity between different objects.<sup>147</sup> Flower acknowledged this in terms of natural history arrangements during this period. This reflexiveness was not however acknowledged by Cheeseman. His arrangement represented an uncritical process of physical ordering and classification as a way of producing a visual image of what he considered was real Maori in the past. The idea of the museum as a cemetery or tomb for Maori people has a special aptness when considering Cheeseman's memorial intentions for the arrangement.

Although the natural historical and ethnographical systems were structurally the same, the differences between them rested on the interpretative intention of the arrangement and the meanings and values ascribed to specimens individually and collectively. In Cheeseman's arrangement Maori people, their lifestyles and collective consciousness were replaced by ethnographical objects and classification. These included classes such as weapons, implements, mats, hair combs, ear pendants, stone axes, fern beaters, flax pounders, fishhooks, spades, paddles, carved boxes, bowls, a war canoe, storehouses and a meeting house.

The Maori arrangement was displayed together to represent the race ethnographically. Some attempts were made to facilitate cross-racial comparison as illustrated with the Malaitan canoe. Cheeseman's choice to represent Maori ethnographically rather than as part of an evolutionary narrative was tied to his desire to document the race and memorialise its 'glorious past' in an arrangement. This was also related to his desire to enable visitors to gain an impression of the race as a whole before the civilising influences of Europeans. This state was of most interest to the lay person.

By memorialising Maori people Cheeseman wrote them out of contemporary life and consigned them to a far distant history. In terms of politics it also paved the way for colonial

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<sup>146</sup>With minerals, good specimens and a complete series were intended to produce a typical set representing the mineralogy of New Zealand. This concept was transferred to Maori collections in which a typical set was deemed to represent the Maori race in its entirety. *Auckland Institute Letter Book, May 1872-February 1882*. 'Letter from Mr Cheeseman to L.R. Gregory, March 4th 1878.' p258 (Auckland Institute and Museum)

<sup>147</sup>Flower (1898) *Essays on Museums*, p115

domination and subjugation because Maori people were seen to have no future in the new nation.

Knowledge about Maori people was dependent on the way these objects were treated and given meaning. Representing Maori people at a frozen point of authenticity and as a generalised race represented Cheeseman's desire to produce an arrangement from which visitors could gain an accurate impression of the condition of the race. This was also seen as a way of recording an accurate statement of the race for memorial purposes.

Complete class and series provided the necessary technological categories to determine the technical abilities of the race. These categories also operated as a way of representing the range of objects used by Maori people in everyday life. From this an impression could be gained of the way Maori people lived, the cultural activities they undertook and the degree of sophistication attained. Each specimen within its series was valued as a cultural production. A particular emphasis was placed on its technological and stylistic value from which analyses could be undertaken and judgements made. Together these analyses accounted for the state of the Maori mind. The arrangement was also intended to transport visitors to a point of authenticity in the past. In reality this representation of authenticity represented the selections and discriminations made by Cheeseman at their point of acquisition.

The interpretation of Maori life primarily rested on the analysis of the structure of objects, their form, material qualities and the characteristics of the series. The specimens chosen were intended to demonstrate the best achievements of the Maori race. Each was dissected into details from which the truth of Maori identity and evolutionary history could be found. As a result Maori people were assessed, judged and a history produced on the basis of form, materials and methods of manufacture employed in the production of their material culture.

The desired framework for interpretation was about placement and observation. Technologies of display used by Cheeseman such as grouping, placement, positioning and mounting of objects ensured that objects' surfaces were visible for observation. He stripped specimens of all enveloping language except their own individual names and details of their defining morphological characteristics.

The key to knowledge about Maori people however resided in the mind. What these objects meant and how they were intended to be read was dependent on specific cultural mapping and the understanding of the language of classification. Interpretation and judgement making

were reliant on the social and popular views held by visitors about the superiority of themselves and their own culture compared to Maori people.

Understanding the language of classification involved comprehending the meaning of natural historical categories of class and series. Judging condition necessarily required an understanding of a 'Social Darwinian' logic, concepts of evolutionary history and the relative condition of other races. Conceptually locating the position of other races in this hierarchical scheme was imperative in order to identify where Maori people were placed. Cheeseman's later commitment to the establishment of a separate foreign ethnological hall (as discussed in the following sections) was intended to provide these references so that visitors could judge races.

Assessments of Maori technological achievement were also dependent on the establishment of a comparative ratio with European technologies. Reading objects also required an understanding of natural historical interpretation, how to undertake morphological analysis and screen specimens by form. The production of a catalogue for the arrangement, photographs and labelling helped to teach visitors registers for viewing classification, aesthetic recognition and judgement.

### 7.11 Facilitating racial referencing

Due to the completing process it was seen as necessary to allocate the whole of the Ethnological Hall to the exhibition of Maori specimens and construct another annexe for foreign ethnological collections.<sup>148</sup> A subsidy of 1000 pounds was received from the government in 1903-4 for the erection of this new addition. Half of these monies were reserved for the exhibition of *Te Rangitihi* and the foreign ethnological collections.<sup>149</sup>

The rationale behind the separation of the foreign ethnographical collections from the Maori arrangement was to illustrate the nature of Cheeseman's curatorial vision of Maori life more fully and clearly without distraction. According to Cheeseman this provided the opportunity for 'the better arrangement and display of the Maori collections'.<sup>150</sup> Separating collections

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<sup>148</sup> *Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to Major Shakespeare from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, July 20th 1905.' p602 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>149</sup> *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute Vol XXXVI 1904*. 'Auckland Museum.' (Wellington: Lyon & Blair) p531

<sup>150</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum. 1905-6* (The Brett Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.) p8

completed his process of memorialisation by the dedication of the space specifically for the arrangement of this 'dying race'. The gallery became known as the Maori Hall.

As a result the Maori Hall was again rearranged in 1905. A number of the showcases on the eastern side were removed along with most of the foreign anthropological collection.<sup>151</sup> The refurbished house *Te Rangitahi*, renovated according to Cheeseman's 'authentic' specifications, was mounted into the eastern wall (as shown Graphic 18). Like previous rearrangements, specimens were placed within their designated classes with associated labelling.<sup>152</sup> For example the series of canoe prows were remounted in a regular grouping on the eastern wall shown in Graphic 23. With the loss of one of the 100ft display cases for the smaller specimens due to the installation of *Te Rangitahi*, a number of free-standing display cases were added to encapsulate series such as the grouping of *heitiki* (as shown in Graphic 18, far right).

Cheeseman developed a small foreign ethnographical collection specifically for the purposes of illustrating 'man's early ideas' and reconstructing the early phases in history to which Maori people belonged. Through Haast's research Maori identity and history did not exist within this discursive context without reference to the morphological details of other racial collections. The establishment of a separate Ethnological Hall in 1905 provided the necessary visual references for the comparison and conceptual placement of Maori people in this early stage in history.<sup>153</sup> Access between these two halls was provided by a walkway. A *mahi* (the bargeboards from the entrance of a *whare runanga*) were mounted above the access way as a symbolic representation of the doorway (as shown in Graphic 20 far left corner).

It appears as if Cheeseman also organised these collections in display cases according to geographical groupings as a way of demarcating distinctive bounded sites of race and material culture (see Graphic 24). For example ethnographical collections from Polynesia, Melanesia, New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, North America, Africa and Asia were arranged in the space. The nomadic races of North America as well as Polynesia and Melanesia were still considered to be in the Neolithic Stone Age.<sup>154</sup> As a result these collections would have provided ethnographical evidence of this phase in history. Given Cheeseman's interest in representing 'man's early ideas' it is likely that the prehistoric

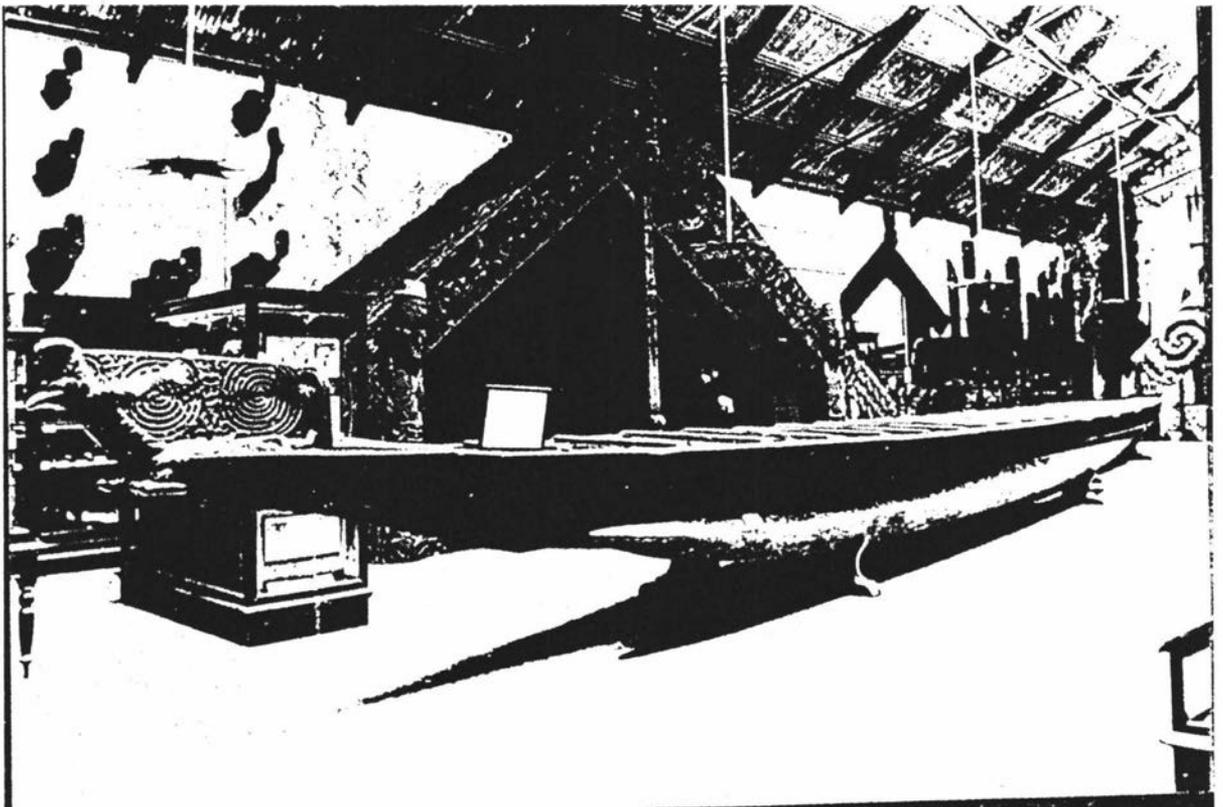
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<sup>151</sup>Ibid.

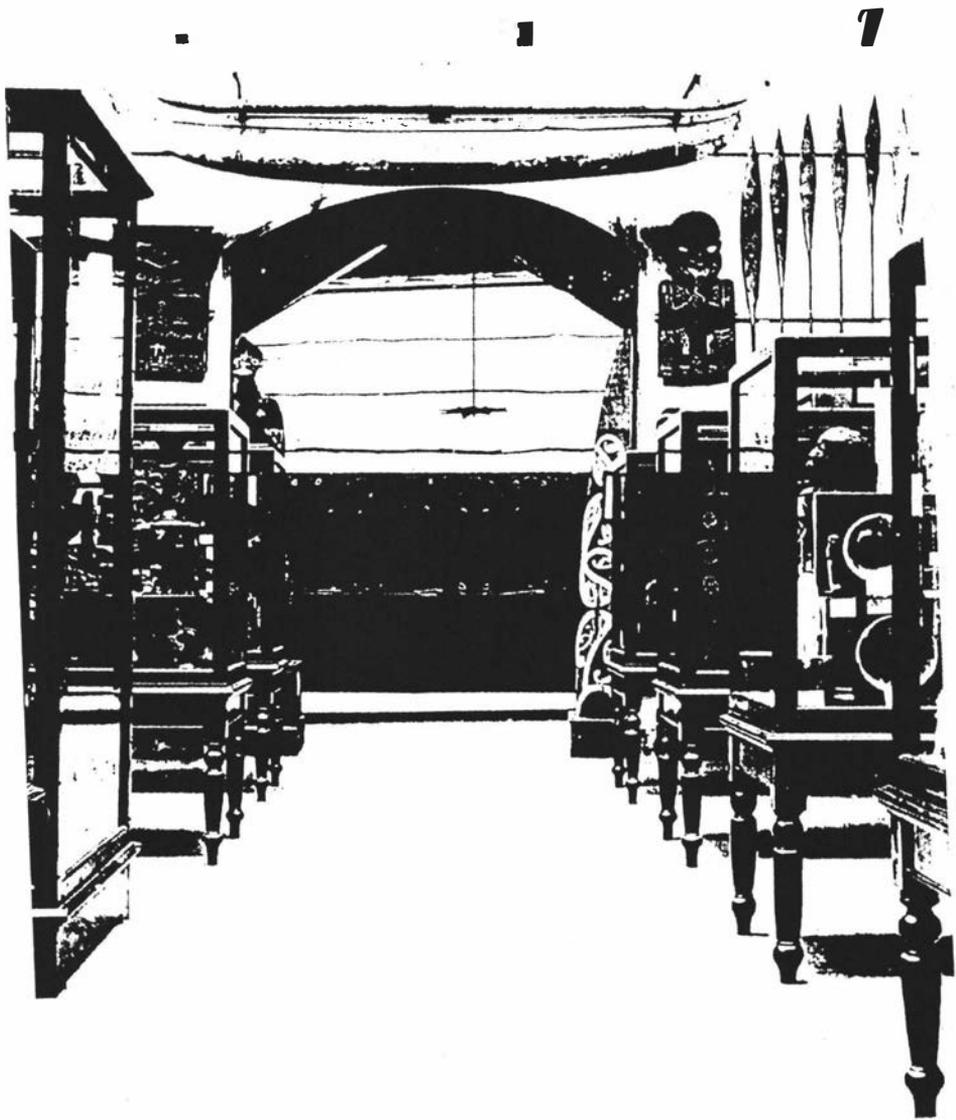
<sup>152</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book* 1909-1920. 'Letter to Hon Mitchelson, Auckland from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland, December 9th 1909.' p100 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>153</sup>Cheeseman (1922) 'Auckland Museum', P27

<sup>154</sup>Canterbury Museum (1895)*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum*, p145



Graphic 23. Interior of the Maori Hall showing the house *Te Rangitahi* on the left and the arrangement of canoe prows, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, c1905-1920s (Collection of the Auckland Museum)



Graphic 24. Interior of the Ethnological Hall looking towards the entrance to the Maori Hall, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, c1905-1920s (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

artefacts from Northern Europe attained from a dealer in Brussels in 1889 were also included in the arrangement. Together these collections would have provided a series of racial references relating to the ancient and modern Stone Age but also to early Bronze and Iron Age cultures as shown with the presence of Asian material for the comparison with Maori collections.

The presence of a series of skulls from prehistoric Europe made reference to the distant past and the evolutionary origins of progressive races.<sup>155</sup> It is likely that these collections may have been used to demonstrate differences between the physical structure of Palaeolithic as opposed to Neolithic populations. For example the measurement of cranial indices suggested that Palaeolithic people were long-headed and Neolithic more round-headed.<sup>156</sup> Given that these physical attributes were seen as universal traits for the respective populations, collections provided morphological references for comparison with Maori skulls and those of other races. Contemporary research (as documented in the *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* for 1906) confirmed the shape of the Maori skull as round.<sup>157</sup> In association with stone tool technology, confirming the roundness of Maori skulls acted as additional proof to support their place as a true Neolithic form. Like material culture, these skull collections from prehistoric Europe also have made reference through craniometry (the size of the brain cavity) to the intellectual capacity of early Europeans. On this basis it can be assumed the comparison of these skulls with other races including Maori people would have been a means of assessing comparative intellectual development and hence evolutionary position.

Reading early human thought and level of intellectual development was achieved through the analysis of these physical collections, their technological features and what they had to say about primitive lifestyles. Cheeseman's interest lay in determining condition through technological and artistic attributes of objects in the first instance. Given the close proximity of the Ethnographical Hall to the Maori Hall these collections were used to make comparative judgements about the level of artistic and technological achievement of the Maori race. Maori objects were also placed within the Ethnographical Hall for the express purpose of making direct comparisons. For example Maori carvings and canoe paddles were mounted on the walls as shown in Graphic 24 and 25.

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<sup>155</sup>MS582 *Auckland Institute and Museum, Anthropology and Maori Race Section Letters and other papers ca 1922-1944*. Papers F2 of 4. 'Letter from J.H. Hudson to P.H. Buck Esq. M.D. D.S.O. G.P.O. Auckland 17th Nov. '23.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>156</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, Vol X. (1910) (Cambridge University Press) p849



Graphic 25. Far left corner of the Ethnological Hall, Auckland Museum, Princes Street, c1905-1920s (Collection of the Auckland Museum)

From this a sequence of early history could be reconstructed on the basis of the morphological comparison of the respective collections and the place of the race determined not only in terms of materials but also technology, industry and art. The morphological analysis of the form, decorative details and level of technical skill read in Maori objects in comparison with collections in the Ethnographical Hall would have been the basis of Skinner's assertion that they were the highest artistic achievers of a savage race.

For example archaeological collections from Egypt, Sumeria, Mexico and Peru (acquired in the early 1920s) were intended to show parallel developments with those of Pacific Neolithic art.<sup>158</sup> Ascertaining similarities in the style of Neolithic art with other regions was also a way of gaining an understanding of the origin of Maori people and the diffusion of races on the basis of specific artistic and technological forms.

#### 7.12 The inclusion of social context

A key issue in the subsequent development of the hall was the elaboration of existing classification schemes by the addition of more detailed descriptive labelling about objects and their processes of manufacture.<sup>159</sup> For example with the display of sixteen burial chests from Waimamaku in Hokianga (on the west coast of the northern part of the North Island) additional information on their manufacturing processes was included in the labelling. Cheeseman's request for information regarding their manufacturing processes is outlined in a letter to E C Blomfield, the Stipendiary Magistrate in Russell.<sup>160</sup>

I shall be much pleased to receive the account which the Maoris have given you of the making of such articles by their ancestors, and will incorporate the information with the labels.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>157</sup>Canterbury Museum (1906) *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum*. (Christchurch: T. E. Fraser) p143

<sup>158</sup>MS582 *Auckland Institute and Museum, Anthropology and Maori Race Section, Letters and other papers ca 1922-1944*. Papers F2 of 4. 'Letter from J.H. Hudson to P.H. Buck Esq. M.D. D.S.O. G.P.O. Auckland 17th Nov. '23.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>159</sup>Cheeseman describes the Maori Hall in Cheeseman (1922) 'Auckland Museum'. p27

<sup>160</sup>*Auckland Institute and Museum Letter Book 1897-1909*. 'Letter to E.C. Blomfield Esq. Stipendiary Magistrate, Russell from Mr Cheeseman, Museum, Auckland [date unknown].' p409 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>161</sup>Ibid.

According to Cheeseman descriptive labels of this nature were intended to afford as much information as possible to visitors.<sup>162</sup> The provision of more detailed information on the way things were made would have been intended to assist visitors in their judgements of the technological ability of the race. By 1918 the majority of specimens had extended labelling of this type.<sup>163</sup>

In some cases groupings of series were placed together in one display unit to illustrate a specific aspect of life. For example in 1914 an extensive series of fishhooks, fishing lines, fishing weights, nets, mussel dredges and eel baskets were placed together in a designated showcase to demonstrate the range of fishing technology and methods.<sup>164</sup> This approach was outlined in the *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* for 1914-15.

Improvements have been made in the arrangement of the exhibits in the Maori Hall ... a new showcase, in which the fine series of Fish-hooks and Fishing appliances have been displayed<sup>165</sup>

A similar approach was used for the display of stone technology. For example a special grouping of specimens was placed together to more expressly illustrate methods used in the working of greenstone. These processes were elaborated through descriptive labelling as outlined in the *Annual Report* of the same year.

[Also] to another case in which no small number of specimens illustrating the methods used by the Maoris in the cutting and polishing of Greenstone ... several hundreds of descriptive printed labels have been prepared by the Curator, work demanding time and research.<sup>166</sup>

Although Cheeseman still employed series as formal classification, this represented a shift in emphasis from the focus on the individual object and its methods of manufacture to a more overt expression of the collective group and the function and use of objects. The use of special groupings completed Cheeseman's endorsement of Brown's scheme. It allowed Cheeseman to establish closer relationships between related objects and series so that visitors could more closely observe connections between their physical form and the cultural activity they were intended to represent.

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<sup>162</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1914-15, p11; *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1916-17, p9

<sup>163</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1918-19 (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) p8

<sup>164</sup> *Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1910-11 (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) p8

<sup>165</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute And Museum* 1914-15, pp10-11

<sup>166</sup> *Ibid.*

The use of these special groupings to position related series in a more thematic way had by the end of the second decade of the twentieth century become common practice. As a result many of the collections in the hall were rearranged between 1917 and 1920 to reflect this as demonstrated in the *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* for 1917-18.

The numerous recent additions to the Maori Collections have rendered it necessary to re-arrange a large part of the contents of the Maori Hall. The work is not yet completed; but sufficient has been done to make the collections much more intelligible to visitors, and more readily inspected. A plate-glass show-case has been provided for the fine series of taiahas, battle-axes, etc., ... A new show-case, ... has been utilised for the reception of the Maori musical instruments ... An additional table-case has also been provided for the smaller worked stone and bone articles...<sup>167</sup>

For example the series of weapons were placed together in a showcase to more clearly show the nature of warfare and the range of fighting technology. Musical instruments were placed together to more clearly demonstrate the nature and range of musical endeavour and achievement.

Some of Cheeseman's rearrangements however continued to follow his standard practices. For example smaller bone and stone articles were placed together in a showcase and do not appear to be connected by any particular functional relationships. The size of these articles appeared to provide a common morphological relationship while justifying their placement together. These placements may also have been due to the lack of a completed series of each type.

Other display initiatives suggested by Cheeseman included the placement of the large specimens together to illustrate a Maori village. This alluded to his growing interest in explaining the use and context of objects through photographs and strategic placements as demonstrated by his special groupings. It also suggests a move away from the almost exclusive reliance on formal classification to illustrate the customs, habits and mode of Maori life. This new emphasis on placing objects in specific 'lived' contexts gave specimens a new role as authentic props in the representation of social processes and organisation such as village life. This operated in much the same way as Cheeseman's habitat groups of animals where the intention was to demonstrate the natural 'lived' surroundings of specimens. His

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<sup>167</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1917-18 (Auckland: The Brett Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd.) p8

proposal was outlined the 1917 publication *The First Fifty Years of the Auckland Institute and Museum and its Future Aims : A Jubilee Sketch*. In this publication Cheeseman stated:

[The] teaching value of the Maori portion would be improved, and its appearance enhanced, if it were possible to remove the carved houses, canoes and other large objects from their present quarters, and place them in a separate hall. In such a situation, surrounded by an imitation pa fence, they could be treated as being in the "marae," or central court-yard of a Maori fortification. Examples of the living houses, or whares, could be erected, and model groups of Maoris prepared, showing them engaged in their daily occupations. Such an exhibit, if carefully arranged and faithfully carried out, would give correct ideas of the Maori life of a bygone generation, and would be a tolerably close approximation to what doubtless existed, a hundred years ago, in some of the bays of the Waitemata Harbour.<sup>168</sup>

During this period dioramas of this type were employed by museums to provide a social dimension to the display. Dioramas such as that proposed by Cheeseman were a way of reconstructing places in the past.<sup>169</sup> It was a way for Cheeseman to convert the Auckland Museum into a tourist destination by offering visitors a journey back to the point of authenticity in a Maori past. The desire to experience Maori people in an authentic state was a recognised need and expectation of tourists and locals alike.<sup>170</sup>

This proposal however did not eventuate during this period due to a lack of available exhibitions space. This Maori village idea was not new. Hamilton first proposed the construction of a Maori *pa* with a *marae* (meeting area), *whare* and model groups of Maoris engaged in daily activities.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>168</sup>T.F.Cheeseman (1917) *The First Fifty Years of the Auckland Institute and Museum and its Future Aims: A Jubilee Sketch*. (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) p12

<sup>169</sup>Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (1995) 'Museums, 'Heritage' and tourism in terms of a political economy of display' in *Museums Australia Second National Conference Proceedings Communicating Cultures Brisbane, Australia, 21st-25th November 1995*. (Museums Australia) p94

<sup>170</sup>Hamilton (1902) *Notes on the proposed Maori Museum addressed to Members of The Legislative Council and of The House of Representatives*, p6 (unpub. mans. Archives and Manuscripts Section, Alexander Turnbull Library)

<sup>171</sup>The idea of context created in this manner reflected the exhibition proposals outlined in Hamilton's Maori Museum concept in 1901, see MS131 Auckland Institute and Museum Vol 11 *Augustus Hamilton Papers 1875-1910*. Folder 2 Items 1-20, [13] 'Maori Antiquities, 1901, No 21, [1 Edw VIII].' p38 (Auckland Institute and Museum Library). This concept had its origins in the displays at world fairs in the later nineteenth century where native habitations were constructed and occupied as a means of providing living illustrations of the mode of life of native peoples and as a means of providing a context for static displays of the material culture of native peoples exhibited. See F. Boas (1893) 'Ethnology at the Exposition' in *Cosmopolitan*, p609. This method of exhibition was also reminiscent of the life-group developed in Britain which was later used in the United States. See Jacknis (1985) 'Franz Boas and Exhibits' in Stocking (ed) (1985) *Objects and Others Essays on Museums*, p81

The representation of social processes, although attempting to allude to context, maintained an evolutionary intention. For example interpretative techniques such as these were intended to provide visitors with a better idea of a given race's character, typical activities and the methods of manufacture and use of various arts and handicrafts.<sup>172</sup> This contributed to judgement-making about racial condition technologically and socially. Objectives such as these were mirrored by Cheeseman in his aims for his diorama. For example the diorama was intended to assist in the reading of 'correct ideas' about the function and use of objects, racial activities, social organisation and hence reflect the state of Maori thought.<sup>173</sup> This implied an interest in illustrating the evolutionary condition of the race beyond technology to include a lifestyle benchmark. Contextualising collections by placing them into functional relationships such as a *pa* showed Maori people as leading a more advanced settled existence as opposed to one that was nomadic.

The presentation of an 'authentic' Maori culture was also represented through public programs within the Maori Hall during the early 1920s. The performance of ceremonies was intended to illustrate 'traditional' customs as a means by which Europeans could appreciate the great skill and capabilities of the Maori race.<sup>174</sup> This was outlined in an article about the program.

After a short talk on Maori ceremonial in the greeting and reception of visitors from another tribe had been given by Mr. George Graham the guests were conducted to the Maori court, where, by permission of Mr. Eruenui Taipari, on behalf of the Ngati Maru, a Maori party, in the porch of the historic meeting house, received a second Maori party, acting the part of visitors of another tribe.<sup>175</sup>

All these processes suggested a gradual addition of social context as a way of interpreting the collection and the diminishing influence of evolutionary history. This interest in context was driven by Boas, the American Historical School and the rise of Social Anthropology which emphasised the close study of the intrinsic social as well as technological characteristics of particular cultures.

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<sup>172</sup>J.C. Ewers (1958) 'A Century of American Indian Exhibits in the Smithsonian Institution' in the *Annual Report Smithsonian Institution, 1958* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution) p515 and Roth 'On the Use of Anthropological Collections', p287

<sup>173</sup>Cheeseman & Upton *Auckland Museum.*, [date unknown], p1

<sup>174</sup>For a description of the ceremony see *Maori Ceremonial Function at Museum Ancient Ritual Shown Visiting Tribe Received* in MS 582 Auckland Institute and Museum, Anthropology and Maori Race Section, Papers F1 of 4 69/24, Nov 1922 (Auckland Institute and Museum Manuscript Collection)

What remained constant in this transitional stage were the catalogue philosophy and the belief that the collection was a complete record of a traditional past. There was also a continued interest in demonstrating the abilities of the Maori race through objects and also through public programs. For example according to Cheeseman by the early 1920s almost all features of Maori life were represented through technology. The continuation of this philosophy in Cheeseman's mind is outlined in his article the 'Auckland Museum' in *New Zealand Nature Notes* 26 of 1922.

Probably that portion of the Museum which would prove most interesting to a visitor from abroad is the Maori Hall, which is devoted to collections illustrating the manners, customs and mode of life of the Maori race. Here can be seen a magnificent example 84ft. in length of a war canoe, carved and decorated from end to end in a perfect state of preservation. It is the last survivor of the fleets of war-canoes mentioned by all early travellers and explorers from the time of Cook to the establishment of British rule. Here, too, will be found a superb specimen of a *whare whakario*, or meeting house, without which no village in the olden times would be complete. Two elaborately carved storehouses are also considered complete. Round the walls of the hall are placed many ancient and valuable carvings several of them dating back to the time long prior to the introduction of iron tools. In the showcases are arranged the smaller articles. The visitor should pay special attention to a case devoted to the exhibition of a series of bones of chiefs of high rank. Several of these are believed to be from two hundred to three hundred years old.

...almost all the features of Maori life are well represented. Their weapons; their axes; gouges, and chisels; their fish-hooks and fishing appliances; their bird snares and bird spears; their miscellaneous tools and implements; their elaborately carved feather boxes; their musical instruments; their varied personal ornaments; their cloaks and other articles of clothing - all are to be seen and illustrated by numerous examples.<sup>176</sup>

By the middle of the second decade of the twentieth century a lack of space in the Princes Street building due to the natural growth of the collections had again become a critical factor in the effective arrangement of these collections.<sup>177</sup> This situation was viewed as impeding the 'progress of the Museum' as an educational institution'.<sup>178</sup> Problems such as these were

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<sup>175</sup>Ibid.

<sup>176</sup>Cheeseman (1922) 'Auckland Museum', pp26-27

<sup>177</sup>*Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1914-15, p11; *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum*. 1918-19, pp10-11

<sup>178</sup>*Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum* 1918-19, pp10-11

deemed to be alleviated with the commitment to the construction of a new building by Auckland City Council on Observatory Hill in the Domain.<sup>179</sup>

Cheeseman retired in 1924 and Gilbert Archey was appointed to the position of Director.<sup>180</sup> The new building, opened on the 28th November 1929, provided the opportunity for experimentation in the interpretation and presentation of the Maori collections.<sup>181</sup> The design of the gallery space and the intellectual rationale behind the first Maori exhibitions curated by Archey however, reflected a continuation of methods based on formal classification.<sup>182</sup> In a letter to Miss Giddy of the Whāngamanmo School in the Waikato in 1929, Gilbert Archey describes the new Maori Hall.

As you stand in the Entrance hall you will see the Maori house straight in front of you: come straight through towards it and you will find yourself in the Maori Court in which is displayed the large war canoe "Toki -o -Tapiri" and a large meeting house called "Hotanui", and two large carved food stores standing on piles. At either end of the Maori Court are the Maori Halls containing articles illustrating the life and the art of the Maori people.<sup>183</sup>

Like Cheeseman's first displays the representation of a general life of the Maori race and their technological and artistic achievement through selected specimens provided the dominant exhibition philosophy. A more detailed description of the display techniques by Olwyn Turbott reiterated the continuation of established schemes such as linear arrangements, and groupings of specimens according to morphological likenesses. Turbott describes these displays in her 1988 unpublished manuscript *First Display Experiments: Auckland Museum*.

In the beginning the exhibits in the Maori Court were placed in a building that was designed for them so their place was fixed. The display in the East and West Halls was static and limited. Throughout the halls ran a series of matching and very handsome pier cases, regularly spaced between pillars and halls. There was a boring monotony about these cases ... They provided moveable bronze brackets and an endless supply of heavy plate glass shelves which were used when the cases were filled for the new museum building... Smaller objects such as ornaments were shown in smaller island cases with centre stands, which were covered with

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<sup>179</sup> Ibid.

<sup>180</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1924-5* (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) p9

<sup>181</sup> *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute And Museum 1929-30* (Auckland: Wilson & Horton); O.M. Turbott (1988) *First Display Experiments: Auckland Museum* (unpub. mans.)

<sup>182</sup> Ibid.

<sup>183</sup> MA 95/43/7 AV2.6 *Correspondence 1929-590*. 'Letter to Miss M. Giddy, The School Whangamanmo, Waikato, 11th December 1929.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Archives)

black velvet to give a rich opulent background in the style of a jewellers shop.<sup>184</sup>

One significant change was the desire to be more inclusive and accessible to Maori communities.<sup>185</sup> These initiatives, driven by Mr George Graham of the Te Akarana Maori Association and the Director Gilbert Archey, were intended to encourage Maori people to deposit and gift their *taonga* (treasures) to the museum for exhibition and memorialising purposes.<sup>186</sup> The solicitation of gifts and deposits of Maori objects to the museum reflected further attempts to finalise series rather than to imbue objects with Maori values. The desire to acquire Maori objects for these reasons was outlined in a letter from Archey to Mr Grey Mihaka of Ohaewai in 1929. In the letter Archey stated the following:

[When] the Museum is opened you and your children will be able to walk through with pride and feel you are doing your bit towards the filling up of the showcases. All specimens on show will have the name or names of the givers under them so you can be rest assured you will be given credit for articles deposited.<sup>187</sup>

Concern was expressed at the lack of interest in the museum by Maori people. This lack of interest was hardly surprising given the fact that it was a monument couched in European institutional and conceptual systems. Other inconsistencies occur when eliciting support from Maori people for an institution which proports to represent them through arrangements. Representational practices as outlined to date did not reflect Maori values but rather reflected European derived modes of classification, significance and dominance from which concepts of Maori history and identity were formulated. These practices also ensured that Maori people had no legitimate place in the colonial nation because they had been assigned to early history. The continuation of these imperatives, the domination of the museum as a superior legitimised context for the construction of Maori histories and identities and its role as a

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<sup>184</sup>O.M.Turbott (1988) *First Display Experiments*, p1

<sup>185</sup>See *Inwards/Outwards Correspondence Auckland Institute and Museum*, AR2 6 M1928 'Letter to Kia Te Rata Mahuta, Huntly from the President of the Auckland Institute, 24th October 1928.' and *Inwards/Outwards Correspondence Auckland Institute and Museum*, AR2 6 M1928 'Letter from Kia Te Rata Mahuta, Huntly to the President of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 26th October 1928.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library). The opening ceremony for the new building was attended by a number of Maori people. The ceremony included the dedication of the house 'Hotanui' by the traditional owners, See *Inwards/Outwards Correspondence Auckland Institute And Museum*, AR2 6 M1929 'Letter to G.C. Munns, Esq, MD, House of Representatives, Wellington 16th October 1929 from The Director.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>186</sup>*Inwards/Outwards Correspondence Auckland Institute And Museum*, AR2 6 M1929 'Letter from Te Akarana Maori Association, George Graham 13 July, 1929.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

<sup>187</sup>*Inwards/Outwards Correspondence Auckland Institute and Museum*, AR2 6 M1929 'Letter to Mr Grey Mihaka, Ohaewai, 22 July 1929 from the Director.' (Auckland Institute and Museum Library)

memorialising agency were reiterated in a letter to Kia Te Rata Mahuta (the Maori King) by the Auckland Museum authorities in 1928.

It is the sincere desire of the Auckland Institute and Museum to stimulate the interest of the Maori race in the study and preservation of its own history and traditions. The Museum exists quite as much for the Maori as for the Pakeha, but so far it has been found very difficult to interest the Maori people, and the work has been done and paid for by the Pakeha. The War Memorial Museum is designed for the purpose of a treasure house and sacred depository for all time for articles recording the history of Te Aotearoa from the earliest known times.

As you are the King and principal chief of your people we want to visit you and discuss the matter with you and obtain your interest and support.<sup>188</sup>

The irony of such a proposal highlights the dual role of the coloniser as a prime instigator in the annihilation of Maori culture and the museum as an instrument of government seeking to preserve and venerate. Some endorsement of the role of the institution as a salvaging agency was given by Kia Te Rata Mahuta and outlined in his letter to the President of the Auckland Institute in October 1928.

[Their] object is a good one, and it will help to preserve and perpetuate the traditions of our ancestors.<sup>189</sup>

By the middle of the 1930s, in an attempt to enhance the educational value of exhibitions for diverse audiences, objects were grouped thematically by function rather than by classification according to form.<sup>190</sup> This reflected a further development on Brown and Cheeseman's special groupings. As type and series groupings encapsulated components of racial life so did themes. Design, colour, graphics photographs, text and a small number of carefully selected objects grouped by function were used to more graphically explain these modes of life in a more didactic way.<sup>191</sup> This shift from class and series classification to theme by the grouping of

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<sup>188</sup> *Inwards/Outwards Correspondence AR2 6 M 1928*, 'Letter to Kia Te Rata Mahuta from the President of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 24th October 1928.' (Auckland Institute and Museum)

<sup>189</sup> *Inwards/Outwards Correspondence AR2 6 M 1928* 'Letter from Kia Te Rata Mahuta, Huntly to the President of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 26th October 1928.' (Auckland Institute and Museum)

<sup>190</sup> E.G. Turbott (1967) 'Auckland Museum - An Experiment in Popular Education' in Powell (ed) (1967) *The Centennial History of the Auckland Institute and Museum*, p39-40

<sup>191</sup> The 1930s saw major developments in exhibition design in an attempt to popularise museums for diverse audiences and to enhance the educational objectives of exhibitions. These developments were driven by the Carnegie Corporation in New York, through the Carnegie Museums Trust which was set up to further the educational work of museums and galleries. The president of the corporation, Dr F.P. Keppel visited New Zealand in 1935 and funding was provided to support these

objects by function was also documented by Olwyn Turbott in her 1988 article, *First Display Experiments: Auckland Museum*.

The material for exhibition was drastically reduced, taking two thirds or more to storage. That selected for exhibition was arranged in a new order. We tried grouping each exhibit in a theme showing how things were made and used instead of being grouped in formal classification.<sup>192</sup>

Although the method of grouping changed, collectively these themes like classification were intended to express a general and authentic life of the Maori race.

The following Chapter 8 examines Haast's processes and practices of exhibiting indigenous and global history at the Canterbury Museum. It analyses both the act of arranging, the meanings and messages, both implicit and explicit communicated to audiences. The Auckland case study is used to exemplify commonalities and differences between the two approaches.

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objectives in New Zealand museums. See H.C. McQueen (1942) *Education in New Zealand Museums*, Studies in Education, No7 (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs) The first exhibit of this type to be developed by Gilbert Archey was an introductory case 'Maori Carving Patterns' in 1932-3, see the *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1932-33* (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) and *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1934-35* (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) p10. A part-time education officer was appointed in 1933 to provide programs suited to the needs of children. See *Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum 1933-34* (Auckland: Wilson and Horton) p10. The Auckland Museum participated in these experiments between 1937 and 1942 through the efforts of Olwyn Turbott (nee Rutherford), see McQueen (1942) *Education in New Zealand Museums*, pp47-8

<sup>192</sup>O.M. Turbott, O.M. (1988) *First Display Experiments*, p1

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Showing the gradual advancement of the human race

Arranging Maori material culture at the Canterbury Museum  
during the 1860s and 1870s

*[It] is not the objects placed in the museum that constitute its value, so much as the method in which they are displayed and the use made of them for the purpose of instruction.<sup>1</sup>*

#### 8.1 Producing a visual narrative of history

By the late 1860s Haast's research interests had broadened to include investigations into the relationship between the extinction of the moa and the sequence of human settlement in New Zealand. He was particularly interested in visually representing Maori life and positioning them as Neolithic in a global evolutionary scheme. Haast did this through the arrangement of collections in the early 1870s.

With the commissioning of the two-storeyed addition in 1873, for the first time ethnological specimens including some Maori ethnographical objects were used to express Haast's research findings. Although small and incomplete, racial collections were arranged according to geographical groupings, for example Australia, the Pacific Islands, Maori (New Zealand) and Moriori (indigenous people of the Chatham Islands).<sup>2</sup> Maori and Moriori specimens were the largest groupings and were arranged in four display cases. Other geographical areas such as Australia and the Pacific were represented by a small number of objects. These groupings and their arrangement were described in Haast's report to the Provincial Council for 30th September 1873.

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<sup>1</sup>Flower, *Museums and their Purposes*, pp109-110

<sup>2</sup>*Report to the Provincial Council: Papers laid on the Table: Report on the Canterbury Museum for the Year Ending 30 September 1873 Session XLNo 27 1872-73*, 'Report of the Director of the Canterbury Museum for the financial years 1872-73'. To the Trustees of the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, September 30th 1873, p2 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F9 1872-3, Canterbury Museum Archives)

On the landing of the staircase and the walls enclosing it, the larger Ethnological specimens from Australia and the Pacific Islands have been placed as well as four showcases for the smaller Maori and Moriori Ethnological objects.<sup>3</sup>

Racial or geographical groupings during this period were considered to give the best impression of a people's relative progress and the condition of their arts.<sup>4</sup> This approach resembled the ideas of Phillip von Siebold (a German physician, botanist and ethnographer) who in 1843 gave a paper on the arrangement of ethnographical museums to the King Willem I of the Netherlands.<sup>5</sup> By the comparison of material culture from different geographical areas, using races thought to be preserved due to civilising influences, he believed that human history could be represented materially.<sup>6</sup> Specimens ranked in the order of Australia, and the Pacific Islands, and display cases of Maori and Moriori collections placed on the staircase landing, represented a series of statements about the technology, arts and lifestyles of living races as relics of early history. Representing the Maori race through a geographical grouping such as this was also a device used at the Auckland Museum to produce an overall picture of the race's condition.

By placing the material culture of the Maori race together, an impression could be gained of their technological achievement and their original customs, manners and mode of life but only to a limited degree, due to the small number of objects represented. As a result Haast used two boundaries of meaning to demarcate Maori societies within the arrangement. The primary boundary was geographical, the indigenous race of New Zealand. Within this category was an ethnographical component in which objects were classified by type. As with natural history specimens, these type collections introduced people to the technology and lifestyles of the Maori race.

More importantly these collections, like those of natural history, were used as tools for visitors to observe the evolutionary development of races. The defining characteristics of Neolithic people including Maori, according to Haast, were their polished stone tools and more advanced artistic forms.<sup>7</sup> Although the Maori collection was small at this stage, stone tools

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Chapman (1985) 'Pitt-Rivers and the Typological Tradition' in Stocking (ed) *Objects and Others*, p24

<sup>5</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p 40

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. pp41-2 and Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits, p257

<sup>7</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', p68

were one of its major components.<sup>8</sup> Within this context these objects acted as a testimony to the identity, age and place of Maori people as Neolithic and living relics of early history. The inclusion of polished stone technology in the group and its use as a metaphor for age, identity and place in history represented the influence of Lubbock's stone tool division of the Stone Age in the configuration of these collections.

Other objects in the collection included a *taiaha*, various carvings, cloaks and an eel net.<sup>9</sup> References made to these objects 'as fine examples of Maori workmanship' suggested that they were read as artistic metaphors for assessing the condition of Maori arts.<sup>10</sup> Observing the range and form of objects was also intended to allude to aspects of Maori lifestyles. For example this technological grouping showed the material culture used in warfare, the nature of the textile industry and clothing, and their means of procuring food. As with the Auckland Museum during this period, similar small type collections were used to express aspects of Maori life, technology and art.

Defining the race geographically equated with Haast's concept of locality, and was used to recover and explain pre-traditional Maori. Like Haast's localities, it acted as a bounded site of 'culture' from which the customs, manners and modes of life of these people could be interpreted.<sup>11</sup>

Haast's local sequence was represented through Maori collections as opposed to Mōa hunter assemblages. Haast's decision to omit Mōa hunter collections was due to the fact that traditional Maori represented the pinnacle of his local sequence. As a result the choice of this collection was to provide a material statement about the highest state of evolutionary advancement achieved by the race. Archaeological assemblages representative of pre-traditional Maori remained in storage.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>Reports on the Canterbury Museum by the Trustees and Director thereof, for the Year ending 30th September 1871.' *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXV* (35) (1871) p17 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F7 1871. Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid. p12

<sup>11</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', p286

<sup>12</sup>*Report to the Provincial Council: Papers laid on the Table: Report on the Canterbury Museum for the Year Ending 30 September 1873 Session XI(40) No 27 1872-73* Report of the Director of the Canterbury Museum for the financial years 1872-73 To the Trustees of the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, September 30th 1873. p5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F9 1872-3, Canterbury Museum Archives)

Haast's use of living races to represent the deep past was based on the belief that the life of primitive contemporary societies closely resembled those of prehistoric European races.<sup>13</sup> Haast used the same analogy with his natural history collection. For example, Haast's arrangement of contemporary organisms was seen by him as a means to study similar extinct fossil forms.

The key concept which underpinned all Haast's theoretical approaches and methods (Three Age System, de Perthes, Social Darwinism, Klemm and Lubbock) was the idea that human society was homogenous, history was linear, involved the forward movement of time, and was divisible into developmental stages. This arrangement tried to replicate and expose the true relationships of history and its progress through the ordering of collections.<sup>14</sup>

To replicate these concepts of history Haast first had to place objects and collections into sets on the basis of race and geographical location, as outlined. Finding the proper position for each geographical grouping in this narrative was one of his key tasks. Making sure that collections were ordered in their 'proper' sequence was also imperative so that his version of history and its order could be read correctly. No chronological ordering of collections could be undertaken without the comparative morphological analysis of similar types of material culture. For example physical similarities between Maori stone tools, archaeological collections from Northern Europe and North American Indian objects, placed Maori people in the second stage of the Stone Age, the Neolithic period. The visual patterning and reading of these attributes was undertaken by Haast within the context of the Three Age System and Lubbock's division for the Stone Age. This process was intended to provide a definitive statement of the evolutionary age of the population and its place in the sequence.

Haast then gave his order a historical dimension through spatial devices by positioning groups of objects horizontally and vertically as expressions of a hierarchical and progressive route of succession. As a result Haast left nothing to chance. By reinforcing his order through the use of vertical space he intended to represent his progressive history in an overt way. Each object and display case represented a point in historical time, and by reading the order, visitors could gain an impression of how far along the path a given race had progressed. For example the ground floor gallery space was confined to natural history

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<sup>13</sup>Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*, Vol 1, p1 and *The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Ninth Edition, Vol VIII (1879), pp614-615

specimens with the grouping of human skeletal material providing the semiotic link between the natural and cultural world. Visitors then proceeded to an intermediary area, the staircase landing and the walls enclosing it, and view representative specimens of living Stone Age societies from Palaeolithic Australian to Neolithic Pacific Island, Maori and Moriori. Although no photographs of the smaller ethnographical collections have been found there is pictorial evidence to show the larger ethnographical items exhibited between the ground and upper floor just below the mezzanine railing. For example (in Graphic 9) Maori objects including a cloak and eel net were suspended on the left side of the gallery. On the right side of the gallery a collection of Melanesian objects was also exhibited on the same level. This area appears to have been a space on the same horizontal plane as the staircase landing designated for the Stone Age. Towards the back of the gallery was a Chinese coolie hat mounted on the railing at a slightly higher level. This object acted as a metaphor for Asian societies, and its physical position suggested a slightly higher level of technological advancement.

From the landing visitors then continued to the upper room reserved for those objects indicative of the technology and arts of more advanced societies. This latter collection included statuary, busts and reliefs, vases, along with collections of coins and some other objects of art and Ethnology.<sup>15</sup> The composition of these collections suggests that they were intended represent societies who had advanced through to the Bronze and Iron ages. Collections of statuary, busts and reliefs had been acquired specifically for these arranging purposes. The nature and composition of the other ethnological displays is unclear from the sources.<sup>16</sup>

Through this vertical arrangement, from ground floor to upper floor, a metaphor from the lowest primitive races to highly advanced civilisations was produced. This was intended to represent the span of human life on earth from prehistoric to recent times. Through collecting and exchange Haast wanted to develop his scheme further. Developing more comprehensive collections was a way of filling in gaps in his historical narrative. For example in the early

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<sup>14</sup>*Report to the Provincial Council: Papers Laid on the Table, Journal of Proceedings, Session XLI no 57 (1874):28* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F11 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>15</sup>*Report to the Provincial Council: Papers laid on the Table: Report on the Canterbury Museum for the Year Ending 30 September 1873 Session XL No 27 1872-73* Report of the Director of the Canterbury Museum for the financial years 1872-73 To the Trustees of the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, September 30th 1873. p2 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F9 1872-3, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

1870s he acquired further ethnological collections from India, various parts of Europe, France, Germany, Britain, Austria and South Africa.<sup>17</sup>

This sequence of viewing was to be read as a metaphor for Darwin's doctrine that all existing life was derived from simple forms by a natural process of descent by modification.<sup>18</sup> Haast's ordering and reading of modifications in the characteristics of fossils was his way of showing and tracking an evolutionary path of descent for living things from their primitive origins. Reading modifications in objects and collections by comparative morphological analysis in accordance with this sequence from lower to upper floors was akin to exposing the intellectual development of races from their prehistoric Stone Age origins. Arranging through spatial devices was also intended to symbolise the process of ascent.

On the basis of Haast's research confirming an identity for Maori people was dependent on assessing technological and artistic contrasts with other races from a Eurocentric point of view. As a consequence, the comparative morphological reading of objects and collections was a means of making judgements about their relative levels of technical sophistication while exposing the passage of evolutionary time. For example the absence of a silver and gold currency system (for which examples were shown on the upper floor) in the Maori record confirmed their place as a lower order. The perceived sophistication of Greek statuary, made from iron tools, compared to Maori carvings produced with stone tools, reinforced the place of Maori as an inferior race, technically, artistically and hence intellectually.

Within the context of the arrangement Haast produced a location and identity for Maori people within his global framework as an earlier stage somewhere between nature and civilised society. Metaphorically this place in time was half way between the ground and upper floors. Haast physically expressed these racial hierarchies by placing Maori collections on the landing next to other Pacific Island geographical groups such as Polynesia and Melanesia, adjacent to Australian Aborigines. The grouping of Maori collections with those other people from the region who were also considered Stone Age on the basis of similar stone tool technology, confirmed their place as representative of the same stage in history. Within this context Maori history and identity were accounted for by stone adzes and their general lifestyles by a small assemblage of objects. In reality Haast was attempting to construct a social order on a global scale, through the ordering of material things arranged with a visual and successive historical dimension through spatial devices.

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid. p7

The way that Haast located Maori people in this scheme reflected his earlier practice of locating mineral deposits through comparative morphological analysis. This model also enabled him to represent thousands of years by the ordering of racial collections on the basis of shades of visible differences in their form, material and composition. Knowing the defining characteristics of Maori objects in the context of other like specimens allowed him to place these items next to collections that were the closest match in terms of their form and material. Defining the Maori sequence geographically was also a device for Haast to insert the race into a global narrative according to contiguous locations and racial affiliations such as Melanesia. The vertical nature of this cultural arrangement was also metaphor for stratigraphic layering: from the distant past to the contemporary present.

Similarities in the approaches taken at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums during the early 1870s include the reading of lifestyles and technological achievement from an object's structure and form. At the Auckland Museum, as at the Canterbury Museum, objects were intended to stand for traditional Maori, as statements of an authentic past and relics of early history. Philosophies however differed. Haast through his own research wanted to insert Maori people into history and visibly express his conclusions through an arrangement. At the Auckland Museum these objects stood on their own, isolated in space and time as a statements of an authentic past. During this period there were also few comparative ethnological collections in the Auckland Museum's collection to make an order through the arrangement. The lack of a suitable exhibitions space and full-time staff also precluded this possibility.

One major difference between these two museums was the means of comparative analysis. For example in the later Ethnological Hall at the Auckland Museum, Maori collections were examined individually and within the context of a similar series of objects to ascertain the level of technological condition. As Cheeseman had selected objects to reflect a highest state of advancement, that condition was specifically scripted into objects. By appropriate visual analysis of each specimen, that state was easily read. Other collections from the Pacific were used as equivalent racial statements to measure and compare the artistic and technological condition of living and dead races belonging to the same stage in history. This technological approach produced a fixed view of Maori people, isolated in time and space.

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<sup>18</sup>Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p22

At the Canterbury Museum visual analysis, as well as being applied to individual objects and collections to determine their defining characteristics and condition, were also used for comparison with other races to produce an order of relative sophistication as a visual narrative of history. Reading the order of collections also involved a process of discrimination through the assessment of the presence and absence of technological traits seen in the composition of collections. For example Haast's focus on developing collections from many parts of the world exhibiting all stages of development was for the express purpose of producing this arrangement. It enabled him to discriminate, mark out and calculate differences between the technology and arts of different peoples as time. It connected the Maori race with all other races while materially composing their place in history.

Although the first galleries at the Auckland and Canterbury museums followed a similar architectural format, their use differed. At the Auckland Museum linear space provided the main spatial device due to the use of a catalogue approach for arranging, whereas vertical space at the Canterbury Museum provided the visual metaphor for time and progress. Because the museum was an academic and research institution, it was also imperative that the latest fruits of research be presented for study and analysis.

Like Pitt-Rivers, Haast wanted to contribute to controversial evolutionary theories surrounding human antiquity on earth by illustrating his ideas in an arrangement. Haast's conversion to evolutionary theory closely followed that of Pitt-Rivers. They shared interest in the origin of human cultures and evolutionary history. As with Pitt-Rivers, Haast was also influenced by de Perthes, Lubbock and the Three Age System, and held similar views that the principles of biology, classification and evolution could be applied to the study of the products of man.<sup>19</sup> There were, however, differences in their approach to arranging.

Haast grouped and ordered his objects according to geographical metaphors in order for visitors to get an overall picture of the technological and artistic condition of a given race. Pitt-Rivers, although interested in technological groupings, brought individual specimens representative of different races together on the basis of like form and arranged them according to what he considered was the most primitive to the more advanced.<sup>20</sup> Haast believed that geographical groupings could provide a more comprehensive view of the condition of each race and the evolutionary course of history than an evolutionary series of individual specimens.

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<sup>19</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p50

Following the sequence of the arrangement was a form of time travel, from the past to the present. This journey in reality reflected Haast's ideas about history and the theoretical premises he worked within. In the same way that an identity for Maori people was established, this narrative represented the ordering of the physical attributes of objects rather than a truth statement of history.

Bringing diverse collections together in this way enabled Haast to write history. This visual scheme normalised and gave Haast's ideas about the place of Maori people in history and their role in new colony a sense of coherence. As relics of early history they implicitly had no place in the contemporary life of this new order. It also formalised power relationships between Maori and Europeans. By placing European collections at the pinnacle of his arrangement he reiterated their place to be intellectually and racially superior, based on the solid evidence of technology. Haast's arrangement also provided a logical rationale for the meaning of cultural differences and diversity. In terms of pedagogic intentions the arrangement was a lesson in history. It would have provided the researcher and visitor with a better insight into the degree and progress of various cultures and, more importantly, the position of Maori as a stage in this journey.

## 8.2. Objects of fine art

During this period objects from non-western societies, as well as being sources for scientific explanation, could also be seen as works of art.<sup>21</sup> This duality in their interpretation led to some controversy about the use of these collections in a number of museums in Europe and Britain.<sup>22</sup> The root of this debate was whether collections should be placed in a scientific context or exhibited separately. Oriental objects for instance were highly esteemed and seen to be illustrative of a high level of technological and artistic sophistication. Some curators expressed regret that objects such as these could be relegated to the level of primitives in a largely scientific context. The same was true of Maori objects at the Canterbury Museum where an interest in their technical and aesthetic details made them valuable as objects of art as well as scientific specimens.

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid. pp50-51; Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', pp227-228

<sup>21</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p32

<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

This focus on art is evident in a flyer advertising an art exhibition at the Canterbury Museum in 1870. Planning for the exhibition, which was to be held in January 1871, was undertaken by The Committee for the Art Exhibition (of which Haast was a member). Requests for material to be exhibited included items considered to be 'Works of Fine and Industrial Art'. This category included Maori ethnological specimens, the nature of which is outlined in the exhibition flyer (shown in Graphic 27). Only those objects considered to have sufficient excellence were seen to be worthy of inclusion (as shown on page 2 of the flyer, Graphic 27). This indicates that Maori specimens were selected on the sole basis of artistic quality.<sup>23</sup> An object's intrinsic meaning and value according to this subjective assessment of artistic excellence also involved comparative morphological assessment of its form, visible surfaces and iconography. From these, value judgements were made as to its relative level of artistic sophistication and its place in a hierarchy of art.<sup>24</sup>

Aesthetic values also played a major role in grading Maori people in a hierarchy of art at the Auckland Museum in later years. Cheeseman's selection and refurbishment of objects to represent the best and highest state of technological and artistic achievement explicitly favoured aesthetic and technical values. It was in this context that Skinner deduced from form and design of objects that Maori people were read as the highest achievers of savage art.

The intention of the proposed exhibition at the Canterbury Museum appears to follow similar examples in museums in England and Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>25</sup> Here the objective was to provide inspiring forms for industrial design while cultivating popular taste.<sup>26</sup> These objectives were realised by the display of objects taken from different races and periods.<sup>27</sup> For example in the Canterbury Museum exhibition flyer, objects to be exhibited included paintings, sculpture, architectural and engineering models, designs and objects of decorative manufacture and articles illustrative of Archaeology. Included in the category of Class I Fine Art were objects of Ethnology such as items from Europe, Northern Africa, Asia, Australasia (New Zealand), Polynesia, North and South America and Southern Africa. These groupings collectively covered the diversity and range of categories from

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<sup>23</sup>Goldwater, *Primitive Art in Europe*, p7 Other references to Maori objects embodying artistic and aesthetic value in the late nineteenth century include the Paris Exposition in 1889 where a 'heraldic statue from New Zealand' along with other objects from New Guinea and Africa was placed on exhibition for their artistic interest. Reference in Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889, 'Catalogue d'Ethnographie', (1889) pp126-130. Also see Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*

<sup>24</sup>Erwin Panosky (1939) *Studies in Iconology* (New York: Reinhart and Winston) p7

<sup>25</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p32

<sup>26</sup>Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, p29

<sup>27</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p32

# ART EXHIBITION.

CANTERBURY, 1870.

## Patron.

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Governor of New Zealand.

## President.

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J. STRANGE WILLIAMS,  
Esqs.

## Treasurer.

C. C. BOWEN, Esq., R.M.

## Secretary.

ALEXANDER LEAN, Esq.

The Committee for the Art Exhibition, 1870, announce that an Exhibition of selected Works of Fine and Industrial Art will be opened in Christchurch, at the new Museum Building, in the month of January next. It is proposed to hold the Exhibition for a period of one month.

Objects from all New Zealand will be admitted, subject to the approval of Local Committees and representatives that they are of sufficient excellence to be worthy of exhibition.

The Committee invite, for the purposes of the Exhibition, the loan of objects in the following Classes:—

### Class I.—Fine Arts.

1. Paintings, in oil, water-colours, enamel, porcelain, &c.
2. Sculpture, in marble, wood, stone, terra cotta, metal, ivory, and other materials.
3. Copies of ancient pictures, engravings, reproductions in plaster, electro-types of fine works of ancient art.
4. Engravings, lithography, chromo-lithography, photography, specimens of typography, ancient and modern.
5. Architectural and engineering models and designs.
6. Tapestries, embroideries, lace, &c., shown for their fine art, and not as manufactures.
7. Coins, ancient and modern.
8. Designs and objects of all kinds of decorative manufactures.
  - (a.) Articles in plate and jewelry.
  - (b.) Do. do. porcelain and earthenware.
  - (c.) Do. do. inlaid woods.
9. Articles illustrative of archaeology.
10. Articles illustrative of ethnology—

*Europe (the Mediterranean, the Levant). Northern Africa (Egypt, Abyssinia). Asia (Turkey, Persia, India, Malay Peninsula, China, Japan). Australasia (New Zealand). Polynesia. North and South America (Mexico, Peru). Southern Africa (The Cape, Madagascar).*

### Class II.—Designs and Models of Inventions and New Discoveries of all kinds.

No models to exceed one cubic yard of content.

The history, description, and particulars of each article to be furnished by exhibitors.

Prices for any objects for sale may be communicated to the Secretary, and such objects will be allowed to be sold under regulations to be made by the Committee.

Glass cases will be provided for jewelry and for delicate works of art.

The Exhibition will be held in that isolated stone building with a temporary addition in iron, lined with wood, situated in the Government Domain, Christchurch, erected for the Canterbury Museum.

The Committee will take the greatest care of all objects, but are not in a position to hold themselves responsible for loss or damage of any kind beyond that which the Committee may be able to cover by insurance from fire and risk of ransit, if by sea.

The Committee, at their own expense, will insure, if required so to do by exhibitors, from risk of fire and sea, but undertake no responsibility beyond that assumed by the Insurance Companies. Exhibitors must declare to the Committee the value of all articles they desire to have covered by insurance, if of the value of £20 and upwards.

ALEXANDER LEAN,  
SECRETARY.

[“ Press ” office Typ.]

contemporary art and design to styles representative of different races. Based on models overseas, these categories represented the required collections needed to convey ideals of popular taste, while promoting artistic and industrial endeavour in the province.

One notable omission from the category of Ethnology was Australia. Within this classificatory regime, Indigenous Australians were seen as without art. Classified as Palaeolithic, the lowest evolutionary level, artistic attributes were yet to develop.<sup>28</sup> By the inclusion of New Zealand ethnological collections with other objects of Ethnology representing a range of geographical areas and those of civilised societies, Haast intended to represent an evolutionary history of art forms from primitive to the more sophisticated civilised styles.

One important difference between European fine arts and those in the Ethnology category was the lack of a specific and named maker. This was an important factor when placing connoisseurship value on works and assigning them a place in an art historical hierarchy. Those objects without named and distinguished makers were considered of a less value and of a lower order. As a result Maori collections were inserted into a European art historical typological scheme but as part of a lower and more primitive order of works. Comparing the paintings of European masters, their style and iconography (as outlined in Graphic 27) with the simpler forms of Maori carving would have reinforced the position of Maori as relics of early artistic endeavour.

This exhibition ties in with Haast's civilising objectives and his attempts to advance colonial society. Exhibiting works such as these was an attempt to demonstrate the best achievements of artistic endeavour, educate audiences about good taste and provide inspiration for the production of similar quality products. It was also intended to demonstrate how artistic endeavour evolved.

Haast was clearly alive to international trends. Aesthetic paradigms for the interpretation of objects such as these, with their progressive logic, were promoted by Otis Mason of the US National Museum in the following years.<sup>29</sup> This concept and the methods used for the morphological analysis of objects in terms of style and design were developed further by American ethnologists such as Holmes, Clark, Wissler and British colleagues such as Haddon.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters' p68

<sup>29</sup> Schlereth (ed) (1982) *Material Culture*, p12

<sup>30</sup> Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p47

Similar debates about objects and their roles in a museum or art context were also acknowledged at the Auckland Museum with reference to the acquisition of the Mackelvie collection from the art gallery in the 1890s. The Mackelvie collection had been selected purely on the basis of the object's art aesthetic value rather than embodying any representative function as specimens. In terms of Cheeseman's Linnean catalogue approach the representativeness of an object was as equally important as its ability to demonstrate a best state of technological and artistic endeavour.

### 8.3 Space and the reading of knowledge

Although Haast was able to exhibit specimens more fully in this new building, space to arrange his ideas continued to be a problem. This was the result of the rapid growth of collections in all areas of natural and racial history. It represented fundamental tensions between the intellectual design of museum buildings and Haast's need to keep up with an ever-increasing knowledge through the development of his collections.<sup>31</sup> According to Haast 'the first and second buildings erected were somewhat inadequate for the space required'. This was due to the fact that as a result of cost cutting measures these additions were not constructed in the manner desired to accommodate the natural growth in collections.<sup>32</sup> As a result many hundreds of archaeological specimens, including those items excavated at Moa Bone Point Cave at Sumner during October 1873, remained in storage.<sup>33</sup> The provision of storage according to Haast was only for duplicates and newly arrived collections yet to be processed.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, p22

<sup>32</sup>Report to the Provincial Council:, Session XLI, *Memorandum by Dr Haast with sketch plan of proposed additions to Museum Buildings, By order of His Honor the Superintendent, Christchurch, May 30th, 1874* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>33</sup>Ibid and *Report to the Provincial Council: Papers laid on the Table: Report on the Canterbury Museum for the Year Ending 30 September 1873 Session XI(40) No 27 1872-73* Report of the Director of the Canterbury Museum for the financial years 1872-73 To the Trustees of the Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, September 30th 1873, p5 )Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F9 1872-3, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>34</sup>Report to the Provincial Council:, Session XLI, *Memorandum by Dr Haast with sketch plan of proposed additions to Museum Buildings, By order of His Honor the Superintendent, Christchurch, May 30th, 1874* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874)

On the basis of the established object epistemology of the time, objects could only assume their full significance if they were displayed properly.<sup>35</sup> In 1874 Haast proposed further purpose-designed additions to the existing building.<sup>36</sup> These extensions were to enable the more effective division of the rapidly growing collections and to 'properly classify and display specimens' for the immediate and distant future.<sup>37</sup> The Provincial Council however was reluctant to fund further extensions to the exhibitions spaces.<sup>38</sup> One of Haast's proposed additions was the installation of the Maori House for the arrangement of Maori collections.

As at the Auckland Museum, space for the placement of objects in their proper order and for their morphological observation, was also critical for the visual representation of classification. Haast required space for the physical expression of his own theoretical premises and his natural classifications of species and races. For example the need to suspend the larger Maori and Pacific ethnological collections from the rail and wall between the ground and mezzanine floors compromised the reading of Haast's evolutionary order. A clearer vision could have been obtained if all objects belonging to a given race were placed together. As with Cheeseman's display of Maori mats on the mezzanine rail at Princes Street, their position and lack of suitable mounting made the morphological analysis of the visible surfaces of these objects difficult. Considering that visual observation was the key to unlocking knowledge about a given race, this was a serious problem. In a report to the Provincial Council of the 30th May 1874 Haast outlined his proposed additions and stated the following:

If such a plan is adopted all the collections can not only be properly and scientifically arranged but we shall also find the space to exhibit them as they ought to be.

In the present crowded state of the Museum no justice can be done either to the Public nor to its Officers ... it is necessary that the collections must have proper space assigned to them with room for large tickets in explanation and not crowded and mixed up with each other as I am obliged to at present<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup>Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid.

<sup>38</sup>For a discussion on the funding for new additions to the building see 'Correspondance relating to the erection of additions to the Museum Buildings in connection with the Canterbury College By order of the House', *Report to the Provincial Council, Papers Laid on the Table Session XLII (42) no 115, 1874* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F12 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>39</sup>Report to the Provincial Council:, Session XLI, *Memorandum by Dr Haast with sketch plan of proposed additions to Museum Buildings, By order of His Honor the Superintendant, Christchurch, May 30th, 1874*, p3 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

As with the Auckland Museum, Haast proposed the separation of the collections into a series of halls. This was a way of providing a general view of all specimens in a particular class.<sup>40</sup> With these divisions collections could be grouped in their proper classificatory order and mounted so that their visible surfaces could be seen. In Haast's plan, collections were divided by discipline in a similar way as proposed by Brown at the Auckland Museum 10 years later. Divisions included Palaeontology, foreign Zoology, Ethnology, New Zealand collections including Zoology, Maori Ethnology and works of art (as shown by his plan in Graphics 28 and 29).

Each gallery acted as a metaphor for these disciplinary divisions. The plan resembled a series of rooms each containing a story opening one into another, so that by passing along in the same direction the visitor could inspect all the collections in a systematic order.<sup>41</sup> This sequence of stories about the natural and cultural world is illustrated in Graphics 28 and 29. For example the placement of palaeontological collections together (B), enabled visitors and students to observe the passage of evolutionary time and the process of descent through the analyses of specimens. Visitors could then move upstairs to the Anatomical collection (B) to more closely observe modern species, their morphological characteristics and if desired, identify and trace specific modifications in individual traits. Haast explained his collection divisions in his memorandum to the Provincial Council on the proposed additions in 1874.

- (1). The first original building could be exclusively devoted to New Zealand. (A)
- (2). The first addition could be used entirely for anatomical and Palaeontological Collections. (B)
- (3). A room for the Attendant and a working or meeting room will be provided. (C)
- (4). The large hall to be erected could be used entirely for foreign Zoological collections. the large Mammals; on the ground floor, the collections of foreign Birds on the gallery. (D) <sup>42</sup>

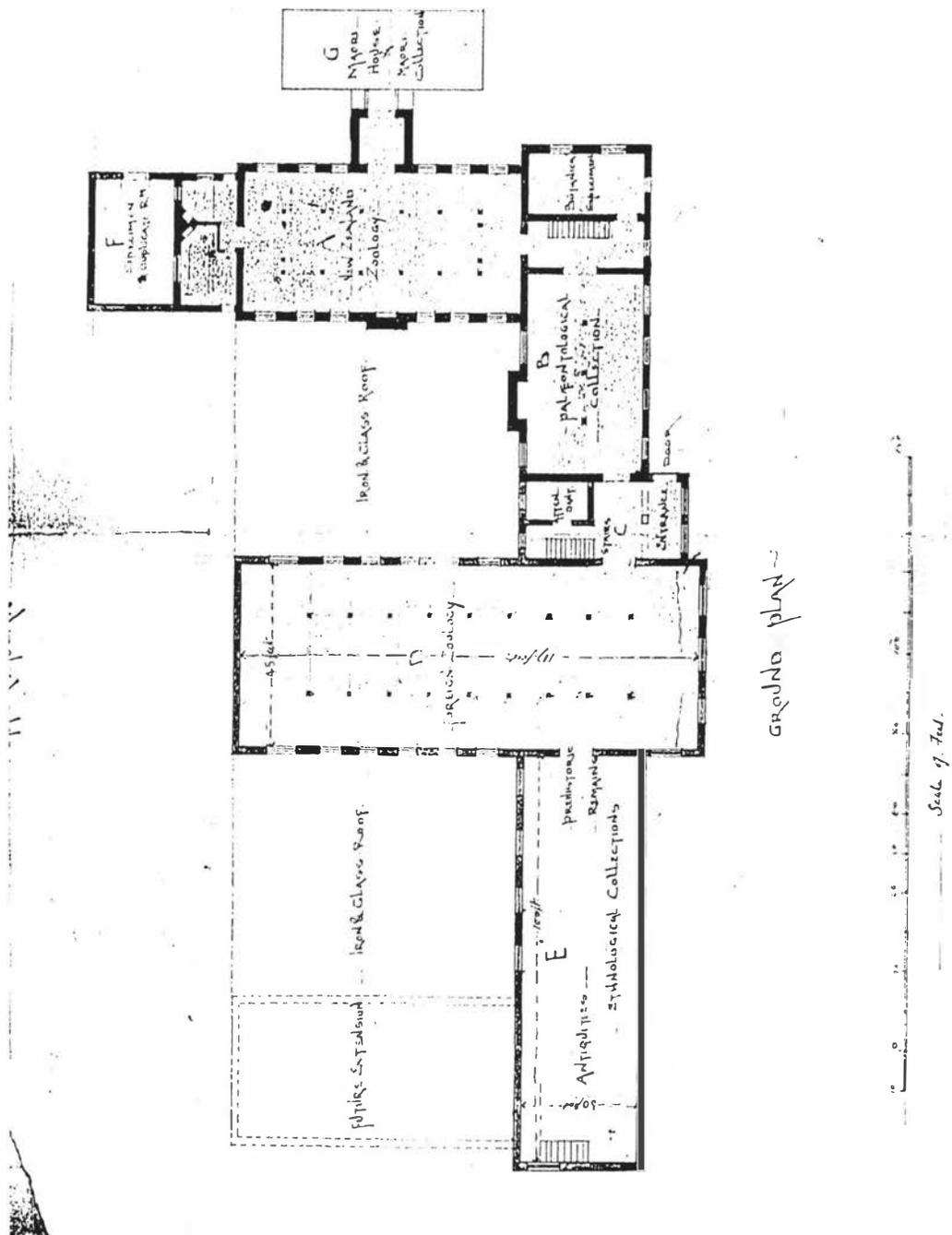
The design of a space such as this, its divisions and the contiguous placement of galleries, according to Flower, was the preferred way of illustrating the different branches of science in one grand institution. Haast saw it as a way to put the whole world's knowledge under glass.

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<sup>40</sup>Report by Julius von Haast Provincial Geologist, Geological Survey Department to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, 30th June 1868, p3 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 F2, Canterbury Museum Archives)

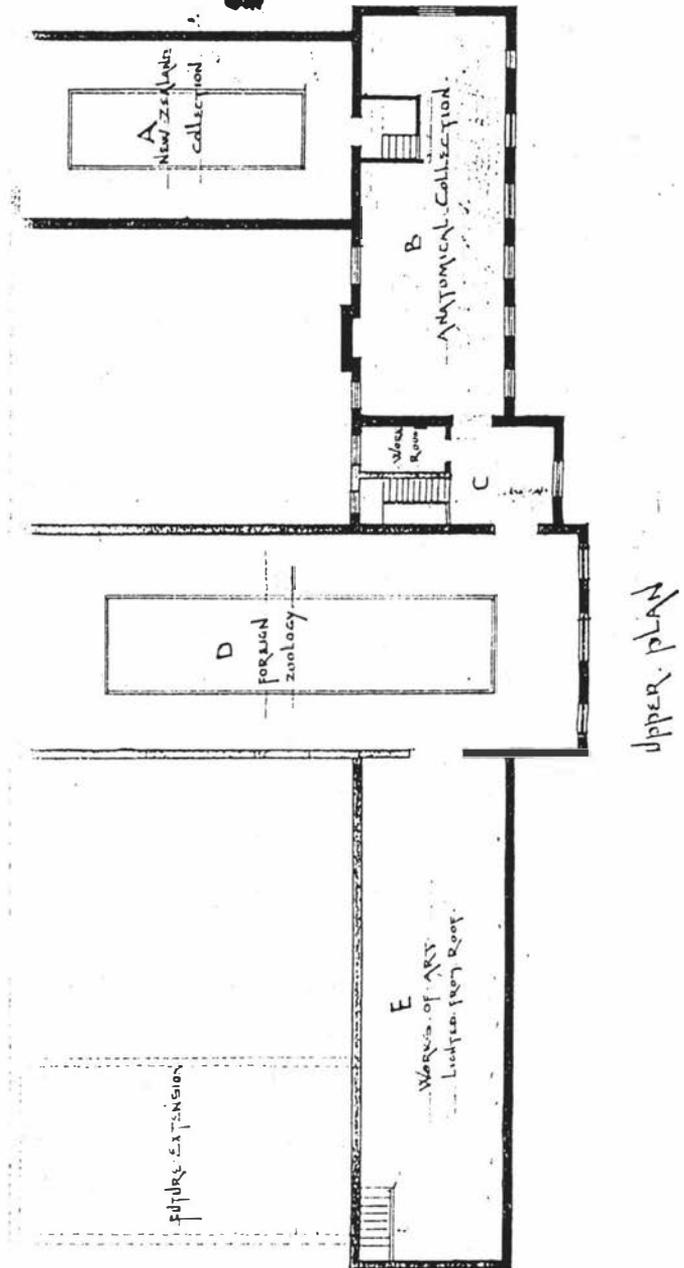
<sup>41</sup>Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p43

<sup>42</sup>Report to the Provincial Council:, Session XLI, *Memorandum by Dr Haast with sketch plan of proposed additions to Museum Buildings, By order of His Honor the Superintendent, Christchurch, May 30th, 1874*, pp2-3 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B 1/F10 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)



Graphic 28. Sketch plan and proposed addition to the Canterbury Museum buildings, Ground Plan, 1874 in *Report to the Provincial Council, Session XLI, No 24, 'Memorandum by Dr Haast with sketch plan of proposed additions to museum buildings. By order of His Honor the Superintendent, Christchurch, May 30th, 1874.'* Canterbury Museum Records 4/1. Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874. Canterbury Museum Archives

CANTERBURY MUSEUM



Graphic 29. Sketch plan and proposed addition to the Canterbury Museum buildings, Upper Plan, 1874 in *Report to the Provincial Council., Session XLI, No 24, 'Memorandum by Dr Haast with sketch plan of proposed additions to museum buildings. By order of His Honor the Superintendant, Christchurch, May 30th, 1874'*. Canterbury Museum Records 4/1. Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874. Canterbury Museum Archives

It enabled the mutual relationships between each branch to be seen and compared in a logical way.<sup>43</sup> Flower also saw these disciplinary subdivisions as artificial, constructed for the express purpose of dividing knowledge of each subject (as written in specimens) into a coherent scheme that the human brain could grasp.<sup>44</sup> Difficulties of adjusting spaces to fit new disciplinary divisions were cited by him as a continual problem. As a result Haast's new design was a way of dividing his vast collection of specimens according to the latest disciplinary divisions while illustrating the relationship between each by his room concept. Through this new plan he hoped to impose some order and stability on the various bodies of knowledge while responding to changes in knowledge.<sup>45</sup> In reality it represented the ordering of Haast's mind prescribed by the latest conceptual approach to the organisation of the natural and cultural world.

This museum plan was sold by Haast to the Provincial government as a way of achieving his civilising objectives. This new plan according to Haast was intended 'to afford instruction and recreation for all classes of the Public, young and old, high and low, all will find something of interest them'.<sup>46</sup> Knowledge was only available to these audiences if all branches of science were present in collections and they were ordered and arranged in a systematic way, according to current thinking. Advancing the colony through education and scientific research was to a large extent based on Haast's ability to arrange the fruits of his and others' research about the natural classifications of living species and races. From these so called correct statements about the natural and cultural world, meaningful research, teaching and popular educational objectives could be achieved. Haast clearly believed in his reference to visitors of a high and low class that museums could ease class tensions by raising the lower classes to a higher state.

The separation of New Zealand collections, including zoology and Maori, was an attempt to illustrate the indigenous natural and cultural environment in a more detailed way. The Maori House (G) would provide him with a space in which to arrange his own hypotheses about the nature and course of the local evolutionary sequence and its two phases, pre-traditional Māori hunter as well as traditional Maori. This space acted as sub-theme of the global scheme. For Cheeseman, like Haast, the separation of Maori collections at the Auckland Museum in 1905 from other foreign collections was intended to enable him to devote the whole space to the

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<sup>43</sup>Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p9

<sup>44</sup>Ibid. pp10-11

<sup>45</sup>Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, p21

<sup>46</sup>Report to the Provincial Council:, Session XLI, *Memorandum by Dr Haast with sketch plan of proposed additions to Museum Buildings, By order of His Honor the Superintendent, Christchurch,*

exhibition of these collections. Cheeseman however was not interested in representing a local evolutionary sequence like Haast, but rather the specific ethnography of the Maori race akin to his traditional phase.

Separating Maori collections from other prehistoric and ethnographical collections must have been a difficult decision for Haast. It was driven by his primary interest in the local sequence. In Haast's previous arrangement, by the positioning of Maori collections with others, he was able to demonstrate the close material relationship between other races defined as Neolithic. It also enabled him to show where Maori people fitted into his global narrative through positioning. By separating these collections he was not able to demonstrate the physical relationships between racial collections and the historical and temporal place of Maori people. Through the expansion of the museum however, he still intended to produce a historical narrative but by walking visitors through it in a new sequence.

#### **8.4 A display of progress - Haast's 1874 concept for a racial arrangement**

In the 1874 plan for his new extensions Haast developed a concept for a more comprehensive global metanarrative. Like his 1873 arrangement this new plan was intended to place collections to illustrate Ethnology from prehistoric to recent times.<sup>47</sup> This truth of history was based on ethnographical as well as archaeological collections. The plan included prehistoric remains at the beginning of the sequence, Antiquities, Art as well as Ethnology. This scheme its nature and its intended physical expression as an exhibition is outlined in Haast's report to the Provincial Council on his proposed additions of May 30th 1874.

(5) The Ethnological collections as well as those of Antiquity and of Art could be kept separate in the wing specially destined for them, beginning in the lower part with pre-historic remains, Antiquities and Ethnological collections and advancing gradually to the Gallery upstairs built for the purpose with light from the top to contain works of Art, showing the gradual advancement of the human race from the manufacture of rude flint implements to the highest productions of great Artists. (E)<sup>48</sup>

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*May 30th, 1874*, p4 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>47</sup>'Letter from Dr Haast, Director of the Canterbury Museum with Statement of Specimens by order of His Honour the Superintendent.' *Report to the Provincial Council: Papers Laid on the Table, Session XLI, No 57 1874*, p28 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F11 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>48</sup>Report to the Provincial Council:, Session XLI, *Memorandum by Dr Haast with sketch plan of proposed additions to Museum Buildings, By order of His Honor the Superintendent, Christchurch*,

As with his existing arrangement, this plan was based on the ordering of objects according to comparative technology and artistic endeavour 'from crude stone implements to the highest productions of art'. Like Haast's earlier arrangement, history was read from the structures and form of objects. As a result societies were reduced to a few technological and artistic features for measurement purposes. As all races were seen to have evolved from a common state, the Palaeolithic Stone Age, this arrangement was also intended to represent the process of evolutionary descent from the anthropological origins of the human race. The inclusion of prehistoric remains, according to Holmes twenty-five years later, was a device to carry the story back to the earliest times.<sup>49</sup>

The space allocated for these collections in Haast's proposed extension is represented by the space E on the Ground and Upper plan as shown in Graphics 28 and 29. Within this scheme hierarchical and progressive relationships of primitive to civilised were expressed physically by a linear layout. This involved the ordering of collections from left to right from the entrance to the gallery space and vertically through the arrangement of specimens and collections between floors. This plan was intended to contain more collections and as a result to define the sequence more clearly and with a greater level of detail, as previously seen in his 1873 example.

The separation of racial collections from natural history collections and their placement in a dedicated space improved Haast's ability to more carefully and clearly order his collections. Haast had begun to develop a large collection of ethnological objects that were intended to represent Ethnology from prehistoric to recent times.<sup>50</sup> These collecting activities would have been undertaken in anticipation for these new galleries.

On entering the gallery, visitors would first encounter prehistoric remains. Given that all acquired specimens were destined for display, this section would have been intended to house collections of Palaeolithic and Neolithic flint and polished stone implements from various

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*May 30th, 1874*, p3 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>49</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p259

<sup>50</sup>*Report to the Provincial Council: Papers Laid on the Table, Session XLI C41 no 57 (1874):28*, 'Letter from Dr. Haast, Director of the Canterbury Museum with Statement of Specimens by Order of His Honour the Superintendent', p28 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F11 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

parts of Europe such as France, Germany, Britain and North America.<sup>51</sup> Here visitors and researchers could examine and ponder on the technological and artistic achievements of their anthropological ancestors. This path then moved on to ethnological collections, which, like Haast's existing scheme, were intended to consist of groupings of objects representative of modern Australians, Pacific Islanders and recently acquired collections from North America, South Africa and India. It was within this area that Haast intended visitors and researchers to gain an impression of the arts and technology of living races who were relics of early history. Prehistoric and ethnographical objects from North America had been acquired from the US National Museum in the late 1860s. These gave Haast the necessary comparative evidence for the placement of Maori people as representative of the Neolithic stage in this framework. Although Maori collections were not intended to be displayed in this scheme (but rather in the Maori Room) morphological cross referencing would have metaphorically placed them with contemporary Pacific Island and Melanesian collections as a best fit in terms of the form, materials and types of material culture

It was then intended that visitors proceed through to the Antiquities section, representing ancient civilisations. Collections at this stage included ancient Egyptian, Etruscan and Roman antiquities, statuary, busts and reliefs.<sup>52</sup> Should visitors choose to ascend to the upper floor they could appreciate the sophistication of the works of great European artists as well as medieval objects representative of past European societies. These latter objects had also been acquired through exchanges.

Haast's divisions of Prehistory, Ethnology and Antiquities, also used in his 1873 arrangement, resembled the categorisation and ordering of similar collections by Henry Christy, a colleague of Pitt-Rivers.<sup>53</sup> Christy was a member of the geographical and ethnological societies in London. In an exhibition catalogue prepared in 1862, his collection was divided into two major sections. These sections included Antiquities and Ethnography, the former divided into early, later and post stone age tools, and the latter into geographical areas such as Greenland, the ancient Peruvians, ancient and modern Mexicans, the North Americans and so forth.

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<sup>51</sup>'Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869.' *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXII (17) (1869)* p9 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4 1869. Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>52</sup>*Report to the Provincial Council: Papers Laid on the Table, Session XLI C41 no 57 (1874):28*, 'Letter from Dr. Haast, Director of the Canterbury Museum with Statement of Specimens by Order of His Honour the Superintendent', p28 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F11 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>53</sup>Haast (1871) 'Moas and Moa Hunters', pp66-90

Whereas Christy confined his arrangement to the representation of earlier stages in history by the exhibition of ethnographical races and equivalent prehistoric collections, Haast extended and completed the narrative to include European works as representative of more contemporary civilised society. In this plan Haast separated Christy's earlier division of antiquities into two sections and renamed the earlier phase prehistory.

As a result Haast's plan merged all fields of art, history and science in one display. It was Haast's way of ensuring the whole world was metonymically present in miniature form through these categorisations.<sup>54</sup> The downstairs spaces were relegated to the interpretation of cultures on the basis of science and history, whereas collections in the upper gallery were interpreted according to art. The particular categories of art, history and science defined differences between civilisation and primitivism.<sup>55</sup> The past and living cultures classified as prehistoric and ethnological were seen as having no history of their own. Interpreted in terms of science, they instead had a life-course that evolved along a predictable and progressive path of development. This path had no temporal specificity but rather technological classifications as markers of progress.

Those races whose material culture was classified under the term Antiquities and belonging to ancient civilisations were seen to have decipherable dynasties, specific histories and chronologies and in some instances languages.<sup>56</sup> They were perceived as changing historically like Europeans. Categories such as these were a way of fixing an identity, not only in terms of a given race's place in a global history, but also the presence or absence of specific histories of its own. European races were beyond history and science and had reached the apex of cultural achievement embedded in the notion of art.

The difference between understanding some races historically and others culturally during this period hallmarked the division between science and art.<sup>57</sup> In terms of Haast's categorisation as ethnological, Maori people were destined to be understood primarily in terms of science. As a result their own specific histories were replaced with a progressive path exposed by the analysis of their technology, the nature of which was to be displayed in the Maori House. It represented the power of the curator, not only to eliminate the histories of objects through collecting, but also to legitimise these actions by virtue of their classification as

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<sup>54</sup>See Bennett (1995) *The Birth of the Museum*, p84

<sup>55</sup>Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, p95

<sup>56</sup>Ibid. p94

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

ethnological. Categorisation as ethnological also operated to subsume the existence of Maori people's own past, present and future and to replace it with a more fundamental historical framework.

This scheme also illustrated the differing ways these classificatory systems were used to interpret collections from scientific ethnography to that of the aesthetic ideals of antiquities and European works of art. By ascribing different values to collections, Haast reiterated the reading of objects from primitive to civilised on the basis of aesthetic ideals, notions of beauty and artistic excellence as well as technological sophistication. As objects of ethnography, Maori people were portrayed as a lower primitive order technologically. As works of unnamed skilled artisans rather than artists in the European tradition, they were perceived as representative of early artistic endeavour. As a result this plan encapsulated many of the intentions and philosophies of the art exhibition of 1871.

The difference between Haast's existing arrangement and this new plan was that his intention, like Christy's, was to compare modern and ancient races through ethnographical and archaeological material. Given that living races were seen as relics of early history akin to prehistoric European races, the morphological analysis of prehistoric implements with equivalent ethnographical examples was seen to provide a more accurate impression of early history. Ethnographical collections of contemporary races were seen to provide a detailed account of life in early history as well as aiding archaeological interpretation.<sup>58</sup> Archaeological remains, although a real testament to the past, on their own could only give an incomplete account of the early condition of humans.<sup>59</sup> For example a stone adze with a hafted handle from an ethnographical collection provided a more precise way of reading the way archaeological examples were used. This juxtaposition of these collections was a way for Haast to improve the pedagogic possibilities of his arrangement.

Showing both living and dead races enabled Haast to realise one of his objectives, the illustration and comparison of human technological development, from prehistoric to recent times for research. By exhibiting prehistoric artefacts from Europe as well as ethnographic collections from the Pacific and North America, he provided the necessary data to confirm the place of Maori people in history. By the comparison of prehistoric European stone tools (particularly those from France) with pre-traditional and traditional Maori examples that exhibited like characteristics, Haast could illustrate his assertion that these populations were a

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<sup>58</sup>Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', p230

relic akin to European Neolithic populations. For the first time it provided Haast with the opportunity to portray Maori people as direct ancestors of early European history due to the inclusion of archaeological reference material.

Through the comparison of ethnographic North American Indian chipped stone tools and those of pre-traditional and traditional Maori (in the Maori Room), he could prove his belief in continuity between these two phases of his local sequence. The display of ethnographical collections from the Pacific Islands and particularly Melanesian examples, and similarities in the form, material and composition of assemblages with Maori examples, proved the existence of racial affinities in material culture and a comparative place in history. In terms of general audiences this arrangement would have given them a background knowledge of human artistic and technological accomplishments in their chronological and developmental orders.<sup>60</sup> For researchers it provided an extensive set of data for their own research while materially expressing and confirming the truth of an evolutionary narrative of history.

In 1874 Cheeseman had only just been appointed to the position of curator at the Auckland Museum. He did not have the same type of training as Haast and hence would not have been so familiar with concepts of ordering to express chronological time and evolutionary progress. This, combined with the fact that his interest lay in memorialising the Maori race through Linnean catalogues of technology and art, rather than solving complex problems of history, precluded the use of a similar strategy. Because Haast had already located Maori people within a global framework and shown these relationships in this arrangement, Cheeseman may have seen his challenge to arrange the best and most complete collection in the country as indicative of their condition. Arranging collections according to evolutionary narratives was also time consuming and complex. Class and series arranging was considered much simpler and less labour intensive.

Although these additions were approved by the Board of Governors of the Canterbury Museum and the Museum Committee, the original proposal was modified due to a shortfall in funding allocation by the Provincial Government.<sup>61</sup> The way the plan was modified is

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<sup>59</sup>Tylor (1871) *Primitive Culture*, p19

<sup>60</sup>Frese 1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p23

<sup>61</sup>See 'Correspondance relating to the erection of additions to the Museum Buildings in connection with the Canterbury College By Order of the House', *Canterbury Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table Session XLII, No 115* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F12 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

outlined in letter from Joshua Strange Williams, Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Canterbury College to the Provincial Secretary in 1874.

The Building has been cut down in respect both of space and ornamentation as far as possible consistently with obtaining the accommodation necessary<sup>62</sup>

To alleviate this funding problem the construction of the addition was to be completed over a two year period.<sup>63</sup> The modified plan involved the construction of a two-storeyed wing out onto the Rolleston Ave frontage, an entrance porch and the installation of the Maori house which was completed in 1876.<sup>64</sup> The Maori House would become a museum object in its own right as well as operating as an exhibitions space.

### 8.5 The Maori House - *Hau-te-ana-nui-o Tangaroa*

With the approval of Haast's modified extensions, a refurbished Maori *whare* (house) was allocated to house the Maori and Moa hunter specimens.<sup>65</sup> This exhibitions hall, the house *Hau-te-ana-nui-o Tangaroa*, was originally intended as a residence for the Chief, Henare Potae of Tokomaru Bay (East Cape, North Island). It was obtained from the Ngati Porou for the Canterbury Museum by Mr Samuel Locke, Native Commissioner in Napier, as agent of the Provincial Government.<sup>66</sup> During F A Bather's visit to the Canterbury Museum in 1893 (as part of his tour of colonial museums for the British Museums Association) he remarked that 'the Maori exhibit was remarkable for its time for it is a complete native house which itself serves as an exhibition room'.<sup>67</sup>

Haast's proposal for the siting and installation of the Maori House included the stipulations that the building be positioned 'outside the porch of the old building parallel to the old

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<sup>62</sup>Letter from Joshua Strange Williams, Chairman of the Board of Governors, Canterbury College, Christchurch to the Provincial Secretary, Christchurch.' Correspondance relating to the erection of additions to the Museum Buildings in connection with the Canterbury College. By Order of the House, *Canterbury Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table Session XLII, No 115* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F12 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Canterbury Museum, (1946)*The Canterbury Museum*, pp3-4

<sup>65</sup>*Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875*, pp2,4-5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13. 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>66</sup>Ibid. p5 and J.W. Stack (1875) 'On the Maori House, Christchurch Museum' in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute*, p173

<sup>67</sup>Bather (1894) *Colonial Museum*, p202-5

building and be built as far as possible in the character of the original house'.<sup>68</sup> His submission was passed by the Trustees of the Canterbury Museum and the Provincial Government. The site was approved by the Canterbury Public Domain Board in March 1874.<sup>69</sup>

Although the construction of the Maori House represented Haast's desire to encapsulate the local evolutionary sequence, the house also acted as representative of his traditional phase, the pinnacle of evolutionary development attained by Maori people. As with Cheeseman fifteen years later, Haast wanted to faithfully represent Maori people in a best possible state through the renovation of the house according to an old Maori style.

At the Auckland Museum similar renovating projects were confined to large architectural elements such as the *whare runanga* (house), *waka tau* (war canoe) and *pataka* (store houses). The Maori House was the only specimen at the Canterbury Museum renovated to a best style. As the only large architectural feature in the collection it provided the lone opportunity to represent the condition of Maori architectural style and decoration. In an article on the Maori House in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute* of 1875 these intentions were outlined:

[The Maori House] should be an exact representation of a native chief's dwelling in the best style of Maori architecture and house decoration.<sup>70</sup>

Renovating this structure represented a process of producing a technical and artistic statement about the ability of the Maori people. A perfect native house was intended to act as a signifier

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<sup>68</sup> von Haast (1948) *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast*, p683 and 'Letter from Julius Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, February 23rd, 1874' in Maori House Correspondence with reference to the erection of the Maori House in connection with the Canterbury Museum By order of His Honor the Superintendent, *Canterbury Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table Session XLI No 31* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>69</sup> 'Letter from Julius Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch to the Public Works Office, Christchurch, 26 March 1874' in Maori House Correspondence with reference to the erection of the Maori House in connection with the Canterbury Museum By order of His Honor the Superintendent, *Canterbury Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table Session XLI No 31* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874); 'Letter from Julius Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch to the Secretary of Public Works Christchurch, 31st March 1874' in Maori House Correspondence with reference to the erection of the Maori House in connection with the Canterbury Museum By order of His Honor the Superintendent, *Canterbury Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table Session XLI No 31* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874) and 'Letter from N.G. Brittan, Chairman of the Canterbury Domain Board, Christchurch to the Secretary of Public 15th March 1874' in Maori House Correspondence with reference to the erection of the Maori House in connection with the Canterbury Museum By order of His Honor the Superintendent, *Canterbury Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table Session XLI No 31* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874, Canterbury Museum Archives)

of the highest technological achievement of the Maori race prior to European influences. As with similar specimens at the Auckland Museum, the analysis of its form was a key to its interpretation as a statement about the place of Maori people in terms of architecture and art. The pedagogic intention of these modifications was 'to show to future generations what the original art of the aborigines of the islands has been.'<sup>71</sup> As a result particular care was taken to ensure that as many elements of the house reflected traditional carving, painting techniques and styles.

Although the house was built in the 1850s, Haast believed that by the use of 'native' carvers and traditional materials he could recoup and represent the house to a point of certain authenticity. This desire to recoup an authentic state is outlined in the *Transactions of the New Zealand Institute of 1875*.

It was intended at first, that the Maoris should put the house up entirely themselves, using only such materials for the purpose, as were commonly employed before the arrival of Europeans in New Zealand.<sup>72</sup>

A more certain authentic value was placed on those items renovated by a real and reliable Maori.<sup>73</sup> As a result the designers of the house, Hone Taahu of the Ngati Porou tribe and Tamati Ngakako, were employed to undertake this work at the Canterbury Museum. The restoration and construction of the house were undertaken between January and December 1874.<sup>74</sup> It took considerably longer than expected because of delays due to funding the work required.<sup>75</sup> Many of the house's carvings were also destroyed during the 'Hau-Hau' uprising of the 1860s and had to be recarved.<sup>76</sup>

Once work had begun on the house its refurbishment as an 'authentic' representative specimen was perceived as unattainable for a number of reasons. The principal constraints were the cost of construction according to traditional methods and the difficulty of obtaining

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<sup>70</sup>Stack (1875) 'On the Maori House, Christchurch Museum', p173

<sup>71</sup>*Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875* p6 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>72</sup>Stack(1875) 'On the Maori House, Christchurch Museum', p173

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid. See also various correspondence in Maori House Correspondence with reference to the erection of the Maori House in connection with the Canterbury Museum By order of His Honor the Superintendent, *Canterbury Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table Session XLI No 31*, (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874)

<sup>76</sup>von Haast (1948) *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast*, p681

the necessary materials.<sup>77</sup> As a result Haast incurred much unfavourable criticism for the work.<sup>78</sup> In a memo of the 30th June 1874 Haast justified his reasons for not adhering to traditional methods in terms of mixing paint colours.

[Having] before ascertained that they would employ only those which the natives always use and as it was impossible for me to procure them shark oil and any other ... compound formerly used by them I was obliged to allow them a substitute, taking care that the shades were as near as possible to those they obtain in the North Island.<sup>79</sup>

Deviations from a traditional style were also made to the house to ensure the structure's longevity.<sup>80</sup> This included the addition of a concrete foundation to preserve the structure and the erection of a framework by European carpenters to mount the house carvings.<sup>81</sup> The exterior was also clad with corrugated iron as a way of protecting the building from the weather.<sup>82</sup> In terms of an authentic representation the most appropriate cladding would have been to cover the exterior with *raupo* and *toe toe* (flax materials). Adherence to a traditional approach was ruled out on the basis of its potential fire danger.<sup>83</sup>

Some aspects of the house however were undertaken in a traditional style. For example totara wood was used for the carvings. Scroll work was painted in white, black, red green and blue. The first three colours were formed with pipeclay, charcoal and red ochre mixed with water or fish oil as commonly used by Maori people.<sup>84</sup>

The intention to renovate the house according to its original character appeared in some instances to conflict with the desire to construct an exact representation of an authentic native

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<sup>77</sup>*Statement re Maori House, 30.6.74 by Julius von Haast* (unpub. mans. 'Floorboards Excavation - Maori House' Ethnology Department, Canterbury Museum) This manuscript also outlines some of the difficulties in the allocation of finance and issues relating to the use of traditional methods and materials.

<sup>78</sup>Stack (1875) 'On the Maori House, Christchurch Museum', p173

<sup>79</sup>*Statement re: The Maori House, 30.6.74 by von Haast, Director*, p3 (unpub. manus. in the Ethnology Department Canterbury Museum Box Floorboards Excavation "Maori House')

<sup>80</sup>Stack (1875) 'On the Maori House, Christchurch Museum', p173

<sup>81</sup>Ibid. and 'Letter from Julius Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch to the Secretary of Public Works, Christchurch, February 23rd, 1874' in Maori House Correspondence with reference to the erection of the Maori House in connection with the Canterbury Museum By order of His Honor the Superintendent, *Canterbury Provincial Council Papers Laid on the Table Session XLI No 31*, (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F10 1874)

<sup>82</sup>*Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875*, p6 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875)

<sup>83</sup>Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>Stack 1875) 'On the Maori House, Christchurch Museum', p175

chief's house.<sup>85</sup> For example some original design elements were eliminated to conform to an authentic style. According to Reverend Stack, 'the artist, unfortunately, did not confine himself to ancient patterns, but introduced various novelties of his own designing which consisted for the most part as representations of the leaves of different plants and scrubs'.<sup>86</sup> On an outside post the artist had also rendered a carving 'with the *moku* or *tatu* markings on a woman's breast'.<sup>87</sup> One of the overseers of the renovation, James Buller, suggested painting out this 'silly fancy work on the outside post and giving it a coat of red paint'.<sup>88</sup> As seen with renovations at the Auckland Museum, red paint was intended to evoke the sacred red ochre *kokowai*. According to Haast it was a way of recouping the 'original style of ancient Maori art now fast dying out'.<sup>89</sup> Buller's rationale for altering the original design was 'that we must have nothing introduced in terms of stylistic details we cannot defend as truly authentic'.<sup>91</sup>

The interior and verandah were also modified and painted to reflect this representative function. In reality this process, like the Auckland Museum exhibits, wrote Maori people and their material culture out of the present and relegated them to some imagined time in a distant past. By renovating to a supposedly authentic style and eliminating some of the house's original design elements, it removed all references to the nineteenth century, European influences and contemporary life.

Individual elements of the house however were considered representative of an authentic style.<sup>91</sup> For example carvings on the verandah were considered the best specimens of carving about the building.<sup>92</sup> Haast requested that James Buller inspect the house to assess the work as an accurate representation of a 'traditional' style. In his reply to Haast in June 1874 he stated:

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<sup>85</sup> Ibid.

<sup>86</sup> Ibid. p174 Reverend Stack was based in the East Cape area and mediated with the Ngati Porpu and the designers of the house for its removal and renovation.

<sup>87</sup> von Haast (1948) *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast*, p684

<sup>88</sup> Ibid.

<sup>89</sup> *Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875*, p6 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>90</sup> von Haast (1948) *The Life and Times of Sir Julius von Haast*, p684

<sup>91</sup> Stack (1875) 'On the Maori House, Christchurch Museum', p175

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

At your request I have this morning examined the work of the two natives who are employed preparing the Maori House .... with a view to those points to which you have drawn my enquiry

The colours used ... are in each case the closest possible imitation of what the Maori used in the decoration of their best houses in the North Island

I have the fullest confidence in their skill ... and I am of the opinion that the house when finished will do them credit with their Maori fellow craftsmen ... The building will be durable as well as a valuable relic of Maori architecture ... of which must soon pass away and even now comparatively few are at all skilled in their rude art.<sup>93</sup>

Buller's reference to the house as a relic of the past and the imminent loss of traditional skills further supported the belief in the inevitable death of 'traditional' life. References to their 'rude art' was also a subjective judgement based on European aesthetic values based on the form and decorative detail which relegated Maori people to the status of primitives.

Other modifications were made to the interior of the house for its new function as an exhibitions space. The reeds in the interior between the slabs were replaced with fluted timber in order to provide a mounting surface for specimens.<sup>94</sup> A wooden floor was installed and the doorway was constructed two or three feet higher than traditional examples for easy access by visitors.

Between the months of January and July 1881, the Maori House was removed and re-erected. The project was designed and managed by Mr B W Mountfort, the museum's architect.<sup>95</sup> Four skylights were also placed in the roof so that specimens could be adequately lit by natural light.<sup>96</sup>

Further modifications were undertaken in 1894 when the House was 'taken down, turned round, and put up again so that the carvings of the door and window, previously exposed to

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<sup>93</sup>Letter for James Buller to Julius von Haast, Director of the Museum June 26 1874 (Christchurch unpub. mans. in 'Floorboards Excavation - Maori House' Ethnology Department, Canterbury Museum)

<sup>94</sup>Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875, p6 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives) For an example of this feature see Plates 5 and 6

<sup>95</sup>For a discussion on alterations to the structure of the Maori House see MS Papers 37 von Haast Folder 23 (Alexander Turnbull Library Manuscript Collection)

<sup>96</sup>Ibid.

the weather could be seen by visitors'.<sup>97</sup> It also appears as if windows were installed in the end wall to provide more natural lighting to the interior as depicted in Graphic 30. A detailed description of the House and its features including modifications and traditional elements was outlined in the Guide to the Canterbury Museum of 1895.

It was placed on a concrete foundation and this necessitated a European framework to which the Maori work has been fastened. Fluted kauri boards have been substituted for the usual lining of toe-toe reeds. Outside it is covered with corrugated iron and the floor is boarded. Windows have also been made at the end, and in the roof. The doorway is two or three feet higher than usual in olden times.

The veranda contains the best specimens of carving about the building. The boards round the door and window are elaborately carved and inlaid with pawa (Hallotis) shell, as also are the ends of the barge boards. The sides of the house are formed by fifteen upright carved totara slabs from which broad rafters stretch to the ridge-pole; the spaces between them being filled in with imitation reeds. At each end are seven carved slabs, the middle one of which also supports the ridge-pole. The painted scrolls on the rafters and ridge-pole are done in white, black, red and blue....At each gable end there are boards a foot wide painted with grotesque faces, which are intended as specimens of the style adopted in ornamenting whatas (food-stores) and other outdoor buildings. Of the two posts supporting the roof one is red and the other is covered with a modern diamond pattern.<sup>98</sup>

A subsequent alteration was made to the structure in 1914 when the house was enlarged to accommodate 'a portion of an old house formerly occupied by the chief Te Kooti'.<sup>99</sup> This specimen, originally situated on the shore of Lake Rotorua, was acquired by Waite the curator.<sup>100</sup>

The following chapter discusses the arrangement of collections in the Maori Room from Haast's first displays to those of his successors. It examines how a view of Maori history and identity was given a form through arranging in a local and global context.

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<sup>97</sup>Report of the Curator of the Museum, F.W. Hutton in *The Canterbury College Twenty-First Annual Meeting Board of Governors, Held On Monday, July 9th 1894*, (Christchurch: Christchurch Press) p14

<sup>98</sup>*Guide to the Collections of the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p213

<sup>99</sup>*Canterbury College, University of New Zealand, Forty-First Annual Report* (1914) (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs) p14

<sup>100</sup>*Ibid.* p27



Graphic 30. Interior of the Maori House [date unknown] (Collection of the Canterbury Museum)

## CHAPTER NINE

### Mapping Maori identity and history

#### Exhibiting Maori collections at the Canterbury Museum from 1875 to the 1920s

*In his unofficial moments he may admit that his specimens were made for other purposes, and that their functions go beyond their obvious uses but he is apt to be incurably convinced that the interest in their forms and structure and the essence of their ethnological significance, lies in their history, since they constitute the final products of the processes of discovery invention and diffusion.<sup>1</sup>*

#### 9.1 Arranging the Maori Room according to theoretical divisions

By April 1875 the Maori collections at the Canterbury Museum had been arranged in the Maori House.<sup>2</sup> In this exhibition Haast intended to map out a Maori identity and an evolutionary sequence for New Zealand, from the distant past and early settlement to the ethnographic present, based on his own theories and research conclusions.<sup>3</sup> In a letter to the Chairman of the Board of Governors in 1875 he welcomed this new addition and explained the intentions of the arrangements.

[The] additions of further space together with the interior of the Maori House, erected in front of the first building has afforded me the welcome opportunity to arrange the collections more systematically than they have hitherto been ...

The ethnological objects of New Zealand both of historic and prehistoric times have been placed in the Maori House.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Harrison (1937) 'Ethnology under Glass', p1

<sup>2</sup>*Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives) p5

<sup>3</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) First Edition, pp2, 221

<sup>4</sup>*Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875* (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives) p2.

The Maori Room was a development on Haast's 1873 arrangement of Maori type collections. In the 1873 arrangement the cases in which objects were displayed acted as a geographical and cultural boundary for New Zealand. This same metaphor was used for the Maori Room.

Defining races as geographical and ethnic groupings was a common theme during this period and was instituted at a number of museums including the British Museum.<sup>5</sup> It was a way of showing the modes of life and arts of a given race.<sup>6</sup> According to Lewis Henry Morgan (an anthropological writer) in his 1877 publication *Ancient Society*, the use of this metaphor was a way working out problems of progress by showing each race in its own geographically isolated situation.<sup>7</sup> Isolation had led to the retention of a given race's arts and institutions in a pure and homogenous state.<sup>8</sup> The use of this concept as a spatial and organisational model for the arrangement of collections was an attempt to reproduce and communicate this idea of geological isolation within a museum context. Collections divided ethnographically within these boundaries were intended to represent a race in its pure form for assessment purposes. In some instances, where one geographical unit was larger than others, according to Holmes a whole hall was devoted to it.<sup>9</sup> As a separate space, the Maori Room acted as a way of defining the isolated geographical and cultural site of New Zealand.

A geographical classification was also applied to the separation and arrangement of collections at the Auckland Museum in later years. For example in the Ethnographical Hall collections were selected and arranged according to the geographical boundaries of Melanesia and Polynesia including Maori. This division was further refined with the separation of these foreign collections into a separate space. By 1905 the hall had become devoted solely to Maori collections as a way of expressing their life and arts in its pure and uncontaminated form.

Within this geographical boundary, collections at the Canterbury Museum were further subdivided into two divisions on the basis of archaeological and ethnographical evidence. As a result these differing collections were arranged in 1875 according to two distinct systems, the former by locality groupings and the latter by small type collections. Rather than representing two discrete periods or races as seen in Haast's early theories, these concurrent schemes were deemed to represent two phases in a continuous national historical narrative. Divisions

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<sup>5</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits' p221

<sup>6</sup>Ibid. p 258

<sup>7</sup>Lewis Henry Morgan (1877) *Ancient Society or Researches on the lines of human progress From Savagery through to Barbarianism to Civilization*. (London: Macmillian) p16

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p264

equated respectively with his two identities, 'pre-traditional' or prehistoric (Moa hunter) and 'traditional' or historic (Maori) phases of the local sequence.<sup>10</sup> At the Auckland Museum eighteen years later, the collection was divided into one smaller ethnographical division that equated with Haast's traditional phase. Cheeseman's choice of classification attempted to provide an account of traditional Maori life at a highest state of advancement rather than represent two different stages in the sequence.

By replicating his divisions of (pre-traditional and traditional) in an arrangement, Haast was able to make a definitive statement about New Zealand history, and put his hypotheses about the course of indigenous history on a solid empirical footing by virtue of their display in the museum. Each represented his respective phases and was intended to give an impression of the prehistoric and traditional lifestyles of Maori people. Together this arrangement and the analysis of material culture were intended to show the relationship between Maori of former and present times, temporal and developmental sequences and the Ethnology of New Zealand as a whole.

Detailed descriptions of these arrangements are not available until the 1890s. From the inception of the Maori Room arrangements did not change substantially in intellectual intent until the 1930s.<sup>11</sup>

## 9.2 The pre-traditional Moa hunter past

Arranging archaeological collections was a means for Haast to illustrate his own ideas about the origin and early history of the pre-traditional Maori inhabitants of New Zealand.<sup>12</sup> These collections were arranged as assemblages by locality, as evidence of early human settlement and Moa hunter people.

The bounded site and the assemblage acted as discrete places of human habitation that Haast interpreted as localised 'cultures'. Locality groupings were a common concept used during

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<sup>10</sup>In the manuscript by Professor J. von Haast, *Notes on the Collections Illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum*, p2 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives); *Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875*, pp 2, 4-5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>11</sup>Canterbury University College, 61st Annual Report (1933) Canterbury Museum, p29

<sup>12</sup>von Haast MS Papers 37 Folder 25A, pp 40-41 (unpub. manus. author unknown, Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New Zealand)

the later part of the nineteenth century to gain knowledge of people living within smaller geographical limits.<sup>13</sup> These locality groupings acted as a series of smaller geographical and cultural divisions within the broader geographical metaphor of the Maori Room.

As with Haast's earlier geological and natural history collections, by arranging his pre-traditional past by locality, he could replicate each site of investigation and represent through selected objects his own ideas about the unique characteristics of these places. The role of these locality collections as factual statements of history were outlined in his *Notes on the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand exhibited at the Canterbury Museum*.

These facts were collected in several localities, of each of which I shall offer some observations, pointing out the position and remarkable characteristic features of these remarkable spots, and exhibit a number of specimens in illustration<sup>14</sup>

This selection of specimens was determined by his own hypotheses and what each site was intended to depict in terms of Moa hunter identity and history. For example in the Rakaia Encampment case the inclusion of moa bones was intended to confirm his hypothesis that these people were contemporaneous with moas and to demonstrate the importance of moa in the diet.<sup>15</sup> Rather than representing a complete and definitive record of Moa hunter life, in reality these assemblages were merely chance survivals in the archaeological record.<sup>16</sup> Their composition also reflected Haast's decisions about where to excavate, the way he defined his boundaries of locality, what he chose to recover and the specimens he selected to support his own ideas of these early settlers, their life, history and identity.

Haast intended that these assemblages be read and interpreted on several levels. The first objective was to illustrate the mode of life of Moa hunters who lived in each locality. Each of these sites acted as a factual statement of the past from which the course of history could be exposed through comparison with other sites.

The way this system operated was clearly documented in the sources by 1895 (shown pictorially in Graphic 30 and in the layout of the Room in Graphic 31). Cases containing archaeological material from Moa hunter camp sites excavated by Haast were arranged along

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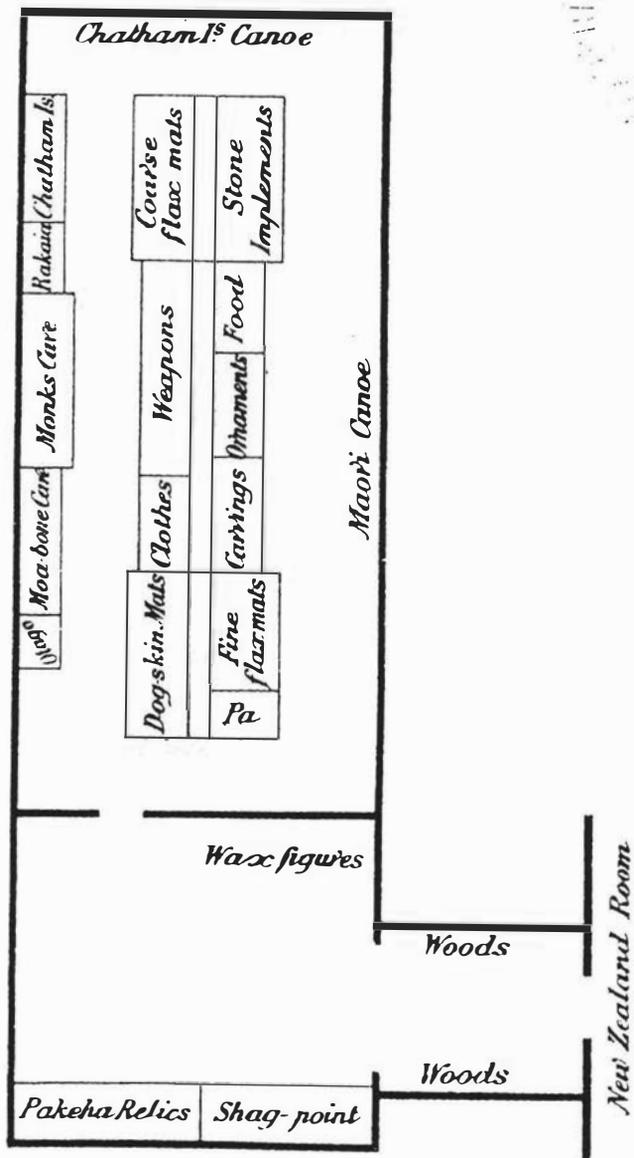
<sup>13</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use of Anthropological Collections in Museums', p286

<sup>14</sup>*Notes on the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum Christchurch by Professor Julius von Haast, Director*, p5 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>15</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p220-222

<sup>16</sup>Clifford (1997) *Routes, Travel and Translation*, p2

# MAORI ROOM.



Graphic 31. Floor plan of the interior of the Maori House, 1895, in Canterbury Museum, *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum*. Christchurch: Lyttleton Times Co Ltd. 1895, p211

the west side of the room according to their locality of origin.<sup>17</sup> For example each locality such as the Rakaia Encampment, Moncks Cave, Moa Bone Point Cave and Brighton were encapsulated in a display case as a local 'culture'. Selected material evidence defined the unique characteristics of each, their lifestyles, behaviour and subsistence patterns.<sup>18</sup>

Commencing at the northern end we have the Chatham Islands material...

...Case 23 contains stone implements of the Morioris.

RAKAIA ENCAMPMENT-- Case 24- objects from an old Maori encampment at the mouth of the Rakaia River ... stone implements,... moa bones

MONCK'S CAVE-Cases 25 and 26...fire sticks, fern root beaters...fish hooks...bird spear heads..

MOA BONE POINT CAVE- Cases 27-28...flax sandals fish hooks..hair combs.. fire sticks... bird spears, pieces of stone, partly cut through, for the manufacture of adzes

BRIGHTON, OTAGO...half finished adzes and knives shells and bones.<sup>19</sup>

Reading these assemblages enabled visitors and researchers to reconstruct Moa hunter lifestyles and behaviours.<sup>20</sup> For example at Monks Cave the inclusion of fishhooks, fern root beaters and bird snares in the assemblage illustrated the importance of fish, fern root and birds in the diet as opposed to moa in this particular area. Fern root beaters were also seen as evidence of how these people prepared food. The lack of moa bones in the assemblage was intended to indicate that the site was of a later date, post dating the extinction of the moa.

Diet was one of Haast's key identifying characteristics for his early population (which was named Moa hunter on the basis of this subsistence activity). It was on the basis of this principle that the display of a large quantity of moa bones in the Rakaia exhibit confirmed their identity as Moa hunters.

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<sup>17</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p220

<sup>18</sup>*Notes on the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum Christchurch by Professor Julius von Haast, Director*, p5 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives);

<sup>19</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) pp220-222

<sup>20</sup>Progress Report by the Director of the Canterbury Museum from the 1st January to 30 September 1869, *Report to the Provincial Council: Journal of Proceedings, Session XXXI (1869)* p5

By illustrating the unique characteristics of each site and making comparisons with others, narratives of change and progress could be identified. For example ascertaining changes in subsistence patterns by viewing these assemblages enabled visitors and researchers to construct the age of a given site and locate it within the developmental sequence. The presence of moa bones in the Rakaia Encampment collection in comparison with those sites which had few examples (Moncks Cave, Moa Bone Point Cave) or no examples (Brighton) placed this locality earlier in the scheme. It also illustrated the contemporaneousness and relationship between early Moa hunter populations and moas, while providing proof of the birds' gradual extinction during Haast's pre-traditional phase. This was demonstrated by the lack of bones in later sites.

Haast's interpretation of the relationships between Maori and Moa hunters was dependent on visitors and researchers undertaking correct morphological analysis of objects and comprehending the theoretical ideas that influenced his thinking. These included understanding the materials from which objects were made, the way they were made and the implications these observations had in terms of history and identity.

The transference of a progressive logic to the construction of Maori identity and their placement in history, as we have seen, was primarily through stone tool technology and the analysis of visible surfaces. This logic, in particular the influence of John Lubbock's ideas about the division of the Stone Age (into Palaeolithic and Neolithic on the basis of chipped and polished stone tools), was clearly shown in the composition of the assemblage of key sites. For example the case containing material from the Moa hunter encampment at Rakaia included a number of stone tools and worked stone. These included unpolished stone implements such as flint knives, chipped choppers, saws, flakes, drilling tools, as well as chipped and polished stone adzes, as the site's unique defining characteristics.<sup>21</sup> The display of polished as well as chipped stone tools in this case provided definitive evidence that Moa hunters had evolved as far as the Neolithic.

Particular locality groupings were also used to prove Haast's hypotheses about the age of these populations and their contemporaneousness with similar Stone Age populations in Europe. For example at Moa Bone Point Cave on Banks Peninsula, kitchen middens,

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(Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F4, Canterbury Museum Archives)

geological specimens, moa bone, adzes, scrapers, knives, drills, chert cores and obsidian flakes were displayed as proof of human presence in the quaternary (Pleistocene).<sup>22</sup> This case was also an affirmation of Haast's use of de Perthes' ideas about a contemporaneous relationship between early human populations and extinct megafauna. By his selection of material, for example geological specimens (as testimony to the age of the deposit in which these specimens were found), the presence of crude flint implements such as chert core and obsidian flakes (evidence of Stone Age technology similar to the people of Northern Europe) and moa bone (the presence of extinct megafauna), he illustrated his hypothesis that the New Zealand sequence followed that of Northern Europe. The inclusion of a specimen of obsidian from the North Island stood as proof of Haast's belief that there was communication between the North and South Island populations.<sup>23</sup>

Locality collections also included Moriori material from the Chatham Islands. This case acted as another geographical and cultural boundary for a population that inhabited a group of islands to the east of New Zealand. Moriori were included in this prehistoric scheme as representative of a population similar to pre-traditional Maori.<sup>24</sup> Others viewed them as a degraded Maori race.<sup>25</sup>

Items on display in the outer court included a locality collection of archaeological material from Shag Point in Cases 30 and 31 and rock paintings from Weka Pass (see sketch plan of the Maori House for 1895 in Graphic 31). As in his other case arrangements, these specimens represented what Haast considered to be the unique and defining characteristics of each of these sites. The analysis of the stylistic attributes of this rock art was used to make speculations about the racial origins on the basis of artistic influences.<sup>26</sup> Displaying this rock art was, according to Haast's interpretation, a way of showing artistic similarities with the ancient people of Burma and India.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>*Notes on the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum Christchurch by Professor Julius von Haast, Director*, p11 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>22</sup>*Notes on the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum Christchurch by Professor Julius von Haast, Director*, p7 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>23</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p221

<sup>24</sup>*Ibid.* p220

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup>*Notes on the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum Christchurch by Professor Julius von Haast, Director*, p73 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*

As a result the lives, history and identity of early Maori populations were accounted for by the configuration of objects according to Haast's sites of investigation, his hypotheses and research conclusions. Maori history was inextricably linked to European history and these linkages shown by his site assemblages.

Although all his Moa hunter sites were located in the lower South Island, Haast used them to illustrate ideas about the identity and history of a generic national pre-traditional population. This represented a process of transference from the detailed historical specifics of each site to a general account of the phase. By selecting particular localities and nominating assemblages to illustrate each of his ideas about the identity, age, history and lifestyles of these groups (primary through the Moa Bone Point Cave, Rakaia River mouth and Moncks Cave assemblages), Haast was able to generalise this stage in history. It was a way of producing a statement about the general life of early Maori and their evolutionary condition. Through his statements about the age and identity of these localities, he also rehistoricised these collections to an imagined deep past, to an undefined early period of the evolutionary history of New Zealand.

Cheeseman was not interested in illustrating theoretical ideas or historical questions about the early settlement of New Zealand. He was more interested in ethnographical objects to memorialise traditional Maori. Although archaeological material was included in his class and series, these objects were rehistoricised through the selection process to his imagined point of a best authentic state.

### **9.3 The traditional Maori past**

Given Haast's emphasis on defining the early part of the New Zealand sequence, there were few Maori ethnographical specimens in the collection for display in the Maori Room. The collection of polished stone adzes and other items such as the *taiaha*, carvings, cloaks and an eel net previously on display in Haast's 1873 arrangement were transferred into this space.

With the establishment of the Maori House as an exhibitions space Haast expressed a desire to develop a more complete collection of Maori objects. This shift was driven by concerns for the loss of authentic specimens to represent his traditional phase and the need to complete an

ethnological narrative of New Zealand.<sup>28</sup> Through these objects he intended to represent the original customs and habits of the race as written in their technology.<sup>29</sup> Like Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum, he wanted to memorialise the general lifestyles of the Maori race within an arrangement through ethnographical objects. By arranging and memorialising Maori in an exhibition Haast, like Cheeseman, wrote Maori people out of contemporary life and relegated them to the distant past as opposed to a deep past to which Mōa hunters belonged.

The morphological comparison of archaeological and ethnographical collections, in particular individual specimens, was a key factor in defining the evolutionary relationship between Haast's two phases. It was also Haast's intention for this display that audiences, especially scholars, could construct a linear history on the basis of the analysis of the respective groupings of material evidence. The arrangement of ethnographical specimens was intended to facilitate visitors' and researchers' understanding of Haast's notion of the progress of the local sequence.

In 1875 Professor Thomas Henry Huxley (British natural scientist and evolutionist) stated that the only perfectly safe foundation of the doctrine of evolution lies in the historical evidence of particular organisms and the gradual modifications exhibited.<sup>30</sup> Like minute changes in the structures of living things, the comparison of minute changes between the material culture of Mōa hunters and Maori people within the context of the arrangement was intended to represent progressive development. The presence or absence of particular types within these two records was also a way of determining evolutionary change.

For example the display and analysis of individual stone adzes within these respective groupings revealed their similarities, with both exhibiting polished forms. This was taken as testimony to the existence of and continuity between Haast's pre-traditional and traditional Maori.<sup>31</sup> Similarly the exhibition of ethnographic greenstone objects was a way of differentiating the traditional from the pre-traditional phase, portraying the former as more advanced technologically, artistically and materially. The lack of similar material culture in

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<sup>28</sup>*Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875*, pp2, 4-5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>29</sup>*Letter to the Chairman of the Governors of the Canterbury Museum College from Julius von Haast, Canterbury Museum, Christchurch, April 20th 1875*, pp2,5 (Canterbury Museum Records 4/1 Files kept by Directors previous to 1948, B1/F13 1875, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>30</sup>Cited in Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p23

Moa hunter locality groupings reinforced Haast's conclusions that there were two separate phases in the history of New Zealand. In reality this process did not represent the passage of real time but a temporal framework formulated on the basis of the presence or absence of traits perceptible by the visible surfaces and the materials of objects.

By the 1890s collections had become more complete and ethnographical specimens took on a new role in the arrangement. In addition to showing connections between these two phases they were intended to illustrate traditional Maori lifestyle traits as well as technological and artistic achievement. Haast had already defined the two phases, so it was up to subsequent curators to complete this picture through the arrangement of ethnographical collections.

The limitations of technological grading (as seen with the Three Age System) on its own as an accurate indicator of the condition and place of the Maori race in history were recognised by Canterbury Museum curators Forbes and Captain Hutton by the 1890s. Haast had been almost solely reliant on this system to produce a history and identity for Maori people. Although Maori people were designated as Neolithic on the basis of stone technology, the question was how advanced were they in other areas of life in terms of social and political structures.<sup>32</sup> As a result a series of classifications was chosen for organising and arranging Maori collections to allude to subsistence activities, social processes, social organisation and customs as well as technology.

Ethnographical classifications to illustrate subsistence activities, social life and organization included 'Implements for Procuring and Preparing Food', 'Ornaments and Amusements', 'The Burial of the Dead' and 'Shelter and Settlement'. Describing the more esoteric aspects of lifestyles such as the social, economic organisation, forms of government, language, literature, morals, superstitions and religious systems was reliant on ethnographical description for explanation and interpretation. This information was provided through guidebooks as a way of rendering the interpretation of objects more intelligible against a cultural background.<sup>33</sup>

Some specimens continued to be arranged according to type and material categories such as 'Textile Manufactures', including sub-groupings of 'Fine Flax Mats', 'Dog Skin Mats', 'Rough Flax Mats', 'Stone Implements' and 'Carved Wood'. All these groupings were similar to the

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<sup>31</sup>*Notes on the Collections illustrating the Ethnology of New Zealand, exhibited by the Canterbury Museum Christchurch by Professor Julius von Haast, Director*, pp 2,73 (Roger Duff Special Subject Files, Canterbury Museum Records 4/2 Folder 7A, Canterbury Museum Archives)

<sup>32</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p263

fixed categories used to arrange collections at the US National Museum during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>34</sup>

The arrangement of ethnographical collections according to this range of categories is outlined in the *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* for 1895 and in the sketch plan of the Maori Room (see Graphic 31 and 32).

Case 1 contains a model of Hone Heke's Pa at Ohaeawai in the Bay of Islands.

In Cases 2, 3, and 4 are some FINE FLAX MATS

Against the post is a carved figure with a kilt, and holding a mere in his hand. This figure represents the chief Timuaki, and was formerly in his house at Arahura near Hokitika...

On the shelf between the two posts are some excellent specimens of carved figure-heads and stern-posts of war-canoes...

In Case G are specimens of CARVED WOOD among them several carved boxes for keeping the feathers of the Huia and the White Heron with which the chiefs adorn their hair. Also in this case are ORNAMENTS AND AMUSEMENTS

Case 7, neck and ear ornaments plus IMPLEMENTS FOR PROCURING AND PREPARING FOOD.. fish hooks.. spears...fern root pestles..On the shelf above there is a bottle, a specimen of punga-punga, a bread made from the pollen of Raupo.

Cases 8 to 11 contain STONE IMPLEMENTS.. adzes and axes.. In the centre of the case there are a number of grinding and polishing stones with which the axes are made and sharpened... Also specimens of greenstone partly cut, and a mounted flint tool used by the West Coast Natives for cutting greenstone. There are also a number of unground implements, or flakes, used as knives or scrapers in chert, flint, obsidian, and other stones.

Cases 12 to 15 contain ROUGH FLAX-MATS

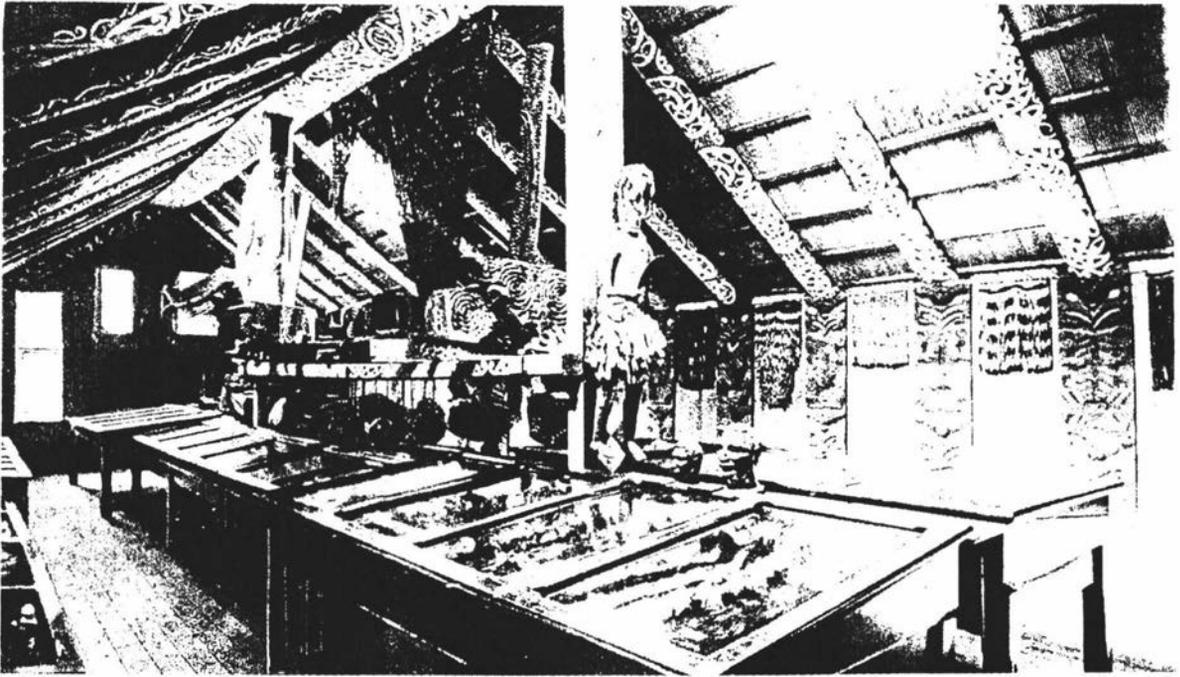
WEAPONS.- Case 16 contains the meres-flat clubs. Case 17-the Tai-aha. On the shelf above arm two human heads which have been preserved by drying over a fire.

Case 18 contains TEXTILE MANUFACTURES  
flax sandals, shoulder straps, belts..

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<sup>33</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, pp52-53

<sup>34</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p263 and Jacknis (1985) 'Franz Boas and Exhibits' in Stocking (1985) *Objects and Others*, p107



Graphic 32. Interior of the Maori House, 1900 (Collection of the Canterbury Museum)

## DOG-SKIN MATS- Cases 19 to 22

BURIAL OF THE DEAD- In the Moa-skeleton Case is a Maori skeleton found in the Moa-bone Point Cave, near Sumner .<sup>35</sup>

Narrating stories of subsistence, social life and institutions through objects and the guidebooks represented the use of a number of theoretical models from which this arrangement was driven. These included the work of Henry Spencer (an English sociologist), Lewis Henry Morgan and J W Powell (founder of the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution). According to Henry Spencer in his publication *The Study of Sociology* (1872) social forms in society developed according to the same laws of nature.<sup>36</sup> In Morgan's 1877 publication *Ancient Society*, he postulated that human societies passed through a three stage scheme of social development, Savagery, Barbarism and Civilisation.<sup>37</sup> Subsistence was seen as the key driving force behind social development with each of these epochs correlating to an enlargement of the subsistence base.<sup>38</sup> This process, as well as the development of innovative ideas, led to a settled life, the development of property ownership and a more complex civilisation.<sup>39</sup> The application of this rationale to the organisation of collections and their use to measure society is described in the *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* of 1895.

Nations have been classified into 1. Savage, who live by fishing and hunting wild animals. 2. Barbarian, who cultivate the soil and have domestic animals. 3. Civilised, who use Alphabetic writing for conveying information. Other Ethnologists have used the Stone, Bronze, and Iron ages to express the same thing.<sup>40</sup>

Morgan also saw these grades divided into smaller divisions such as Lower, Middle and Upper Savagery, Lower, Middle and Upper Barbarian and Civilisation.<sup>41</sup> Each of these categories was defined by Morgan as a series of material and non-material traits such as subsistence, house architectures (used to interpret family structures and the plan of domestic life), forms of government, religious ideas, technology.<sup>42</sup> These equated with the choice of themes used to organise Maori life and provided the necessary benchmarks for assessing the

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<sup>35</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) pp214-220

<sup>36</sup>Cited in Hinsley (1981) *Savages and scientists*, pp126-127

<sup>37</sup>Morgan (1877) *Ancient Society*, pp9-12

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.* p20

<sup>39</sup>*Ibid.* pp9-12

<sup>40</sup>*Guide to the Collections of the Canterbury Museum* (1896) pp144-5

<sup>41</sup>Morgan (1877) *Ancient Society*, pp9-12

<sup>42</sup>*Ibid.* pp3-13

condition of the race. Removing the history and provenance of objects through collecting was a reductive approach, specifically for manipulating Maori life into these classifications as a way of making statements about the general life of the race for the measurement of condition.

Powell developed Morgan's scheme further and believed that full ethnographies, which included the material arts, social institutions, customs, beliefs and languages of groups of people, could be used as a more accurate measure of culture grades.<sup>43</sup> During this period Powell's approach was described as the 'New Ethnology' that equated as an evolutionary Anthropology.<sup>44</sup> Working out differences in cultures meant tracing inherited characteristics back to early history through the assessment of and the presence and absence of certain societal activities.<sup>45</sup> Although it represented the beginning of a more holistic and functionalist approach to human societies, its objective was still to consider these correlations and interconnections with stages of culture rather than specific cultures.<sup>46</sup> Objects as well as ethnographical description in guidebooks were a way of producing a full ethnography of Maori society for assessing condition. This was seen as a way of more accurately determining the condition of human ideas rather than solely through the reading of intellect from the form of objects.

At the Auckland Museum Cheeseman's choice of classification for arranging was to ensure that all forms of material culture were represented for commemorative purposes rather than as categories chosen primarily for measuring social development. Reading a level of technological condition in objects was Cheeseman's primary interest. As a result his choice of categories served this purpose. Scripting a highest state of technological and artistic advancement in objects through his selections and renovations ensured that each stood as a correct statement of condition. General audiences could analyse the materials used, methods of manufacture and decoration employed to produce a type in order to gain a correct knowledge of this state. Similarities in approach were demonstrated by the use of type categories (such as textiles and stone implements) at the Canterbury Museum. This reflected a continued and common interest in morphological assessment of technology.

Morgan defined his Older Savagery category as indicative of the infancy of humankind. People's subsistence activities included fishing and the gathering of fruit and nuts. They had

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<sup>43</sup>Hinsley (1981) *Savages and scientists*, p138

<sup>44</sup>Ibid. p136

<sup>45</sup>Kuklick (1991) *The savage within*, p81

<sup>46</sup>Hinsley (1981) *Savages and scientists*, p138

no tribal organisation but had knowledge of fire.<sup>47</sup> They also had flint and stone implements.<sup>48</sup> Most Polynesian races according to Morgan exhibited traits of the middle stage of Savagery.<sup>49</sup> The hallmarks of this stage in terms of subsistence were fishing, the gathering of fruit and roots, bread made from roots, cooking in ground ovens and the hunting of game. Within this stage people were organised into tribes and exhibited the beginnings of village life. They had improved weapons including the bow and arrow and used wooden vessels and utensils. Industries included finger weaving with filaments of bark, canoe making and timber house construction. In terms of customs these people also exhibited the development of religious ideas. The condition of Later Savagery in terms of subsistence included a greater degree of control over subsistence with the beginnings of horticultural tillage and the cultivation of cereals and root vegetables.<sup>50</sup> Pottery was also invented during this stage. Timber and plank house construction was also a feature.<sup>51</sup>

By the 1890s arranging all categories of Maori life was intended to enable the assessment of the condition of traits according to Morgan's scheme. This involved the grouping of specimens in assemblages chosen according to their function rather than like structural affinities. According to Powell showing the array of inventions by this means inferred the level and nature of mental operations in a specific area of life.<sup>52</sup> As a result reading these stories involved not just the examination of the physical characteristics of objects but also the configuration of these collections. It provided a more didactic way of reading the lives of these people through objects, as it enabled the representation of all behaviours and activities within a given theme.

The key category was the subsistence theme, 'Implements for Procuring and Preparing Food'. The choice of this theme represented a direct material correlation between Morgan's theory of the arts of subsistence as a motivator of social development and the arrangement of Maori collections. The objects chosen to illustrate this category contributed to the understanding of the condition of Maori subsistence by outlining the particular way they 'fulfilled one of man's basic physical needs'.<sup>53</sup> For example in Case 7 (see Graphic 31) food preparation was represented by food samples such as *punga punga* (root bread).<sup>54</sup> Flax plates (*paro*) were included in the assemblage to illustrate how food was served. Ethnographical descriptions

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<sup>47</sup>Morgan (1877) *Ancient Society*, p10

<sup>48</sup>Ibid. p14

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid. p23

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.p14

<sup>52</sup>Hinsley (1981) *Savages and scientists*, p138

<sup>53</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica* Ninth Edition (1879) Vol VIII, p616

<sup>54</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895), p217

supplemented the information that could be gleaned from objects and explained daily routines in terms of meals and the way they were prepared in earth ovens.

Specimens alluded to diet and the way food was procured. Fishhooks, eel nets, bird spears, fern root pestles and a horticultural spade were arranged together to illustrate the nature and range of technology used to gather food as well as their diet.<sup>55</sup> For example on the basis of this grouping their subsistence base could be read and included fishing, the gathering of roots, hunting and the horticultural production of root vegetables.

The more sophisticated the tools were perceived to be, the better the food supply which could sustain a more advanced settled life with agriculture and domestic animals. On the other hand, a settled life enabled the production of more sophisticated and a larger range of tools. Reading this range of tools as well as observing their physical characteristics suggested that there was a greater emphasis on hunting and gathering and only a small number of simple tools were used in horticultural practice. Descriptions of these tools and their physical characteristics, as a way of making assessments about their number and relative sophistication, are outlined in the *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum for 1895*.

The only Maori agricultural implements were hoes (not represented) and a kind of space (ko) used for digging up fernroot and planting kumara. Specimens will be found against the wall at the end of the room: the footpiece can be raised or lowered according to the depth of the soil.<sup>56</sup>

On this basis the majority of traits exhibited by Maori people such as fishing, hunting, the production of breads from root vegetable and use of earth ovens suggests that in terms of condition they belonged to Middle Savagery. The presence of a horticultural tool suggests that they were more advanced in the area of food production and were moving towards the upper level of Savagery. References to the materials used in producing fishhooks (wood and bone), and the later use of iron as a result of European influences, acted as a technological statement of racial condition as pertaining to a Savage condition.<sup>57</sup>

At the Auckland Museum interpreting the procurement of food and diet was reliant on examining each individual series of objects (such as fishhooks, bird spears and fern root pestles). This was in contrast to the use of descriptive assemblages at the Canterbury Museum

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<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid.

which included a range of objects to illustrate a given theme. Props were not used at the Auckland Museum to develop a contextual picture of life. Cheeseman's primary concern was with the analysis of the features of objects both individually and within the similar series, and what conclusions could be drawn about the technological condition of the race. Interpreting the manners and customs of the race was deemed to be an outcome of the analysis of a given object's morphological features that was intended to expose the object's function. Later attempts were made at placing objects together to show thematic relationships and racial activities such as the mode of fishing. These however still relied on series groupings of type specimens to explain this activity. The regrouping of the collection by Cheeseman does suggest that he wanted visitors to read collections in a different way to allude to cultural activities such as the mode of subsistence.

At the Canterbury Museum the condition of religious systems, customs of ornamentation, music and other leisure activities were shown in the case 'Ornaments and Amusements'. These activities were described by a small assemblage of a few key objects. For example these included one or two examples of each type such as a shell trumpet, a nose flute, toys such as a model canoe and some whipping tops. Also included was a cast of a 'Kumara God', hair combs and parrot perches that were used for pet parrots.<sup>58</sup> The lack of evidence of one supreme being and religious iconography, and the presence of simple fertility symbols, suggested a primeval system. Combined with the reading of the visible surfaces of the stone 'Kumara God' as a primitive form of iconography, it was ascertained that the Maori people were in the early stages of religious development.

The social and political organisation of traditional Maori was shown by a model of Hone Heke's *pa* (fortified site) (at a scale of 1 to 85), obtained from the Royal Society of Tasmania in 1894.<sup>59</sup> Supplemented with graphic aids and historical information on the site, it was intended to represent the nature of the *pa* as a defensive system and the operation of a tribal organisation.<sup>60</sup>

The presence of the category 'Burial of the Dead' and its illustration by a Maori skeleton was indicative of a more advanced social and religious system from the older Savage state. Burial was not a trait attributed to early humans.<sup>61</sup> Burial practices were described in the *Guide to the*

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid. p216

<sup>59</sup>Ibid. p214

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>*The Encyclopedia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, (1910) Vol X (Cambridge University Press) p849

*Collections in the Canterbury Museum* for 1895 to narrate the theme and more importantly provide a detailed account of the process for later comparative purposes.

The Maoris used to place their dead either in a small house specially prepared or else in the fork of a tree, until the flesh had decayed. In about a year the bones were scraped and cleaned, and taken to their last resting place. Usually they were thrown into a deep chasm or water hole but sometimes they were placed in caves. The exact locality was usually a secret known only to a few, a precaution taken to prevent the bones falling into the hands of an enemy.<sup>62</sup>

Showing industries and their condition was facilitated by the categories 'Carved Wood' and 'Stone Implements'. These cases are represented in the floor plan of the Maori House of 1895 (shown in Graphic 31). Grouping objects according to these categories was a way of demonstrating the status of traditional Maori as Neolithic people but also their condition in terms of Morgan's scheme. For example with the category 'Stone Implements', as with the ethnological themes, a few examples were used to illustrate all types of stone implements from greenstone adzes to unground implements such as flakes used as knives and scrapers in chert, flint, obsidian and other stones.<sup>63</sup> Cases illustrating the manufacture of stone implements had by 1900 been developed to illustrate all aspects of the process from the stones used and manufacturing processes to the types of implements produced and their uses.<sup>64</sup>

Grading through the observation of the visible surfaces of stone implements continued to be a major contributor to the determination of the condition of the Maori race. Previously it had been resolved on the basis of materials and like form in comparison with European examples. With additional collections showing all stages of manufacture, the activities of flaking, battering, grinding and polishing were seen to be present by the examination of the visible surfaces of selected specimens. From this Maori people could be definitively linked to the European Neolithic Stone Age by the same range of technology and the use of the same manufacturing processes. In the *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* for 1906 this technological relationship was described.

It appears that four different processes were employed, flaking, battering, grinding and cutting, either singly or in combination, in making stone implements, all of which were also used in Europe during the Neolithic age.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p220

<sup>63</sup>Ibid. p218

<sup>64</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1906) pp216-218

<sup>65</sup>Ibid. p211

In terms of Morgan's scheme the arrangement of this range of technology and the processes of manufacture used in its production firmly placed Maori people in the Savage category. The smelting of metals did not begin until the Barbarian phase.<sup>66</sup>

Making wooden implements and vessels was a hallmark of the Middle Savage phase. As a result the category 'Carved Wood' is shown in Graphic 33 (foreground) was intended to illustrate the range and types of objects made in this medium. Specimens selected for display included three *waka huia* or feather boxes used by chiefs to keep prized huia (indigenous birds) and white heron feathers to adorn their hair.<sup>67</sup> Next to these objects were carved walking sticks (used in oratory), a canoe paddle and a small carved figurine. These objects were also read to determine the level of technological and artistic condition in terms of the use of wood. For example the *waka huia* with its fine decoration, the Maori canoe (seen in Graphic 33 left side) as well as the carved wooden features of the house also acted as metaphors for examination and assessment.

In Graphic 32, the industrial categories of 'Textile Manufactures' are shown by a series of *pui-pui* (flax skirts) on the right wall. 'Dogskin Mats' and 'Clothing' (as a sub-theme of textiles) are shown in the foreground. The arrangement of objects by type such as 'Fine Flax Mats', 'Rough Flax Mats' and 'Dogskin Mats' was an extension of the textile manufactures category. Grouping by type was a way of recouping and arranging all series variations as well as classifying specific categories of material culture unique to the Maori race.

Weaving was also considered a primordial industry and according to Morgan developed in the middle stage of Savagery.<sup>68</sup> As well as showing the range of types, this arrangement was intended to provide a statement of the race's condition in textiles. Demonstrating the range of textiles produced by the Maori race as well as the way they were made was the key to making a correct assessment. The most primitive textiles involved simple finger weaving of reeds, grasses and bark.<sup>69</sup> The characteristics of Maori textiles were assessed in terms of this baseline. Methods of manufacture were described in the guidebooks and provided students with the necessary descriptive information to make their own assessments of the state of the industry.

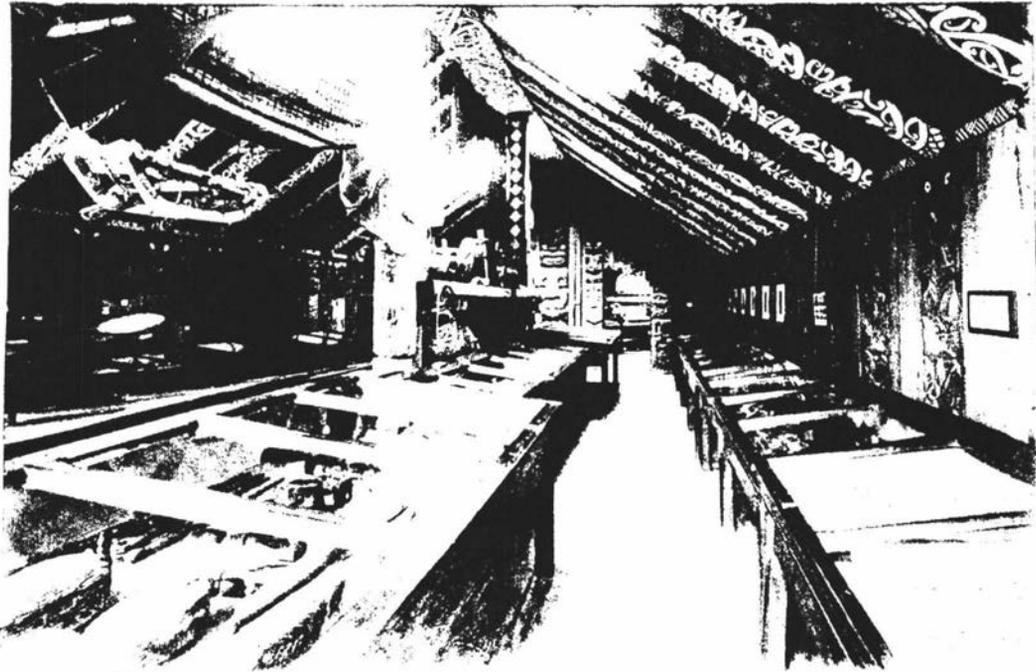
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<sup>66</sup>Morgan (1877) *Ancient Society*, p11

<sup>67</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1906) p214

<sup>68</sup>Morgan (1877) *Ancient Society*, p13 and Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', p289

<sup>69</sup>Morgan (1877) *Ancient Society*, p13; Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', p289



Graphic 33. Interior of the Maori House showing the case 'Ornaments and Amusements' in the foreground, c1900-1905 (Collection of the Canterbury Museum)

For example in the category 'Fine Flax Mats' the process of manufacture involved the preparation of the raw materials, including dyeing and a complex process of interweaving and knotting to produce the desired garment.<sup>70</sup> The whole process could take up to two years. Although Maori techniques did involve finger weaving, the process as outlined in the guide suggested a more advanced state in textile manufacture. In the case of the Auckland Museum manufacturing processes were demonstrated visually by a specimen made for the purpose.

The importance of arranging all type examples to facilitate an accurate assessment of technological condition is also shown in the category 'Textile Manufactures'. In this category woven flax shoulder straps used for carrying heavy loads were made by simple weaving processes.<sup>71</sup> This object on its own relegated the Maori race to the earliest stage of development in textile manufacturing because it was produced by the simple weaving of reeds. This highlights the necessity for arranging all type variations of textiles so that a complete picture of the textile industry could be assessed and correct judgements made. It also explains why Cheeseman felt the need to represent all type examples and to write a highest state of evolutionary advancement into specimens so that a complete picture of a given technological category could be made as well as accurate assessment of condition.

Because most objects were arranged according to universal categories, the challenge for curators at the Canterbury Museum was to ascertain the proper category to which each object belonged and to select those that illustrated a particular activity. This was a different curatorial process than with Cheeseman where the challenge was to gather and arrange all type variations.

These fixed categories of theme, type and material produced a picture of traditional Maori at the Canterbury Museum that was locked in time. Through comparison against pre-traditional collections and read in the context of the subsistence benchmark and the Three Age System, they were given a dynamic of time and the illusion of progress. This enabled the reading of the local sequence in terms of technological and social development.

Haast used similar thematic classifications such as diet, food preparation and stone tool technology to identify and describe the lifestyles of the Moa hunters. Each case made a statement about each of Haast's identifying themes, the age and level of evolutionary development attained by the pre-traditional population. Although pre-traditional collections

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<sup>70</sup>Ibid. p214

were not arranged according to thematic categories, each assemblage individually and collectively provided the data to illustrate each of these themes.

Comparisons were intended to ascertain commonalities and differences between pre-traditional and traditional subsistence patterns, lifestyles and technology and well as exposing evidence of higher 'culture'. On another level these comparisons gave visitors an impression of the workings of evolution in the local sequence. For example Case 24, the Rakaia Encampment (see Graphic 31) included moa bones as well as those of seal, dog and birds.<sup>72</sup> Cases 27 and 28, Moa Bone Point Cave, included a large fishhook and portions of bird spears. These specimens suggested that people of the pre-traditional phase ate moa, birds, seals, dog and birds.<sup>73</sup> In the case 'Implements for Procuring and Preparing Food' the display of fishhooks and bird spears not only suggested that fish and birds were also part of the traditional Maori diet but also continuity in terms of types of technology used.<sup>74</sup> The presence of horticultural spades in this category (which provided evidence of a higher state) suggested that traditional Maori had evolved to a subsistence base that included simple horticultural practices.<sup>75</sup> But the differential survival of archaeological material could only provide an incomplete record of racial life. For example wood is rarely evident in archaeological assemblages and horticultural implements were made from this material. As a result these assessments could only provide an approximate record of evolutionary progress. Producing a definitive statement of the history and identity of Moa hunters was still reliant on stone tool technology.

On the basis of the comparison of diet and associated technology depicted in the arrangement, pre-traditional Maori people were seen as part of the Older Savage category, as they lived by fishing and hunting wild animals. Traditional Maori however had evolved to the Middle Savage phase while exhibiting some features of the more advanced stage through horticulture. A settled lifestyle (as opposed to a nomadic life of hunting and gathering) was demonstrated by the model of the Maori *pa* also supporting the notion that they were a more advanced population. The presence of burial in the traditional phase and the lack of such evidence in the earlier pre-traditional phase suggested that the later phase had a more advanced social and religious system. The limitations of the Three Age System are clearly demonstrated when the materials from which objects were made such as stone and bone positioned these two

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<sup>71</sup>Ibid.p219

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.p221

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid. pp216-217

phases in the Neolithic stage. This system failed to identify finer degrees of social advancement.

The operation of progress and the forces that drove evolution in terms of the Three Age and Morgan's three stage model of social development differed. Spencer saw the evolution of human society akin to the same natural laws as biological processes but equated it as a supreme unknown force. Morgan accepted the concept of material progress but did not equate it with changes in mental structures.<sup>76</sup> In terms of the reading of the local evolutionary sequence Spencer's natural history analogy prevailed. The differences between the subsistence activities and social development of the pre-traditional and traditional phases equated with the patterning of growth and the increasing specialisation of animals.<sup>77</sup> Analysis involved working out problems of 'inherited' traits (such as aspects of subsistence and technology), their development and how they evolved from pre-traditional to traditional forms. Reading differentiation in form through objects and the presence and absence of material traits through technological grading was a way of exposing the evolution of the mind as written in technology. In terms of social development this same process of discrimination represented the development of new ideas. Together these approaches allowed a more accurate reading of the workings of progress in the local sequence and a way of tracing the maturation of Maori people from their most primitive origins to their highest state of advancement.

Rather than treating the Maori race as an integrated whole as with the later functionalist approach, these ethnological classifications were treated as separate lines of study. Each of these categories equated as a functionally specialised part of races that could be studied by observing similarities and differences with other races as inherited modifications.<sup>78</sup>

As a result the Maori Room could be read on a number of levels. General audiences could gain a general idea of how pre-traditional and traditional Maori people lived through the range of objects on exhibition. Scholars on the other hand could use these benchmarks to read the local sequence and to pursue lines of study into technological and social development in various areas of Maori life. Providing a 'more accurate' picture of condition was particularly

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<sup>75</sup>Ibid. p144

<sup>76</sup>Hinsley (1981) *Savages and scientists*, p133

<sup>77</sup>Ibid. p126

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

pertinent when undertaking scientific research or academic teaching and accounts for the chosen approach.

The lack of graphics in displays, the continuing emphasis on the object in the context of the arrangement and the use of monographs to describe collections comprised a similar concept to that of Boas and Putman at the US National Museum during this period.<sup>79</sup> They believed that the only conspicuous thing in the case should be the object. Monographs were then used to teach complex ideas.

As at the US National Museum, guidebooks at the Canterbury Museum were developed specifically for the student and provided a text for the study of collections in between visits to the museum.<sup>80</sup> Apart from providing ethnographical information about objects as useful adjuncts to labels, guidebooks also explained the theoretical approach taken in each arrangement as well as structuring a path for viewing collections in their proper order. Without an understanding of the theories which governed the arrangement and the ability to make scientific value judgements on the basis of these frameworks, exhibitions were rendered meaningless. For example cultural evolutionary discourses such as the Three Age System and the three stage scheme of social development were described in detail to provide a framework for interpreting Maori and foreign collections.<sup>81</sup> Through descriptions of each theory, arrangement, case and order of viewing students could conceptualise local and global history.

Although a catalogue was produced at the Auckland Museum, this appears to have been restricted to the morphological details and history of objects rather than the explanation of the theoretical ideas that drove Cheeseman's arranging. The use of graphics at the Auckland Museum and the reliance on labels to explain objects was a result of the emphasis on popular education. Graphics and labels were seen to provide a popular and easily accessible interpretative device as opposed to detailed descriptions in monographs for the advanced scholar.

Objects and their defining characteristics were identified by naming through labelling. This produced a statement of the object's identity. The way labelling worked to define an object by

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<sup>79</sup>Jacknis (1985) 'Franz Boas and Exhibits' in Stocking (ed) (1985) *Objects and Others*, pp97, 104

<sup>80</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1896) p3 and Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p19

<sup>81</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1896) pp144-145

name is shown in the label Greenstone Adzes (as shown in Graphic 34). Naming not only defined its type but also its function as an adze as well as the material from which it was made. From these labels answers to questions about how the object was made and its function were intended to reveal much about the skill of its traditional Maori maker.

By 1906 ethnographical information was included in labels as well as guidebooks at the Canterbury Museum.<sup>82</sup> It was a way of opening up a more meaningful interpretative space between the curator and visitor within the arrangement.<sup>83</sup> As outlined in the Annual Report of 1909, descriptive labels replaced the use of names to identify objects.

[The] acquisition of cases purchased at the close of the Christchurch Exhibition to greatly extend the casing of the room. This enabled the curator to display some of the collections to better advantage and the educational value of the exhibits was enhanced by the introduction of descriptive labels in place of mere names previously employed.<sup>84</sup>

As with the Auckland Museum these labels were used for the express purpose of guiding morphological analysis. It represented a continuing interest in the technological features of objects as a means of identifying object types and making judgements about levels of technical skill. Reading condition in terms of Morgan's phases of social development was also dependent on the analysis of the visible surfaces and material from which objects were made. As a result material culture was seen to allude to shades of social evolutionary advancement.

Explaining the technological features of objects through labels placed next to the object allowed the curator to guide the visitors more directly in their understanding of the exhibits. For example in the label 'Ancient Maori Bowl' (as shown in Graphic 35) the text refers to the object's defining type characteristics and its methods of manufacture. It is defined as a 'straight bowl'. The label then explains the way similar bowls were made on the basis of ethnographic information and explains its process of manufacture by observing the contours of this particular example. The function of objects, and the more esoteric aspects of life that could not be explained through the details of objects alone, were left to the guidebooks.

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<sup>82</sup>Letter from Edgar White to Mr G.W. Russell, *The Spectator Office, July 10th 1906* (Canterbury Museum Records 3/1 148, Outwards Letter Book, 1889-1907, Director's Correspondance). Russell was a member of the sub-committee appointed to deal with the new edition of the Museum guidebook.

<sup>83</sup>Michael Baxandall (1991) 'Exhibiting Intention: Some Preconditions of the Visual Display of Culturally Purposeful Objects' in Karp & Lavine (eds) (1991) *Exhibiting Cultures*, pp33-41

<sup>84</sup>*Canterbury College University of Canterbury, Thirty Sixth Annual Report* (1909) (Whitcombe and Tombs) p32

E99.53.2, E99.53.3 M.H. 320-1.  
**GREENSTONE**  
**ADZES.**  
✓ WANGAMOA, NELSON.  
Pres. HARLEY THOMAS.

Graphic 34. Label: Greenstone Adzes (Collection of the Canterbury Museum)

E122.11.1

M.H. 4560.

**ANCIENT MAORI  
BOWL.**

**FOUND IN SANDHILLS NEAR OCEAN BEACH,  
TAURANGA.**

This specimen shows the modern or present day method of obtaining bias. The game was presumably played on the adjacent beach, which is smooth, hard sand, practically level at low water.

Pres. COL. G. A. WARD, C.B.E., Tauranga.

Graphic 35. Label: Ancient Maori Bowl (Collection of the Canterbury Museum)

The place of origin and the distribution of particular object types was also an issue in interpretative practices. For example in the label Carved Slab (house carving) shown in Graphic 36 references were made to its provenance of Tolago Bay [sic] (East Cape, North Island). This was a device for visitors to observe regional variation and the distribution of specific types. In this instance it would have stood as a testimony to the particular carving styles of the region.

A more detailed picture of the lifestyles, behaviour and the function of objects pertaining to the traditional Maori race was extended by the incorporation of a group of three Maori figures (see Graphic 37). These figures, made from casts and photographs of living Maoris and acquired in 1894 from the Imperial Institute in London, were placed on display under the verandah of the house.<sup>85</sup> As well as providing a more human focus to the exhibition, this was also a technique used for the portrayal of 'accurate' physical characteristics, correct disposition and the social attitude of the race.<sup>86</sup>

This technique was a way of creating an illusion of reality, capturing a moment in the life of real traditional Maori people. As with natural history specimens, exact reproductions of living people were seen as almost as valuable as the people themselves to demonstrate their demeanour. It was also a way of faithfully documenting 'dying' races in an anthropological way.<sup>87</sup> Interpretative techniques such as these were employed at the Smithsonian Institution from the early 1870s and were popularised in the 1890s as a means of portraying indigenous peoples at world fairs.<sup>88</sup>

This group was shown surrounded by the material culture they made and used.<sup>89</sup> For example these figures (in Graphic 37) illustrated how mats were worn as clothing. A display of floor mats demonstrated how this particular type of mat was used. Ethnographical description in the guidebook explained the function of these objects. Together this grouping demonstrated the use of various types of textiles in terms of racial activities. A detailed

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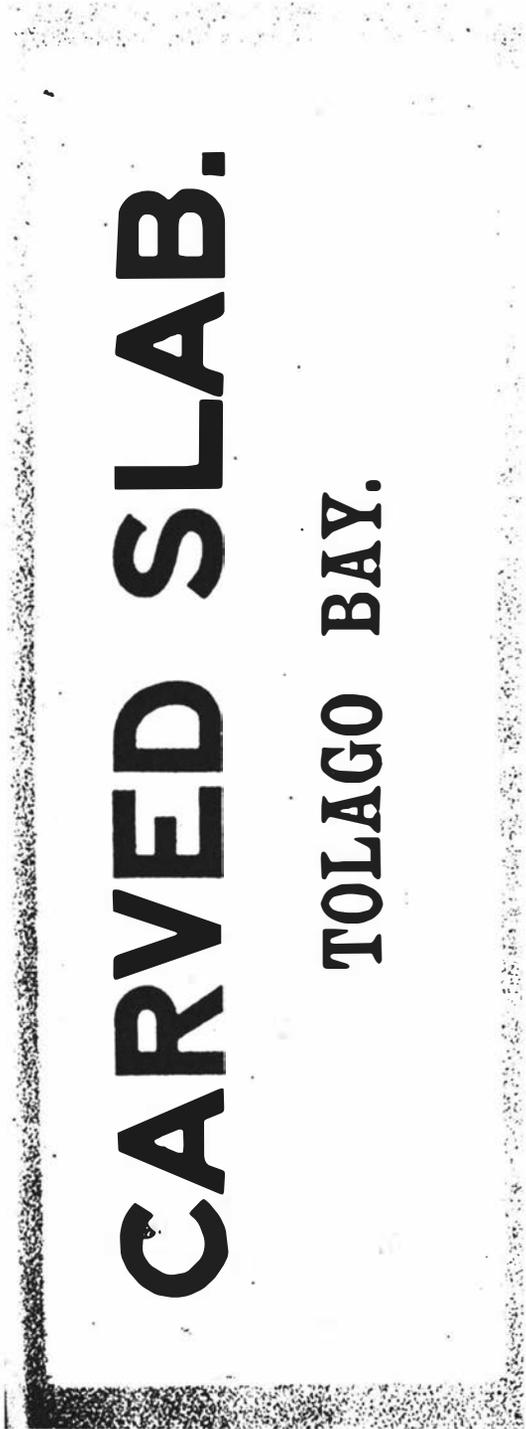
<sup>85</sup>Report of the Curator of the Museum, F.W. Hutton in *The Canterbury College Twenty-First Annual Meeting Board of Governors, Held On Monday, July 9th 1894* (Whitcombe and Tombs) p14

<sup>86</sup>Roth (1911) 'On the Use of Anthropological Collections', p288

<sup>87</sup>Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p247

<sup>88</sup>J.C.Ewers (1958) 'A Century of American Indian Exhibits in the Smithsonian Institution' in *Annual Report Smithsonian Institution*, pp519

<sup>89</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p258



Graphic 36. Label: Carved Slab, Tolago Bay (Collection of the Canterbury Museum)



Graphic 37. Display of Maori figures on the porch of the Maori House, Canterbury Museum, 1906

description of this group is outlined in the *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* of 1895.

The face of the man is from a cast of Wiremu Kingi, Te Manewha, a chief of the Ngatirau-kawa tribe, who died at Otaki in 1892. The head of the woman is modelled from photographs of Pare Te Roa, a chieftainess of the Ngatiwhatua tribe living at the Thames. The kneeling girl is supposed to belong to the Ngatitua tribe at Porirua....These figures are facsimiles of some in the Imperial Institute, London. They stand upon floor-mats (takapau) used by the Maoris for sleeping on. The dresses although modern and containing wool and feathers of the peacock and pheasant were all made by Maoris, and represent well their skill and taste in colours. Both sexes wore a short kilt (Ngeri) and a shawl usually called a mat-over the shoulders and fastened with a pin. The women wore it on the right shoulder, the men on the left.<sup>90</sup>

This represents an extension of the ethnographical theme approach. The placement of objects in a functional context became a way of reading social contexts. This approach was in contrast to that used at the Auckland Museum. The category of mats, comprising all types including those used for clothing, floor coverings and sleeping, were displayed together as a series. In interpretation the form of these objects and the way they were made prevailed over function. Given Cheeseman's interest in the form and technology of mats, objects at the Auckland Museum were displayed to expose their visible surfaces rather than to contextualise them to demonstrate their function.

A unique feature of the Canterbury Museum arrangement was the desire to illustrate the influences and impact of other races on Maori people as well as relationships between Maori and Europeans. For example Case 29 arranged on the verandah (see Graphic 31) contained a number of objects defined as Pakeha relics such as a cast of the Tamil bell as evidence of Portuguese contact with Maori prior to Cook's arrival.<sup>91</sup> Others included post-contact Maori objects such as a musket belonging to the Maori King Tawhiao, a Maori flag and a red ensign taken by Maori people during the 'Maori wars' in the late 1860s.<sup>92</sup>

This approach indicates the influence of evolutionist E B Tylor.<sup>93</sup> By illustrating historical contacts between different races, for example through the display of a cast of the Tamil bell,

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<sup>90</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p212

<sup>91</sup>Ibid. p218

<sup>92</sup>Ibid. pp218-9. The 'Maori wars' represented a fight for independence by Maori people from the colonial administration and were primarily in response to land appropriation and confiscations by the government in the 1860s.

<sup>93</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p46

possible outside influences on the evolutionary progress of the Maori race could be ascertained. Tylor's rationale was that if people were not exposed to novel stimuli and had achieved a perfect adaption to their environment, they would not modify their lives.<sup>94</sup> Displaying the red ensign, and its association with the 'Maori wars', could be read as embodying the final triumph of the successful race -- the operation of natural selection.

The display of these objects was also a way of showing where cultural borrowing had taken place and retracing the routes that diffusion had followed.<sup>95</sup> Including muskets in the display was certain evidence of the enormous acculturative impact the European race had on Maori warfare. It was also a way of illustrating how contact had accelerated the evolution of the Maori race.<sup>96</sup> These objects contrasted with Case 16 ('Weapons') which included examples of *mere* showing traditional forms of weaponry. Comparisons between these two types of technology, Maori stone clubs and European firearms, also showed how far the civilised European race had evolved from its savage origins. Material culture traits such as *mere* showing no outside influences were deemed to be the result of the isolation of Maori people. Hence cases and their arrangement also encapsulated concepts of both independent invention and acculturation.

This approach contrasts with that of the Auckland Museum where the objective was to present Maori people within the arrangement as closed, finite and devoid of outside influences. Contaminated objects were removed through selection processes and the race was presented as pure. This clearly illustrated the difference between the national memorial function at the Auckland Museum as opposed to the presentation of an evolutionary sequence at the Canterbury Museum.

#### 9.4 Space, order and intellectual intent

Space, its design, use, as well as display furniture were ways of setting the boundaries, controlling and symbolising the meaning of the classification. In the Maori Room these divisions were based on locality, ethnological themes, materials or types as opposed to class and series.

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<sup>94</sup>Kuklick (1991) *The savage within*, pp82-83

<sup>95</sup>Frese (1960) *Anthropology and the Public*, p54

<sup>96</sup>Kuklick (1991) *The savage within*, p93

The layouts of the Maori Hall at the Auckland Museum and the Maori Room at the Canterbury Museum in a physical sense looked similar. For example display cases were set out in a linear way. At the Canterbury Museum however there was a predominant use of table casing along the wall and in the central space, as shown in Graphics 30 and 32. Arrangements according to locality, ethnological categories, materials and type were intended to enable the reading of particular theoretical principles. The *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* for 1895 outlines this relationship between theoretical ideas and the ordering of space.

The aim of the exercise was to place the exhibits in a logical arrangement according to these theoretical divisions or principles. However, as the building had been put up before the arrangement of its contents had been decided upon, the sizes of the rooms as well as the shapes of the cases had to be taken into account so in some instances this strictly logical arrangement could not be carried out.<sup>97</sup>

Each of the theoretical classificatory divisions used to arrange collections was viewed as a logical or natural way to divide up the historical sequence, represent Maori lifestyles and the passage of history. As shown with natural history collections, finding and arranging living things into 'natural classifications' was a key to producing a certain knowledge about the evolutionary development of species.

In this cultural context natural classifications of locality, ethnological categories, materials and type were a way of understanding the whole evolutionary sequence from early settlement to the arrival of Europeans. History could be viewed as a visual narrative through the examination of these four classifications. Each division (pre-traditional Maori and traditional Maori) also had its own historicity and represented different stages in evolutionary history. Locality cases represented early settlement and history. Ethnological categories, material and type categories acted as signifiers of the condition of the Maori race in all aspects of life. Together these categories represented pre-contact history.

The semiotics of this arrangement provided visitors with the ability to retrace a visual journey back into pre-European New Zealand. This site of travel was structured in an orderly way both physically by space and through guidebooks by narrating a story in a sequence from contemporary life into the distant past.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>97</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p 3

<sup>98</sup>Ibid.

The layout of the Maori Room shown in Graphic 31 illustrates this order.<sup>99</sup> On entry visitors viewed Pakeha relics as the point of European contact and the contemporary present followed by the Maori figures as a statement about the physical character and demeanour of the race. Visitors then followed a route right to left around traditional Maori cases in the central space (Maori *pa*, Fine Flax Mats, Carvings, Ornaments and Amusements, Implements for Procuring and Preparing Food, Stone Implements, Coarse Flax Mats, Weapons, Clothes and Dogskin Mats) to read racial life and condition.<sup>100</sup> Audiences then proceeded into the distant pre-traditional Maori past (Chatham Islands, Rakaia Encampment, Moncks Cave, Moa-Bone Point Cave, Brighton in Otago) placed around the perimeter of the space.<sup>101</sup> Like the traditional Maori collections these provided statements of racial condition, identity, lifestyles and could be read to ascertain the course of evolutionary development within the local sequence. The Chatham Island case was intended to provide an ethnographical statement about the condition of a race similar to the Moa hunters of the distant past. The case of stone implements also provided a testimony to their identity as Neolithic people.

Each case (apart from the Chatham Island example) was read to reveal the identity of these early populations as Moa hunters, the progress of the early sequence and the gradual extinction of the moa. This was based on the ordering of sites according to the relative presence or absence of moa bone in the site. For example the Rakaia locality had large quantities of moa bone, followed by Moncks Cave with a few split bones, Moa Bone Point Cave with implements made from the material and Brighton that had no evidence of moa in the site.

Separating cases that included objects representing diffusionist influences (Pakeha relics on the verandah) and those representing independent invention (locality grouping and case categories) was a way of making a statement about the course of evolutionary history and possible external influences. The arrangement was also determined merely by the size of objects rather than any theoretical principles. For example canoe prows were arranged in the centre of the room on open display because they would not fit into desk or table cases, as shown in Graphic 32.

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid. pp 210-224

<sup>100</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) pp 214-220

<sup>101</sup>Ibid. pp 220-222

A more precise representation of this scheme was constrained by the interior spaces in the Maori Room. In contrast at the Auckland Museum no attempt was made to guide visitors on a journey from the ethnographical present to the distant past of New Zealand history. Maori history was represented by the collection as one imagined point in time in an authentic past. Each case and specimen in the collection was rehistoricised through collecting to represent that point. Cases were read as a statement about Maori life at the race's highest level of technological condition.

Apart from this order used as metaphor for time and progress, each case at the Canterbury Museum could also be read by the visitor and researcher individually as a separate line of study, such as stone implements, or food (as a metaphor for subsistence) or particular Mōa hunter cultural sites. Each acted as a statement about some aspect of the local sequence and history isolated from others within the closed field of each case. In terms of the physical layout it was similar to the demarcation of finite class and series at the Auckland Museum.

In both instances cases provided a structure for viewing and framing collections. At the Canterbury Museum objects were patterned by form but also laid out by function. Similarities in arranging involved the representation of generic categories for demonstrating general lifestyles, the use of an object epistemology and morphological analysis as a means for interpreting Maori life.

Access to knowledge was reliant on presenting objects and assemblages for viewing through the use of techniques such as plinths and mounts.<sup>102</sup> This approach to object placement and mounting reflects the influence of the 'new museum idea'. By exposing their physical attributes through mounting, objects could be dissected into details to reveal their defining characteristics, the way they were made, their function and condition. The way these objects were presented for viewing is described by Bather during his visit to the Canterbury Museum as part of his tour of colonial museums in 1893.

All the wall and table cases were lined with pale green sage cob paper, rough side up. The arrangement used in cases was, the front of the case sloping shelves with specimens on moveable shelves. At the back was a flat place for storage<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>Flower (1893) *Essays on Museums*, p15

<sup>103</sup>Bather (1894) *Colonial Museums*, p205

Exposing the function of objects and sociological aspects of Maori life for social and technological grading, through guidebooks and contextual displays such as the figure group, relieved some of the interpretative burden from objects and their physical features.

Haast, Forbes, Hutton and Waite adhered to the 'new museum idea' to improve the interpretative capabilities of the arrangement for all audiences. This involved the development of an accurate classification scheme, the positioning of objects for viewing and the explanation of the meaning of the arrangement through labelling and guidebooks.

In the arrangement Forbes, Hutton and Waite accounted for the traditional Maori world by the elements of the collection but also by ethnographical description. Read in terms of specific theories, Maori people were conceptualised as part of humanity rather than a specific culture. Their lived realities, social and political institutions, customs and industries were reduced and replaced by a series of universal themes and material categories. Each of these categories acted as a statement of the state of particular common inherited characteristics such as Food or Burial. Material and type categories were also read as universal inherited traits and as early industries that later became more specialised and differentiated. Theoretical benchmarks operated as a way of tracing the development and increased specialisation of these inherited characteristics.

In reality at the Canterbury Museum Maori people were replaced with assemblages of objects grouped by function, material or type as statements of a general life. Their historical specificities were removed through collecting and classification, and detailed accounts of their lives were replaced by generic ethnographical description. Objects, their structure and form and also the range of types remained the main bearers of meaning but in terms of the arrangement they lay with their surfaces exposed, bearers of nothing but their names and statements about selected physical attributes and methods of manufacture. Space, groupings, juxtapositions and an order were a way of telling the working of indigenous history and producing a narrative approach to interpretation. The key to knowledge resided in guidebooks where the language of the classification was explained by virtue of its role as a teaching museum.

At the Canterbury Museum objects were selected for arranging to illustrate theoretical ideas rather than an arrangement based on structural affinities as with the Auckland Museum. The difference between the approaches of Haast and later curators represents a shift from technological and artistic progress to the later inclusion of social progress, and the continued

belief in modifications of inherited characteristics to read progress. Cheeseman's arranging a decade or more later accepted Haast's hypotheses of two phases to New Zealand history and that Maori were Neolithic. Both arranging strategies were framed within 'Social Darwinian' theory. Theory drove arranging practices at the Canterbury Museum with collections classified and used to read ideas. At the Auckland Museum, although a Social Darwinian logic informed Cheeseman's decisions of what to arrange as a correct statement of a highest evolutionary state, he sought to develop a reference collection and document the race first and foremost for the reading of technological condition. According to Harrison this represented the difference between an ethnographical and ethnological approach.<sup>104</sup> At the Auckland Museum Maori people were understood ethnographically to recoup and arrange material whereas at the Canterbury Museum they were configured ethnologically by classification for placement in a global framework. For both institutions a direct connection with the object was seen as more true and meaningful as long as objects were properly arranged in right relationships.

#### 9.4 Completing the Maori Room

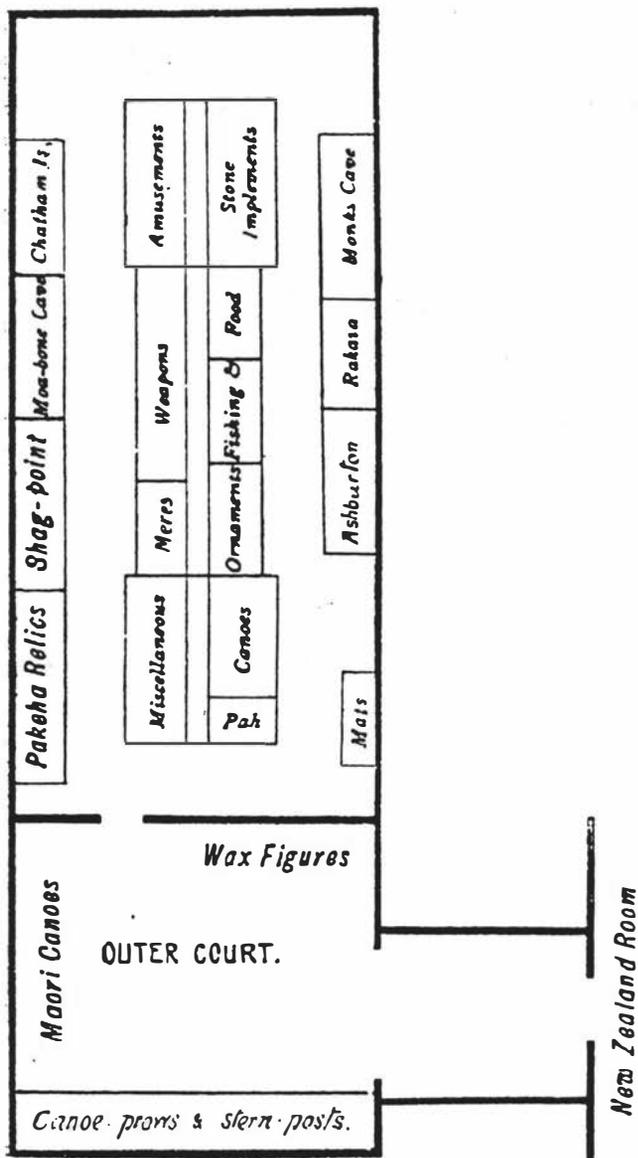
Between 1895 and 1906 major changes were made to the layout of the Maori House. These changes, like those at the Auckland Museum, reflected a further endorsement and development on existing discursive practices rather than a shift in thinking. The new layout (as shown in Graphic 38) involved changes in the casing of the room. For example display cases were extended on the right side to accommodate additional locality groupings. In the earlier layout this area was designed for Maori canoes as shown in Graphics 31 and 33. The Shag Point locality grouping was placed in the interior of the house with other pre-traditional Maori groupings. The case of Pakeha relics previously positioned on the verandah was moved into the interior of the house and replaced with canoes, canoe prows and sternposts.

The main reason for this rearrangement was to extend ethnological and type groupings of traditional Maori specimens due to the acquisition of new examples. As at the Auckland Museum, rearrangements and the extension of existing groupings to accommodate new specimens was a key to making arrangements and hence knowledge about the condition of

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<sup>104</sup>Harrison (1937) 'Ethnology under Glass', p7

## MAORI ROOM.



Graphic 38. Floor plan of the interior of the Maori House, 1906, in Canterbury Museum, *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum*. Christchurch: Lyttleton Times Co Ltd. 1906, p203

the Maori race more complete.<sup>105</sup> At the Auckland Museum rearrangements involved putting new variations in their proper place with those objects most similar in structure and form.

Completing the arrangement in this instance involved making sure that each area of activity was adequately illustrated in the arrangement through assemblages of key type examples as well as props. This involved fitting ethnographical objects into themes and making props to fill in the story of each racial trait. For example the case referring to food was extended with a special type assemblage on fishing. New groupings and cases were devoted solely to specimens illustrative of amusements, model canoes and miscellaneous specimens.<sup>106</sup> Material categories such as stone implements were further extended by descriptive assemblages illustrating processes of manufacture.<sup>107</sup> Other type collections were also rearranged. For example 'Maori kilts' or *pui-pui* belonging to the category 'Textile Manufactures' were hung on the wall between the carved wall panels as shown in Graphic 32.<sup>108</sup> The Weapons case was extended and rearranged to accommodate a series of *mere*.

A thorough revision of the collections in the Maori House was also undertaken in 1908.<sup>109</sup> Again this was limited to the rearrangement of the existing layout 'as many of the display cases had since become crowded with exhibits due to new acquisitions'.<sup>110</sup> During 1909 *tuku-tuku* panels were obtained during a North Island excursion and placed round the Maori House 'in their correct position'<sup>111</sup>. This reference implied that the panels were placed in the right attitude, the way in which objects of that type would have been viewed in a meeting house. It also reflected a continuing interest in the function of objects and their contextual placement to show these relationships. At the Auckland Museum similar objects were mounted on the wall next to each other as a series. Their placement together was to observe the individual specimen and the group rather than any functional attribute.

According to Edgar Waite, Canterbury's curator, these additions 'greatly improved the hall's appearance'.<sup>112</sup> The panels however had no relationship to the historical context of the Maori House *Hau-te-ana-nui-o Tangaroa*. This further endorsed the focus on the representation of the

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<sup>105</sup>Report of the Curator of the Museum, F.W. Hutton in *The Canterbury College Twenty-First Annual Meeting Board of Governors, Held On Monday, July 9th 1894* (Whitcombe and Tombs)

p14

<sup>106</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1906) p211

<sup>107</sup>*Ibid.* p211

<sup>108</sup>*Ibid.* pp208-215

<sup>109</sup>*Canterbury College, University of New Zealand Thirty-Sixth Annual Report* (1909) p32

<sup>110</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>111</sup>*Ibid.*

general life of the race rather than the genealogical or historical specifics of objects. In 1914 a Maori tomb was acquired and placed on exhibition to further illuminate the nature of customs and the ethnological category of burial. The tomb was later roofed by Maori people, a practice that began with the installation of the Maori House in 1873 to produce an accurate image of authenticity.

Images of prominent Maori people were also exhibited. Who these people were is unclear from the sources. The inclusion of images such as these shows a growing interest in Maori histories and the association of objects with people and events within the arrangement rather than the exclusive representation of a general life through objects.<sup>113</sup> This may be an outcome of the curatorial interest in the function of objects as well as ethnographical description. The function and use of objects necessarily led the curator to think about their history and association with particular events as well as the people who used them. For example one large 'figurehead' in the centre of the arrangement came from one of Te Rauparaha's canoes from Kapiti near Cook Strait.<sup>114</sup> Te Rauparaha, a prominent Maori personality, led an invasion of the South Island in the early 1800s.

The Maori House was finally dismantled as an exhibition space in the late 1950s as a result of the Canterbury Museum Memorial project.<sup>115</sup> New exhibition spaces were developed, the Hall of Maori Prehistory and the Pacific Hall, to house the Maori collections.<sup>116</sup> These exhibitions however continued to perpetuate this concept of pre-traditional and traditional Maori as two distinct phases of a national sequence.

### 9.5 Illustrating the rise and progress of the human race – the Ethnological Room

Maori history at the Canterbury Museum did not exist without reference to other races and collections. The grading systems chosen and methods of classification employed at the Canterbury Museum to represent Maori were dependent on the comparative analysis of other racial collections to meaningfully interpret history and identity. As seen with Haast's arrangements this comparative component was provided through ethnological exhibitions

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<sup>112</sup>Ibid.

<sup>113</sup>This objective was stated by the Canterbury Museum Board of Governors in the *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p2

<sup>114</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1906) p205

<sup>115</sup>*Canterbury Museum Annual Report 1958-59* (Christchurch: Caxton Press) p7

<sup>116</sup>*Canterbury Museum Annual Report 1959-60* (Christchurch: Caxton) p14

where the history of the world was mapped out through collections. The same approach was also adopted by his successors. Although an ethnological room was established during Haast's time it was not until 1891 that the details of the arrangement became apparent. In that year the foreign ethnological collections were rearranged by Haast's successor Henry Forbes.<sup>117</sup>

Forbes deliberated over the best possible way to arrange the Ethnographical Room. One issue was whether archaeological collections of prehistoric people should be displayed with ethnographical collections of living people. A second consideration was whether to include skeletal material with corresponding ethnographical collections. As Forbes outlined in his report to the Board of Governors of the Canterbury Museum in July 1891:

In the Ethnological Room the objects illustrative of the life, Arts and handiwork of A-historic Peoples, and those of a primitive civilisation .... have been bought together .... Considering of therefore, more logical to associate the skeletons representing N. American, Mexican and Peruvian. Ethnology - all of them belonging to a primitive civilisation: - with those representing corresponding states of advancement. It is difficult to decide whether the tools and handiwork of Palaeolithic and Neolithic man should be arranged most fittingly in the Palaeological Room, or in the Ethnological Room in juxtaposition to the rude implements of Peoples still in the Stone age. I have considered it more instructive and better suited for comparative study that they should be exhibited in the Ethnological Room <sup>118</sup>

As a result Forbes decided to arrange those collections of people deemed ethnological and without history ('A-historic') with those of primitive civilisations of the past. These collections represented corresponding extinct and living races of primitive people. Forbes' choice of collections closely followed Christy's 1862 plan. For example prehistoric Stone Age peoples as well as living primitive peoples were organised by geographical metaphors such as Greenland, North America, Peru and Mexico. On this basis it can be assumed that other archaeological collections representing various parts of prehistoric Europe and ethnographical assemblages of other races attributed to the early period of history such as from South Africa, India, Australia and the Pacific Islands would have also been exhibited in the room. The intention of this arrangement was to provide a series of racial references for the technological grading of implements and industries through the handiwork of these people.

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<sup>117</sup>*Annual Report from Henry Forbes to the Chairman, The Board of Governors, Canterbury College, Canterbury Museum 1st July 1891* (Canterbury Museum Records 3/1 148, Outwards Letter Book 1889-1907)

<sup>118</sup>*Ibid.*

Whereas Haast brought art, science and history together to produce a linear narrative of history through placements, Forbes separated them. Rather than producing a narrative of history he encapsulated each phase of human history in a separate room and sought to explain these phases, for example the Stone Age in the Ethnological Room, in more detail. Antiquities and art were separated and placed in separate rooms. Rather than exposing the course of history, Forbes produced a series of references to illustrate and compare Stone Age people.

Given that Haast had confirmed the identity and place of Maori people as relics of early history and the Neolithic period, it can be assumed that this exhibition was a way of deducing in more detail their exact location in this narrative. There were also more collections in the arrangement from which accurate measurement processes could be undertaken. The types of questions asked of these collections would have included whether Maori people were early or later Neolithic peoples. Like earlier grading processes it would have involved the ordering of history based on the comparison of the visible surfaces of stone implements from each of these collections in Cases 8 and 10 ('Stone Implements'), which included a full range of examples illustrating manufacturing processes in the Maori Room. Archaeologically Maori people matched those of European prehistoric races.<sup>119</sup> Where Maori people stood in terms of other living races is unclear from the sources.

Like the study of palaeontology and anatomy, the study of the physical nature of humans was used to trace evolutionary paths from lower forms of life.<sup>120</sup> The presence of skeletal material, like Haast's earlier arrangement of Moriori, European and Gorilla examples, was an attempt to provide additional evidence of the truth of the place of these races in history. Connections between these races and lower primates were determined on the basis of the morphological form of various parts of their anatomy. In this instance the comparative morphological examination of skeletons as well as objects from North America, Peru and Mexico was, according to Forbes, a way showing corresponding levels of advancement. It was a way of equating the facts of physical evolution with that of their intellect as written in objects.<sup>121</sup>

For Forbes this arrangement was 'more advantageous for study'.<sup>122</sup> Teaching a full historical lesson during this period involved the use of physical specimens as well as objects. According

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<sup>119</sup> *Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1906) p211

<sup>120</sup> Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p256

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>122</sup> *Annual Report from Henry Forbes to the Chairman, The Board of Governors, Canterbury College, Canterbury Museum 1st July 1891* (Canterbury Museum Records 3/1 148, Outwards Letter Book 1889-1907)

to Holmes objects on their own only told half the story.<sup>123</sup> The inclusion of anthropological specimens with archaeological and ethnographical material provided a greater range of evidence to undertake research into evolutionary narratives. Forbes was also acknowledging the limitations of material culture in interpreting history. By stating the pedagogic intention of the arrangement Forbes also confirmed that arranging was primarily undertaken with scholarly audiences in mind, as opposed to popular at the Auckland Museum.

The Ethnological Hall at the Auckland Museum established in 1905 had a similar intention. Cheeseman saw it as a way of providing a series of racial references of the Neolithic period to compare with Maori collections. It does not appear as if these were ordered as a narrative of history but rather provided fixed categories for the comparison of the condition of individual objects. His particular interest was in showing parallels, similarities and differences between the various Neolithic art traditions by comparing objects according to their form, decoration and design.

Between 1892 and 1895 the Ethnological Room was again rearranged this time by Forbes' successor Captain Hutton. Archaeological material relating to dead Palaeolithic and Neolithic races were removed from the arrangement. The room became solely devoted 'the study of the institutions and manufactures of the different nations and tribes as they exist in the present day'.<sup>124</sup> What it enabled Hutton to do was to conceptually classify and physically organise a narrative of the whole world in one room rather than just the early period of history as seen in the previous arrangement.

With the further development of collections at the Canterbury Museum between 1891 and 1895 Hutton was able to represent the living races from all regions of the world such as Europe, North America, Central America, South America, China, Japan and India. It was a way of rectifying geographical imbalances in the collection specifically for a new arrangement.<sup>125</sup> Hutton included Asia and Europe in this scheme while consolidating each division of art and history under one ethnological banner.<sup>126</sup>

According to Goode the division of art and science could no longer be sustained because the intellectual geography of the era had become more complex. He proposed a scheme which the

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<sup>123</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p256

<sup>124</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p145

<sup>125</sup>Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, p92

<sup>126</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p143

German's called *Kulturgeschichte* – the natural history of civilisation that outlined all man's ideas and achievements. Within this context Hutton attempted to produce a natural history of civilisation while understanding and reading all groups culturally, their social and political institutions and manufactures. With the old art categorisation for Europeans, for example, civilisation could only be read in narrow terms. With this new approach civilisation could be represented in all its aspects and the stages that led to the development of European political and social institutions and material culture be adequately traced and compared like inherited characteristics.<sup>127</sup>

The geographical metaphor had become a standard unit for defining isolated ethnological boundaries and was now used to define all cultures for assessing their relative condition on the basis of Morgan's social developmental scheme. There were two factors according to Morgan had major roles in the advancement of people. These were environmental conditions and chance inventions.<sup>128</sup> As a result this arrangement, organised geographically, acted as a metaphor for all environmental habitats of the world and the people that lived in those environments for the purpose of accounting for the effect of habitat as well as inventions. Arranging people in this way was also a way of assessing their relative geographical isolation and potential contacts with others, which may have an impact on a given race's progress.

In terms of a museum context this geographical approach was reiterated by Holmes (a colleague of Boas) at the US National Museum. Culture according to Holmes was the outgrowth of particular regions and continents such as America and the great island groups such as Oceania.<sup>129</sup> Hutton adopted this approach and the layout of the Ethnological Room was arranged according to continents and island groups as follows:

Beginning on the right or east side, the collections from Australia, Oceania, Asia, America and Africa are arranged around the room. Down the centre is the European ceramic collection and near the entrance are miscellaneous objects chiefly belonging to Europe ....

... a series of small cases round the wall of the Ethnology Room, which contain human skulls from different parts of the world.<sup>130</sup>

Continents and islands were divided into smaller character specialisation areas for understanding small regional variations in culture.<sup>131</sup> Hutton used this concept to place

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<sup>127</sup>Morgan (1877) *Ancient Society*, pp13,32

<sup>128</sup>Hinsley (1981) *Savages and scientists*, p136

<sup>129</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p257

collections in broad geographical areas and within these subgroupings as regional variations as shown in Graphic 39.

For example on the right side are Australia, Melanesia, Polynesia, Malay archipelago, Japan and India as the Australian, Oceanic and Asian areas.<sup>132</sup> A corresponding sequence on the left side follows: Africa, South America, North America, and Greenland as the Africa and American groups. The collections from India, Asia Minor, Holland, Austria, Germany, England, France and Italy acted as a metaphor for Asia and Europe. The photograph of the arrangement (as shown in Graphic 40) taken from the left corner of the gallery shows African collections in the foreground, the central space with European objects and the far perimeter wall with Malay, Polynesian and Melanesian specimens. Although arranged in the Maori Room, Maori was inserted into the scheme as a division of Oceania and a subdivision of Polynesia.<sup>133</sup>

Collections represented the most primitive retrograde living races, the Tasmanians (considered Older Savages and Palaeolithic because they had not discovered the art of stone grinding) to races such as Polynesians (considered Middle Savages) to Village Indians of Central America (Middle Barbarians) and finally to civilised European races.<sup>134</sup>

It thus appears that while some of the nations have progressed, others have remained stationary and some may have retrograded. The stationary nations present us, as it were, with pictures of former stages in the history of progressive nations, and it is this which makes the study of Ethnography so interesting.<sup>135</sup>

Stationary races included Australia, Polynesia, Africa and the nomadic tribes of North America as they were still considered to be in the Stone Age.<sup>136</sup> On this basis it was assumed that Polynesian and Melanesian societies (to which the Maori race belonged) could not progress past the Neolithic stage in history and achieve a state of civilisation on its own without the influence of civilised races.<sup>137</sup> The West's civilising influences on the Maori people was illustrated in Pakeha Relics case. Within this arrangement all the race's histories,

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<sup>130</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) pp145-173

<sup>131</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p258

<sup>132</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p145

<sup>133</sup>Harrison (1925) 'Museums and Ethnography', pp228

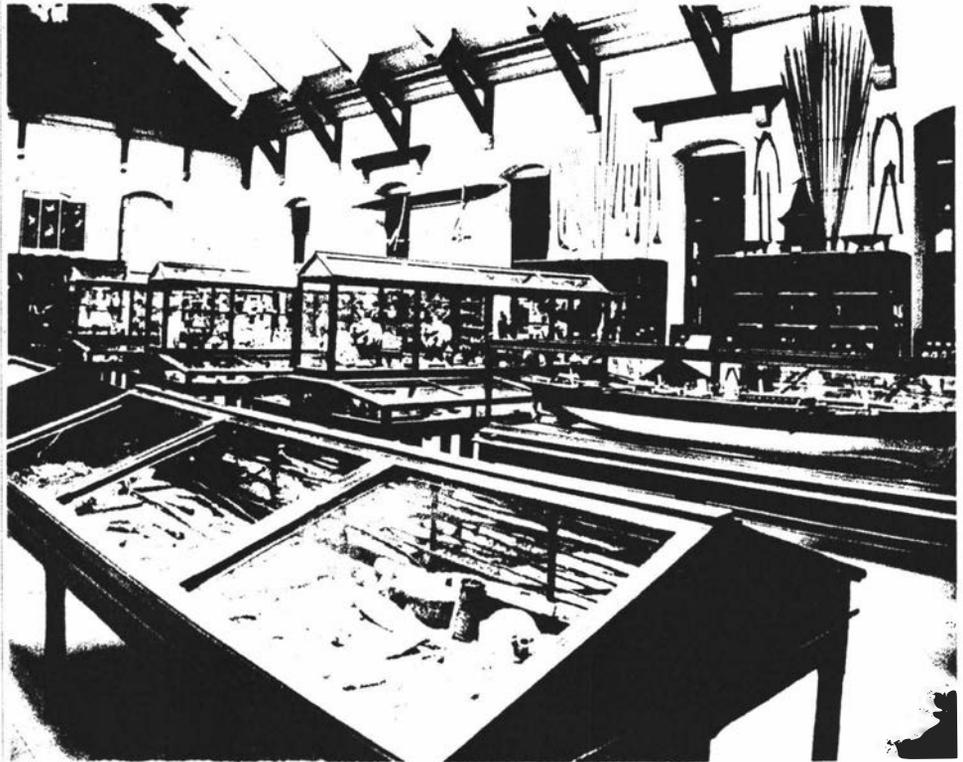
<sup>134</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1906) p138

<sup>135</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p145

<sup>136</sup>Ibid.

<sup>137</sup>Ibid.





Graphic 40. Ethnological Room (from the left corner) showing African collections in the foreground, European objects in the centre and Malay, Polynesian and Melanesian specimens on the far perimeter wall, c1895-1900s (Collection of the Canterbury Museum)

institutions, industries and customs were acting as a signifier of the past history of European races.

The way this arrangement differed from standard geographical arrangements was the inclusion of skull collections as ethnic signifiers representing each variety or race that inhabited each of the continent and island groups.<sup>138</sup> Termed the geo-ethnic approach, this style of arrangement was adopted by the US National and British Museums.<sup>139</sup>

The choice of skulls to depict the people of the world ethnically was due to the fact that this feature showed the widest variations in form. This enabled the easy division and observation of humankind as races or varieties. More importantly it reflected an attempt to classify people by their mind. The capacity to develop ideas, according to Morgan's scheme, led to the belief that the development of culture was scripted into the physical characteristics of the skull.<sup>140</sup> Craniometry, the measurement of skull shape, size and brain capacity, in particular became a standard procedure to determine relative intellectual capacity.<sup>141</sup> The place of Maori in terms of intellect was plotted by their classification as Polynesian.<sup>142</sup> For example in Case 6 the Polynesian type was represented by three skulls from the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii).<sup>143</sup>

Exposing the effects environmental influences had on the way people lived, their institutions, social organisation and the material culture they made as well as inventions was achieved through the comparison of standard categories.<sup>144</sup> For example with the case devoted to Fijians, who belonged to the Melanesian geographical grouping including New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, social, political structures, lifestyles and technology were represented through functional categories such as clothing, ornaments, canoe and meeting house models, weapons and tools, implements for procuring food objects, industries such as ceramics and so forth.<sup>145</sup>

Although Fijians were considered Neolithic people according to the guide, they were the only living Melanesians or Polynesians who knew the art of glazing earthenware.<sup>146</sup> This industry

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<sup>138</sup>Ibid. pp142,173-4

<sup>139</sup>Conn (1998) *Museums and American Intellectual Life*, p76

<sup>140</sup>Ibid. p86 and Hinsley (1981) *Savages and scientists*, p134

<sup>141</sup>Flower,(1893) *Essays on Museums*, p245

<sup>142</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p145

<sup>143</sup>Ibid. p174

<sup>144</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p257

<sup>145</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1906)

<sup>146</sup>Ibid. p142

was demonstrated by a collection of pottery. On this basis they were considered more advanced in terms of industry. The invention of pottery was a condition of the Upper Savage stage.<sup>147</sup> The fact that they did not have a potter's wheel, shaped clay by hand and lacked the sophistication of fine china (as shown in the European cases) would have relegated them to the lowest level of development, comparable to the earliest foundation of the European ceramic industry. In terms of Morgan's scheme they were graded as Upper Savages. The absence of pottery in the collections in the Maori Room meant that Maori people were less developed savages. Independent inventions were shown in separate cases within each culture area. For example in the Polynesian case there was a model of a Samoan house with its distinctive oval shape, wooden swords from Micronesia and bows from Tonga.<sup>148</sup>

To compare individual traits and find evidence of higher culture in these collections invariably required an understanding of the defining characteristics of the lowest Savage races as a benchmark. These lower traits were established by Tasmanian and Australian collections respectively. These acted as a benchmark for measuring other races. These collections exhibited the use of wood, a simple stone tool technology, a hunting and gathering subsistence and had no evidence of burial.<sup>149</sup> A primitive textile industry was exposed by the presence of a bag made from split leaves and string.<sup>150</sup>

Reading traditional Maori and their general life in terms of this arrangement exhibited evidence of a higher Savage state in a number of areas. With textiles evidence was shown of a greater level of sophistication in their manufacture. Evolutionary advancement by the way food was procured was indicated by the presence of a spade indicating horticultural practices. The presence of a Maori grave and later a tomb was a clear indication of evidence of the development of this trait from the earliest Palaeolithic humans. The model of Hone Hekes' *pa* also provided a testimony of a tribal lifestyle, a stage on the way to civilisation. On the basis of this type of assessment Maori were considered to be at a more advanced stage in the European past than Australians. The New Zealand environment was also more conducive to horticultural practices.

Explaining differences between the modes of life and arts of different people and the influences that the environment had on their means of subsistence and industries involved

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<sup>147</sup>Morgan (1877) *Ancient Society*, p10

<sup>148</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p143

<sup>149</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1906) pp138-139

<sup>150</sup>*Ibid.* p136; Roth (1911) 'On the Use and Display of Anthropological Collections', p289

reading the distribution and composition of objects. For example the Polynesian grouping included Hawaii, the Marquesas, Tuamotus, Tahiti, as well as the Gilbert, Marshall, Palau and Caroline Islands. A similar trait across the region in terms of the textile industry included the production of tapa cloth for clothing.<sup>151</sup> Through the comparison with textile industries in the Maori Room it could be ascertained that this type was not present in New Zealand. The absence of this type could be explained by differing environmental conditions and the lack of a suitable bark to produce the cloth. Other textile affinities with New Zealand were evident in terms of the methods of manufacture and use. For example woven mats for clothing were produced in a number of these islands primarily from coconut fibre.<sup>152</sup> The use of woven flax in New Zealand for the production of a similar article suggested the absence of coconut palms and the substitution of an indigenous raw material. This represented an independent invention. In terms of an evolutionary logic the lack of a more diverse textile industry in New Zealand could be accounted for by available resources rather than a retrograde condition.

This arrangement also represented the placement of collections according to contiguous regions. Placing regions together was also a way of showing the intermingling of traits in different areas. For example with the Melanesian and Polynesian groupings common traits included bark cloth.<sup>153</sup> Observing the distribution of material culture could also be used to plot migration patterns and diffusionist influences between different areas.

This grouping of collections geo-ethnically also referred to the ordering of collections by the old technological grading system. The lower races (skull and type collections) from regions such as Australia, Oceania, Africa, South America, North America and Greenland were placed around the perimeter of the room, with more advanced examples from Japan, China and India towards the centre of the space. The Australia, Oceanic and Asia groups represented a similar sequence of order as Haast's 1873 arrangement. This scheme culminated with specimens representative of the European race as an expression of civilised society in the centre of the room. It was within this broad grading system that finer degrees of culture grades could be read. This sequence was also implemented at the US National Museum during the same period. For example Holmes organised the collections with 'the lowest taking first place and others following according to culture status'.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>151</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p150

<sup>152</sup>*Ibid.* p144

<sup>153</sup>*Ibid.* pp140-145

<sup>154</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p261

Cases containing objects made from wood, gold, glass and metal (as shown in Graphic 39) also made reference to the identification of races on the basis of the materials and the technological features of objects. The geographical system employed at the British Museum used a similar comparative approach based on materials.<sup>155</sup> But unlike Canterbury, the British Museum's collections were used to compare the technology of different races both ancient and their modern equivalents. In this instance comparing the characteristics of the category of 'Carved Wood' in the Maori Room with the Wood case in this arrangement was a way of assessing relative levels of artistic and technological development of the Maori race by comparison with others.<sup>156</sup>

With geographical arrangements at the US National Museum study could also involve the analysis of each branch of life. Students were encouraged to pass from section to section examining and comparing in geographical/evolutionary order successive exhibits illustrative of each branch.<sup>157</sup> Individual traits such as subsistence involved the same process. For example the spade in the Maori Room indicating horticultural practices was read in terms of the Polynesian grouping. The next grouping in the scheme was the Malay Archipelago which exhibited more sophisticated implements such as a range of hoes, spades, sickles, ploughs and axes, some shown by models.<sup>158</sup> As in the Maori Room props were used to fill gaps in collections for reading purposes. A greater range and more sophisticated tools suggested a more developed agricultural system and a better food supply able to sustain a more advanced settled life. According to Morgan's scheme this range of objects was evidence of domestic animals and the cultivation of crops, a condition attributed to Lower Barbarians.<sup>159</sup>

In this model cultural difference and change equated with time as classification. In reality the passage of time was formulated on the basis of visible surfaces, the material from which objects were made and the composition of assemblages respectively. It represented the merging of the two measurement systems (Three Age and social development). Objects were read as a time in past European history. For example Maori textiles represented the distant past and a primordial relic of early European textile industries. The spade represented a more recent past, the foundations of the contemporary European horticultural practices and settlement patterns.

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<sup>155</sup>Harrison (1915) 'Ethnographical Collections and their Arrangement', p221

<sup>156</sup>Ibid. p222

<sup>157</sup>Holmes (1901) 'Classification and Arrangement of the Exhibits', p260

<sup>158</sup>*Guide to the Collections in the Canterbury Museum* (1895) p151

Putting races into this framework provided Hutton with a solution to the problem of understanding the mechanics of evolution and the differences between other societies on the basis of environment and modifications in culture. It was also a way for him to produce a visual narrative of the world and history, fix identities and history through grading according to a range of traits, while illustrating common ancestry and descent of all aspects of culture from their primeval origins. At the Auckland Museum variations in material culture stood as tools for the assessment of condition rather than as part of a narrative.

The arrangement also gave form to and legitimised power relationships between Europeans and other races including Maori people. This was achieved by assigning Maori people to the Neolithic as well as the middle Savage stage, the equivalent of early European history.

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<sup>159</sup>Morgan (1877) *Ancient Society*, p11

## CONCLUSION

Discussions in this thesis have examined the processes of collecting and exhibiting at the Auckland and Canterbury Museums and how a picture of Maori people was shaped through these practices. Curators at both these institutions saw the fundamental nature of Maori people, their lives and thoughts written into material culture. It was on the basis of this object epistemology, formulated in terms of the natural science of the time, that the very essence of Maori people was believed to be revealed through the right method of analysis.

As a result collecting was a way of recouping Maori people in a form that they could be understood according to colonial eyes. This process was a way of shaping a vision of Maori people through material things. It involved the reconceptualisation of lived realities into a more fundamental framework of classification, while subsuming all references to Maori values, histories and identities. This was an act of curatorial invention in which new identities and histories for Maori people were produced for exhibition, research and education.

Both museums were driven by a 'Social Darwinian' logic and ethnological theory in their attempts to recoup Maori people in a material form. They also drew on natural historical models to formulate their visions. However, the ethos of these two museums differed. This determined the way they approached collecting, the mental sets into which Maori people were conceptualised and classified, the theoretical models within Ethnology on which they drew, their imagined audiences and the physical form of the collection. The personal interests of the respective curators Thomas Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum and Julius von Haast and his successors at the Canterbury Museum also contributed to these different approaches. At the Auckland Museum Cheeseman chose to represent a specific Maori race through ethnography whereas Haast and his successors had an ethnological focus, attempting to solve complex problems about the course of local and global history.

Cheeseman at the Auckland Museum was a technologist. His version of Maori identity and life mediated through collecting grew out of his Linnean botanical orientation and an interest

in ordering living things by structural affinities. As a result recording all forms of material culture was his way of recouping Maori people. Death narratives ensured that this vision represented a highest evolutionary condition through a rigorous selection process for the specific purposes of memorial. An interest in popular education as a civilizing ritual, as well as serving the tourist market, drove the particular version of Maori people he produced. As a result his collection attempted to provide an authentic experience while educating audiences about the technical and artistic abilities of the race. This specific ethnography was formulated by a nomenclature which sought to recover and document objects by form and function and later structural categories of class and series.

Power was mediated through the institutional mission to salvage the race while articulating concepts of natural selection and a position as the successful race. Cheeseman was portrayed as a saviour of Maori people through his attempts to recoup a best state and a complete image for the purposes of memorial. From these collections he would construct and 'museumify' a perfect and pure image by his choice of objects and sets of all variations.

At the Canterbury Museum an ethnological approach saw Maori people reconceptualised to reveal the secrets of the workings of evolution locally and globally. Archaeological assemblages were gathered by locality and read to reveal the course of early history. In the early years Haast had a similar interest to Cheeseman, recouping ethnographical objects considered as having technological and artistic merit. These objects were documented by form and materials for the express purpose of comparative research while exposing the course of local history. Maori people were later structured into empirical categories as traits by function, form and materials to read the workings of social and technological progress, first and foremost rather than for the production of a specific ethnography. Local knowledges were appropriated and made use of these ethnological purposes. Natural history models applied to Maori objects sought to understand their form and structures as evolutionary modifications for the purposes of writing history. Objects acted as facts for the proof of theories and props for the illustration of those theories in exhibitions.

One of the most important roles of the Canterbury Museum was the invention of identities and histories for Maori people as Neolithic and their illustration as Middle Savages through boundaries of classification, measurement and order. Auckland Museum collections were read in the context of these two identities.

Power was mediated through the Canterbury Museum by virtue of its self-endorsed role as an institution of science and knowledge production. The use of an ethnological approach for knowing Maori people grew out of this ethos, the need to produce and show the fruits of the latest research. Science was portrayed as a way of saving the colony by leading the moral and intellectual development of all classes.

As a result of these two orientations patterns of inquiry differed at the two institutions. Cheeseman worked from the object, asking specific questions about the specimen and what it could reveal about the maker. The approach of Haast as a theoretician and Forbes and Hutton was to investigate questions relating to Maori material evidence that were driven by theory and the object was used to ask larger more fundamental concerns relating to the study of people in the broadest sense. Both constructed imagined communities through processes of collecting and classification. Maori people were identified as homogenous and a unified nation. The production of these general lives was for the express purpose of measuring condition. Maori people were portrayed as fixed in time but in reality this illusion represented a fixing in classification. Whereas the Auckland Museum discredited the present through the selection of objects for the production of a pure image, the Canterbury Museum acknowledged the contemporary situation. These objects showing the blend of Maori and European technology, imagery and design acted as accounts of the civilising process.

A material identity for Maori people was expressed by laying out the collection for exhibition. Identity acted as the sum of the collection from which life and history could be read. Identity was inseparable from the concept of condition. At the Auckland Museum Maori identity as condition was read as an artistic and technological state to which the complete series contributed. The dominant narrative was the reading of Maori people as the artist and industrialist through the form and visible surfaces of objects, their design features with reference to their methods of manufacture. Cheeseman scripted technological and artistic condition into objects through his rigid selection criteria. This enabled this state to be read. Identity as condition was inextricably bound to Maori people as a signifier of European history and given explicit form through the attribution of concepts such as Neolithic and Middle Savages. The artistic and technological merits of objects were read in terms of these assigned stages in history.

Maori identity at the Canterbury Museum was expressed through the collection as a statement of condition but most importantly through the writing of history both locally and globally. Producing an identity for Maori people as pre-traditional and traditional, Neolithic and later

Middle Savages, in reality represented the task of producing statements of condition through collections and the reading, interpreting and ordering of that state with other examples. These new histories and identities were formulated through ethnological theory and archaeological method. Writing history was initially through the patterning of the form, materials and visible surfaces of objects. Reading that history involved making discriminations, assigning positive and negative values to individual objects and collections on the basis of a European benchmark. The later production of an identity as Middle Savages involved the laying out of statements of condition in terms of institutions, social organisation and their subsistence base, as well as industries read through a range of classifications with objects organized according to their form, function and materials. Ethnographical description was appropriated and reformulated for the reading of Maori life as a signifier of a European past. Reading variations in material culture between groups represented the passage of time. The development of foreign collections at the Canterbury Museum was for the express purpose of writing history whereas at the Auckland Museum these were for showing the condition of races assigned as similar identity.

Both collections were established on the basis of relationships of inequality. As a signifier of past European life, Maori people were written out of contemporary history and the future of the colony. Both viewed Maori people as children representative of a stage of infancy of European races and as a result morally, rationally and socially inferior.

The empiricism of natural science, ethnological theory and method, the object, collection and the museum as knowledge producer endorsed these views as a correct view of Maori life. Power and knowledge operated within the museum apparatus through classification, policy statements, architecture and technologies of display.

At both institutions power was mediated through motivations for collecting, the selection and classification process. At the Canterbury Museum power was mediated through science whereas the dominant narrative at Auckland was the concept of salvage and natural selection. As a representational medium the arrangement provided a space for the translation and dissemination of curatorial, institutional views and the prevailing social, political and epistemological positions of the time. Exhibitions gave visibility to classification and reading objects was a way of mediating unequal relationships through languages of classification. Politics were embedded in the questions to be asked of objects. The persuasive and factual stance of arrangements was embedded in the collections, their completeness and the belief that an objective history of the race was written in material culture.

At the Auckland Museum objects were patterned by form and all variations as sequences of series were laid out so that their visible surfaces were available to read condition. Politics were not as visible in physical or structural form because of the organisation of objects by structural affinities. The reading of these objects within the context of these affinities was the key to knowledge.

At the Canterbury Museum objects were selected and organised according to theories, that were structured by classification as locality, type, form, materials and later by ethnological themes. This was for the purpose of reading condition, history and identity firstly as Neolithic and later as Middle Savages. Displaying narratives of progress through the use of space made the politics embedded in these arrangements highly visible by showing power relationships between Maori people and Europeans in a physical form.

By the end of the period the object was losing authority, as reading of its visible surfaces was no longer sufficient to expose and explain complex issues of culture and history. As a result there was a gradual introduction of context which was demonstrated through a shift to showing the function of objects privileged over their form and structure.

Although this knowledge is no longer meaningful, physical and intellectual legacies linger in these collections. The very existence of these collections can be accounted for by the object epistemological approach of the time as a way of knowing the world. Intellectual legacies such as a Linnean logic, the Ethnographical System and Jomard's scheme and narratives of salvage account for the broad scope and comprehensiveness of the collection at the Auckland Museum. The basis of the collection, which is primarily ethnographical, is also a material legacy of Cheeseman's interest in producing a specific ethnography of an imagined traditional phase. It was also the result of the Auckland Museum's location in an area with a high Maori population. The complete series remains as a physical legacy where all types of material culture are represented with few duplicates and developed according to structural affinities rather than historical or genealogical associations. The artistic merit and design of many of these collections can be accounted for by the scripting of a highest evolutionary condition through selections and renovations. A concept of authenticity is embedded in these collections. The configuration of the collections as traditional statements of Maori life locked in time can be explained by Cheeseman and his desire to produce a paradigm of perfection, a pure Maori race.

At the Canterbury Museum intellectual legacies include Haast's research and ethnological models for identity production and the writing of history. The large archaeological collection is in part due to Haast's Moa hunter research and its configuration for defining a local evolutionary sequence and statements of his pre-traditional and traditional phases. Divisions by site represent Haast's concepts of locality. Their composition and the assemblages that make up the collection represent the selective recovery of material from sites to prove de Perthes' theories about extinct fauna and human relationships, for connecting Maori and European history and to illustrate Haast's own views about Moa hunter identity. Stone implements in these collections were testament to the proof of his evolutionary sequence and the Three Age System. Well developed foreign collections, in particular technology, are legacies of history writing according to the Three Age System and Klemm's division of the Stone Age. Ethnographical collections developed during Haast's time were selected to read technological and artistic condition.

In terms of later ethnographical collections these objects represent selected items to write Maori people into global history according to Morgan's theories. Models and props act as legacies of Morgan's system while describing areas of life, scripting social institutions, customs, subsistence and industries as collections. These selections represent working out problems of relative condition. They embody European concepts of time and history as classification, intended to make a statement about Maori people as Middle Savages.

The bulk of these collections remain ideologically Eurocentric while documenting the colonial past. Although the reinterpretation process has begun by museums becoming more inclusive, disrupting established forms of representation, recouping history and connecting Maori values with objects, how do we deal with the circumstances of their formation and the selections and silences that they comprise? The ways specific *iwi* negotiate this ongoing struggle with colonialism are dependent on individual choices in their reinterpretation. The challenge however is to acknowledge and contextualise these paternalistic intellectual legacies through documentation and interpretation as records of transformations in meaning and value.

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BUTTS, David (1989) pers comm. Curator of the Ngati Kahunganun exhibition. The discussion focused on the development of the exhibition, iwi involvement and the consultation process.

MEAD Hirini M. (1989) pers comm. A discussion on the development and ramifications of the 'Te Maori' exhibition

NEICH, Roger (1989) pers comm. Curator of Ethnology, Auckland Museum

PANAHO Rangihiroa (1989) pers comm. Curator, Sarjeant Gallery , Wanganui

TE AWE TOKUTU, Ngahuia (1989) pers comm. Lecturer , Fine Arts, University of Auckland  
[former Curator of Tainui, Waikato Museum of Art and History]

WILLIAMS Lynn (1989) pers comm. Curator of Ethnology, Canterbury Museum

WOLFE, Richard (1990) pers comm. Curator of Display, Auckland Museum