

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

**Curiosity and Collections: The changing role of the amateur in preserving local  
history**

The life and work of Keith Raymond Cairns

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts in  
History  
at Massey University, Manawatū, New Zealand.

Michael Andrew Buckham

2022

## ABSTRACT

In examining the life and work of Keith Cairns, a twentieth century amateur anthropologist from the Wairarapa, we can begin to explore the extent to which amateur scholars like Cairns were allowed access to traverse and research their communities and how this changed over time with the rise of professionalism.

Professionals, to an extent, create their own professional identity by working towards qualifications, developing their status and allowing them to cloak themselves with a widely recognised and respected authority in the eyes of the communities they occupy or research. Amateurism acts as a substitute for qualifications, with amateur scholars primarily being created by and rooted in the communities they occupy while their interactions shape who they are as scholars, cloaking them in an authority recognised and respected by their communities. Amateur scholars have been able to intersect and move between their communities as they studied them as they are established 'insiders' with a stake in those communities, trusted to tell their stories.

This study examines the life of Keith Cairns through the significant collection of papers, images and artefacts left to the Alexander Turnbull Library upon his death in 1987, along with interviews with family members and other evidence supplied by Keith's family. Use is made of the academic journals and centennial and golden jubilee publications associated with two organisations that Keith actively supported and participated in, and which became more associated with the academy than with amateurs over Keith's lifetime: the Polynesian Society and the Archaeological Association of New Zealand. Evidence from the Wairarapa Archives and other local sources are also utilised.

An analysis of the evidence highlights how Keith's dedication to his faith, work, and local communities, both Māori and Pākehā, from an early age allowed him to move between and across all of them as an 'insider.' He was accepted and trusted with the knowledge he gained in his endeavours to learn and share what he had learned with those around him. He was able to cross academic, economic, social and cultural boundaries allowing him to become recognised by Māori and Pākehā alike as 'the foremost authority on Māori prehistory in the Wairarapa' of his time. In doing so, Cairns was able to gather a substantial collection which provides researchers with a ready wealth of evidence, even as the professionalisation of anthropology observed in the latter half of the twentieth century began to diminish the mana of the amateur scholar.

## Table of Contents

<b>ABSTRACT .....</b>	<b>II</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....</b>	<b>IV</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION .....</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE: A CURIOUS LIFE.....</b>	<b>6</b>
THE CAIRNS FAMILY.....	7
THE ALLSWORTH FAMILY .....	9
THE FITZGERALD FAMILY .....	11
KEITH RAYMOND CAIRNS .....	12
WORK .....	15
FAITH .....	16
INTERESTS .....	17
<b>CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTS (1890 – 1980).....</b>	<b>20</b>
THE FOUNDATIONS: 1890 - 1920.....	21
EMERGING PROFESSIONALISM: 1920 – 1950 .....	27
THE ‘MODERN ERA’: 1950 - 1980.....	34
<b>CHAPTER THREE: COMMUNITIES.....</b>	<b>40</b>
FAMILY .....	41
FAITH .....	42
EDUCATION .....	45
WORK .....	49
INTERESTS .....	53
CULTURE.....	60
PLACE - THE WAIRARAPA.....	63
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: CHANGING COMMUNITIES.....</b>	<b>67</b>
FAMILY .....	67
FAITH .....	69
EDUCATION .....	71
INTERESTS .....	72
CULTURE.....	78
PLACE - THE WAIRARAPA.....	81
COLLECTORS AND COMMUNITIES .....	87
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS.....</b>	<b>91</b>
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY.....</b>	<b>94</b>

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of this thesis has been a journey – one that would not have been possible without a community who have supported and encouraged me at various stages of the journey and throughout its entirety. My primary debt is to Professor Michael Belgrave, who has been an exemplary supervisor throughout, provoking and encouraging me to think deeper and broader than I initially thought I could. My thanks also to Dr Peter Meihana, whose input was invaluable during work on my initial topic.

Two telephone interviews were conducted with the members of the Cairns family with approval for the research obtained from the appropriate Massey University Human Ethics Committee prior to the interviews. Without the generosity of support, encouragement and materials from the Cairns family, this journey would have ended quickly. Shirley, Judy, Tony, Peter, Robert, and Russell gave of their time and their memories without hesitation and I am deeply grateful for all they have given. The Cairns family treasures their history and their memories of Keith. This thesis is my koha for their generosity.

I would also like to thank the staff of the Alexander Turnbull Library, especially those in the Katherine Mansfield Reading Room for their patience and generosity during my visits. Their readiness to help, even in such trying times as a global pandemic, was exemplary and this work would not have been possible without their mahi. The staff at Massey University Library, Te Putanga ki te Ao Mātauranga, also provided resources quickly and efficiently which enabled me to get access to material for the research and writing phases of this project in a timely manner. I am very grateful for their hard mahi and patience.

Special thanks are owed to Associate Professor Geoff Watson for his patience and support throughout the project, and to Julie McKenzie for administrative support.

Finally, I would like to thank my colleagues, my students, and my family. My colleagues initially encouraged me to pursue this research and have been my work-based cheer squad for these many months, willing me towards my goal. I wish to thank especially Juanita McLellan, Witarina Owens, and Lynne Rance (squad). My Level 3 History students have run alongside me across the finish line, cheering all the way. I am so grateful to work with such inspiring young people who have been ready, willing and able to have meaningful conversations about the process and content of this project. My family has endured, encouraged, and entertained me through every paragraph. I could not have begun this project, let alone complete it, without their support. I owe them so much, including an awful lot of missed family time.

## INTRODUCTION

Remembering can be fun for most of us. It is enjoyable to pick up the threads of the past and weave them into a pattern again.<sup>1</sup>

Professionalism has caused the age of amateurism to pass, though this has come at a cost. The amateurs brought qualities to their respective fields by virtue of their relationships, by being in and already connected with their communities as their enquiries developed. Those relationships had been established, built and reinforced by hard mahi – serving the community, being genuine and involved, and by picking up the tea towel in the whare kai. The rise of professionalism created challenges to the relationships between researcher and subject, which researchers have had to work hard to try to overcome, even as the communities in which they operated were also changing. This thesis will look at these issues through the life of one man in his time.

Keith Cairns was an amateur archaeologist, anthropologist, public speaker, and educator born in the waning days of the ‘gentleman-scholar’. With the vast quantity of material and knowledge gathered from field work, and with extraordinary dedication to his examination of the pre-history of local Māori in the Wairarapa region, Keith came to be considered by many to be the foremost authority on the subject. Rather than being seen as an ‘outsider’ poking and prodding for knowledge that was not his to collect or share, access was gained through a lifetime spent in building relationships in the many communities to which he belonged, as an ‘insider’ with mana, entrusted with the taonga of local Māori and trusted to tell some of their stories.

Keith was a collector. Wairarapa history, maps, letters, newspaper clippings, bones, rocks, information - artifacts of all types, shapes and sizes. He collected them all, he documented them all, and he shared them all. Whether it was telling stories in his living room surrounded by glass-front cases filled with bones and stones, typing up and filing copious quantities of notes for presentations to school groups or community events, or gathering brochures and correspondence entered into with numerous regional science fairs, Keith was voracious and meticulous in his gathering and cataloguing of knowledge.

On his passing, the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington received a substantial amount of material at Keith’s bequest. Four hundred and fifty five items are catalogued as part of this collection. Fifty two items are individual newspaper records from diverse titles from every corner of New Zealand - from the Evening Post, the Auckland Star, the Wairarapa Daily Times, Otago Daily Times, to the Otautau Standard and Wallace County Chronicle, to name just a few. The remainder of the collection are folders of copied,

---

<sup>1</sup> Cairns, K., Handwritten note, Date unknown, 88-070-06/11, 88-070. Cairns, Keith Raymond 1925-1987 : Research papers relating to the Wairarapa, particularly archaeology and Māori history. [ca 1940s-1987]. [Collection] Repository: Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand

printed, and hand-written material. A small portion of these items were sampled for this research.<sup>2</sup> Of the seventeen folders selected, fourteen contain material relating to Māori history, seven contain material relating to family history, and one contains material relating to the Catholic church, and particularly to Monsignor Nicholas Moore, Keith's friend in faith and spiritual advisor.

Meticulous notes were recorded by Keith on any paper that seemed to be at hand, including standard A5 notepad, cut notepaper from coloured sheets, index card, and the backs of Regency Jewellers or Colonial Mutual reports, letters, invoices and general stationery. Some are single-sided sheets, though a good number are double-sided. Lists of possible sources for Keith's research, including names and contact details of individuals, are recorded, with some hand-written in pencil or pen, and others typed. Maps, both printed and hand-drawn, highlight locations of moa hunter artifacts, towns and settlements, surface features, cultural areas, and areas of food supply for early Māori. In the seventeen folders sampled for this project, more than 2500 items were recorded, an average of approximately 145 items per folder, out of an estimated 58,400 items across the whole collection.

In the folder Keith gathered relating to Māori history as part of preparations for the Masterton centenary celebrations in the 1970s, he examined the full period from first explorers and settlement in the Wairarapa, to the Māori Land Court, as well as material on other areas, such as Whanganui.<sup>3</sup> He collected information on tikanga (customs), Te Reo ('the language'), whaikorero (rhetoric), waiata (song), and several local marae (focal points of Māori settlement), such as Papawai near Greytown, and Te Ore Ore in Masterton. Details of Māori newspapers, such as Te Puki ki Hikurangi and Matuhi Press, and vast collections of whakapapa (genealogies) and personal stories are also included. Keith typically cast a very wide net to gather information. A note he wrote to himself in a folder for another project reminds Keith to 'describe the Maori side more fully.'<sup>4</sup>

The whakapapa he recorded, collected and collated, as noted, were considerable. Nine folders in the collection have Māori genealogical data in them, with three of those folders entirely comprised of whakapapa records. Significant local Māori families are recorded, such as the Jury, Ngatuere, Workman, and Te Whaiti families, to name just a few. Iwi and hapu records for Ngāti Kahungunu, as well as the whakapapa of Aati Rangitakaiwaho Manihera, the canoes genealogy of King Potatau Te Wherowhero<sup>5</sup> His hard mahi from a very young age, as an altar boy serving the faithful at Catholic services, as a local business owner serving his community, or an insurance agent serving to help the community protect their assets and provide security for the future, saw Keith respected and entrusted with much that others in his community

---

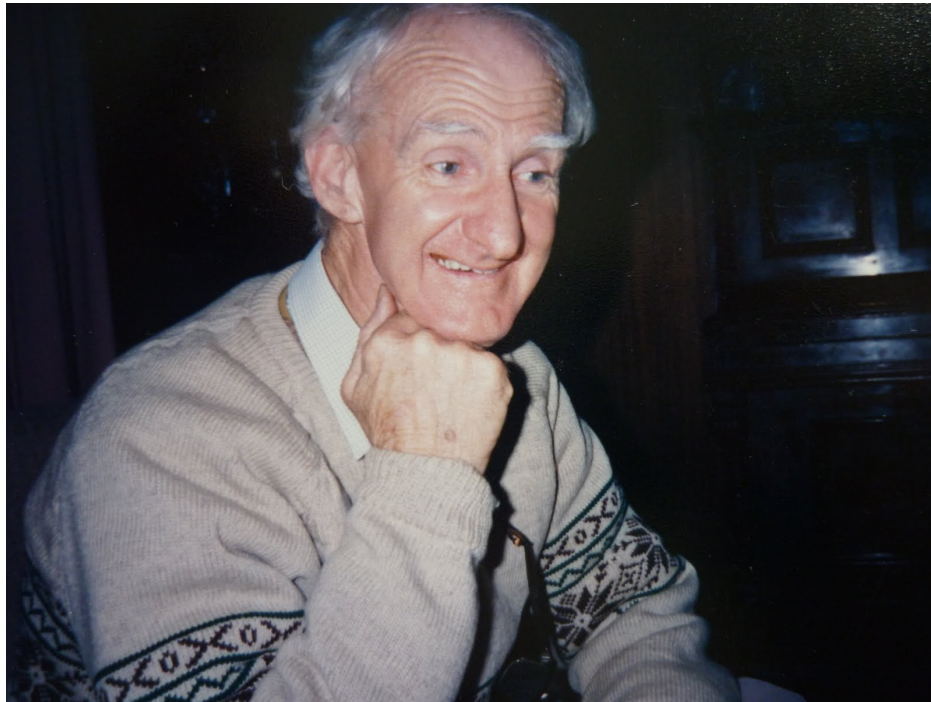
<sup>2</sup> 88-070. Cairns, Keith Raymond 1925-1987 : Research papers relating to the Wairarapa, particularly archaeology and Maori history. [ca 1940s-1987]. [Collection]. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. Accessed 2020-2022.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. Ref #: 88-070-01/04. Accessed 15 May 2021.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. Ref #: 88-070-01/06. Accessed 28 April 2021.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. Ref #: 88-070-20/02. Accessed 28 April 2021.

held dear. The wealth of information in the collection that remains forms a significant part of the legacy of this amateur scholar and is a valuable contribution to subsequent research.



*Figure 1. Keith Cairns (image supplied by Cairns family)*

The social and cultural contexts in which identity is developed are crucial to understanding that identity, hence an examination of those aspects of Keith's life provides us with insights into who he was, how he came to be as he was, and what motivated him in his pursuits. Examining the changes that took place in those contexts over time, particularly a time of such considerable change as the twentieth century, helps us to understand the impact of those changes on Keith's identity as a person and as an amateur scholar.

The various branches of Keith Cairns' family emigrated to New Zealand, between 1858 and 1883, where they found a life quite unlike anything they had left behind in England, Ireland and Scotland. They all settled in the Wellington and Wairarapa regions, were working class and Catholic (and Methodist, later Catholic), and they worked and played hard. Sheep farms, railways and meat works provided their employment, while sport and music were significant joys in their lives, as was their faith. Family and community, work and faith – these were the cornerstones of the people that populate Keith's family tree and the cornerstones of Keith's life.

Born at the family home at Kuripuni, Masterton in 1925, Keith was a collector from a young age. Athletic and into everything going, be it sports, dance, music, or constructing his own backyard 'museum.' He was athletic, running in Harriers, cross-country, and on the track, and he climbed Mount Holdsworth. Keith worked briefly at the local post-office, before volunteering for the Royal New Zealand Air Force



(RNZAF) in 1943, and learned instrument repair, serving in Fiji then Whenuapai at the end of the war. The skills he learned in the RNZAF opened the next door on his journey and he took up work as a jeweller and watch repairer in Wellington and Masterton, going on to own and expand the business. Ill health meant another change in direction, though remaining in and continuing to serve the Wairarapa community, in insurance sales with Colonial Mutual.

Keith's Catholic faith was central to his identity. He served as an altar boy for Father (later Monsignor) Nicholas Moore throughout the parish, and it was through this service that Keith first had contact with local marae, such as Te Ore Ore, in Masterton, and Papawai, just out of Greytown. Keith was educated at Catholic schools and attended St. Patrick's Church in Masterton, just a short walk from his family home. He was firm in his faith and ready to share or debate it when called upon, though always with grace. His family were settlers and their faith was firmly Catholic, with just a pinch of Methodist in the mix.

Keith collected knowledge and artefacts related to his own family history and to the whanau of local Māori. He collected local rocks, bones and stories, and these he shared with others as often as he was given opportunity. He was a member and served on the councils of a number of associations and societies, including The Polynesian Society and the New Zealand Archaeological Association. His lifetime of working with, and listening to, local Māori along with his meticulous fieldwork earned him the mana to be recognised as a local expert in prehistory of Māori in the Wairarapa, by Māori and Pākehā alike.

This study is not intended as a complete 'life-and-times' study of Keith Cairns. Rather, this is intended as a brief examination of complex influences on his intellectual life and the way these changed over time. This study is, at its core, an examination of the changing relationships between amateur and professional scholar and their communities as experienced by one man in his time, a time marked by significant changes in, across and between the communities. Cairns is illuminated through the connections he has with family, faith, work, communities of shared interests, culture and place. In Chapter One, an examination of his family history from the generation who first settled in the Wellington and Wairarapa regions shows some of the weft and weave of the fabric that made Keith who he was. The material presented here is a fraction of the collected family history which the Cairns family so generously provided and represents a part of the family's understandings of the man they knew. Chapter Two explores the intellectual contexts into which Keith was born and educated, and in which he developed his skills and scholarly pursuits. Chapters Three and Four examine a range of important aspects of Keith's life to show how he developed as a community scholar and how changes in the communities in which lived impacted his life and work.

This study is limited in scope to the experiences of one amateur scholar, and in resources to a relatively small sample of the vast amount of primary material left by Keith that is stored in the Alexander Turnbull Library collection. Two telephone interviews were also conducted with family members which provided many anecdotes and a personal perspective on Keith's life and experiences. I have also drawn

heavily from material generously provided by his family, and from two works by New Zealand writers: one a volume of thoughts and memories of members from the first fifty years of the New Zealand Archaeological Society, and M.P.K. Sorrenson's work covering the first one hundred years of the Polynesian Society and its Journal.<sup>6</sup> It is hoped that this study will contribute to a broader examination of the role and contributions of the amateur scholar in the cultural history of Aotearoa New Zealand, which should also include a synthesis of the work of many of the amateur collectors and writers contained herein, along with many others.

---

<sup>6</sup> Matthew Campbell, *Digging into History : 50 Years of the New Zealand Archaeological Association.*, Archaeology in New Zealand: V. 47, No. 4 (New Zealand Archaeological Association, 2004); M. P. K. Sorrenson and Richard M. Moyle, *Manifest Duty : The Polynesian Society over 100 Years*, Memoir: No. 49 (The Society, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1992).

## CHAPTER ONE: A CURIOUS LIFE

‘But, certainly, an understanding of our respective origins is the beginnings of an understanding of our present selves.’<sup>1</sup>

In seeking to understand how Keith Cairns’ upbringing nurtured and encouraged his curiosity, I have chosen to examine his family history from the generation of settlers who first came to New Zealand between 1858 and 1883, before looking at the life, work, faith, and interests of Keith himself. As Michael King points out, by examining the origins of a person – the personal, social, emotional, and economic fabric that has moulded them and cloaked them in the layers of their identity – we can begin to understand the person. Examining the stories of Keith’s origins, as shared and understood by the Cairns family and from other sources, we begin to understand the man and the ‘spirit of [his] ancestors’ which drove him to do his best, and to be so passionate about that which captured his interest.<sup>2</sup> This narrative is the way the family see him and the important influences on him.

This potted family history looks at the merging of three families: Cairns, Allsworth, and Fitzgerald. Irish, Scottish and English settler families, two Catholic and one Protestant, all deeply committed to their faith and their communities. The stories presented in this chapter are settler narratives, shared by the family and showing something of how they see themselves, not dissimilar in many ways to the stories of the lives of other settler families such as those described in Chapter Two. They are not the stories of almost super-human endeavour and endurance portrayed by some of New Zealand’s earliest writers, but the stories of ordinarily complex people living ordinarily complex lives in their times.<sup>3</sup> Unless otherwise noted, the information in this section is taken from information generously provided by the Cairns family. This includes information collated and recorded in *My Journal of Memories* by Kit Patrick (nee Cairns), Keith’s older sister, as well as personal interviews, family documents and artefacts.<sup>4</sup>

One of the products of this merger of families is the subject of this work, Keith Raymond Cairns. In the second half of the chapter, I have chosen to focus on those areas apart from his family that Keith was absorbed by – his work, his faith, his interests, and his collections of knowledge and materials. The sheer volume of activities, contacts and materials that Keith devoted his life to collecting is fascinating also begs the question: What drives someone like Keith to devote themselves so completely to the practical pursuit

---

<sup>1</sup> Michael King, *Being Pakeha Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native* (Auckland: Penguin, 1999). p. 12

<sup>2</sup> Sir Apirana Ngata in Native Affairs Commission, “NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMISSION. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON NATIVE AFFAIRS. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, Session I, G-11” (New Zealand Government, 1934). p. 46

<sup>3</sup> An example of ‘pioneer-adulation’ is found in E.M. Bourke’s *Little History of New Zealand*, cited in P. J. Gibbons, *“Going Native ” : A Case Study of Cultural Appropriation in a Settler Society, with Particular Reference to the Activities of Johannes Andersen in New Zealand during the First Half of the Twentieth Century.*, 1992. pp. 2-4

<sup>4</sup> Kit Patrick, " My Journal of Memories / by Kit Patrick,," (Wellington: Kathleen Clayton, 1991).

of knowledge for no more recompense than being of service to their communities and the satisfaction of finding things out?

#### THE CAIRNS FAMILY

Patrick Cairns was born in Lanark, just south-east of Glasgow, Scotland in 1841. Bridget Duffy was born in Armagh, Ireland and moved to Glasgow with her parents when a small child. Her father died before her marriage to Patrick in 1867. In Glasgow, Patrick worked as a Railway Brakeman and a Wool Mill Engine Stoker, while Bridget had been a Woollen Mill worker. On 1 June 1874, Patrick and Bridget, along with their daughters Agnes and Ann, aged just three and one respectively, left London on the *Strathnaver* for New Zealand and arrived in Wellington on 01 September 1874.<sup>5</sup> Patrick was employed as a steam engine driver at Burnett's Mill, Taueru, Masterton. Three sons and a daughter (William, Peter, Joseph and Louisa) were born in the Wairarapa before the family moved to Petone in 1882, with the further development of the Railway Workshops there.<sup>6</sup> Patrick Cairns was to work at the Workshops for the next 23 years before retiring in 1906.

Two more sons were born in Petone, John Mill (Jock) in 1883 and Albert (Tot) in 1885. All the children were educated at the Petone Central School. Agnes and Ann attended Hutt School prior to the opening of Petone Central in 1882. Louisa left Petone Central in Standard 3 to go to the Convent school, Hutt. Peter, Joseph and Albert reached Standard 7, the highest Standard at that time, but Jock left school earlier going to work after their house had been destroyed by fire.

The family were active in the Catholic Church in Petone, Patrick Cairns being sponsor for Confirmation candidates in 1903 and 1905. When the Petone Catholic Club was formed in 1906, Peter was elected Secretary and Albert on Committee. As a proud Catholic family, the girls each had a white dress for Church on Sundays, with the dresses being washed after each wearing and put away ready to be worn again the next Sunday. The boys had clean white shirts for their Sunday best, which likely followed the same weekly routine of wear once then wash. Bridget Cairns died at her home in 1916 and Patrick died in Wellington Hospital in 1917.

Sport was an important aspect of family life. Jock Cairns and George Finlay, husband of Agnes, were Committee members of the Petone Junior Club, and Joseph, Jock, and Albert were members of the Petone Rugby Club. In 1907, the 2nd Class Team, with Joseph captaining the side and Jock playing, won all its matches. Jock suffered an injury to his knee during a rugby game at Masterton and had to have the

---

<sup>5</sup> Hutt City Council – Petone Settlers Museum. <http://www.huttcity.govt.nz/Leisure--Culture/Museums-and-galleries/Our-museums/petone-settlers-data/DisplayPerson/?Id=39088&SearchString=STRATHNAVER&Page=2>. Accessed 04 August 2021.

<sup>6</sup> W.N. Cameron, *A Line of Railway : The Railway Conquest of the Rimutakas* (Wellington: New Zealand Railway and Locomotive Society, 1976). p. 80.

cartilage removed, however he always retained his interest in the sport and encouraged his family to take part.

Joseph worked as a coppersmith in the plumbing department of the Railway Workshops in Petone, and went to Auckland in late 1908. He served overseas in the Infantry in World War I and returned to live in Auckland. Peter was a brass bandsman in Petone, being a Committee member of Petone Citizens Band in its first year, 1908. When he lived in Kilbirnie, he was active in Lyall Bay Progressive Association and Cairns Street, Kilbirnie, was named in his honour. Albert attended Victoria University before being employed by Treasury Department in the Office of the Auditor General. He later served overseas in World War I before returning to the Audit Department in 1919.<sup>7</sup>

Jock's job at the New Zealand Railways included cleaning and polishing old steam engines. Each worker was given a piece of cloth and a carbide lamp and went to work in the long engine sheds, cleaning the area allocated to them by the foreman. Jock recalled having fun as a youngster by making small wads of cloth, soaking them in oil, and creeping along in the semi darkness to the end of the engine, before throwing the oil soaked wads at the other engine cleaners then ducking back to his own end of the engine and continuing his work as if it was nothing to do with him. He left the Railways and went to work at the Gear Meat Works in Petone until he began work at the Waingawa Freezing Works in Masterton in April 1910 where he worked in the preserving department.<sup>8</sup>

As shown by his shenanigans in the railyards above, Jock had a great sense of humour and loved practical jokes. He would attend Music Halls with his friends, and they thought it was a great joke to applaud loud and long for any performer who was no good. Dancing was a favourite activity and Jock acted as Master of Ceremonies at dances in Masterton before he married. Although he did not continue going to dances, he never lost his love of dancing.

Jock rode a bicycle to work at the Waingawa Freezing Works and he started a repair business from home. When Jock lost his job at the freezing works due to his involvement in a union dispute, he expanded his bicycle business and became an agent for bicycles and prams at home. People could order new prams and bikes these came from Stewart's factory in Petone, sent by rail to Masterton, from there they were delivered by horse-drawn cart. When Princess Elizabeth was born in 1926, a pram from the Petone Factory was made for her, and Marion, along with many other mothers throughout the country, had a replica. A piece of land was purchased at the Kuripuni Triangle where he hoped to build a shop and workshop, on this section he put up a large sign advertising his services. He wrote the slogan '*I've a bike to lend while yours I mend,*' and gave credit if a person could not pay. A man only had to plead that he needed his bike for work and Jock would repair it and replace new parts. As the Depression approached, the amount owing to him

---

<sup>7</sup> Office of the Auditor-General, *From Auditor to Soldier: Stories of the Men Who Served*, (Wellington: Office of the Auditor-General, 2014), <https://oag.parliament.nz/2014/ww1/docs/ww1.pdf>. p. 62.

<sup>8</sup> Wairarapa Times-Age. Obituary: John Mill (Jock) Cairns, 23 July 1963.

became too much and he lost his business. Jock could not get a job and had to sign up for government support. During the Depression, work became hard to get and for several years Jock had to do Relief Work, work that then Prime Minister, George Forbes, introduced in 1931. 'Make-work' schemes were introduced for unemployed workers to 'chip weeds, make roads, work on farms, [and] join forestry projects,' among other schemes in order to receive their support payments.<sup>9</sup> Jock reporting each morning before being taken to the outskirts of town on the back of a truck to clear scrub. When the ground had been cleared the workers planted thousands of pine trees. It was back breaking work, though many such hardships had to be endured to feed and clothe six children. Jock was later able to return to work at the Waingawa Freezing Works.

Jock was very fond of his children and loved to give them toys and play games with them. Many happy times were spent at the bottom of the section where their children and neighbours would all help to clean out any rubbish and dam the creek to make parts of it deeper. The boys would go eeling and catch fresh water 'crawlies,' a small fresh water crayfish. A rope hung from a Ngaio tree near the house to make a swing. Jock had an aviary with canaries and he would whistle and imitate the birds. Next to the aviary was a large tree and in the hot summers Marion would bring out her treadle sewing machine to sew in the shade of the tree, while the children played on the lawn and the baby slept in the pram.

Both Jock and Marion were tireless in the work they did with the Brigidine Nuns. Jock was a member of the St Vincent De Paul Society and collected books, which he made into bundles to distribute amongst the patients at Masterton Hospital. Later on in life, because of his deafness, Jock would sit up close to the radio which had the volume on as high as it could go. John Mill Cairns died on 13 August 1963 at Masterton, just three days after his 80th birthday. He is buried at Masterton Cemetery.

#### THE ALLSWORTH FAMILY

William Allsworth emigrated to New Zealand at the age of 19 years, working on the sheep station of his uncle, the Rev. R.J. Allsworth, a Presbyterian Minister, at Wanganui. William moved to Masterton about 1863. Emily Morris was born in London, England on 10th May 1854. She travelled to New Zealand on "Kinnaird" about 1858, with her parents. They lived at Johnsonville, Wellington, then travelled to the Wairarapa by bullock wagon about 1863, with the nine year old walking some of the way and sometimes riding in the wagon over the Remutaka Ranges. Her father, George Morris, was the first boot maker in Masterton and had a shop on the site of the Queen's Hotel (later the Windsor Hotel) on the corner of Queen and Renall Streets. Emily married William Allsworth at the Methodist Chapel, Masterton on 25 June 1873. They lived at Brancepeth Station where he was overseer, and later became station accountant. The couple had seven children – William (1874), Georgina (1877), Edgar (1879), Arthur (1882), Minnie (1885),

---

<sup>9</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History Of New Zealand* (Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books, 2004). pp. 346-347

Marion (1890), and Grace (1894) – with all but Grace being born at Brancepeth. The family moved to Masterton when William suffered ill health before dying of cancer in 1908. Emily died in 1942.

Marion 'Cheek' Allsworth, the sixth of the seven children, spent her childhood at Brancepeth Station before the family moved to Masterton in 1908 when she was around 18 years old. They lived in High Street, then Crayne Street, Kuripuni, before moving to Mākoura Road. She attended Central School, and was the only one of the seven children to spend a year in Standard 7, the equivalent of secondary school. Marion always had the desire to better herself, but opportunities were few. She worked in tea-rooms in Masterton and spent some months in New Plymouth with relatives before returning to Masterton where she worked in the China department of T.F. Watson's as a saleswoman until her marriage. Marion and her sister Grace, who worked at the same store, acquired a bicycle, which they shared. One biked halfway home, then left the bike and walked the rest of the way. The other one would walk the first part, pick up the bike and ride home, so they arrived home at about the same time.

Marion was raised as a Methodist and the usual Sunday activities were Church service at the Kuripuni Methodist Church in the morning, bible class or Sunday School in the afternoon, Service again at night, followed by hymns sung around the piano at home. She was an active member of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in its campaign against alcohol, taking part in temperance plays, reciting poems and singing as part of the Band of Hope, which travelled throughout the Wairarapa. She was also President of the Kuripuni Methodist Ladies' Guild at one time.

With her considerable involvement in Methodist Church activities, and being thought a bit 'snobbish' by some, it must have come as quite a shock to the family when she planned to marry Jock Cairns, as he was not only a Catholic, but also a freezing worker. Jock insisted on marriage in the Catholic Church and Marion took instruction in the Church's teachings, following which she decided to convert and was received into the Catholic Church a day or so before her wedding. In the lead up to the wedding, family and friends tried to dissuade her against the Catholic Church and her Methodist Minister would meet her going from work and put his arguments against it. Marion's brother William threatened that he would not give her away if she married in the Catholic Church. Her brother-in-law, Norman Jones, himself a fervent Methodist, told her that if William refused to give her away, then he would do so. In the end the wedding went on as planned on 22 October 1914 and William did give her away. Continuing her enthusiastic involvement in church activities, Marion was President of the Masterton branch of The Catholic Women's League for 6 years and was made a life member.

The couple rented a house in Cornwall Street, and Marion found it very lonely away from her family and old Church, and with Jock being away at work all day, so early each morning she would walk to her mother's home and spend the day there, returning home in time to cook the evening meal. Their first son, John Bernard (also known as Jock) was born at Cornwall Street in 1915, and Kathleen Monica (Kitty, or simply Kit), was born two years later. The other four children were born after the family moved to 28

Waltons Avenue. Desmond Arthur (Des) in 1922, Keith Raymond in 1925, Terence Joseph (Terry) in 1927, Maureen Agnes in 1929.

Though the family suffered hardships during the Great Depression, and later the loss of their eldest son in World War II, Marion and Jock were loving parents and grandparents, treasured by the family. Marion died at the home of her daughter, Kitty, 13th of October 1970, aged 80 years, and she was interred at Masterton Cemetery after a Requiem Mass at St Patrick's Church. Masterton. Her funeral was attended by 300-400 people, with all Catholic Schools in Masterton represented, forming a Guard of honour at the service.

### THE FITZGERALD FAMILY

Thomas Fitzgerald was born in Dingle, County Kerry, Ireland in about 1843. Family records show that he was a farm labourer in Ireland before travelling to New Zealand as a single man in 1872. He arrived on the *Agnes Muir* in late December of that year and by 1886 had accumulated four Wellington properties, three on Mt Victoria and one at Rangiora Ave, Kaiwharawhara. In January of 1888, Thomas married Mary O'Connor. He died 05 August 1928 and was buried at Karori Cemetery 06 August 1928.<sup>10</sup>

Mary O'Connor was born in Killorglin, County Kerry, Ireland in about 1859. She emigrated to New Zealand as a 'General Servant' aboard the *Oxford* in 1883.<sup>11</sup> Mary died 23 October 1935 and was buried in the same plot as her husband at Karori Cemetery 25 October 1935.<sup>12</sup> Mary and Thomas had seven children (Thomas, Mary, Annie, John, Teddy, William, and Leonard), though John, Teddy and William did not survive past infancy.

Thomas Fitzgerald (Jnr) was born in Tawa, Wellington 28 September 1887. He moved to Auckland in 1911 and worked as a Railways Clerk in the Goods Office between 1912 and 1930, when he was made redundant. Thomas met Mary Chapman at a dance in Taumaranui in 1913 and they were married at Saint Mary's Catholic Church in Carterton 03 June 1914. The couple separated in 1926, perhaps due to Thomas' nervous breakdown at that time. He was treated at Hamner Springs for neurasthenia (nervous exhaustion) but reunited with Mary in 1929. Thomas died 13 August 1964 and was buried at Karori Cemetery 15 August 1964.

---

<sup>10</sup> *Find a Grave*, database and images, memorial page for Thomas Fitzgerald (unknown–6 Aug 1928), Find a Grave Memorial ID 221543455, citing Karori Cemetery and Crematorium, Wellington, Wellington City, Wellington, New Zealand. Accessed 04 August 2021. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/221543455/thomas-fitzgerald>

<sup>11</sup> New Zealand, Archives New Zealand, Passenger Lists, 1839-1973, database with images, *FamilySearch*. Mary O'Connor, 23 Jul 1883; citing ship, Archives New Zealand, Wellington; FHL microfilm 004412285. Accessed 9 March 2021. <https://familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:FSBR-RJW>

<sup>12</sup> *Find a Grave*, database and images, memorial page for Mary Fitzgerald (1860–25 Oct 1935), Find a Grave Memorial ID 221562290, citing Karori Cemetery and Crematorium, Wellington, Wellington City, Wellington, New Zealand. Accessed 04 August 2021. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/221562290/mary-fitzgerald>



Mary Chapman was born in Masterton, Wairarapa 22 July 1887. Mary and Thomas had six children (Phyllis, Francis, Moyra, Leonard, Audrey, and Shirley). According to limited family records, Mary was a midwife/nurse. Mary died 30 January 1970 and was buried at Karori Cemetery 02 February 1970.<sup>13</sup>

The youngest of six children, Shirley was born 15 August 1929. Her three eldest siblings, Phyllis, Francis and Moyra, chose the name Shirley over Beryl, which was the original choice for her name. Sporty from a young age, Shirley participated in basketball, netball, tennis, and swimming, as well as Sea Rangers and Cubs, including Leadership Training and the position of Office Assistant to the leader of the New Zealand Team at a Pan Pacific Jamboree in Australia.

Shirley was also a keen dancer, gaining certificates in Folk and Square Dance Leadership in 1951 from the Department of Internal Affairs' Physical Welfare and Recreation section, which later became the Council for Recreation and Sport (1973) and then the Hillary Commission (1987).<sup>14</sup> From 1951 to 1954, Shirley was also part of the YWCA National dancing All Nations Dance Group and taught Circle and Square Dancing, as well as giving demonstrations and calling in Square Dancing.

#### KEITH RAYMOND CAIRNS

Keith was born at 26 (now 28) Waltons Avenue, Kuripuni, Masterton on 24 February 1925, and baptised at St Patrick's Church, Masterton in March of that year. Terry Cairns, Keith's brother, recalled that Keith may have been prone to fainting spells as a child, as their grandmother, Emily Allsworth, referred to Keith as "pasty face," while his mother, Marion, said that Keith often went white and "wouldn't make old bones." Terry also noted that Keith was 'wiry and as strong as most of his brothers and sisters.'<sup>15</sup>

Keith attended St Patrick's School between 1930 and 1937. Originally sited opposite the Parish Church, the school was established in 1883. This was the site that Keith attended, just a little less than one kilometre from his front door. The school was relocated to its present site in Church Street in 1978, the site having previously been St Bride's Girls' College.<sup>16</sup> From 1938 to 1940, Keith attended Wairarapa College, taking a 'commercial course' which included subjects such as book-keeping and accountancy. He participated in compulsory cadets, dressed in khaki-coloured shorts and shirt and was nicknamed 'Kernel'

---

<sup>13</sup> Find a Grave, database and images, memorial page for Mary Cecelia Chapman Fitzgerald (1888–2 Feb 1970), Find a Grave Memorial ID 221590964, citing Karori Cemetery and Crematorium, Wellington, Wellington City, Wellington, New Zealand. Accessed 04 August 2021.

<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/221590964/mary-cecelia-fitzgerald>

<sup>14</sup> Green, D. Ministry for Culture and Heritage. 'About Internal Affairs - Department structure - History of the Department.' Accessed 20 August 2021.

<https://www.dia.govt.nz/About-Internal-Affairs---Department-structure---History-of-the-Department>

<sup>15</sup> Terry Cairns recorded his notes in 1996, having earlier published an article in tribute to Keith in the Wairarapa Times-Age shortly after Keith's death. Cairns, T., *Life is just what you make it!*, Wairarapa Times-Age, 17 February 1988.

<sup>16</sup> St Patrick's School. *History - St Patricks School Masterton*. Accessed 28 August 2021.  
<https://stpatismstn.school.nz/our-school/history/>.

by his classmates. When Terry joined his brother at college, Terry was referred to as 'Kernel Two' by some. Keith's classes are recorded as C3 (1938); C4 (1939); and C5 (1940), after which he left school at the age of 15.

Keith was a collector of all manner of things, with his father Jock encouraging his intense interest in nature from a young age. He gathered and 'blew' the insides out of birds' eggs, placing the egg in cotton wool and putting them carefully away in the drawers of a large cupboard in Jock's workshop. He set up a 'museum' in the backyard shed with exhibits of birds' eggs, nests, rocks, Māori carvings and natural objects, which his brothers and sisters were permitted to look at, but not touch. This relentless collecting continued throughout Keith's life. His curiosity with the natural sciences extended also to live specimens, as Keith fished for freshwater crayfish in the Kuripuni Stream, and the rare mudfish in a local spring. A number of years later Keith sent specimens to the Dominion Museum and Victoria University. At age ten, he tried to cultivate freshwater mussels, though these were all consumed by eels and pukeko within a couple of years. Thirty five years later he was involved in a Freshwater Mussel Standard project with technicians from the Institute of Nuclear Science.

Keith seemed to be blessed with an inherited affinity for bicycles. His seat and handles set high, Keith made his bike a fixed wheeler with no brakes and the only speed being top speed. As the story is related by his family, Keith would spring onto the bike at the back porch of the family home, standing on the pedals, hitting top speed by the time he shot out of the front gate. Keith relied on his quick reactions to keep him out of trouble, though the residents of Waltons Avenue learned to pass the Cairns' gateway with caution and there were no reported accidents. Keith's athleticism also extended beyond the bicycle.

In his early teens, Keith climbed Mt Holdsworth to watch the North Island Skiing Championships and he competed with his brothers Des and Terence in harriers and athletics on the Masterton Park oval track. He was also part of the 'Waltons Avenue Gang' that got up to all kinds of tricks. As an adult, Keith joked that he fought with an Avenue neighbour, Russell (Russ) Broughton, and that it was this vital childhood experience that helped Russ to capture the national heavyweight boxing title.<sup>17</sup>

In 1936, there were three Cairns brothers running in the harriers and on the athletic track. Keith was third in the Masterton Harrier Club (MHC) junior championship and winner of the junior points cup in 1937. In 1947 and 1948 Keith was the MHC senior cross-country champion. He won the 1947 Cameron Cup for the final handicap race and in 1948 he won the Shaw Rose Bowl for senior handicap points. In 1949 he was elected as MHC club captain and he served as the MHC club delegate on the Wellington Centre NZAAA

---

<sup>17</sup> BoxRec. *Russ Broughton*. Accessed 29 August 2021. <https://boxrec.com/en/proboxer/143666>

from 1950-53.<sup>18</sup> He also won the Royal New Zealand Air Force one mile championship and finished second in the 880 yards before going overseas to serve.<sup>19</sup>

While Keith was stationed in the New Zealand Air Force Auckland district, Keith took Terry to see him train on the Auckland Domain. He pointed out his training mates, which included Ron Agate and other national track champions. Keith was king of the milers in the Air Force at that time, and part of a record-breaking team that set a national mixed relay record. Terry remembers that the Wairarapa handicapper Bill Grantham laughed in disbelief at the projected time that Keith put on his entry form for the mile at the annual Mangatainoka sports. Keith then bettered that time. Keith was also an enthusiastic member of the Masterton Amateur Athletic and Cycling Club (MAA&CC). During the presidency of the long-serving L.A. Keats (1951-69), Keith and Massey Quayle, another Waltons Avenue neighbour of the Cairns family, were appointed by the club committee to speak to the Masterton Borough Council Parks and Reserves committee in 1956.

Keith was taught piano as a child and said that he could "rattle anything off on the piano - including his Mum's vases!" He was also taught tap-dancing by another Waltons Avenue neighbour, Michael McMullen, and would place a sheet of plywood that he had for the purpose on the sitting room carpet, 'put a record on the wind-up gramophone and tap away to his heart's content.'<sup>20</sup> Keith moved on to learn the saxophone and ballroom drums, joining a local dance band, and was an accomplished ballroom dancer. He organised ballroom dances in Masterton for a number of years, arranging local dance bands or bands from Wellington to play, as well as looking after tickets, supper and whatever other tasks were required to ensure folks had a good time at the dance.

In the winter of 1951, Shirley met Keith Cairns at the Hunt Club Ball in Featherston, which she had attended with a friend from Wellington. As Shirley recalls:

Keith was in a little group that we were there with and we got on very well. He said he had a business in Wellington and he was a Jeweller and Watchmaker and, if I was in Cuba Street anytime, would I pop into the shop and say hello. So our friendship grew from then and I went up and met his family about 2 years later.<sup>21</sup>

They were engaged in 1953, and married at Saint Patrick's Church, Kilbirnie, Wellington on 20 February 1954. The couple moved to Masterton after they were married and Shirley gradually got to know the people there, noting that she initially felt like "a bit of a fish out of water," but that Keith's father, Jock,

---

<sup>18</sup> Masterton Harrier Club, *75 Years of Harriers in the Wairarapa, 1912-1987*, ed. Richard Brooks (Greytown: Lamb-Peters Print, 1987).

<sup>19</sup> Cairns, Terence J., *Carry Them Shoulder High. Heroes of Athletics and Cycling Over the Years to 1980 in Masterton*. 1<sup>st</sup> Edition. 1980.

<sup>20</sup> T.J. Cairns, Notes.

<sup>21</sup> Cairns Family Interview. Author. 01 May 2021.

was “absolutely wonderful” to her, being kind and understanding.<sup>22</sup> The couple had five children, all born in Masterton, Wairarapa: Judith (1955); Anthony, (1958); Peter, (1960); Robert, (1963); and Russell, (1965). Shirley’s memories of Jock’s welcoming and supportive nature indicates a generosity of spirit that is echoed in a number of other stories from the family and, indeed, in the support and generosity shown to the author in preparing this thesis.

## WORK

After Keith left school in 1940, he worked for the NZ Post Office in Masterton, first as a message boy, then as a telegram sorter, and later in the brick Post Office building as a manual telephone exchange operator. He recalled that he was at work in the exchange in June of 1942 when major earthquakes centred near Masterton damaged the building, admitting to his brother Terry that he was scared during the experience.

When he was 17, Keith volunteered for the Royal New Zealand Air Force (RNZAF),<sup>23</sup> posting initially to No. 1 Instrument Repair Depot in Hamilton. Keith’s oldest brother, Jock, had been killed in action in 1941 and when Keith told his mother that he wanted to join the Air Force, she was very much against it. However, she said, “If your father will sign the paper, then I will agree.” In a childhood tactic used no doubt for many centuries, Keith cheekily went to his father and said, “Mum said you’re to sign this paper, so I can go into the Air Force” so Jock said, “Oh, if Mum said, that’s alright,” and he signed the paper, Marion never having agreed to it. Shirley relates that Keith was under age when he volunteered and he only got in because he put his age up. He was trained as an instrument maintenance and repairer and he gained a great deal of experience in repairing shot-up aircraft instruments in Fiji. At the end of the war, and still just 21 years old, Keith was posted to Whenuapai in charge of the instrument section, working on almost every type of airplane to be seen in New Zealand skies, including the Gloster Meteor in 1946 – the first jet-powered airplane to visit New Zealand.<sup>24, 25,26</sup> It was in the Air Force that Keith learned the watch, clock and jewellery trade and that experience helped him when he joined Bradbury Jewellers in Masterton on his discharge from active service.

Keith then moved to work as a jeweller and watch repairer in Wellington. He took over an upper Cuba Street business, Regency Jewellers, expanding the business and employed many qualified tradesmen.

---

<sup>22</sup> Cairns Family Interview. Author. 01 May 2021.

<sup>23</sup> New Zealand, World War II Ballot Lists, 1940-1945. Military Area No. 7 (Napier). 639990 Cairns, Keith Raymond, civil servant, 26 Waltons Ave. Masterton. The New Zealand Gazette, 27 July 1943. p. 859.

<sup>24</sup> Air Force Museum of New Zealand. Meteor NZ6001 at RNZAF Station Whenuapai, after its first flight, 11 February 1946. Image ref WhG4285\_46, RNZAF Official. Accessed 20 June 2021.  
<https://www.airforcemuseum.co.nz/blog/meteoric-rise-new-zealands-first-jet-flight/>

<sup>25</sup> Air Force Museum of New Zealand. Gloster Meteor NZ6001, flown by Squadron Leader RM McKay, over the Auckland area, 14 February 1946. Image ref OhG2976-54, RNZAF Official. Accessed 20 June 2021.  
<https://www.airforcemuseum.co.nz/blog/meteoric-rise-new-zealands-first-jet-flight/>

<sup>26</sup> Gloster Meteor aeroplane NZ6001, on tarmac, RNZAF Station, Hobsonville, Auckland. Whites Aviation Ltd: Photographs. Ref: WA-01500-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. [/records/30654150](#)

Keith took over a second shop in Jackson Street, Petone, then a third when he acquired a shop in Perry Street, Masterton, adding to his Regency Jewellers chain. When the building on the corner of Queen Street, Masterton was demolished and replaced with a two-story concrete structure, Keith moved his Masterton store into the new building. He engaged and assisted a master carver to carve in traditional fashion a Māori storage house that he used to display appropriate goods in his Perry Street shop. Keith later closed the Wellington and Petone shops to work out of the Masterton store because of changes in the watch, clock and jewellery repair sector and his health problems. The Masterton store was eventually closed as well, though Keith had no difficulty finding employment after he closed the shops. In 1964, he was approached by Don Cairns of Colonial Mutual and was trained as a successful insurance salesman. He gained a number of awards in the role, and the flexible working hours suited Keith's pursuit of his other interests perfectly as he was able to schedule appointments with clients around visits to sites around the Wairarapa to explore, document and collect items of archaeological or geological interest.

#### FAITH

When Keith was a young boy... I presume he would have been at the most 8 years old, and the parish priest used to say to him, each Sunday, "Keith, you are coming out to the marae with me," because the priest used to go to say Mass for the Maori people... And that's where I think there was a big bond started because the Maori people thought so much of the priest. Every Sunday, he went out to say Mass for them, so that was a great experience for Keith, because it made him so strong in his own faith.<sup>27</sup>

In colonial New Zealand, religion was a defining aspect of identity. By framing his own identity within ethnicity and faith grounded in European origins, Michael King describes the development of his identity growing up in the 1950s, as an 'Irish New Zealander, a Catholic.'<sup>28</sup> Marion Allsworth's marriage to Jock Cairns in 1914 was across two faith communities. Though she converted prior to the ceremony, married in a Catholic church, and was as fervent in her Catholic faith as she had been as a Methodist, she maintained regular contact with her family. The intermarriage of Catholics and Protestants was of great concern to the Church at the time, with Bishop Liston advising in 1922 that "no bounds should be set on the zeal of a pastor in stopping them."<sup>29</sup>

Keith's faith was an integral part of his life from a very young age. Raised in the Catholic faith, though his mother, Marion, had been a devout Methodist prior to her marriage, Keith often served as altar

---

<sup>27</sup> Cairns Family Interview. Author. 01 May 2021.

<sup>28</sup> King, *Being Pakeha Now: Reflections and Recollections of a White Native*. p. 12

<sup>29</sup> Liston to clergy, 26 January 1922 cited in Christopher John van der Krogt, "More a Part than Apart, the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society, 1918-1940" (Doctoral, Massey University, 1994), <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/2931>. pp. 226-227

boy for Father (later Monsignor) Nicholas Moore as he travelled throughout the parish saying Mass for communities isolated from Masterton itself. Fr. Moore served from 1930, taking over responsibility as Parish-Priest following the passing of his friend Monsignor John McKenna. Fr. Moore's appointment coincided with the depression and he was keenly aware of its effects on his parishioners.<sup>30</sup> Fr. Moore's focus on the issue of Catholic education was to leave a legacy for the people of Masterton and an abiding impression on Keith Cairns. St. Joseph's College for Boys in Masterton was founded in 1945 after considerable fund-raising and administrative efforts by Fr. Moore, the parish priests of Carterton, Eketahuna and Pahiatua, and the communities of faith they served.

The school was run by the Marist Brothers. St. Bride's College for Girls had been established in 1898 and run by the Brigidine Sisters. The two colleges were merged in 1978 and became Chanel College, named for St. Peter Chanel, a patron of the Catholic Church in New Zealand. The chapel at Chanel is named after Fr. Moore. Monsignor Moore was Keith's spiritual adviser and was very important to Keith throughout his life. Keith served as a member of the Monsignor Moore Education Trust Administration Committee, an organisation that supports Catholic School education for poorer families. Monsignor Nicholas Moore died at Masterton in 1985, just two years before Keith passed. He was 98 years old.

The Cairns family, as working class Catholics, were always aware of the hostility, usually just beneath the surface but occasionally open, directed at them from the Protestant majority. Keith was from the poor abattoir workers, from the working class, he was from the people who made the railways and worked on the farms. The family always felt there was pressure to perform, to be better or equal because they "weren't to let down the side by showing that the Catholics were dumb." The recollections of the family related also to the sectarian tensions and negative impression of Catholics in the socio-economic landscape in New Zealand in the early part of the twentieth century which they felt were always there, to a greater or lesser degree over the years. van der Krogt highlights this 'Catholic delinquency' in the over-representation of Catholics in the poverty and penal systems of the period.<sup>31</sup>

## INTERESTS

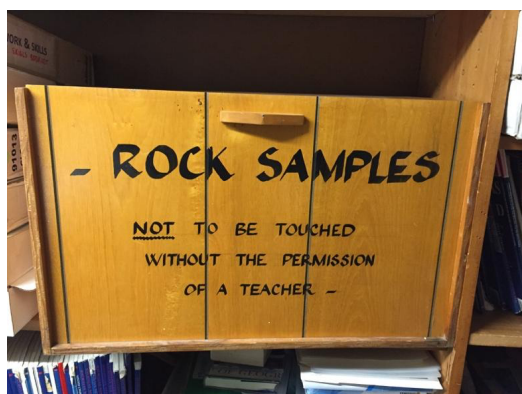
Keith He was a member of the New Zealand Geological Society (NZGS) and a foundation member of the Wairarapa Geological Society (WGS). Keith was also on the planning committee for the first adult education school in geology, held in Masterton and run through Victoria University, Wellington. His interest in ornithology had continued since his childhood collecting bird's eggs and nests in his 'museum' displays in Jock's shed and Keith was a regional organizer of the Ornithological Society for New Zealand in the Wairarapa. He also established a mineral dealing business, manufacturing boxes of rocks and minerals for

---

<sup>30</sup> Claire Hills, "'Moore, Nicholas'," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 1998). Accessed 28 July 2021. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m61/moore-nicholas>

<sup>31</sup> van der Krogt, "More a Part than Apart, the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society, 1918-1940." p. 69

education or personal interest. The first boxes were sold to the Wellington Education Board with brochures prepared with the assistance of the New Zealand Geological Survey (NZGS).



Figures 2 (left) & 3 (right): Example box of rock samples prepared for schools by Keith's mineral dealing business. The document that accompanies the samples in this box was prepared by A. Ewart, Petrologist, 1966.<sup>32</sup> (Image Source: Author)

His primary passions, however, were in the interconnections between natural history and local history. His was an insatiable curiosity in the how and why of the past. For Keith, the study of archaeology and local history was inseparable. He was a gatherer and a weaver of stories and would regale any who would listen with energetic stories of sites, legends, whanau, or middens just below the surface of a farmer's field.<sup>33</sup> Travelling with Keith was an opportunity to be waylaid on the side of a remote road as a recent slip had revealed a fascinating geological feature to meticulously document and discuss. His children relate stories of travelling the Remutaka Hill and receiving a running commentary and a reminder lesson on the legends of the tangata whenua - stories of the naming of the Wairarapa, the lake, the taniwha from the East, and the leaders and the followers of renown. The impression they give of their father's car-bound verbosity is that of a seanchaí, a storyteller of the old lore, albeit one with a captive audience.

Keith was a member of the New Zealand Archaeological Association and he had excavated on many pa sites in the Wairarapa. He conducted an extensive postal survey of a significant portion of Wairarapa farmers to collect data on possible sites, some proving to be very important records of early Maori settlement in the area. Keith used his knowledge of Maori beliefs concerning burial sites to ensure sensitivity and many sites remained unreported, perhaps to maintain their tapu or sacredness.

In his later years, Keith was acknowledged as an expert in Maoritanga in Wairarapa, particularly the whakapapa of local hapu or extended and interconnected family groups. The connections Keith had begun

---

<sup>32</sup> Anthony Ewart is currently Emeritus Professor in the School of Earth and Environmental Sciences at the University of Queensland. Accessed 04 November 2021. <https://sees.uq.edu.au/team/adjunct-and-honorary>

<sup>33</sup> "He had an amazing insatiable appetite for knowledge and communicating that knowledge to anyone." (P. Cairns, Phone Interview, 05/05/21)

to make as an altar boy in the Catholic Church under Monsignor Nicholas Moore visiting Māori communities around the Wairarapa region grew into relationships of immense mutual respect. Local kaumatua were an enormous influence on Keith's life and work, and Tony recalls often travelling with his father to speak with kaumatua on various matters.

One story that remained carefully guarded until the time of Keith's passing was that of a young Keith and the taniwha. The kuia shared that Keith used to sleep out at the marae from time to time. As the family relates the story, many of the young people in the disaffected parts of the Wairarapa community at that time were quite traumatized, affected by alcohol, domestic violence and 'horrible things going on in their families,' and here was Keith, a 'pasty faced' little kid, sleeping in the marae overnight. The ladies saw a taniwha sleeping over him and the men were terrified of the taniwha, wanting to immediately throw Keith out and say 'don't come back to the marae,' but the ladies told them that the taniwha was protecting him and that the taniwha meant that he was a safe person to whom they could tell their stories. They then made sure that, before they died, they passed on those stories because they trusted that he would be responsible in preserving them. With so few surviving members of that generation who may have been witness to the event, we are unable to confirm the account, though it goes some way to supporting the mana and regard in which Keith was held by some local Māori of that generation.

These family histories and personal experiences are the story threads being pulled together, told and retold by Keith's family to weave the cloak of his memory. Along with the artifacts they leave behind, they form a part of their collective memories of Keith and his ancestors as they were and as the family would have them remembered by others. These stories and artefacts are evidence of a life lived to the utmost, in much the same way that he rode his bike as a young boy, a life lived at maximum speed, but these stories are still only a section of the whole cloth. In attempting to understand the influences which shaped Keith as a person and as an amateur scholar, we must also look at the intellectual, social and cultural contexts and traditions into which he was born and educated, and how those contexts changed during his lifetime.



## CHAPTER TWO: CONTEXTS (1890 – 1980)

Keith Cairns lived in a period marked by considerable change in the practice and writing in those fields in which he became most passionate. In examining the intellectual context of Keith's life, I have chosen to explore the period between the 1890s and 1980 in the field of anthropology in New Zealand, dividing the period into three broad eras, much as Sorrenson has done in his examination of the first 100 years of the Polynesian Society: the 'foundation years' (1890s-1920); the emerging professionalism or academicisation of the following thirty years; and finally, what could be termed the emergence of modern anthropology in New Zealand from 1950 onwards.<sup>1</sup> This approach helps us to understand the intellectual framework that was established before Keith was born and how this changed during his lifetime. Of particular interest are those fields in which he was most interested as an amateur scholar, therefore I have included only those writers whose work was directly referenced by Keith in the approximately three thousand five hundred items sampled from the substantial collection of his work housed at the Alexander Turnbull Library. These names are a roll-call of the prominent and influential amateur scholars that would have populated the libraries of Keith's early years as he began to question and explore his local history, through to those professionals whose work challenged then supplanted those earlier writers and theories.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, collectors and writers in New Zealand wrote about local communities, particularly their own. Wherever they worked and lived provided opportunities to collect, collate and write about the material culture and knowledge of an indigenous population which was thought to be on the brink of dying out. Elsdon Best was based variously in Poverty Bay, Kapiti, and the Urewera district before returning to the Wellington region. S. Percy Smith, and W.H. Skinner were surveyors and this afforded them the opportunity to travel extensively, recording details of the people and communities they visited while surveying the land, though they also studied their own local communities. Buck and Ngata were broader in their subject matter than many, and Buck was particularly well travelled, but their concern was primarily the ongoing well-being and preservation of the culture of their own ethnic community – hapu, iwi and Māori as a whole. Robertson's subject matter was largely relating to the history of the places he lived and people in those places, both Māori and Pākehā.

In a similar vein, generations removed, Keith Cairns collected and shared his findings through various medium primarily focussed on his local communities, especially his own family history and the local history of Māori settlement and whakapapa in the Wairarapa. In his notes, Keith referenced these early, amateur writers extensively, most notably Elsdon Best, S Percy Smith, Peter Buck, and G.L. Adkin, though each anthropologist and historian listed above has been referenced numerous times in Keith's notes and papers. The influence of these early researchers is clear in the extent to which Keith researched and

---

<sup>1</sup> Sorrenson and Moyle, *Manifest Duty : The Polynesian Society over 100 Years*.

recorded their work in his own general notes on any given subject. Keith's notes were recorded on any scrap of paper that came to hand – blank note paper, old school exercise books, the backs of Colonial Mutual documents, torn envelope scraps. Many sheets are dedicated to bullet notes, with each source noted above, below or beside.

#### THE FOUNDATIONS: 1890 - 1920

In New Zealand, around the turn and first half of the twentieth century, the prevailing sentiment was the concern to preserve what could be salvaged of the Māori race before it vanished entirely and this drove many to focus on Māori history. In the 19th century, writers such as Froude, Dilke, Wood, Dickens, Twain and Trollope noted, with little variance, the inevitability, and even desirability, of the extinction of the indigenous 'savages' of the world who came in contact with the far 'superior' white, Western civilisation.<sup>2</sup> Nineteenth century collectors and writers of the new colony had been concerned with the capture of the record of a 'dying' culture that they, as the 'superior' group, were actively extinguishing as they colonised and 'civilised.' Such events were inevitable in the eyes of the Darwinists, and, to the 'nineteenth-century observers' this 'lent urgency to the quest to record details of [Māori] culture and solve the questions of their origins.'<sup>3</sup>

Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hīroa) noted that for fifty years many Pākehā politicians and academics had been declaring the Māori to be a 'dying race,' and that Dr Isaac Featherston in 1856 had reportedly proclaimed that, 'as good, compassionate colonists,' their 'plain duty... was to smooth down their dying pillow.'<sup>4</sup> In 1881 Dr Alfred Newman stated: 'Taking all things into consideration, the disappearance of the [Māori] race is scarcely subject for much regret. They are dying out in a quick, easy way, and are being supplanted by a superior race.'<sup>5</sup> Looking back at the formation of the Polynesian Society in 1892 with Pākehā amateur scholars, such as Elsdon Best, Johannes Andersen, James Cowan and S. Percy Smith, and Māori scholars including Peter Buck,<sup>6</sup> J.M.R. Owens has remarked that readers of Sorrenson's history of the first one hundred years of the Society were left to wonder if the founders were 'far-sighted New Zealanders preserving their cultural heritage, or cultural imperialists ghoulishly gathering at the graveyard of the Noble Savage.'<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Brantlinger, *Dark Vanishings : Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800–1930* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2003). pp. 6-10

<sup>3</sup> M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Maori Origins and Migrations : The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends* (Auckland University Press, 1990). p. 83

<sup>4</sup> Sir Walter Buller (1884) Quoted in Te Rangi Hīroa, *The Passing of the Maori*, (Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand, 1924). pp. 362-363

<sup>5</sup> Te Rangi Hīroa, *The Passing of the Maori*. pp. 362-363.

<sup>6</sup> Keith was a Council Member of the Society from at least 1967 until 1976. The Polynesian Society (Inc.), *Annual General Meeting*, The Journal of the Polynesian Society 86, no. 1 (1977).

<sup>7</sup> J.M.R. Owens, "[Review] Manifest Duty, The Polynesian Society over 100 Years," *NZ Journal of History* 27, no. 1 (1993). p. 105

Smith, Best and W.H. Skinner were from the generation of pioneer settler families, having been born in England and emigrated, or being born in New Zealand prior to 1860. Best was born and raised in the Wellington region, while Smith and Skinner were both raised in Taranaki. All were to witness or take an active, if minor, part of the conflicts that arose in the second half of the nineteenth century, yet all were to spend a considerable part of their life talking to and researching Māori people and culture in a lifetime dedicated to the preservation of their oral traditions and material culture before they disappeared altogether.

S. Percy Smith was born in England in 1840 and emigrated to New Zealand with his family in 1849, settling in New Plymouth. He served as a member of the local militia in 1857 and witnessed the fighting at Waitara in 1858 when he was employed to sketch the stockades. Over the next twenty years, Smith served as a surveyor and topographer, before spending some time in the early 1860s as an interpreter and intermediary in attempts to gain support from Ngāti Whātua in the defence of Auckland against possible attacks from Māori from the Waikato. His return to surveying saw him travelling extensively - Waiuku (1864), Taranaki (1865-66), Pitt Island (1867-68), and Auckland and Hawke's Bay (1870-76), where Smith collected and recorded large amounts of information about traditional Māori history and culture.

In 1892, Smith and others founded the Polynesian Society, in 'response to the widespread belief that the Māori were a dying race,' hoping that such an endeavour would 'help to interpret and preserve the traditional knowledge of the Māori before this disappeared.'<sup>8</sup> Byrnes also notes that, in practical terms, the society and its journal provided a forum where scholars could 'speculate on their ethnographic observations and indulge their fascination with the Māori in a learned environment.'<sup>9</sup> Through the Journal, Smith published a numerous pieces on Polynesian history, mythology, customs and tribal lore, including works such as *Hawaiki: the whence of the Māori* (1898); *Wars of the northern against the southern tribes of New Zealand in the nineteenth century* (1904); *History and traditions of the Māoris of the West Coast, North Island of New Zealand prior to 1840* (1910); and *The lore of the whare-wānanga* (1913–15). Upon his retirement from the civil service in 1900, he was able to devote his efforts completely to the work of a Polynesian scholar.

Smith was an amateur, having no formal training in ethnology, though this did not hinder his path to becoming a recognised authority on the history and traditions of the indigenous people, including their language, such was the nature of early anthropology in New Zealand and around the world. His surveying

---

<sup>8</sup> Giselle M. Byrnes. *Smith, Stephenson Percy*, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 19 April 2022.  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2s33/smith-stephenson-percy>

<sup>9</sup> Ibid. & Tregear, E. The Late Stephenson Percy Smith, president and founder of the Polynesian Society and editor of its journal. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 31, no. 122 (1922): 67-74.  
[http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume\\_31\\_1922/Volume\\_31%2C\\_No.\\_122/The\\_Late\\_Stephenson\\_Percy\\_Smith%2C\\_president\\_and\\_founder\\_of\\_the\\_Polynesian\\_Society\\_and\\_editor\\_of\\_its\\_journal%2C\\_p\\_67-74/p1](http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume_31_1922/Volume_31%2C_No._122/The_Late_Stephenson_Percy_Smith%2C_president_and_founder_of_the_Polynesian_Society_and_editor_of_its_journal%2C_p_67-74/p1)

career had brought him into frequent contact with Māori, and a more than passing familiarity with their language and culture was a necessity as much as a matter of personal or scholarly interest. Smith's research was part of a foundation upon which others, Māori and Pākehā, would build noted for perpetuating a conversation and extensive line of further research which has seen the development of professional ethnology in New Zealand.<sup>10</sup>

Born at Tawa Flat (now simply known as Tawa), in the Wellington region of New Zealand in 1856, Elsdon Best moved to Poverty Bay in the late 1870s and it was from here that his connections and experiences of Māori culture and language began, though not in the most auspicious of ways. Best joined the Constabulary Field Force in Taranaki, was involved in facilitating forced surveys and sales of Māori land, and he was one of the 1,500 strong force that took part in the raid on Parihaka, destroying the settlement and arresting Te Whiti, Tohu and many others.

Several of those who Best came to know at that time encouraged him to study Māori history and culture, including his brother-in-law, Walter Gudgeon, S. Percy Smith and Edward Tregear, though it would not be until 1891 that Best took action in this direction. Best was invited to Wellington by S Percy Smith 'to discuss the formation of a society to promote the study and recording of Polynesian history and culture.' This was to be the birth of the Polynesian Society in 1892, with Smith and Best as two of the founding members, and it was soon after that Best became New Zealand's first professional ethnographer, working extensively in the Urewera district, recording details of the Tūhoe people while serving as secretary of the Urewera Commission, an administrative body established expressly to subdivide Tūhoe land. Best recorded all details of Tūhoe history and genealogy that were presented and debated throughout the Commission's proceedings and, over the next fifteen years, he published more than one hundred articles and poems.

In 1910, Best moved to a new position at the Dominion Museum in Wellington, and from here he published several significant bulletins on pre-European Māori life and culture. His first Dominion Museum bulletin, *The stone implements of the Māori*, was published in 1912, while his major work on the Tūhoe people, *Tūhoe: the children of the mist*, was published in its entirety in 1925, having been introduced in the Polynesian Society's *Journal* in 1913, the same year that Smith had introduced *The lore of the whare-wānanga*.<sup>11</sup> He also wrote on Māori agriculture, astronomical knowledge and Māori concepts of time, their canoes, fishing methods and deep-sea navigation, forest lore, games and pastimes, and religion and mythology, as well as pieces on Māori Pa and the structures within. His work with members of Ngati Kahungunu, 'comprising data on procreation, baptism, and infant betrothal', also yielded his ninety three page, *The Whare Kohanga (The "Nest House") and its Lore*. While his work captured significant aspects of

---

<sup>10</sup> Giselle M. Byrnes. *Smith, Stephenson Percy*, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 19 April 2022. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2s33/smith-stephenson-percy>

<sup>11</sup> Both were introduced in the *Journal* in 1913: *The lore of the whare-wānanga* in Volume 22: Nos. 85-88; *Tūhoe: the children of the mist* shared the bulk of Volume 22: No. 87.

Māori culture, forming part of the foundation for the much later Māori revitalisation of language and culture, Best's 'evolutionary and racial assumptions that informed his theorising detract[ed] seriously from their ethnological value.' Likewise, his reconstructions of Māori migrations and pre-European Māori society have been challenged by modern archaeologists.<sup>12</sup>

Another son of pioneer settlers, William Henry (W. H.) Skinner was born in New Plymouth in 1857.<sup>13</sup> Skinner, like S. Percy Smith before him, embarked on a career as a surveyor and civil servant, developing his interests in local history and Polynesian culture through his extensive contacts with local Māori as he travelled the Taranaki region. His eventual retirement from public service merely gave him more opportunity to pursue his anthropological interests. A foundation member of the Polynesian Society, he was one of its most active members, undertaking various roles as needed, such as editing the Journal, serving as a member of the council, sharing secretarial and treasury duties, and serving as president of the society until 1929. He also contributed to the journal frequently, covering many aspects of Māori history and material culture, including architecture, religion and mythology. His articles also covered such subjects as pa, canoes, and decorative feather work.

Skinner was passionate about his community and Taranaki regional history, both Māori and settler, was a focus of many of Skinner's works. His *Taranaki, eighty years ago* (1923), *Pioneer medical men of Taranaki* (1933), and *The establishment of the New Plymouth settlement* (1940) documented aspects of European history and settlement in the area. He worked with S Percy Smith on the latter's book about the Māori history of Taranaki, and he contributed to *History and reminiscences of the Okato district* (1935). He also helped his friend R.J. Matthews, along with a number of other prominent citizens, form the Taranaki Rugby Club in January 1874, also playing in the friendly match between the newly formed club and the challengers, Egmont Club, in March of that same year, a match which Taranaki won.<sup>14</sup>

He served as a member and president of the Taranaki Scenery Preservation Society, chairman of the New Plymouth Public Library and the local museum, where his own collection of Māori artefacts were donated. He was a member of the General Synod of the Church of the Province of New Zealand and was

---

<sup>12</sup> Jeffrey Sissons. Links and sources for 'Best, Elsdon', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 19 April 2022. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b20/best-elsdon>

<sup>13</sup> Sources for W.H. Skinner:  
Giselle M. Byrnes. 'Skinner, William Henry', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Accessed 5 May 2022. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3s23/skinner-william-henry>  
Ministry for Culture and Heritage. 'New Plymouth in 1857', updated 20-Oct-2021. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/media/photo/new-plymouth-1857>  
Ron Lambert, 'Taranaki places - New Plymouth', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand,. Published 11 Dec 2009, updated 1 Sep 2016. Accessed 16 May 2022). <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/taranaki-places/page-3>

<sup>14</sup> J. S. Tullett, *The industrious heart: a history of New Plymouth*. New Plymouth: New Plymouth City Council, 1981, pp. 228-229.

closely involved with St Mary's Church in New Plymouth. W. H. Skinner died in New Plymouth in 1946 having seen the transformation of the community from a small town of fewer than three thousand Europeans, through the turmoil of the New Zealand Wars and two world wars, to a nascent city of almost twenty thousand people. As a professional surveyor he had measured it all and as an amateur scholar he had tried to capture and preserve it all. Other scholars of the period also hailed from the regions, including Māori academics and politicians, such as Peter Buck (later Te Rangi Hiroa, Ngāti Mutunga) and Apirana Ngata (Ngāti Porou), though they were beginning to bring stronger academic backgrounds to the writing and practice of anthropology.

Born in the late 1870s, both Buck and Ngata were graduates of Hawke's Bay's Te Aute College, an Anglican secondary school for Māori boys with a reputation for rigorous academics which prepared the boys for university studies and professional careers. Both men did well academically, Ngata completed his BA in political science (1893) from Canterbury College before moving to Auckland where he completed his LLB in 1896, while Buck completing his MB and ChB (1904) and MD (1910) at Otago Medical School.<sup>15</sup>

Buck's work as a medical officer with Māui Pōmare was significant in speeding the recovery of the Māori population from the impacts of disease and war in the 19<sup>th</sup> century before he was shoulder-tapped in 1909 by James Carroll for what became a brief political career, stepping away from politics in 1914.<sup>16</sup> Ngata had a longer role in political leadership as a Member of Parliament in the Eastern Māori seat from 1905 to 1943.<sup>17</sup> Buck spent his parliamentary recesses serving as medical officer in Rarotonga and Niue and publishing brief articles in Dominion Museum bulletins and the *Journal* of the Polynesian Society, which he had joined in 1907.<sup>18</sup> He continued to publish with *The evolution of Māori clothing* (1926), and *The material culture of the Cook Islands (Aitutaki)* following in 1927, and was prominent on the lecture circuit, particularly with his lecture on 'The coming of the Māori', which has been reprinted numerous times since its first publication in 1925. Accepting a five-year research fellowship in Hawaii in 1930, Sorrenson notes that 'henceforth, the amateur [Buck] would become a professional anthropologist.'<sup>19</sup> As a freshly minted professional Buck carried out extensive field work, wrote prolifically, and published regularly. He published several general surveys,<sup>20</sup> but his most popular work was *Vikings of the sunrise* (1938), an examination of

---

<sup>15</sup> M. P. K. Sorrenson, "Buck, Peter Henry," Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2002. Accessed 30 November 2021.

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3b54/buck-peter-henry>;

New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga, "Ngata, Apirana Turupa," Web page (Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga). Accessed November 30, 2021.

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3n5/ngata-apirana-turupa>.

<sup>16</sup> M. P. K. Sorrenson, "Buck, Peter Henry."

<sup>17</sup> Taonga, "Ngata, Apirana Turupa."

<sup>18</sup> M. P. K. Sorrenson, "Buck, Peter Henry."

<sup>19</sup> M. P. K. Sorrenson.

<sup>20</sup> Examples included *Anthropology and religion* (1939) and *An introduction to Polynesian anthropology* (1945).

the 'oral traditions, ethnology and social organisation of each of the major Polynesian groups.'<sup>21</sup> Michael King remarked that '[Buck] would have done [his ancestors], and Northern Europeans, greater honour had he referred to the Vikings as Polynesians.'<sup>22</sup>

Peter Buck served as Director of the Bishop Museum after a brief but distinguished professorship at Yale University and received numerous academic prizes – the Hector Memorial Medal and Prize (1932), the Rivers Memorial Medal (1936), the S. Percy Smith Medal (1951) and the Huxley Medal (posthumously, 1952) – and awarded honorary doctorates by the University of New Zealand (1937), Rochester University (1939), the University of Hawaii (1948), and Yale (1951). Buck was also appointed a KCMG and awarded the Swedish Order of the North Star in 1946. His list of honours and distinctions, however, did not distract Buck from his interest and passion for his homeland and his people, while Ngata was more direct.

Land development schemes which Ngata championed in the inter-war years became what Sorrenson has described as 'anthropology in action.'<sup>23</sup> While Buck published prolifically on anthropological matters, particularly on the people of the Pacific, including Māori, Ngata's contributions to the anthropological lexicon were more modest. *Ngā mōteatea*, his annotated collection of waiata (songs)<sup>24</sup> and his contribution of four chapters to a general survey published in 1940,<sup>25</sup> were perhaps his two most significant literary contributions, but it was undoubtedly his crucial contributions to the revival of the Māori people and culture in the early twentieth century for which he is most remembered.

While Ngata was the 'insider', immersed in the daily events and developments in New Zealand, Buck was the 'outsider' looking in, significantly geographically remote with both his home and work based in Hawaii, and academically through his professional anthropology and field work among other Polynesian peoples. In 1950, Peter Buck even wrote to R.M.S. Taylor, in mild protest at the concentration on Māori material in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, declaring that as 'much as [he might] love New Zealand, it would be bad policy to confine articles to Maori subjects,' despite Māori content never averaging more than 50% and slowly decreasing, due largely to a drop off in contributions from kaumatua, with which then editor, Johannes Andersen lacked the contacts of his predecessor, Percy Smith.<sup>26</sup> That said, New Zealand remained Buck's ancestral and spiritual home to which he remained steadfastly dedicated. As Sorrenson highlights, 'Anthropology for Buck, as for Ngata, was no mere academic game, but was a necessary means of facilitating action in the field, in land development and in cultural regeneration.'<sup>27</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> M. P. K. Sorrenson, "Buck, Peter Henry."

<sup>22</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History Of New Zealand*. p. 31

<sup>23</sup> M. P. K. Sorrenson, *Ko Te Whenua Te Utu / Land Is the Price : Essays on Maori History, Land and Politics* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014). p. 127

<sup>24</sup> Published in parts initially in the 1920s via the Board of Māori Ethnological Research, they would be republished in numerous forms over the years since, both in part and in collected works.

<sup>25</sup> I. L. G. Sutherland, ed., *The Maori People Today: A General Survey*. (London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1940).

<sup>26</sup> Sorrenson and Moyle, *Manifest Duty : The Polynesian Society over 100 Years*. p. 90

<sup>27</sup> M. P. K. Sorrenson, "Buck, Peter Henry."

## EMERGING PROFESSIONALISM: 1920 – 1950

Johannes Andersen, Danish-born New Zealand amateur ethnologist, professional librarian, and co-editor then editor of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. P.J. Gibbons highlights that many of Andersen's generation, migrants and direct descendants of migrants, had endeavoured to forge an identity for themselves as 'New Zealanders,' taking from Māori 'subjects for prose, verse and art,' though Andersen could not draw on the largely shared heritage of the British Isles as a foundation as many of his peers could and did.<sup>28</sup> Nor did he favour the approach which celebrated European pioneering endeavours as others did. Andersen instead drew on indigenous phenomena, 'the birds, the bush, and 'the Maori,' for his basis of what it meant to be a 'New Zealander.' This approach has come to be overshadowed by more modern writers in favour of New Zealanders' exploits in 'war and sport.'<sup>29</sup>

Chris Hilliard describes the years between the world wars as a time of emerging 'academisation' of the social science fields. While this period saw an expansion of the Colleges of the University of New Zealand, 'academics were seldom the first people to work in a given field,' and New Zealand historians typically worked outside the academy in 'intellectual communities that were relatively detached from academia.'<sup>30</sup> In 1920 the university colleges were 'meagrely equipped teaching institutions with unevenly trained staff.' Over the following twenty years, facilities and salaries improved, as well as the recruitment of 'more staff with experience of academic research at overseas universities.' As the interwar years progressed, 'a great deal more scholarly research was conducted.'<sup>31</sup>

State sponsorship was reserved for those historians with national rather than local interests, and this patronage was reflected also in the natural sciences, with state subsidies for the New Zealand Institute, and fostering scientific activity through the Dominion Museum, the Board of Science and Art, and the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research (DSIR).<sup>32</sup> Ethnological research was also furthered through the employment of Elsdon Best by the Dominion Museum, and the establishment of the Board of Maori Ethnological Research and the Maori Purposes Fund Board by Apirana Ngata and Gordon Coates in 1923 and 1924, respectively.<sup>33</sup>

Local histories were collected and shared by members of local historical and early settlers' societies, often as a social activity, but also because of the relationship and social obligations that existed as part of those histories. The sharing of these histories was frequently in small units, easily digested by the audience through single lectures, both oral and published, short anthologies of research, stories, or

---

<sup>28</sup> Gibbons, *"Going Native " : A Case Study of Cultural Appropriation in a Settler Society, with Particular Reference to the Activities of Johannes Andersen in New Zealand during the First Half of the Twentieth Century*. pp. 662, 668

<sup>29</sup> Gibbons. p. 663

<sup>30</sup> Chris Hilliard, "Island Stories: The Writing of New Zealand History 1920-1940" (Auckland, University of Auckland, 1997). pp. 9, 11

<sup>31</sup> Chris Hilliard. p. 9

<sup>32</sup> Chris Hilliard. p. 8

<sup>33</sup> Chris Hilliard. p. 8



lectures, and in newspaper articles.<sup>34</sup> Such examples are seen frequently throughout Keith Cairns' records – small lectures to interested groups and organisations, such as local societies, schools, and tertiary education institutions.<sup>35</sup>

Hilliard also notes that the place of Māori in these local history narratives was most often relegated to that of a vaudevillian portrayal, the dangerous figure in 'European dramas,' with 'Māori scares' becoming stock events in the stories.<sup>36</sup> Local histories became part of the narrative and process of colonisation, reiterating institutional hierarchies through the telling and binding together of 'public' activities.<sup>37</sup> While ethnologies were written, they were rarely combined with local histories in the same text.<sup>38</sup>

The first Labour government, elected in 1935, included many members who were 'enthusiasts for history and literature.'<sup>39</sup> It was this administration that oversaw the completion of the Centennial publications which included regional histories compiled by satellite provincial committees, and provided editorial assistance in the final stages of the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography (G.H. Scholefield, 1940), which was issued in two volumes. Also part of the Centennial publications, the Centennial surveys were quite different from Robert McNab's *Historical Records of New Zealand*, James Cowan's *New Zealand Wars*, and T. Lindsay Buick's compilation of the historical records of New Zealand (1930s, never completed). Their goals were bringing history alive, explaining the past, stirring up interest, not 'putting on record'.<sup>40</sup>

While these publications drew on a diverse range of authors, there were some amongst those who had conceived and planned the Centennial series who considered this substantial body of work as an opportunity to bring professional standards to the writing of New Zealand history. D.O.W. Hall saw the efforts of the amateur New Zealand historians being superseded by those of the academically trained, declaring in Tomorrow Magazine that 'New Zealand History has always suffered from the enthusiastic amateur. What is valuable in his researches will now be more strictly assessed by trained minds.'<sup>41</sup>

Hilliard notes there was no single 'amateur' tradition amongst those outside the universities in the writing of history. The 'frontier swashbuckling' of the likes of James Cowan was very different to 'the magpie, family-album[s]' of local histories, which, in turn, were very different to the 'solemn biographical[s]' by writers such as William Downie Stewart.<sup>42</sup> The Centennial surveys presented a narrative

---

<sup>34</sup> Chris Hilliard. pp. 18-19

<sup>35</sup> Cairns presented to tertiary education institutions such as nursing and teachers colleges, and local societies included the likes of rotary clubs, ornithological societies and local history groups. Cairns also wrote two articles for Ray Knox, *New Zealand's Heritage: The Making of a Nation* (Auckland, N.Z.: Paul Hamlyn, 1977).

<sup>36</sup> Chris Hilliard, "Island Stories: The Writing of New Zealand History 1920-1940." pp. 18-19

<sup>37</sup> Chris Hilliard. p. 24

<sup>38</sup> Chris Hilliard. p. 24

<sup>39</sup> Hilliard, C. in B. Dalley and J. Phillips, *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History* (Auckland University Press, 2001). p. 33

<sup>40</sup> Hilliard, C. in Dalley and Phillips. p. 34

<sup>41</sup> D.O.W. Hall, 'The Centennial', Tomorrow, 4, 24 (1938), p.766. cited in Dalley and Phillips. p. 34

<sup>42</sup> Hilliard in Dalley and Phillips. p. 34.

of New Zealand, though it was clearly the colonisers' story being told - 'the 'we' of the surveys' narrative voices... was a Pākehā we, often explicitly contrasted with a Maori them.'<sup>43</sup> Maori appeared only 'as forerunners, helpers and hazards' to the New Zealand history of European settlement.<sup>44</sup>

From the 1920s, British universities, and by extension, those of the Commonwealth, tended to align anthropology with comparative sociology, an approach which followed on from the functionalist critique of evolutionism led by Bronislaw Malinowski and Alfred Radcliffe-Brown.<sup>45</sup> In America, Franz Boas had expanded German anthropology into four fields: cultural; pre-history or archaeology; physical or biological; and linguistics.<sup>46</sup> While many early amateur and emerging professional scholars in New Zealand followed Malinowski's methods by design or happenstance, such as his approach to immersive fieldwork, a number of New Zealand scholars were inspired by the Boasian school, and by 1958 all four fields would be established at the University of Auckland.<sup>47</sup> Owens also notes the growing tensions in the Polynesian Society from this time on as 'the conflict between amateur and professional' grew with the amateur criticised for becoming 'enamoured of pet theories,' while the professional was likewise criticised for being 'often tedious.'<sup>48</sup>

It was in this period that Keith Cairns was born and educated, both formally and by his own curiosity in the world around him. In this period, a new generation of collectors and writers took up the mantle of gathering the material records of the young nation's recent and distant past in New Zealand. Ernest Beaglehole, H.D. Skinner and Raymond Firth were completing their post-graduate qualifications in the years between the two world wars, thereafter working for institutions such as the Bishop Museum in Hawaii or Victoria University College. Herries Beattie was an amateur also collecting and writing in this period.

Beaglehole was born 25 August 1906 in Wellington, New Zealand, and graduated with a first-class MA from Victoria University College in 1928 before continuing his study by travelling to England where he attended the London School of Economics and Political Science, publishing his PhD thesis work, *Property: A study in Social Psychology*, in 1931.<sup>49</sup> Skinner was born earlier, in 1886, and had already gained his BA from the University of Otago in 1911 before the First World War saw him serve with distinction before being wounded at Gallipoli and unable to continue his military service. Skinner returned to his studies,

---

<sup>43</sup> Hilliard in Dalley and Phillips. p. 36

<sup>44</sup> Hilliard in Dalley and Phillips. p. 36

<sup>45</sup> Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown's impact on British anthropology is discussed in Fredrik Barth et al., *One Discipline, Four Ways: British, German, French, and American Anthropology*, Gingrich, Andre, Parkin, Robert, Silverman, Sydel., Hann, Chris, (The University of Chicago Press, 2005). pp. 22-31

<sup>46</sup> Steven Webster, "American-Plan Anthropology In New Zealand," *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 43, no. 2 (1999): 96–107. p. 97

<sup>47</sup> Webster. p. 97

<sup>48</sup> Webster. p. 97

<sup>49</sup> E. Beaglehole, *Property: A Study in Social Psychology* (G. Allen & Unwin, 1931).

completing a diploma of anthropology as a post-graduate student at Christ's College, Cambridge, and writing papers on the evolution of Māori art.<sup>50</sup> Raymond Firth completed his degree in economics at Auckland University College, before writing his Master's thesis, for which he had conducted research on the community of gum miners in the northern areas of the country. He then travelled to study at the London School of Economics in 1924, initially focusing on economics, but changing the direction of his doctorate having come under the influence of Malinowski, the Polish-British anthropologist whose writings and methods, such as participatory observation, had a significant and lasting impact on the field.

Beaglehole had been awarded a Commonwealth Fund fellowship enabling him to continue his research after 1931 and it was at this time that he met and formed close, life-long friendships with prominent anthropologists, including Margaret Mead and Peter Buck. As part of the fellowship research, Beaglehole and his soon to be wife, Pearl, studied the daily life of the Hopi people of the Second Mesa in Arizona, and their work was published as *Hopi Economic Life*, in 1937.<sup>51</sup> The couple worked with Peter Buck through the Bishop Museum in 1934-35, travelling to Pukapuka in the Cook Islands as part of Buck's 'salvage anthropology' enterprise to record and preserve the baseline ethnographies of 'every Pacific culture'.<sup>52</sup>

In a 1936 paper on some of the 'wider obligations of the field ethnologist' – much of which is echoed in the approach taken by Keith Cairns – Beaglehole argued that the wider science community would benefit enormously from a broader approach when in the field:

But it still remains true that had the anthropologist been broader in his interests in the first instance, not only would cultural anthropology have gained, but other general sciences as well would have received information (crumbs perhaps, but valuable crumbs that could surely be fitted into a general or particular scheme of knowledge).<sup>53</sup>

Beaglehole stated that 'only by cooperation can the sciences of man advance on a united front,' calling for 'cooperation with university departments or museums' to provide equipment, expertise and knowledge that may be missing from the field researcher's limited resources.<sup>54</sup> His work had a profound impact on the

---

<sup>50</sup> Atholl Anderson. 'Skinner, Henry Devenish', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 05 May 2022. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s29/skinner-henry-devenish>

<sup>51</sup> New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga, "Beaglehole, Ernest," Web page (Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga), Accessed April 2, 2022, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5b15/beaglehole-ernest> ; J. R. McCreary, "Ernest Beaglehole-A Tribute" 7, no. 1 (May 1, 1966): 86, <https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.71005>.

<sup>52</sup> Taonga, "Beaglehole, Ernest."

<sup>53</sup> Ernest Beaglehole, "SOME WIDER OBLIGATIONS OF THE FIELD ETHNOLOGIST," *American Anthropologist* 38, no. 3 (July 9, 1936): 516, <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1936.38.3.02a00320>.

<sup>54</sup> Beaglehole, 517.

academic community with six of his students becoming professors of psychology at universities throughout New Zealand.<sup>55</sup> Ernest Beaglehole died at just 59 years of age, in 1965.

Henry Devenish (H. D. or Harry) Skinner, had accompanied his father on beach-combing expeditions in Taranaki as a boy, adding to his father's extensive collection. A period of service as the acting curator of the Otago University Museum while completing his studies did not result in a permanent position on the staff upon his graduation, and he accepted a teaching position at Palmerston North High School in 1914 before the global events of that year led Skinner to volunteer for military service. When he returned to New Zealand in 1918, Skinner took up a position as assistant curator in the Otago University Museum, also taking the opportunity to travel to the Chatham Islands to further his research on the Moriori in 1919, though he differed from his father in that he was less passionate about fieldwork than the older man. He was passionate about the Moriori and published work that challenged the orthodox arguments on the Melanesian origins of the indigenous Chatham Islanders, using archaeological evidence to support his position.<sup>56</sup>

As Anderson notes, 'Skinner's primary research was ethnological.' He dealt extensively with materials collected in the field, classifying and analysing substantial collections of artefacts of Māori and Polynesian material culture. His 1923 adze typology became, through the work of Roger Duff in 1940, the standard classification in East Polynesian research. H.D. Skinner published frequently and worked enthusiastically, and became the inspirational figurehead of several generations of students, particularly those focussing on southern New Zealand.

Further academic awards and recognition followed for Skinner, with such distinguished awards as the Percy Smith Prize, the Hector Memorial Medal and Prize, and the Andree Medal in 1925, 1926 and 1936, respectively. He also had a DSc conferred by the University of New Zealand in 1938, and a LittD by the University of Otago in 1962. His influence on the development of anthropology and ethnology in New Zealand was profound and long-lived. Skinner died in 1978.<sup>57</sup>

Skinner's meticulous collection and classification of material artefacts was emulated by Keith Cairns. Keith's interest in archaeology and material culture, particularly in tools such as the adze, and the drilling techniques that formed the holes in objects such as fish-hooks saw him draw from Skinner's research, though to what extent based on the limited survey of the evidence available in the entire Alexander Turnbull Keith Cairns collection is unclear.

---

<sup>55</sup> Taonga, "Beaglehole, Ernest."

<sup>56</sup> Atholl Anderson. *'Skinner, Henry Devenish'*, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Accessed 05 May 2022. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s29/skinner-henry-devenish>

<sup>57</sup> Atholl Anderson. *'Skinner, Henry Devenish'*, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Accessed 05 May 2022. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4s29/skinner-henry-devenish>

Raymond Firth was born in Auckland in 1901, growing up in what was then a rural area on the edge of Auckland, attending primary school 'on horseback and barefoot'.<sup>58</sup> Completing his MA at Auckland University College, his approach was more that of an anthropologist than that more traditionally undertaken by an economist, with extensive interviews with his subjects asking about their lives and working conditions forming the backbone of his thesis.<sup>59</sup> He then travelled to study at the London School of Economics in 1924, initially continuing to focus on economics, but changed the direction of his doctorate having come under the influence of Bronislaw Malinowski.<sup>60</sup> His thesis, published in 1929, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, signposted his shift from economist to anthropologist, Firth having already set off for his first anthropological field work to Tikopia in the Solomon Islands.<sup>61</sup>

Firth's immersive ethnological research among the Tikopia people of the south-western Pacific can be compared to Keith's work with Māori whanau and hapu in the Wairarapa, extensively and meticulously recording their stories and family connections. Initially mistrusted by the Tikopia, Firth earned their trust through his respect and obvious sympathy for their language, culture and customs.<sup>62</sup> Their respect, and even apparent reverence, for Firth and his writing has been questioned as potentially influencing the Tikopia culture as much as recording it, with Tikopia reciting Firth, chapter and verse, back to later anthropologists, leaving them to wonder if the Tikopia had liked Firth's 'version of themselves so much that they had adopted it or [if it] was the persistence of culture.'<sup>63</sup>

Firth contributed throughout his entire life to the field of anthropology. The British Association of Social Anthropologists hosted a luncheon in 2001, at which Firth received the Rusiate Nayacakalou Medal from the Polynesian Society at the age of 100. In his address that followed, Firth spoke to very contemporary debates about insider and outsider knowledge, 'observing that the anthropological method, based on careful fieldwork, produced knowledge of great value.'<sup>64</sup> Firth died in 2002, just one month short of his 101<sup>st</sup> birthday.

Though born well before Keith Cairns, the life of James Herries Beattie also influenced Keith's work.<sup>65</sup> Beattie was a prolific amateur collector of knowledge, filling notebook after notebook with notes and recollections of those he interviewed.<sup>66</sup> As a youth, he developed an intense interest in the history of

---

<sup>58</sup> Judith Macdonald, "Obituary: Sir Raymond Firth 1901–2002," *Oceania* 72, no. 3 (2002): 154.

<sup>59</sup> Macdonald, p. 154. Firth was later to edit and contribute to a collection of essays evaluating the works of Malinowski, *Man and Culture – An Evaluation of the work of Bronislaw Malinowski*, where his introductory essay examined the scientist and the man, and his second essay examined *The Place of Malinowski in the History of Economic Anthropology*. Ralph Piddington also contributed an essay to the collection examining *Malinowski's Theory of Needs*.

<sup>60</sup> R. Firth, ed., *Man and Culture: An Evaluation of the Work of Bronislaw Malinowski* (Routledge & K. Paul, 1957). p. v.

<sup>61</sup> Macdonald, "Obituary," 153.

<sup>62</sup> Macdonald, 154.

<sup>63</sup> Macdonald, 154.

<sup>64</sup> Macdonald, 155.

<sup>65</sup> Beattie was born in Gore in 1881, one of nine children.

<sup>66</sup> Unless otherwise noted, material in this section from:

Otago and Southland, and wrote a biography of his uncle, William Adam of the Taieri Plain, through whom he developed his first contacts in the Māori community of southern Otago. From these he began to develop an interest in the traditional lifestyle and history of Ngāi Tahu.

Beattie's writings were based upon interviews, with information from family notes, genealogies, and newspaper articles supporting his anecdotal style. Early published works included a short history of Gore in 1898, *Pioneer recollections* in 1909 and 1911, and a detailed account of southern Māori traditions, history and placenames which was published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* between 1915 and 1922. A year-long ethnological survey of southern Māori communities was completed in 1920 for the Otago University Museum (not completed). This project involved travelling to isolated Māori communities to interview people, sometimes for days.

Unlike Cairns, Beattie could not speak Māori, so often relied on members of the informant's family to translate when needed. While he was apparently well received on most occasions, he relied on local contacts for much of his information in a number of areas throughout his 60-plus years of fieldwork. Prominent among these were Hōne Taare Tīkao at Rāpaki and Eruete Kīngi Kurupōhatu at Kaka Point. Beattie was an outsider, relying on the hospitality and generosity of Māori to share their knowledge, which a number of elderly Māori were eager to do, wishing to preserve valuable tribal knowledge.<sup>67</sup> Despite the project producing more than 1,000 pages of information, Beattie failed to get it published at the time, though it was eventually published in 1994.<sup>68</sup> The worth of the research rests in the vast repository of knowledge that others 'will continue working with for years to come.' Rob Tipa notes that that worth can only appreciate in value as the years roll on.<sup>69</sup>

Following a turn as a librarian and ethnologist at the New Plymouth Public Library in 1921, he moved to Waimate, purchasing a bookshop there which he ran until 1939. It was at this point, at the age of 59, that Beattie was finally able to devote himself to his writing and publishing. Twenty seven books were completed, fairly evenly divided in subject matter between Pākehā pioneers and Māori.<sup>70</sup> Though criticised for his colloquial, 'scrapbook' style by his peers, he would eventually be recognised for the wealth of research he had produced, being awarded the Percy Medal in 1941 and an MBE in 1967.<sup>71, 72</sup>

---

Atholl Anderson, "Beattie, James Herries," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1998). Accessed 27 November 2021. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4b16/beattie-james-herries>

<sup>67</sup> Rob Tipa, "The Man on the Bike," *Karaka* (Christchurch, N.Z.) (2008). p. 53

<sup>68</sup> H. Beattie et al., *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori: The Otago University Museum Ethnological Project, 1920* (University of Otago Press, 1994).

<sup>69</sup> Rob Tipa, "Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori," *Te Karaka: The Ngai Tahu Magazine*, no. 45 (2009). p. 48

<sup>70</sup> Anderson, "Beattie, James Herries". 12 books on Pākehā pioneers, 10 on Māori. The remaining five were on locations in the South Island.

<sup>71</sup> Tipa, "The Man on the Bike." p. 53

<sup>72</sup> Anderson, "Beattie, James Herries".

Hilliard notes that early historians, such as Cowan, 'took particular phenomena (the Treaty of Waitangi, conversion, war),' concentrated on particular locations and generalised these experiences as a 'defining and governing' history of New Zealand.<sup>73</sup> From the mid 1930s, the newer academic historians covered a wide range of subjects but concentrated mostly on the European experience in New Zealand over that of the Māori perspective, relegating Māori to 'subplots' designated specific to themselves, such as 'Maori scares', 'Maori wars', and 'the Maori problem'.<sup>74</sup> The changes in the university structures and systems at this time did not always represent progress and the triumph of professionalisation over amateurism. Academic ethnology had yet to emerge in New Zealand, and though the Polynesian Society was to become the bulletin of academic anthropology, 'there remained a popular demand for 'Maori myths and legends'.<sup>75</sup>

The expansion of the universities brought 'professionalisation' at the expense of Māori and many other local sources, marginalising and devaluing their contribution to the narrative of the nation's past.<sup>76</sup> Academic narratives framed New Zealand history as the history of European settlement.<sup>77</sup> The 'nation' was an extension of its European heritage, and its history was the 'story of European endeavour in which Maori occurred as inconveniences, stage hands, or curtain-raisers to the main drama of European settlement'.<sup>78</sup>

#### THE 'MODERN ERA': 1950 - 1980

In his discussion of American-Plan anthropology in New Zealand, Steven Webster highlights at the outset that the track of fifty years of the field in this country can be framed, at least in part, in terms of the contradictory relationship between 'the stand-alone discipline of social anthropology developed in Britain and the four-field anthropology developed in the U.S.A'.<sup>79</sup>

In New Zealand, professional discipline was established in 1950 at the University of Auckland with the Chair and Foundation Professor of Social Anthropology, Ralph Piddington, who had trained under A.R. Radcliffe-Brown at the University of Sydney, completing a BA in 1928, a MA in 1932 and receiving a Rockefeller Foundation fellowship to study overseas. He took up his Rockefeller fellowship at the London School of Economics and Political Sciences in 1932 under Malinowski, graduating PhD in 1936. Piddington had run-ins with authority in 1930 when he reported abuses in the treatment of Aborigines in north-west

---

<sup>73</sup> Hilliard, C. *Island Stories*. p. 148

<sup>74</sup> Hilliard, C. *Island Stories*. pp. 149-150

<sup>75</sup> Hilliard, C. *Island Stories*. p. 10

<sup>76</sup> Hilliard, C. *Island Stories*. pp. 155-156

<sup>77</sup> Hilliard, C. *Island Stories*. p. 154

<sup>78</sup> Hilliard, C. *Island Stories*. p. 154

<sup>79</sup> Steven Webster, "AMERICAN-PLAN ANTHROPOLOGY IN NEW ZEALAND," *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 43, no. 2 (1999), <http://www.jstor.org.ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/stable/23166523>. p. 96

Australia to the chief protector of Aborigines. His charges were dismissed, so he repeated them in the media, for which he was censured by the Australian National Research Council.<sup>80</sup>

Piddington was often prepared to challenge the orthodoxy through his writing and presentations in journals and conferences alike. He emphasised the study of living communities over reconstructions of Polynesian origins and migrations, and argued that colonised peoples, such as Māori, should not be absorbed into the colonising culture, but should develop new forms of traditional practices, a process he termed 'emergent development.'<sup>81</sup> The relationship between Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand was one of cultural symbiosis – the two groups maintaining distinct cultural features and values while living in close interdependence with one another.<sup>82</sup> Piddington's views gave an emerging group of Māori leaders and academics confidence in their own quest for cultural self-determination.'<sup>83</sup>

In 1950, the universities in New Zealand were organised as colleges administered from Wellington as the University of New Zealand.<sup>84</sup> Piddington was sceptical about the scholarly quality of the other fields of general anthropology, especially archaeology and physical anthropology. British social anthropology viewed these as 'tainted by speculative history, evolutionist dogma and pseudo-scientific racial theory.'<sup>85</sup>

Many of the collectors and writers of New Zealand's past discussed in this section relied largely on oral evidence from those alive at the time or their most immediate descendants. It has been argued that oral histories help to capture the zeitgeist of a place in that time. In 1979 Passerini put forth the idea that 'the raw material of oral history consists not just in factual statements, but is pre-eminently an expression and representation of culture,' and includes so much more than the literal narrations of the subjects.<sup>86</sup> Alessandro Portelli highlighted that in the Italian intellectual community the 'specter of oral history' which haunted the halls of the academy was dismissed before anyone had taken the time or effort to try to understand what 'oral history' actually was or how it could be used to better understand the past.<sup>87</sup>

Oral history and traditions far predate the historical empiricism of the nineteenth century and the collection of oral traditions and customs has continued to be part of the anthropologist's toolkit throughout.<sup>88</sup> From the 1960s, the 'history from below' approach also demanded the experiences and voice

---

<sup>80</sup> Joan Metge. 'Piddington, Ralph O'Reilly', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2000. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 27 November 2021.  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5p28/piddington-ralph-oreilly>

<sup>81</sup> Ibid.

<sup>82</sup> Daniel Morrow, "'Māori and Pakeha - Two Peoples or One?' : Ralph Piddington and 'Symbiosis' in Mid-Twentieth-Century New Zealand.," *New Zealand Journal of History* 47, no. 2 (2013). p. 185

<sup>83</sup> Morrow. pp. 185-186

<sup>84</sup> Webster, "American-Plan Anthropology in New Zealand." p. 97

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. p. 98

<sup>86</sup> Passerini, L. 'Work ideology and consensus under Italian fascism.' in Morrow, "'Māori and Pakeha - Two Peoples or One?' : Ralph Piddington and 'Symbiosis' in Mid-Twentieth-Century New Zealand." p. 54

<sup>87</sup> Portelli, A. 'What makes oral history different.' in Perks and Thomson, *The Oral History Reader*. p. 63

<sup>88</sup> Anna Green and Kathleen Troup, *The Houses of History : A Critical Reader in History and Theory*, Second edition (Manchester University Press, 2016). p. 375



of marginalised or largely 'silent' groups such as women, the working class and ethnic minorities, be seen and heard. As Hilliard notes, New Zealand's early historians, such as James Cowan, drew heavily on these personal stories through 'testimonies, [both] oral and written.'<sup>89</sup> For Māori, genealogy, or whakapapa, is 'one of the most prized forms of knowledge,' and considerable amounts of time and effort are expended to preserve it, often through oral records memorised and recalled to a greater or lesser extent during significant occasions, both formal and informal.<sup>90</sup> A crucial part of whanaungatanga and manaakitanga, whakapapa is a means to establish identity and the relationships that exist between individuals and within and across communities.<sup>91</sup>

The reliability of oral sources, specifically the perceived unreliability of long-term memory - the ability to store and recall, with accuracy - has always been a matter of concern and contention to historians,<sup>92</sup> though Paul Thompson has highlighted that it is the interest of the subject matter or question to the informant that plays a part in the reliability of the memory when recalled.<sup>93</sup> For many individuals and communities, one of the most important matters has been that of identity and one's place within the family and the wider community. Family history, the connection of the individual with all of their descendants, Thompson also notes, 'can give an individual a strong sense of a much longer personal lifespan.'<sup>94</sup>

It was during this post-war period that amateurs such as Leslie Adkin and J.B.W. Robertson collected and wrote as contemporaries of Keith Cairns. A mentor to Keith, George Leslie Adkin was born almost forty years before Cairns in 1888 in Wellington. Their shared interest in the Wellington and Wairarapa regions formed a common bond between the younger Cairns and more experienced Adkin and Keith joined Leslie on a number of trips in the Wairarapa.<sup>95</sup> They also shared lengthy correspondence in Adkin's later life often discussing their shared interests and the impacts of the academy and legislation upon them, but also writing on more personal matters, asking after each other's families and sending best wishes to all.

Like Cairns, Adkin first developed his passion for geology and archaeology as a youth, collecting rocks and plants, learning how to process his own photographs, and diarising everything in a comprehensive record of this life and work which he maintained until shortly before his death. He made numerous expeditions into the Tararua Range, including a traversal of the range between Levin and Masterton in 1909, and became the acknowledged authority on the northern Tararua Range as tramping began to develop as a sport.

---

<sup>89</sup> Chris Hilliard, *Island Stories: The Writing of New Zealand History 1920-1940.* p. 148

<sup>90</sup> Cleve Barlow, *Tikanga Whakaaro : Key Concepts in Māori Culture.* (Oxford University Press, 1991). p. 174

<sup>91</sup> H. M. Mead and S. M. Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values* (Huia, 2003). pp. 28-29

<sup>92</sup> Green and Troup, *The Houses of History : A Critical Reader in History and Theory.* p. 374

<sup>93</sup> P. Thompson, *Voice of the Past: Oral History* (OUP Oxford, 2000). p. 132

<sup>94</sup> Ibid. p. 2

<sup>95</sup> Anthony Dreaver. 'Adkin, George Leslie', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 05 May 2022  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4a3/adkin-george-leslie>

Adkin joined the Polynesian Society and published in the society's Journal, often creating a stir with his discussions of Māori settlement of New Zealand using archaeological evidence. He theorised that Māori had settled the Horowhenua as early as 200-300 BCE, using the rate of advance of the sandy coast of the region to calculate this timeframe. He also used skull measurements and adze forms to correlate the culture of these Horowhenua settlers with the 'moa hunters' of the South Island and earliest evidence from Northland.

From 1946, Adkin relocated to Wellington and was actively involved at the New Zealand Geological Survey, as well as in many organisations at the forefront of the conservation movement in New Zealand, including the New Zealand Ecological Society, and the Forest and Bird Protection Society of New Zealand. He made site surveys in Palliser Bay and other Wellington locations developing a cultural sequence of Māori settlement in the region.

Adkin, like Cairns, served on the councils of both the Polynesian Society and the New Zealand Archaeological Association, advocating for the amateur enthusiasts who formed the bulk of the membership of each organisation in the face of the emerging professionalisation of the anthropological sciences. The new academics rejected the old theories of 'deliberate Polynesian voyaging, the 'Great Fleet', adze typology and Melanesian influences.' Dreaver notes Adkin's resentment of academic authority, but that he still meticulously documented his research. This served, perhaps, to prove a point that amateur scholars were as competent and capable in their methodology as the professionals.

The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa houses thousands of Adkin's negatives, his diaries and a collection of Māori artefacts, while the Alexander Turnbull Library holds his albums, manuscripts, maps and drawings. Cairns followed Adkin's example, leaving a substantial collection of artefacts and papers in the care of those who could most capably preserve and share them with the generations of amateurs and academics who followed.

James (Jim) Basil Wilkie Robertson, born in Auckland in 1896, was another amateur Pākehā scholar who wrote on the history of local Māori after 1950. A medical doctor and general practitioner who studied in England before serving with distinction in the First World War, Robertson worked at King George V Hospital in Rotorua before taking up private practice in Te Awamutu in 1929.<sup>96</sup> He devoted much of his time to working and serving in the community of Te Awamutu, serving on the executive of the RSA, involved in sports clubs, as well as the local beautifying society and town library committee, and the Historical Society.<sup>97</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> Unless otherwise noted, material related to J.B.W. Robertson from:

Carol Stevenson. 'Robertson, James Basil Wilkie', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2000. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 29 November 2021.

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5r16/roberton-james-basil-wilkie>

<sup>97</sup> Sports clubs included athletics, about which Keith Cairns was equally passionate, cycling, and golf. Jim also served as President of the Te Awamutu Golf Club.

After serving again in the Second World War in the New Zealand Medical Corps at Guadalcanal and New Caledonia, he returned to Te Awamutu and began to publish, beginning with his research on local Māori whakapapa led to the publication of *The tribes of Te Awamutu district* in 1949, and it was in that year that he moved to Kawhia in order to further his study of Tainui history. He also published a booklet entitled *Maori settlement of the Waikato district* in 1965, which was revised 1982, and wrote numerous articles on the use and validity of genealogies and traditions as bases for Māori history. From 1965 to 1975, Roberton also served as the editor of the *Journal of the Te Awamutu Historical Society*. For 20 years, he served the Kāwhia community as a General Practitioner, often travelling extensively to visit his patients. Upon his retirement from general practice, he moved back to Te Awamutu, continuing his research from there.<sup>98</sup> Jim Roberton died in 1996 just days short of his 100<sup>th</sup> birthday.

Roberton has been described as a 'latter day disciple' of Percy Smith, focussing on and refining the use of genealogically based chronologies.<sup>99</sup> Roberton wrote a number of pieces, some in defence of the value and validity of this approach, which were published in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* between 1956 and 1969, though not without some tension, such as Roberton's essay on the early traditions of the Whakatane district, which was published in 1966.<sup>100</sup> Sorrenson describes the exchange between Roberton and then *Journal* editor Bruce Biggs as a 'sharp exchange' which 'began amicably enough,' but became a series of messages ranging from criticism of the language to editorial changes being made without consultation with the author. It ended with Roberton's terse response: 'I am not going to have my work... tampered with by people who do not know what they are doing.'<sup>101</sup>

Biggs wrote of the passing of the age of the amateur in the foreword to Sorrenson's centenary history of the Polynesian Society, noting that the 'enthusiasm of the amateur' was evident throughout the early volumes of the Society's *Journal*.<sup>102</sup> While Biggs credited the amateurs for their efforts in collecting what became a 'great body of recorded tradition and language,' he also remarked on the futile and 'wild hopes of tracing the travels of the Polynesians from various homelands in the old world.'<sup>103</sup>

The emergence of academics such as Buck, Firth and Skinner introduced 'the caveats and discipline of the scientist' to the writings contained in the Society's *Journal*, publishing content that was more likely to meet the stringent demands of a truly professional publication, and Sorrenson highlights that these

---

<sup>98</sup> Carol Stevenson. 'Roberton, James Basil Wilkie', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2000. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 29 November 2021.

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5r16/roberton-james-basil-wilkie>

<sup>99</sup> Sorrenson and Moyle, *Manifest duty : the Polynesian Society over 100 years*. p. 107

<sup>100</sup> J. B. W. Roberton, "The Early Tradition Of The Whakatane District," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75, no. 2 (1966).

<sup>101</sup> Sorrenson and Moyle, *Manifest duty : the Polynesian Society over 100 years*. pp. 112-113

<sup>102</sup> Bruce Biggs, Foreword in Sorrenson and Moyle, *Manifest Duty : The Polynesian Society over 100 Years*. p. 7

<sup>103</sup> Ibid.

changes brought with them a level of friction that was 'never far from the surface.'<sup>104</sup> Biggs also notes that, ultimately, the demise of the amateur era coincided 'with the passing of a generation,' those raised and writing in the traditions of the late nineteenth century gentlemen-scholars, those who bore 'witness to the old ways.'<sup>105</sup> This changing paradigm had already begun to occur in other social science fields, such as the writing of New Zealand's history, though this preceded the changes wrought in the anthropological field by a few decades.

Keith Cairns was an amateur in these fields, though he always sought to operate with an attention to detail in his field work and data recording. It is unclear whether he practiced a form of 'salvage' archaeology or ethnography in the Boasian tradition out of a concern that the physical evidence of Māori pre-history and settlement would soon be eradicated by development in the region or lost to the ravages of time,<sup>106</sup> or if he was driven by curiosity and enthusiasm to collect and share all that he could about everything he could possibly find relating to his subject out of amateurish naivety. It is clear that Keith could not be described as a 'pure' historian – his contribution is largely that of an field researcher, from which he wrote a few reports and gave a number of talks, and that his primary concern was people, whether it was listening to, recording, and sharing their stories or learning alongside them, as in the cases of Keith's language and carving lessons.

---

<sup>104</sup> Ibid.; Also p. 107

<sup>105</sup> Bruce Biggs, Foreword in Sorrenson and Moyle, *Manifest Duty : The Polynesian Society over 100 Years*. p. 7

<sup>106</sup> *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*, (Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2002). p. 926

### CHAPTER THREE: COMMUNITIES

In this chapter, I have explored a range of important aspects of Keith's life to show the cultural and social context of the time and place into which Keith was born. The threads of family, faith, our education, the careers we undertake, the areas of interest that most engage us, and the cultural world and place we grow up in are woven together to shape us, both as individuals and as members of each associated community.

Professionals, to an extent, 'create' their own professional identity by working towards qualifications, thereby developing their status, allowing them to claim a level of authority in their field in the eyes of the communities they occupy, work with or research. Amateurism is a substitute for qualifications, with amateur scholars primarily created by and rooted in the communities they occupy, the interactions they experience and participate in shaping who they are as scholars, enabling them to claim a measure of authority on matters relating to those communities.<sup>1</sup> By exploring the historical context of each community Keith occupied we are able to locate Keith in time and place and consider the influences which shaped him as a scholar. The historical context of the various Euro-centric faiths are also explored as this relates both to the sectarian tensions and to the ecumenical movement which 'book-end' Keith's life. His connections to the Wairarapa were forged through communities of family, faith, education, work, interests, culture and place with many of these communities being interwoven or, at times, in conflict.

There have been numerous understandings and interpretations of 'community' in the social sciences. From Tönnies' organic duality of *Gemeinschaft* (Community) contrasted with the more mechanical *Gesellschaft* (Society),<sup>2</sup> to Simmel's ideas of society as a totality of the specific interactions or transactions of individuals,<sup>3</sup> and many others. Hillery found 94 definitions for community by the mid-twentieth century and argued that there were only two main areas of agreement amongst them: communities consisted of 'persons in social interaction within a geographical area and having one or more additional common ties.'<sup>4</sup>

Daley and Belich suggest, in response to Fairburn's atomized model of colonial New Zealand, that a single form or model is inadequate to examine or explain the complexities of social and familial relationships within and across groups and localities.<sup>5</sup> Whether communities of place, relationships, or some other connections, people remain at the centre, and the impact of their participation and

---

<sup>1</sup> Belgrave, M. Conversation with the author. 22 July 2022.

<sup>2</sup> Tönnies, F., *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Leipzig, 1887. translated and edited in Tönnies, F., Harris, J., Hollis, M., *Tönnies: Community and Civil Society*. Cambridge University Press. 2001. p. 17

<sup>3</sup> Simmel, G.; Frisby, David. 2011. *The Philosophy of Money*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge. p. 187

<sup>4</sup> Hillery Jr., George A. "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement." *Rural Sociology* 20, no. 2 (June 1955): p. 111

<sup>5</sup> Daley, C., "Taradale Meets the Ideal Society and Its Enemies," *NZ Journal of History* 25, no. 2 (1991). p. 130;  
Belich, J., "Review Of: The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850–1900 by Miles Fairburn," *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 3 (1991). p. 674.;  
Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850–1900* (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989).

engagement in those relationships has implications for the community as a whole.<sup>6</sup> Putnam notes that each individual ‘derives some sense of belonging from among the various communities to which [they] might belong,’ and that the deepest sense of belonging is to those social networks that are the most intimate - family and friends - before extending out to work, communities of faith, neighbourhood or wider civic engagement.<sup>7</sup>

In a New Zealand context, Reid and Schulze highlight that Māori views of community are centred on whakawhanaungatanga (extended whānau relationships and the norms embedded in these relationships), turangawaewae (knowledge of a specific ‘place’ in society), whanui and whakapapa (the defence, preservation and expansion of existing hapū and iwi communities, and taonga), and more holistic and informal networks, with Māori and non-Māori perspectives having common ground in the ‘co-operation, sharing, communication, and trust that is characteristic of enduring human relationships within communities.’<sup>8</sup> It is these characteristics of enduring relationships that Keith Cairns developed as he lived and worked for most of his life in the Wairarapa. It was his home, his community. Though he spent some years away during the Second World War, he returned to his community. It was where he was born and it was where he died.

## FAMILY

Keith’s family had lived in and around the Wairarapa for generations. When Patrick and Bridget Cairns emigrated to New Zealand in 1874, they landed in Wellington before moving to the Wairarapa. It was in Masterton that Patrick would find employment as a steam engine driver, and it was there that three of their children were born. The development of the Railway Workshops in Petone would draw them away, but their second youngest child, John Mill (Jock) Cairns returned to the Wairarapa in 1910 to work at the Waingawa Freezing Works. Jock and Marion Cairns were steadfast members of the Masterton community, involved in charitable works for the St Vincent De Paul Society and the patients at Masterton Hospital. Keith was born at the family home in Waltons Avenue, Kuripuni, Masterton.

William Allsworth had moved to Masterton in 1863. His future wife, Emily (nee Morris), was just 9 years old when she crossed the Remutaka Ranges in the same year. Her father, George Morris, was the first boot-maker in Masterton. William and Emily were wed in the Methodist Chapel, Masterton in 1873, and the couple’s seven children were all born in the Wairarapa. Their second-youngest, Marion, married Jock

---

<sup>6</sup> Chavis, D.M., Wandersman, A. Sense of community in the urban environment: A catalyst for participation and community development. *Am J Commun Psychol* **18**, 55–81 (1990). <https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00922689>

<sup>7</sup> Putnam R.D., *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster; 2000. pp. 298-299

<sup>8</sup> Reid, Amanda (Researcher), and Hillmarè Schulze. 2019. *Engaged Communities : How Community-Led Development Can Increase Civic Participation*. BERL and Helen Clark Foundation. p. 9 [https://helenclark.foundation/app/uploads/2021/10/HCF\\_Engaged-Communities\\_Reid-Schulze\\_December-2019.pdf](https://helenclark.foundation/app/uploads/2021/10/HCF_Engaged-Communities_Reid-Schulze_December-2019.pdf)

Cairns in 1914. Keith's forebears had forged a life in the Wairarapa in the early years of European settlement in the region. With the first land purchases in the region made by runholders in 1853 and the newly established settlements of Greytown and Masterton receiving their first European inhabitants in 1854, both sets of Keith's grandparents had established themselves in the region within just two decades. These deep family connections to the Wairarapa region created bonds which Keith reflected in his life and work.<sup>9</sup>

## FAITH

Faith communities and shared interest groups, such as associations and societies, were an integral part of people's lives. Faith communities crossed cultural and gender boundaries in many ways, having a shared belief system that set many of the expectations of a 'good' believer. Religious observance, attendance, and participation were not limited to one group, though leadership was more restrictive. Faith and interest communities also participated in regional, national, and international shared events. Councils and committees, their 'locality' or 'bounded area' able to be redefined as regional or even national, challenge the definition of a community being based in a single locality.<sup>10</sup> So pervasive was religion in New Zealand society at the turn of the twentieth century that French sociologist André Siegfried noted after visiting in 1904:

No tradition has remained so strong in New Zealand as the religious one. Churches swarm there; the papers - a decisive proof - never close their columns to ecclesiastical news...In shop windows, on the stalls at railway stations, religious books meet the eye, and it is evident that these matters are universally and constantly in people's thoughts.<sup>11</sup>

The settlers of Masterton brought their faith with them and sought to establish buildings and social patterns that reinforced a normality of life by gathering at a common location, and sharing rituals and practices, language and beliefs. Buildings for communal worship were established within a few years of the first settlers arriving. Masterton was founded in 1854, only becoming a borough in 1877, yet within just twenty five years of its founding, four main churches were established: St. Matthew's Anglican Church in 1863, The Masterton Presbyterian Church in 1871, the Masterton Wesleyan Church in the 1870s, and St. Patrick's Catholic Church in 1879. For a borough with a population recorded in the 1901 census of just

---

<sup>9</sup> Within one generation, however, Keith's family has dispersed and no longer reside in the Wairarapa. Three children live in Australia, one in Sweden, and one in Wellington. Shirley now lives in Australia, with one of her children and within relatively easy travelling distance of most of the others.

<sup>10</sup> Department of Sociology And Social Studies, "*Definitions of Community*," University of Regina. Accessed 20 November 2021. <http://uregina.ca/~sauchyn/socialcohesion/definitions%20of%20community.htm>.

<sup>11</sup> Siegfried, André. *Democracy in New Zealand*, trans. E.V. Burns. London: G. Bell and sons, Limited, 1914. p. 310

3,949 souls, Masterton's religious needs were well provided for.<sup>12</sup> Much of the work of the church was done through schools established by the major denominations which connected the settler's children with their faith in their formative years.

### Catholic

St. Patrick's Church could accommodate 300 people and featured a large spire rising 88 feet above the ground, being visible from a long distance in any direction.<sup>13,14</sup> The rector also had charge of St. Mary's (Carterton), St. Theresa (Featherston), St. Anthony of Padua (Martinborough), the Sacred Heart (Greytown), and St. Joseph's, Tinui. The Very Rev. Father John McKenna was appointed Irremovable Rector of St. Patrick's Church in 1896 and remained in that position until his death in 1930,<sup>15</sup> whereupon his good friend, Father Nicholas Moore was appointed parish priest of Masterton.<sup>16</sup> This centre of the Catholic faith in the Wairarapa was a focal point for Keith throughout his life and was just a few hundred metres from his home in Waltons Avenue, Kuripuni. Father Moore travelled the parish, led services, and visited anyone sick or bereaved: 'Many people observed that long before a doctor or undertaker arrived at a home Moore would be there.'<sup>17</sup> Father Moore's dedication to his faith, service to people, and work ethic served as an example that Keith followed and Father Moore remained a close friend and spiritual adviser to Keith until his death in 1985, just two years before Keith's own passing.

Keith was involved in a number of faith-based activities throughout his life. Keith's first Holy Communion was on 15 August 1932 and he was 'received into the Association of the Holy Childhood' in 1937 at St Patrick's in Masterton.<sup>18</sup> He served as altar boy at services held around the region, including helping Father Moore at Te Ore Ore. As an adult, he was in a contemplative prayer group, involved in Catholic education initiatives, such as the Nicholas Moore education trust, and participated in cross-denominational events such as 'Masterton - Meet the Master,' a week of outreach events including a children's programme, special combined service, and several public meetings with guest speakers.

---

<sup>12</sup> Stats NZ. Digitised Collection. 'Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand: Taken for the night of the 31st March, 1901.' Accessed 23 December 2021.

[https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic\\_publications/1901-census/1901-results-census/1901-results-census.html](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1901-census/1901-results-census/1901-results-census.html)

<sup>13</sup> Cyclopedia Company Limited, "The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Wellington Provincial District] - Ecclesiastical", The Cyclopedia Company, Limited, 1897, Wellington. Accessed 22 December 2021.

<http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01Cycl-t1-body-d4-d83-d9.html>.

<sup>14</sup> Wairarapa Daily Times, Volume 2, Issue 151, 5 May 1879, Page 2. Accessed 22 December 2021.

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WDT18790505.2.7>

<sup>15</sup> Claire Hills. 'McKenna, John and McKenna, Thomas', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1996. Accessed 22 December 2021.

Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3m16/mckenna-john>

<sup>16</sup> Claire Hills. 'Moore, Nicholas', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Accessed 22 December 2021.

Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m61/moore-nicholas>

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Keith's first Communion Card (from Sr Veronica) and Hold Childhood card remain with the family.



## Anglican

In 1814, the young chief Ruatara (Ngāpuhi) brought Samuel Marsden and other members of the Anglican Church Missionary Society to the Bay of Islands. By 1853 there were 440 Māori and 23 missionaries carrying the faith throughout New Zealand. In 1854 Te Aute College, initially known as Ahuriri Native Industrial School, was established with 12 pupils, under the leadership of Samuel Williams, an Anglican missionary.<sup>19</sup> The school became famous as the foundational home of the Young Maori Party, which included future leaders such as Apirana Ngata.<sup>20</sup> In the Wairarapa, the site of St Matthew's Church was purchased in 1863 with the church building being erected the following year. The original building was enlarged in 1874 and could accommodate around 230 people for services at that time.<sup>21</sup> The Anglican church and local community established the Trinity Schools in Masterton between 1914 and 1964.

## Presbyterian

The Reverend P. Mason, the first Presbyterian minister to serve in Masterton, arrived in February of 1859 and left for Turakina in September of the same year. The region would have a total of six ministers before the turn of the century, with the longest serving being the Rev. Robert Wood from 1890 until 1906. A church was built in 1871, with a manse added in 1873. The church seated 250 people in 1897, having been enlarged twice in the intervening years. The total attendance for the Wairarapa district was around 420, with three additional Sunday schools catering for 240 children with 23 teachers.<sup>22</sup>

## Wesleyan Methodist

The Masterton Wesleyan Church was established in the 1870s with a church building that accommodated around 400 worshippers, with a school room adjoined with reported attendance of almost 250. With services also being held at four other locations, total service attendance was recorded as being 850, including 98 church members.<sup>23</sup> Despite significant growth of the Wesleyan Church after the New Zealand wars being effected by Māori ministers in the church, Māori did not have opportunities to participate fully

---

<sup>19</sup> Te Aute College. Our History - TE AUTE COLLEGE. Accessed 23 December 2021. <https://teaute.maori.nz/our-history>

<sup>20</sup> Kaa, H., 2017. 'Ngā hāhi – Māori and Christian denominations - Anglican Church', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 22 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-hahi-maori-and-christian-denominations/page-1>

<sup>21</sup> Cyclopedia Company Limited, "The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Wellington Provincial District] - Ecclesiastical", The Cyclopedia Company, Limited, 1897, Wellington. Accessed 23 December 2021. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01Cycl-t1-body-d4-d83-d9.html>.

<sup>22</sup> Dickson, Rev. J., 1899. *History of The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand*. J. Wilkie. Dunedin. pp. 433-437  
Also: Cyclopedia Company Limited, "The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Wellington Provincial District] - Ecclesiastical", The Cyclopedia Company, Limited, 1897, Wellington. Accessed 22 December 2021. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01Cycl-t1-body-d4-d83-d9.html>.

<sup>23</sup> Cyclopedia Company Limited, "The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Wellington Provincial District] - Ecclesiastical", The Cyclopedia Company, Limited, 1897, Wellington. Accessed 23 December 2021. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01Cycl-t1-body-d4-d83-d9.html>.

in the leadership of the church until after 1983, when a bi-cultural committee was established 'to give Māori and Pākehā an equal voice in the direction taken by the church.'<sup>24</sup>

## Other

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), also known as Mormonism, traces its origins to a religion founded by Joseph Smith in the United States in 1830. There are LDS Church buildings in Masterton and Featherston. In 1881 at Te Ore Ore marae, the prophet Pāora Te Pōtangaroa (Ngāti Kahungunu) predicted that a new and great power would come from the direction of the rising sun. The first Mormon missionaries arrived in New Zealand later that year, and some Māori interpreted the prophecy as referring to the Mormon Church, which came from the US – the east. By 1883 hundreds had joined the Mormon Church in Wairarapa.<sup>25</sup> When T.W. Rātana visited Te Ore Ore in 1928 at the request of the people, he removed a stone that Te Pōtangaroa had erected as a medium with 'the world of gods and spirits when Ngā Tau e Waru (The Eight Years) whare was built. Rātana's act was seen as a sign of power as the stone, which had been believed to also preserve the tapu of Te Pōtangaroa, was silenced. Many now believe that the coming of the Rātana faith is actually the fulfilment of Pāora's prophecy.<sup>26</sup> Nationally, those professing the Mormon faith in the 1981 census numbered 37,686, marginally higher than the 1976 census figure of 36,130, and notably higher than the 1971 census result of less than thirty thousand.<sup>27</sup>

## EDUCATION

The Pākehā settlers of the Wairarapa brought not only their faith, but also their families, or they started new families. Some Maori, both young and older, learned to read and write via the schools established by the early missionaries, such as Thomas Kendall, who started the first mission school in 1816.<sup>28</sup> This education was grounded in the Anglican tradition of the Christian faith, and the ability to read scripture in Maori once William Colenso started producing texts from 1835 saw Maori embrace this new literacy with

---

<sup>24</sup> Kaa, K., 2017. 'Ngā hāhi – Māori and Christian denominations - Methodist Church', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 23 December 2021.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-hahi-maori-and-christian-denominations/page-2>

<sup>25</sup> Kaa, H., 2017. 'Ngā hāhi – Māori and Christian denominations - Mormon Church', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 22 December 2021.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-hahi-maori-and-christian-denominations/page-5>

<sup>26</sup> Ballara, A., and Cairns, K., 1990. 'Te Pōtangaroa, Pāora', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 22 December 2021. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t57/te-potangaroa-paora>

<sup>27</sup> Stats NZ. Digital Yearbook Collection. 'The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1981.' Accessed 22 December 2021. [https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1981/NZOYB\\_1981.html](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1981/NZOYB_1981.html)

<sup>28</sup> New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, 2020. 'New Zealand's first mission school opens'. Accessed 28 December 2021. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/page/new-zealands-first-school-opens>

enthusiasm.<sup>29</sup> By the 1850s, roughly 25 per cent of the settlers remained completely illiterate, with a further 14 per cent only able to read.

The Education Act 1877 established free and compulsory primary education for all children in New Zealand up to the standard six (known now as Year 8) level.<sup>30</sup> Greytown School was the first school in the Wairarapa, established in 1857, and the region now has 25 primary schools, nine secondary schools and a teen parenting unit providing for the educational needs of the young people in the region. Greytown is also the site of Kuranui College, the only secondary school in South Wairarapa, being established in 1960 as a result of the closure and amalgamation of four small district high schools in Martinborough, Featherston, Greytown and Carterton. Makoura & Wairarapa Colleges in Masterton are the other state secondary schools in the Wairarapa.

The Trinity Schools Trust Board operates as the Board of Proprietors for Hadlow Preparatory School for boys and girls, St Matthew's Collegiate School for Girls and Rathkeale College for boys, Special Character schools affiliated to the Anglican Church. A day and boarding school for girls from Year 7 to 13, St Matthew's was established in 1914, while Hadlow was founded in 1929 as a boarding school for boys with an initial roll of just 18 students.

Solway College was established in 1916 by the Reverend Laurence Thompson and his wife, Marion. Marion Thompson was the first principal of the school, which opened with just 19 boarders and two day students. The roll quickly grew to 100 by 1918 and currently stands at 172 students in Years 7-13. The school states that it has an 'affiliation with the Presbyterian Church but is non-sectarian and inclusive in its enrollments.' The teaching of Christian values is a prominent part of Solway College's Special Character.<sup>31</sup> St Bride's College for Girls was established in 1898 by the Brigidine Sisters, a Catholic order restored by Danile Delany, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin, in 1807, while St Joseph's College for Boys was founded by Monsignor Nicholas Moore in 1945.<sup>32</sup>

Keith was passionate about education, giving generously of his time and energy in administration and sharing what he had learned on many occasions. He spoke to students and teachers at schools, on behalf of schools at marae, and to administrators, such as the Masterton Secondary Schools Board. He served on the Wairarapa Adult Education Committee for four years, including time as Secretary,<sup>33</sup> and was

---

<sup>29</sup> King, M., 2004. *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books. pp. 143-144

<sup>30</sup> Swarbrick, N., 2008. 'Country schooling - Getting an education: 1800s', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 28 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/country-schooling/page-1>

<sup>31</sup> Solway College, 2020. 'About Us | Solway College'. Accessed 23 December 2021. <https://www.solwaycollege.school.nz/about-us>.

<sup>32</sup> Brigidine Sisters, 2009. 'Brigidine Sisters - New Zealand Region'. Accessed 23 December 2021. <http://www.brigidine.org.nz/archive/ourbeginnings.htm>

<sup>33</sup> Keith presented his resignation to the Committee at their meeting on 30 August 1966.

involved in the Monsignor Moore Education Trust. The trust was founded in 1970 and incorporated in 1971, starting with funds raised to celebrate Moore's forty years as parish priest at St Patrick's.<sup>34</sup>

A small sample of letters of thanks Keith received over the years were scanned by Shirley Cairns, along with a cover note she wrote:

In January 1993, I tore up and took to the dump two rubbish bags of letters written to Keith thanking him for talking to every type of group you could imagine. There were letters from just about every school in [Masterton] from the children. This is just a token sample of these letters.<sup>35</sup>

The thirty copied letters cover the years from 1962 to 1980 and are letters of thanks for speaking engagements that Keith had delivered or correspondence to arrange future engagements. They include correspondence from a number of schools in the Wairarapa and Wellington regions, from primary to tertiary, as well as several community clubs and organisations, with some letters being typed and others hand-written. Conservatively estimating the number of letters that were destroyed, one could easily arrive at figures of three to four thousand letters per bag. Taking the lower figure and presuming that classes, particularly those at primary schools, would have written en masse, it is possible to estimate that the letters would have represented more than two hundred speaking events over that time period, an average of just over eleven events per year.<sup>36</sup> Many letters go beyond the perfunctory formalities and contain personal notes of heartfelt gratitude, such as a letter from Masterton East School, dated 22 November 1985, signed by 'Elizabeth' & 'Tony,' which concludes with a hand-written note (in same pen and hand as 'Elizabeth'): 'Ka nui te aroha mou i haere mai ki te awhina i a matou te Kura Tairawhiti ia wa ia wa.'<sup>37</sup>

Keith visited Makoura college a number of times for various programmes and talks. He had corresponded with the Masterton Secondary Schools Board extensively when the college was being constructed in 1968. When the board was naming the college, they decided on 'Makora,' Keith was adamant that it should be 'Makoura', which was the correct spelling and meaning relating to the stream which ran through the new school's grounds. Keith's position was confirmed in a letter from the New Zealand Geographic Board, Department of Lands and Survey, noting that 'Makoura' ('stream of the crayfish') was as that used by the Maori Land Court and on Department of Lands and Survey plans, and that

---

<sup>34</sup> Roman Catholic Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Wellington New Zealand. *The Monsignor Moore education trust*. Accessed 29 December 2021. [https://www.wn.catholic.org.nz/adw\\_welcom/the-monsignor-moore-education-trust/](https://www.wn.catholic.org.nz/adw_welcom/the-monsignor-moore-education-trust/)

<sup>35</sup> Letters were digitally copied and made available by the family ('CCF01052021 Thank you letters for Keith Cairns.pdf' & 'CCF01052021 More thank you letters for Keith Cairns.pdf')

<sup>36</sup> 6000 letters divided by 30 (class size) equates to 200 separate speaking events. This figure would be very conservative given that not all letters would have been from primary schools and not all classes would have student numbers as high as thirty.

<sup>37</sup> 'We have so much love for you because you came to help us, Te Kura Tairawhiti, every time.' Translation provided by Hamilton, K., Kuranui College.

the name proposed by the Masterton Secondary Schools Board for the college could be understood to be 'Makora' (Red-billed gull) or 'Ma Kora' (By way of that place), neither of which related to the local area. Makoura was the name of the stream that ran through the new school grounds. Keith was ignored on the matter and eventually stopped writing letters.<sup>38</sup> He did not stop serving the community at the school, however. A letter from 'Makora College' dated 16 September 1985, and signed by Noel Preston (Principal) and Bob Pringle (Programme Co-ordinator) thanks Keith for his 'time and energies so generously' given to contribute to the Fifth Form Liberal Studies Programme. The college corrected the error in the spelling of its name in 1990, though he did not live to see his stance vindicated.

Keith's papers contain numerous brochures and programmes for 'Weekend School' events run by Victoria University of Wellington's Department of University Extension, such as one event held from 26-27 August 1967, on the 'Prehistory of New Zealand.' It is unclear whether Keith attended this event, though it seems likely given his prolific attendance at other events, either as learner or lecturer. At another event in August of 1972, Keith delivered the opening session seminar on *'Traditions, history and prehistory of the Wairarapa.'* Atholl Anderson delivered the closing session on Sunday, 13 August, titled *'Pre-historic Fishermen at Black Rocks.'*<sup>39</sup> Just a fortnight later, on 28-30 August 1972, Keith gave another seminar session on 'History Pre-history,' as well as attending other sessions on teaching methods - language development. The course was convened by Bill Matthews from Lansdowne School.<sup>40</sup>

Keith was approached by E.J. Keting to attend a meeting at the Geological Survey, Lower Hutt, to discuss the possibility of an Adult Education School in Geology. The meeting was held in the office of G. Shaw, then Publicity Officer for the New Zealand Geological Survey, with Paul Vella (who would later become Professor in Paleoecology) from the Geology Department of Victoria University of Wellington, and Keith attending. This eventually resulted in the first 'Adult Education School in Geology' held in the Wairarapa, with Keith arranging all publicity releases through the Wairarapa Times-Age newspaper. The first course took place in 1963 with a second course the following year.

As Secretary for the Wairarapa Adult Education Committee, Keith also initiated a ten-lecture series on Astronomy, with the series held in Masterton in 1964. Ivan Thomsen, then Director of the Carter Observatory, travelled to Masterton for the whole lecture series. Keith arranged publicity for the course, including publication of the first photograph of the lunar far side in the Wairarapa Times-Age, an image which was made available by Ivan Thomsen at Keith's request. Thomsen later wrote to Keith thanking him for a note Keith had sent him and commenting that a Mr B. Mackenzie had written saying there was the

---

<sup>38</sup> Jackson, A., Report to Council: *'Makora Road Project - Putting the 'U' back into 'Makora Road.'* Masterton District Council . 16 September 2020. p. 154-159.

<https://mstn.govt.nz/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/AGENDA-Council-2020-09-16.pdf>

<sup>39</sup> ATL 88-070-02/01. Accessed 28 April 2021.

<sup>40</sup> Lansdowne School was demolished in 2010. The site, adjacent to the Wairarapa Hospital in Te Ore Ore Road, is now a public park and sports ground.

possibility of an astronomical society starting in Masterton. Thomsen closed with hopes that all the children were 'still healthily bouncing around and that Mrs Cairns [was] well.'<sup>41</sup> In 2021, the Wairarapa was closing in on establishing New Zealand's largest dark sky reserve.<sup>42</sup>

Keith was continuously learning and sharing. Between March and November in 1981, he recorded sixteen events, including speaking engagements, such as talks to the Ranfurly Club, Masterton, a school group visiting Te Ore Ore Marae, & a Maori Language Group from Polytechnic; Takitimu Committee Meeting at Papawai Marae; collecting artifacts from around the region; and visits to the National Museum to discuss a drilling project with Dr Yaldwyn, Betty McFadgen and Robin Watt.

Keith's 1986 diary also contains notes of numerous events which he attended that year. On 19 April, Keith recorded a visit to Papawai to speak to a group of New Zealand and overseas Police Inspectors on 'Law and Maori customs.' This was in the midst of diarised notes on his chest pains, the weather and his diet. He travelled to Napier and then on to Rotorua in June of 1986, before attending a 'Historical Society Trip [to Lake] Rerewhakaaitu' where he caught a cold. On 09 July, Keith had a heart attack and spent some time in the Coronary Care Unit.

## WORK

The economy of the Wairarapa is predominantly based on pastoral farming. From the earliest European settlement, sheep and cattle farming on large blocks was the norm. 'Wharekaka' was the first run established around the shores of Lake Wairarapa and at one point grazed 85 percent of the sheep in the region. Early settler names, such as Barton, Riddiford, Cameron, Vallance, Pharazyn, Bidwill, and Matthews, still grace the rolls of local schools today.<sup>43</sup> Established in 1856 by William Beetham and John Hutton, Brancepeth Station was a significant run which would later employ Keith's maternal grandparents, William and Emily Allsworth. Brancepeth grew from the original lease-holding of 4,000 hectares to be the largest sheep station in the Wairarapa at approximately 24,000 hectares before being divided prior to government-imposed division and purchases between 1900 and the 1950s. Brancepeth is now listed as a Historic Place Category 1 location by Heritage New Zealand.<sup>44</sup>

As with many rural towns in New Zealand, the drive north into Masterton along State Highway 2 is lined with industries selling and/or servicing farm machinery, vehicles, and supplies. Related services were established in town, such as saleyards and transport industries, tied heavily to the fortunes of the land-

---

<sup>41</sup> Personal correspondence, dated 13 February 1964. Supplied by Cairns family (in '02052100 Keith Cairns General File 3.pdf')

<sup>42</sup> Fuller, Piers, *New Zealand's largest dark sky reserve one step closer in Wairarapa*. Stuff Online. 03 July 2021. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/travel/destinations/nz/wellington/125620423/new-zealands-largest-dark-sky-reserve-one-step-closer-in-wairarapa>

<sup>43</sup> Masterton District Library. 2021. 'First Farmers | Masterton District Library'. Accessed 26 December 2021. <https://library.mstn.govt.nz/wairarapa-stories/farming/first-farmers>

<sup>44</sup> Stirling, B., with O'Brien, R. and Howes, X. "Search the List | Brancepeth Station | Heritage New Zealand." Accessed 10 December 2021. <https://www.heritage.org.nz/the-list/details/7649>

based economy. Waingawa freezing works employed many locals, including Jock Cairns, Keith's father. Since the 1980s, the regional economy has diversified, with viticulture doing particularly well. Tourism, both domestic and international, had also been growing in the region.<sup>45</sup> Many Wellingtonians venture over the much-improved Remutaka Hill Road to visit the region, and numerous lifestyle blocks and weekend holiday homes have been established, many being let out to visitors, such as the rural accommodation offered at the picturesque Waiorongomai Station, run by the sixth generation of the Matthews family. In Masterton, businesses such as the Farmer's Trading Company department store, Hannahs shoes, Hallensteins clothing, and others such as the Wairarapa Times-Age newspaper have not only provided goods and services to the local community, but have been a source of employment opportunities. Nicol Jewellers was established in 1889, and over the course of the 127 years the business occupied a place on Queen Street, Masterton, the store was run by three generations of the Nicol family, having been purchased from the founder, Frank Dupre, sometime after 1910.<sup>46</sup> Other long-standing firms, such as C.E. Daniell Ltd., were held in high regard by clients and employees alike.<sup>47</sup>

### Regency Jewellers

Upon his discharge from active service after World War Two, Keith was able to utilise the skills he had learned in the RNZAF working at Bradbury Jewellers in Masterton. John Bradbury, who had established the business in 1914 on Queen Street, Masterton,<sup>48</sup> was almost certainly known to the Cairns family, as Bradbury was also Catholic and a keen athlete, being a member of the Wairarapa Amateur Athletics Club and a Wellington Provincial champion in his youth.<sup>49</sup> Keith later had an opportunity to work in Wellington and took over a jewellers at 227 Cuba Street, where he expanded the business, taking on a number of new staff. He took on a second store in Jackson Street, Petone, before adding a third back in Masterton.

The connections he made through his business would prove fortuitous in later years, as the building in Masterton was owned by Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society Limited, more commonly referred to as

---

<sup>45</sup> Schrader, B., 2017. 'Wairarapa region - Diversifying the economy', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 26 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-region/page-9>

<sup>46</sup> Beleski, J., 2016. 'Emotional farewell for local jewellery store.' Wairarapa Times-Age, 02 November 2016. Accessed 27 December 2021. <https://times-age.co.nz/emotional-farewell-local-jewellery-store/>

<sup>47</sup> Wairarapa Daily Times. 'Mr C. E. Daniell - A Mark of Esteem.' Wairarapa Daily Times, Volume XV, Issue 4916, 3 January 1895, Page 3. Accessed 27 December 2021. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WDT18950103.2.24>

<sup>48</sup> Wairarapa Daily Times. 'New Business' Wairarapa Daily Times, Volume LXVI, Issue 11912, 25 February 1914, Page 1. Accessed 27 December 2021. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WDT19140225.2.2.5>

<sup>49</sup> John Bradbury married Gertie (Gertrude Elizabeth) Holloway at St. Patrick's Church, 20 January 1908. Wairarapa Daily Times. Source: 'Personal Matters.' Wairarapa Daily Times, Volume LVIII, Issue 8968, 20 January 1908, Page 5. Accessed 27 December 2021. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WDT19080120.2.31> Bradbury was a champion athlete (one mile and half mile champion of Wellington Province). Wairarapa Daily Times. 'Wairarapa Amateur Athletic Club - Anniversary Day Sports.' Wairarapa Daily Times, Volume LVI, Issue 8661, 21 January 1907, Page 5. Accessed 27 December 2021. <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WDT19070121.2.26>

Colonial Mutual Life (CML) or just Colonial Mutual. Colonial Mutual wanted to demolish the building and replace it with a more modern structure. Keith held the lease on his shop and refused to move, instead negotiating for the first pick of the shops in the new building. In 1964, when ill-health and the demands of running three stores across such a large geographic area told Keith that he could no longer give his best to his clients, Keith made the decision to sell up. Within weeks, he was approached by Don Cairns (no relation to Keith) of Colonial Mutual with an offer to join CML as their Wairarapa representative. Keith accepted and was trained as an insurance salesman.

## Colonial Mutual

The insurance industry was operating in New Zealand in the 1850s, mostly through Australian companies, such as the Australian Mutual Provident Society (AMP) and the National Mutual Life Association of Australasia. Whole-of-life policies were the most popular products, with endowment policy sales growing to make up around 50% of business for most companies by 1900.<sup>50</sup> Whole-of-life policies paid out the sum assured on the death of the insured person, not an uncommon early occurrence in the new colony and an inevitable part of life for all. Death rates in New Zealand (per 1,000 persons living) have improved in the second half of the twentieth century, though were typically in the 9 to 11 range between 1875 and the 1950s, with the notable exceptions of 1875 and 1918, when it rose sharply to 15.92 and 14.84 respectively.<sup>51</sup>

The sharp upturn in 1875 - a 25 per cent increase over the previous year - was due to a succession of diseases which swept through the colony. Outbreaks of scarlet fever (834 in the mid-1870s), diphtheria (480), measles (340), tuberculosis (339), and typhoid (323) hit the small population hard.<sup>52</sup> The 1918 increase was also due to disease - the influenza pandemic - which resulted in almost 9,000 deaths nationwide.<sup>53</sup> The likelihood of such events, or death by other causes, in a colony removed from extended family support networks back in Europe would have likely driven settlers to seek the best protection for their most valuable asset - their life and, by extension, their ability to earn and provide for their families -

---

<sup>50</sup> Henderson, A., 2010. 'Insurance - Early life insurance', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 26 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/insurance/page-1>

<sup>51</sup> Statistics New Zealand, *Infoshare | Population | Death Rates - DDM | Crude death rate (Maori and total population) (Annual-Dec) | Total Population, All Years*. Accessed 22 December 2021.

<http://infoshare.stats.govt.nz/SelectVariables.aspx?pxID=2bb6f49c-1d0e-44b2-b47c-59d2adba6906>

Stats NZ. Digitised Collection. 'REPORT ON THE STATISTICS OF NEW ZEALAND, 1890' Accessed 22 December 2021. [https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic\\_publications/1890-official-handbook/1890-official-handbook.html](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1890-official-handbook/1890-official-handbook.html)

Stats NZ. Digital Yearbook Collection. 'The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1920.' Accessed 22 December 2021. [https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1920/NZOYB\\_1920.html](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1920/NZOYB_1920.html)

<sup>52</sup> University of Otago, He Kitenga, 2020. 'History repeats.' Accessed 26 December 2021. <https://www.otago.ac.nz/hekitenga/2020/otago744233.html>

<sup>53</sup> Ministry for Culture and Heritage. 2020. 'Uneven rates of death - The 1918 influenza pandemic | NZHistory, New Zealand history online.' Accessed 26 December 2021. <https://nzhistory.govt.nz/culture/1918-influenza-pandemic/death-rates>



that they could afford. This motivation is still used today by insurance companies to pitch their life insurance products.<sup>54</sup>

The New Zealand government established Government Life Insurance in 1869 to provide stability in the insurance market, and Government Life and the Australian companies dominated the market in New Zealand until the 1980s when Government Life became a state-owned enterprise, was rebranded as Tower Insurance, mutualised then privatised.<sup>55</sup> The Colonial Mutual Life Assurance Society Limited was founded in Melbourne, Australia in 1873, and established branches in the main centres in New Zealand in 1883. As a mutual society, the company was owned by the policyholders and enjoyed considerable success in its first quarter century of operation, receiving more in interest and premiums than any two of its nearest competitors in Australia combined.<sup>56</sup>

Keith joined Colonial Mutual in 1964, and during his twenty years with the company enjoyed success, due in no small part to the extensive network of people he already knew, who knew him and who trusted him to provide them with good advice and life insurance products that met their needs. He worked his way to become one of the top ten CML representatives in New Zealand by sum assured.<sup>57</sup> Keith also served as an elected representative of the Life Offices Association of New Zealand on the Masterton Savings Committee, serving as Chair for a time.

He was awarded the International Quality Award six times, an award sponsored by the Life Insurance Agency Management Association of America which recognised those 'with an outstanding record of service to the public in the field of life assurance.'<sup>58</sup> He first received the award in 1968, being one of only sixty six recipients in the CML organisation across Australia and New Zealand to do so. The criteria for the award in 1968 was for 'insurance representatives who have been able to maintain a high percentage (over 90 per cent) of their sold policies over a minimum of 12 months and up to two years prior to the granting of the award.'<sup>59</sup> To have received the award so many times in his twenty years of service indicates a high level of trust and confidence from those whom he advised on their various life assurance needs, such as the

---

<sup>54</sup> Examples of this are seen on the websites of insurance companies, but also on financial advice and education sites. Southern Cross Life Insurance. 'Why choose life insurance | Southern Cross Life Insurance' Accessed 28 December 2021. <https://www.southerncrosslife.co.nz/why-life-insurance>;

Te Ara Ahunga Ora Retirement Commission. 'Life insurance - Insuring yourself to protect dependents » Sorted' Accessed 28 December 2021. <https://sorted.org.nz/guides/protecting-wealth/insuring-ourselves/>

<sup>55</sup> Henderson, A., 2010. 'Insurance - Transforming the insurance industry', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 26 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/insurance/page-6>

<sup>56</sup> Cyclopedia Company Limited, "The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Wellington Provincial District] - Life", The Cyclopedia Company, Limited, 1897, Wellington. Accessed 26 December 2021. <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01Cycl-t1-body-d4-d29-d5.html>

<sup>57</sup> A list of 'Leading Producers' for 1972 lists Keith at number eight in the 'Ordinary Department' by sum assured, with \$989,515. Using the more complete figures listed for the number one 'producer,' which also lists the premiums generated by the policies (equates to 1.75% of sum assured), Keith would have generated approximately \$17,316 in premiums for CML - approximately \$246k in 2021 (<https://www.inflationtool.com/>).

<sup>58</sup> CML Brochure (supplied by Cairns family)

<sup>59</sup> Wairarapa Times-Age, 03 February 1968. (image supplied by Cairns family)

detailed planning required for estate conservation, particularly when clients may have been dealing with multi-million dollar assets like farms and farm machinery.<sup>60</sup> D. Bates notes the relationship which Keith had with his clients in a way which reflects the sorts of relationships he had and the regard in which he was held in other communities to which he belonged:

His policy holders regard him as a trusted friend, someone to whom they can go for help or advice concerning not only insurance, but all other aspects of life - a relationship to which, surely, an insurance advisor should aspire.<sup>61</sup>

## INTERESTS

Keith's interests were many and varied. From the sports and dancing of his youth to his life-long studies in geology, ornithology, archaeology, and Maori language, culture and history, Keith had a reputation for giving everything he undertook his utmost. This study focuses on just two of Keith's interests: his long association with both the Archaeological Association and the Polynesian Society, and his life-long love of learning and sharing that knowledge with others.

## The New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA)

Ralph Piddington's arrival in 1950 to take up the chair in Anthropology at Auckland University College was to change the course of many related fields of study in New Zealand. Though he had trained under Malinowski at the London School of Economics and was part of the functionalist tradition that prevailed in British, and by extension, in New Zealand, Piddington set about establishing the anthropology department using the American four-fields, materialist approach which included linguistics, archaeology, physical and social anthropology. The department grew with appointments made to meet the needs of courses that were developed across all branches, including Maori studies, to postgraduate level.<sup>62</sup> In 1953, a lectureship in archaeology was advertised and it was brought to the attention of Jack Golson, who was working on his PhD at the University of Cambridge at the time.<sup>63</sup> Golson applied and was appointed, taking up his new position in 1954. He quickly established contacts throughout New Zealand among academics, amateur archaeologists, museum staff and others with an interest in the field. In less than a year, he convened a meeting that would birth the NZAA.<sup>64</sup> The meeting was attended by sixteen individuals: Golson (Auckland) from the universities; Les Lockerbie and H.D. Skinner (Otago), Roger Duff (Canterbury), and W.J. Phillips,

---

<sup>60</sup> Wairarapa Times-Age, 04 March 1978. (image supplied by Cairns family)

<sup>61</sup> Bates, D., *'The modest man of Masterton.'* Publication and Date unknown. pp. 4-6. in ATL 88-070-17/05

<sup>62</sup> Metge, J., 2000. *'Piddington, Ralph O'Reilly'*, Dictionary of New Zealand Biography. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 24 December 2021.

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5p28/piddington-ralph-oreilly>

<sup>63</sup> Golson, J., 2004. 'NZAA: The circumstances of its conception, birth and early upbringing.' *Archaeology in New Zealand* 47(4). p. 27

<sup>64</sup> Prickett, N., 2004. 'The NZAA - A short history.' *Archaeology in New Zealand* 47(4). p. 4

J.C. Yaldwyn and Terry Barrow (Wellington) from museums; and a group of amateurs, including Leslie Adkin and J.D.H. Buchanan. Skinner was elected Chair, with Golson as Secretary/Treasurer.<sup>65</sup>

The new organisation's arrival was announced in the March issue of *The Journal of The Polynesian Society*, where Golson was careful to acknowledge all who contributed to the field, while reminding readers that 'membership [in the NZAA] impose[d] obligations as well as conferring benefits.' The amateur was commended, the 'kindness and co-operation' of land-owners and farmers was recognised, 'the Maori people, to the study of whose past [the NZAA hoped] to contribute' were noted, but it was 'on the professional members of the Association' that the burden of taking 'the lead in research into the prehistory of New Zealand' fell. It was their role to 'formulate the problems that need to be answered and to organise the work that will answer them.'<sup>66</sup>

The Wairarapa contains some of the earliest recorded human settlements in New Zealand, with evidence of a number of settlements in Palliser Bay.<sup>67</sup> Keith was a member of the New Zealand Archaeological Association and he had excavated on many pa sites in the Wairarapa. He conducted an extensive postal survey of a significant portion of Wairarapa farmers to collect data on possible sites, some proving to be very important records of early Maori settlement in the area. The region's proximity to Wellington also meant close ties with the Dominion Museum (later the National Museum), with a number of explorations and excavations taking place over the years. Perhaps most significantly in relation to Keith's work was the Palliser Bay burial site 'near 'Adkin's' stone heaps by the Pararaki River.' Keith had drawn the attention of Dr Terry Barrow to the burials and in June of 1959 Barrow invited Keith, and Leslie Adkin, to accompany him along with Frank O'Leary, the museum photographer, and Susan Davis, the assistant ethnologist.<sup>68</sup>

Keith used his knowledge of Maori beliefs concerning burial sites to ensure sensitivity and many sites remained unreported, perhaps to maintain their tapu or sacredness. His research has been used by many academics, including Bruce McFadgen's work on the archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy for the New Zealand Department of Conservation.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Dreaver, Anthony. *An Eye for Country: The Life and Work of Leslie Adkin*. New Zealand: Victoria University Press, 1997. pp 220

<sup>66</sup> Golson, J., 1955. 'New Zealand Archaeological Association.' *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 64(1). pp. 155-156

<sup>67</sup> Schrader, B., 2017. 'Wairarapa region - Māori settlement', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 20 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-region/page-5>

<sup>68</sup> Dreaver, Anthony. *An Eye for Country: The Life and Work of Leslie Adkin*. New Zealand: Victoria University Press, 1997. pp 231

<sup>69</sup> Bruce McFadgen, "Archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy: Wairarapa: A Study in Tectonic Archaeology," (Wellington: New Zealand Department of Conservation, 2003).

The work of Keith and his son Tony is mentioned 48 times across 22 pages, including seven works cited, one from the Journal of the Polynesian Society, four from the New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter, and an article from the Wairarapa Times-Age. (McFadgen 2003)

Keith enjoyed many years of working and corresponding with Jack Golson, who was appointed in 1954 by the department of anthropology at the University of Auckland to teach archaeology. He was a graduate of Cambridge University and brought a materialist approach to archaeology in New Zealand, having been mentored by V. Gordon Childe and Graham Clarke.<sup>70</sup> Golson set about immediately to 'professionalize and upgrade the standards of excavation in New Zealand,' and wasted no time in organising the formation of the New Zealand Archaeological Association, at a meeting he convened at the Dominion Museum on 27 August 1954. H.D. Skinner was appointed as president, with Golson serving as secretary-treasurer.<sup>71</sup> In 1960, Golson sent an urgent, reply-paid telegram to Keith: 'Would you accept nomination Council Archaeological Association. Golson Anthropology Department Auckland University.'<sup>72</sup> Golson also wrote to Keith in July of 1978 from Churchill College, Cambridge. Golson pointed Keith to some resources in answer to his earlier inquiry. The letter is personable and there are reciprocal kind thoughts at the end of the letter and a hope that Jack will be able to revisit New Zealand soon. This not only indicates the length of their association, but also the friendly nature of their relationship.<sup>73</sup>

Similarly, Keith enjoyed a friendship with G. Leslie Adkin and Les Lockerbie, two amateur scholars with a substantial body of research and publications between them. Adkin is described as 'a self-taught scholar with the skills and integrity of a professional.'<sup>74</sup> Lockerbie was the education officer at Otago Museum from 1947 to 1976 and was a prolific author.

In late 1956, Keith visited Adkin, having read his paper on Palliser Bay and wanting to attempt a survey of the entire Wairarapa district. Adkin advised Keith to 'deal with it piecemeal in a series of articles for the Journal of the Polynesian Society.' Dreaver notes that at this meeting, Adkin had gained another 'provincial recruit... for the coming battle with the academics.'<sup>75</sup> As noted above, Adkin would join Keith on the exploration of the Palliser Bay burial in 1959, and it was on this expedition that Keith, 'O'Leary and Adkin, with Barrow's support, decided to lobby Polynesian Society members about the location of its library,' which was potentially slated for a move to Auckland, along with the Society's headquarters.<sup>76</sup>

In 1964, Adkin wrote to 'Keith, Shirley + family' relating his condition and how frustrated he was with how it limited his 'researches':

---

<sup>70</sup> Kirch, Patrick Vinton. *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands Before European Contact*. N.p.: University of California Press, 2000. p. 30

<sup>71</sup> Campbell, M. (ed), 'Digging into History: 50 years of the New Zealand Archaeological Association. *Archaeology in New Zealand* 47 (4) (special issue). 2004. p. 4

<sup>72</sup> Golson, J., Telegram to Keith Cairns. 28 April 1960.

<sup>73</sup> Golson, J., Letter to Keith Cairns. 31 July 1978. ATL 88-070-17/09

<sup>74</sup> Anthony Dreaver. 'Adkin, George Leslie', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 18 December 2021.  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4a3/adkin-george-leslie>

<sup>75</sup> Dreaver, A., 1997. 'An Eye For Country: The Life and Work of Leslie Adkin.' Victoria University Press, Wellington. pp. 223-224

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. p. 231

There is still a certain amount I would like to accomplish in contributions to a better understanding of N.Z. archaeology + prehistory but it rather looks as if my activities are to be cut short. Rather a sad story isn't it but in view of our past collaboration on some of these matters I thought I would like you to know the position.

In his three page letter, Adkin goes on to discuss religion and how he has admired Keith's 'valiant stand for [his] beliefs and willingness to discuss religious matters with critics,' and how he and his family 'have long admired [Keith's] uncompromising and outspoken attitudes.'<sup>77</sup> The letter is very personal and written at a time when Adkin was very sick with cancer. He died 21 May 1964. Theirs was a somewhat unlikely relationship. Keith was a man of faith, not shying from discussions about religion and faith. He was passionately focussed on and deeply connected with Maori and concerned with preserving their knowledge and taonga (treasures), such as their language. By contrast, Adkin, who was much older than Keith, was 'a scientist, empathising with the process of cultural succession rather than with the people studied, [who] had little interest in the situation of contemporary Maori.'<sup>78</sup> They did, however, share a love of exploring prehistory and an amateur status in the pursuits and passions that were losing ground to the rising professionalism and academic qualifications that were restricting access to sites and the stories they held.

Keith enjoyed similar relationships with other amateur scholars. An eight-page letter to Keith from Les Lockerbie in 1976 includes an extensive discussion of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust and its 'new Act.' Their mutual concerns at the potential impacts of the Trust and its powers on their work are discussed at some length by Lockerbie. He also remarks, with obvious disapproval, on a 'belligerent' PhD Anthropology student who arrived at his office declaring to Lockerbie: "I don't give a damn for either the [Stewart] islanders or you. When I'm ready to move in, I'll move in and dig where I like & you can go to hell as far as I'm concerned."<sup>79</sup> This also highlights what Lockerbie appeared to think of the new generation of academics and their attitude towards those most closely connected with sites or the communities in which they were situated.

## **Publications**

Several pieces of Keith's work relating to archaeology were published. As well as three annual general reports to the Archaeological Association Newsletter on the work being undertaken in the Wairarapa in the years 1959-1961,<sup>80</sup> an examination of a hangi site at Glenburn on the east coast of the Wairarapa, a co-

---

<sup>77</sup> G. L. Adkins, Personal letter to Keith Cairns. 2 January 1964.

<sup>78</sup> Dreaver, A., p. 254

<sup>79</sup> Lockerbie, L. Personal correspondence. 20 February 1976 (supplied by the Cairns family)

<sup>80</sup> Cairns, K.R. 1959. Work in the Wairarapa. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 2(4): 19-20

Cairns, K.R. 1960. Wairarapa. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 3(4): 24

Cairns, K.R. 1961. Wairarapa District. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 4: 178-180

authored article on resistivity surveying in 1961, and a co-authored article on radiocarbon dating at Castlepoint with an additional solo piece reporting on radiocarbon dates from the Okau excavation, nine kilometres north of Castlepoint in 1980 were also published. Keith later wrote a report on radiocarbon dating that had been completed on samples collected from Okau in 1972 and from Palliser Bay in 1968.<sup>81</sup> The Palliser Bay site, initially investigated in 1958 by Keith, Dr T.T. Barrow, and R.H. Broughton, was discussed later that year with Jim Eyles when Keith visited the Wairau Bar burial ground, and then surveyed by A.J. Geddes (New Zealand Forest Service), with a second excavation carried out by a National Museum of New Zealand team in 1959.<sup>82</sup>

In 1971, Keith wrote a full-page article 'as a prelude to the visit to Palliser Bay by the Masterton South Rotary Club on Sunday, February 21, 1971.' It featured five photographs of artefacts in situ and extracted: two images (side and front) of a 'rare archaic type pendant of ivory found lying on the surface immediately on top of a Maori burial' ; a "House of the Dead" image of the Maori burials at Pararaki River; a 'Maori burial exposed on the surface' which was recorded then 'recovered with sand to restore it to its original condition'; and a shark-tooth necklace 'usually only associated with Moa-hunter period of culture.' The 'House of the Dead' image features Keith with Leslie Adkin and Dr Terry Barrow.<sup>83</sup>

Keith examined a partly finished canoe found in the Ruamahanga River, by a Greytown contractor. Keith recognised the method of construction as had been described to him by John Taiapa, and suggested that Mr Taylor donate the find to the National Museum. The five ton log was shipped to the museum and was the only known example of early stage canoe manufacture direct from a log in a museum in New Zealand. This was one of several artefacts that Keith brought to the Museum's attention. Others included a side-hafted adze, found at Castlepoint by Carl Carmichael, a seventeen foot bird-spear found at Lake Wairarapa and a phallic bone pendant. Another adze and tewhatewha were also lodged with the museum in the trust name of the Patete family.<sup>84</sup>

Keith's son, Tony, later also published in the Newsletter on the excavation of a midden on the Wairarapa coast, eleven kilometres north of Castlepoint. The eight page report was based on an excavation

---

<sup>81</sup> Cairns, K.R. 1959. A hangi site at Glenburn. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 2(4): 26  
Knox, F.B., Cairns, K.R., Hitchings, M. 1961. Introduction to resistivity surveying. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 4: 159-160

Cairns, K.R.; Lockerbie, L. 1980. Radiocarbon dates from Castlepoint. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 23(4): 268

Cairns, K.R. 1980. Radiocarbon dates from Okau excavation—Wairarapa. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 23(4): 269

Cairns, K.R. 1986. Radiocarbon dates from Wairarapa. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 29(4): 252-253

<sup>82</sup> Cairns, K.R. 1986. Radiocarbon dates from Wairarapa. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 29(4). p. 253

<sup>83</sup> Cairns, K.R. 1971. 'Rediscovering Wairarapa.' *Wairarapa Times Age*. 19 February 1971, p. 14.

<sup>84</sup> Information sourced from Keith's extensive notes on his activities supplied by Cairns family (01052101.pdf)

undertaken by Tony, with assistance from Keith, in the early 1970s. Les Lockerbie, Bruce McFadgen and Aidan Challis are also acknowledged for their contributions.<sup>85</sup>

### **The Polynesian Society**

The Polynesian Society was founded in January 1892 as an organisation which aimed to promote “the study of the Anthropology, Ethnology, Philology and Antiquities of the Polynesian races.” The first issue of the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* was published in April of that year with the Front Matter including a list of 110 members, three honorary members (Her Majesty Liliuokalani, the Queen of Hawaii, the Hon. Sir George Grey, and Francis Dart Fenton) and two corresponding members (Professor Otis T. Mason and Rev. T. G. Hammond).<sup>86</sup> H. G. Seth-Smith was elected President of the Society, along with the council of Rev. W. J. Habens, A. Carroll, J. R. Blair, Elsdon Best, Edward Tregear, and S. Percy Smith. The membership included numerous members of the clergy, Doctors of Law and Divinity, judges, politicians, a Knight Commander of the Order of St Michael and St George, a Knight Commander of the Order of the Bath, and three Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society. Geographically, the Society was heavily represented in both New Zealand and Hawaii, but also had members in several Pacific islands and territories, including Tahiti, Rarotonga, Tonga, New Hebrides, New Guinea, and Chatham and Norfolk Islands. Several Australians and an American joined the roll of esteemed members, whose names were or became synonymous with the fields of study which the Society aimed to promote.<sup>87</sup> It is interesting to note, however, that for a ‘Polynesian’ Society, out of 115 total membership, there only appeared to be six Polynesian people invited to join.<sup>88</sup>

Keith’s association with the Polynesian Society began in 1955, during a period which Sorrenson describes as ‘the Auckland-Wellington Axis,’ as each centre vied for residency and, by extension, a measure of control, of the Polynesian Society.<sup>89</sup> This rivalry was only one aspect of the growing pains of the Society and its *Journal*, one of the oldest continuously published anthropological journals in the world. There were also long periods of stability, due in part to the long service and tenure of people like Jock McEwen, who served as President for twenty one years. Keith was also a long-serving member – fifteen of his twenty six year association with the Society was on the Council, along with other amateurs such as Tony Batley and Les Lockerbie.<sup>90</sup> Keith was also part of a contingent of lower North Island members who sent an open letter to the membership of the Society prior to the vote in 1959 on whether to move the Polynesian Society Library to Auckland or keep it in Wellington. The preferential ballot result came out clearly in favour of the

---

<sup>85</sup> Cairns, T.; Walton, T. 1992. Excavation of a midden (U26/24) on the Wairarapa coast. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 35(4): 220–227

<sup>86</sup> *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1892. ‘*Journal of the Polynesian Society: Front Matter P 1-6*’. Accessed 29 December 2021. p. 3

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 5-6

<sup>88</sup> Linda Smith, *Decolonising Methodologies*. pp. 86-87

<sup>89</sup> Sorrenson and Moyle, *Manifest Duty : The Polynesian Society over 100 Years*. p. 99

<sup>90</sup> Sorrenson and Moyle. p. 130.

library being retained in Wellington under the care of the Alexander Turnbull Library.<sup>91</sup> McEwen's retirement as President in 1979 saw both the Council and the Society's headquarters move to Auckland under the Presidency of Bruce Biggs.<sup>92</sup> The last Annual General Meeting of the Polynesian Society to be held in Wellington was 10 July 1980, while the last record of Keith in the Society's A.G.M. Minutes was 7 July 1975.<sup>93</sup>

## Publications

For all his years of association with the Polynesian Society, Keith published only once, in 1958.<sup>94</sup> The twelve hundred word report on the Hakikino Hill pa site features a description of the site, with a map, site plan, north-south cross-section and photograph views from the south and eastern sides, as well as a description of the pits and trench features and a discussion on the traditional knowledge relating to the site. The site is just a little over three kilometres south of what was then the boundary of Brancepeth Station, with which Keith's family were very familiar. His grandparents, Emily and William, had both lived, worked, and delivered all but one of their children there.<sup>95</sup> Brancepeth Station had once incorporated the pa site, as well as Nuku Tewhatewha, a pataka now situated in The Dowse Art Museum in Lower Hutt. Commissioned by Wiremu Tako Ngātata (Te Āti Awa, Ngāti Ruanui, Ngā Ruahinerangi me etehi ano o ngā iwi o Taranaki), Nuku Tewhatewha was built by Ngāti Tūwharetoa tohunga whakairo Te Heuheu Tūkino IV (Horonuku). Many years later, Keith's son, Tony, would be part of the team that brought Nuku Tewhatewha to The Dowse and developed the learning resources that accompany the precious taonga.<sup>96</sup> Brancepeth Station is currently listed as a Category 1 Historic Place with Heritage New Zealand.<sup>97</sup>

Keith's connections, at various times, spanned the globe. In the sample of Keith's material examined from the Turnbull Collection there are numerous examples of correspondence with academics

---

<sup>91</sup> Polynesian Society (INC.) *Annual Report for 1958. Journal of the Polynesian Society* 68(2): 169-172.

<sup>92</sup> Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty*. p. 117

<sup>93</sup> The Polynesian Society. *Journal of the Polynesian Society: Annual General Meeting, P 139-140*. Accessed 10 December 2021  
[http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume\\_85\\_1976/volume\\_85%2C\\_No.\\_1/Annual\\_General\\_Meeting%2C\\_p\\_139-140](http://www.jps.auckland.ac.nz/document/Volume_85_1976/volume_85%2C_No._1/Annual_General_Meeting%2C_p_139-140).

Keith moved that the 1974 minutes be 'taken as read and confirmed,' that the honoraria for 1974 be fixed at the amounts listed, and that the membership fee of the Society be increased to ten dollars with provision for an additional one dollar increase before the next A.G.M. 'if the financial situation should demand it.' All motions were carried.

<sup>94</sup> Cairns, K.R. 1958. 'Hakikino Pa.' *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 67(4): 330-334.

<sup>95</sup> Brancepeth Station is recorded as 'Branspeth' in the Journal article.

<sup>96</sup> Tony related the story of Brancepeth and Nuku Tewhatewha pataka in an interview with the family 01 May 2021. Part of the material Tony prepared was a biography of Wiremu Tako Ngātata, usually known as Wī Tako, in: A. R. Cairns. '*Ngātata, Wiremu Tako*', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 29 December 2021. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1n10/ngatata-wiremu-tako>.

<sup>97</sup> Stirling, B., with O'Brien, R. and Howes, X. "*Brancepeth Station | Heritage New Zealand*." Accessed 10 December 2021. <https://www.heritage.org.nz/the-list/details/7649>



and other professionals, such as that shared with John Repetski at the U.S. Department of the Interior, Geological Survey, Washington D.C., or with Jack Golson while Golson was at Churchill College, Cambridge. Keith's work has been cited by Angela Ballara in the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography and by Bruce McFadgen in an extensive archaeological survey of the Wellington Conservancy: Wairarapa, while his recounting of the history of Kuripuni is preserved in the Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision collection, and fourteen of his archaeological reports are recorded in the Pouhere Taonga Heritage New Zealand Digital Library collection.<sup>98</sup> Five of Keith's works are cited in Foss Leach's 1976 PhD thesis on the prehistoric communities in Palliser Bay, Wairarapa.<sup>99</sup> Keith's influence also spanned the generations more directly with both Tony and Robert Cairns having contributed or published in numerous works in archaeology and environmental fieldwork.

## CULTURE

Keith operated with what Graham Smith describes as the *whangai* model of research. His life-long relationship with Maori in the community extended 'far beyond the realms of research.'<sup>100</sup> From a young age, Keith served the Maori community through their shared faith, and he listened to, recorded and learned their stories, their histories. He engaged local craftspeople when he could and spoke out on important Maori issues such as place names and land injustices. He also helped families struggling with domestic violence.

In 1956, Keith wrote to Mr Le Petit, then Headmaster of The Correspondence School, requesting a course in Maori language be supplied by the school, having already contacted the Maori Affairs Department, the Education Department, the Regional Council of Adult Education and 'numerous other persons and bodies,' and been advised that such a course did not exist. He also attended a Maori grammar class at Wairarapa College in 1975 alongside the regular students twice a week. Tom Gemmell, the teacher leading the course, noted that the other students thought initially that Keith was either a school inspector

---

<sup>98</sup> Angela Ballara and Keith Cairns. Links and sources for '*Te Pōtangaroa, Pāora*', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 12 May 2022.

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t57/te-potangaroa-paora/sources>;

Bruce McFadgen, "*Archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy: Wairarapa: A Study in Tectonic Archaeology*" (New Zealand Department of Conservation, 2003).;

Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision. *History of Kuripuni*, Ref. 319646. RNZ Collection. Accessed 12 May 2022.

[https://ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record\\_id=311276](https://ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=311276);

Pouhere Taonga Heritage New Zealand. *Archaeological Reports Digital Library | Archaeology | Protecting Heritage | Heritage New Zealand*. Accessed 12 May 2022.

<https://www.heritage.org.nz/protecting-heritage/archaeology/digital-library>

<sup>99</sup> Leach, B. F. (1976). "*Prehistoric communities in Palliser Bay, New Zealand*" D.Phil. thesis, University of Otago. Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10523/499>

<sup>100</sup> Smith, G. H. (1992) cited in Smith, L. T., *Decolonizing methodologies - research and indigenous peoples*. Zed Books. 2007. p. 177

or a student teacher, and joked 'The only thing I can't do is keep him behind and give him a detention.'<sup>101</sup> Keith went on to gain a University Entrance credit in Maori in 1976.

From 1961 to 1962, Keith commissioned a local carver, Te Nahu 'Booney' Haeata to carve a pataka to act as a display case for souvenirs. Haeata had carved the whare tipuna, Nga Tau e Waru, at Te Ore Ore.<sup>102</sup> Part of the work for the pataka was carried out on Te Mai Station in Eastern Wairarapa where Haeata was fencing at the time, however they were running out of time to complete the project for installation in Regency Jewellers' new premises in Perry Street after the building was rebuilt by Colonial Mutual. It was arranged that Keith would carve at one end of the board and Haeata would work at the other end. They worked this way at weekends and during the week Haeata left Keith with work to complete before the following weekend. Keith started work each day at 5 am, carving until 10 am, having breakfast, then working on watch repairs until 5 or 6 pm, before carving again until 10 pm. The project took approximately 400 hours to complete, with the walls made of sticks tied together, tukutuku panels, and a totara bark roof sourced from C.E. Daniell Ltd, a Masterton-based saw-mill founded in 1880. Kowhaiwhai patterns decorated the legs and in the house. Most of the decoration on the carvings were done by Keith, while Haeata modeled the figures and designed the pataka. The pataka was sold at auction when Keith closed all of his businesses in 1964.

In 1967, Keith was approached by Conon Fraser, producer of the popular New Zealand Broadcasting Corporation 'pictorial magazine' show, Looking at New Zealand for research on pre-Māori monuments at Cape Palliser, 'their history, meaning and possible origin.' Keith replied with two and a half pages of extensive notes on Palliser Bay, including map references, a detailed history of the site, and comments on how each site or feature might look on film or be of interest to viewers.<sup>103</sup>

During Maori Language Week in 1976, Keith wrote to the New Zealand Forest Service asking them to provide signposts and erect a detailed description of a Pa Punanga on Mt Holdsworth in the Tararua Forest Park, having discovered the site many years before. Local kaumatua attended the unveiling ceremony for the sign, which still stands today.<sup>104</sup> Keith also made a request for the term 'pa punanga' to be reinstated into the Maori dictionary at the time as it had been omitted as an obsolete or little known term.

Keith did not hesitate to speak out on local matters, such as his correspondence with the Masterton Secondary School Board over the naming of Mākoura College discussed above, but he also responded to broader social and cultural issues. In response to the recently ended land protests at Bastion

---

<sup>101</sup> Wairarapa Times-Age, 22 March 1975.

<sup>102</sup> This was the second whare tipuna of the same name after the original burned down in 1939. Masterton District Library. *The Eight-Year House*. Accessed 04 December 2021. <https://library.mstn.govt.nz/wairarapa-stories/our-places/the-eight-year-house>.

<sup>103</sup> Letter. 30 May 1967. Ref: B.C. 31/16/10. and reply. Copies on file supplied by Cairns family (01052103.pdf). Also: NZONSCREEN, <https://www.nzonscreen.com/title/looking-at-new-zealand-1967/series/credits>

<sup>104</sup> Rangitāne o Wairarapa Incorporated. *Tararua Forest Park and Pa Punanga*. Accessed 10 December 2021. <https://rangitaneeducation.com/tararua-forest-park-and-pa-punanga/>

Point, he took the government to task during a presentation to the Masterton South Rotary Club, entitled 'Maori Land Conflict over the last one thousand years'. A substantial report in the 28 June 1978 Wairarapa Times-Age headlined 'Government 'insensitivity on Maori land slated.' Ben Couch, then the Member of Parliament for the Wairarapa, was also 'criticised for supporting the Government and not his Maori people.'<sup>105</sup>

Keith was also heavily involved in adult literacy and teaching programmes to benefit local people, and this occasionally involved helping people in their own homes. When visiting someone to sell them insurance, Keith would find the person was facing considerable financial pressure, working extra jobs, and needing support to fill out official forms for public housing or other legal matters. At other times, Keith, along with others in the community, would visit families in areas such as Masterton East, also known locally as the Cameron Block, who were experiencing domestic violence:

And then the [car] door would open and a couple of kids would be sitting in the back of the car with us and I'd say, "Well, who are these kids?" and [Dad would] go "Oh they're fine. Just keep them company," and I'd have to talk to these kids that were scared out of their life because the parents were at each other and we had to try and distract them.<sup>106</sup>

Keith attended the first meeting of the Wairarapa Maori Language Committee of the Takitimu Maori Language Board (Te Hau Ki Wairarapa)(Te Hau Tahī o Te Reo o Takitimu) held at Papawai on Sunday 27 September 1981. Keith's presence on the marae was not without occasional tension, with his place and right to speak - his mana - being challenged by some, but he was supported by the elders and things settled down again.<sup>107</sup> In 1982, Diane Grant, the Secretary of the Mahitāone Maori Women's Welfare League, Masterton, wrote to Keith, advising him that it had been 'unanimously decided to ask [Keith] to accept honorary membership of our League in recognition of the work [he had] done for the Maori people.'<sup>108</sup>

Keith's main focus in almost all of his research over the years was Maori pre-history and settlement in the Wairarapa. The local people were who he was passionate about supporting in whatever way he could - through gathering, preserving and sharing knowledge about their past, or speaking out for their future. It is perhaps for this reason that when Keith died, local Maori went to Keith and Shirley's home and simply engulfed the family in aroha and support. They took Keith to lie at Papawai for several hours on the Saturday, before returning him home and then taking him on to lie at Te Ore Ore until the Monday afternoon. He was then taken to the Brigidine chapel before moving on to St Patrick's for the 7 pm rosary. His funeral was held on the morning of Tuesday, 24 November 1987, with over four hundred 'family

---

<sup>105</sup> Wairarapa Times-Age, 'Government 'insensitivity on Maori land slated.' Masterton, 28 June 1978.

<sup>106</sup> Cairns family phone interview, Author, 10 May 2021.

<sup>107</sup> Cairns family phone interview, Author, 10 May 2021.

<sup>108</sup> Grant, D., Letter to Keith Cairns. 11 October 1982. Supplied by Cairns family.

members, friends and members of the Maori community' paying their last respects.<sup>109</sup> Mrs Pani Waru said that 'few people had [Keith's] knowledge of Wairarapa Maori history including the Maori people,' and that he was seen as a 'totara kohinga o te Wairarapa (a fallen chief of the Wairarapa).'<sup>110</sup> A number of locations in the Wairarapa, such as Te Ore Ore and Papawai marae, held a special significance for Keith and the Cairns family.

## PLACE - THE WAIRARAPA

Sir Tipene O'Regan once called Māori place-names the 'survey pegs of memory.' Place and place names play a critical role in cultural memory for Maori, anchoring Māori history to the whenua or land:

'Placenames of maunga, awa, moana anchor people, their descendants and their identities in place.'<sup>111</sup> The Wairarapa is a large region bound by its geography and rich in history. The Remutaka and Tararua mountain ranges form the western edge of the valley while the Aorangi range in the south merges north-east with the hills that form the eastern edge stretching all the way out to the Pacific Ocean. The area has been shaped by the numerous fault lines that run northeast through the region and there are a number of areas where the action of these faults are clearly visible as one travels up State Highway 2, such as just south of the Tauherenikau River and just south of the township of Carterton.

Due to its location on the Australian-Pacific plate boundary, the area has seen some significant seismic events and will certainly see more in the future 'with consequent casualties and damage to structures from strong ground motion, ground shaking amplification, surface rupture, seismically induced landsliding and tsunami.'<sup>112</sup> In 1855 a 8.2 magnitude earthquake centred on a fault in Palliser Bay altered the landscape of the Wellington region, including lifting land between Wellington and the Hutt Valley which enabled a safe road and rail link to be built.<sup>113</sup> The Wairarapa region was struck by further significant quakes in 1942, while Keith Cairns was working in the Masterton Post Office.

Maori oral tradition highlights the significance of the region in the legend of Maui catching Te Ika a Maui, the enormous fish which is the North Island. Wairarapa Moana (Lake Wairarapa) is Te Whatu o Te Ika a Māui (the eye of the fish of Māui) the freshwater eye, while Te Waha o Te Ika a Maui (Palliser Bay) is the mouth.<sup>114</sup> Nga waka a Kupe (the great waka of Kupe), located near Martinborough, and Nga Ra o Kupe (the sails of Kupe) on the south coast at Matakītaki a Kupe (Cape Palliser) mark the Polynesian explorer Kupe's

---

<sup>109</sup> Smith, T., "Over 400 at funeral." Wairarapa Times-Age. 25 November 1987.

<sup>110</sup> Wairarapa Times-Age, *Archaeologist leaves video legacy*. 23 November 1987.

<sup>111</sup> Jackson, A-M., Mercier, O., *Community Connections to Place | Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga*. Accessed 01 December 2021. <http://www.maramatanga.co.nz/project/community-connections-place>

<sup>112</sup> Lee, J. M., Begg, J. G. (compilers) 2002: *Geology of the Wairarapa area. Institute of Geological & Nuclear Sciences 1:250000 geological map II*. 1 sheet + 66 p. Lower Hutt, New Zealand. Institute of Geological & Nuclear Sciences Limited. p. v

<sup>113</sup> McSaveney, E., 'Historic earthquakes - The 1855 Wairarapa earthquake', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 21 December 2021 <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/historic-earthquakes/page-3>

<sup>114</sup> The saltwater eye is Te Whanganui a Tara or Wellington Harbour.

links with the region, with evidence of early settlement on the coast dated around the mid 14th century CE.<sup>115</sup> The coastal areas offered fresh water by river mouths, some flat areas of land to grow vegetables such as kumara, kai moana (seafood), as well as animals and birds from the forests. Rangitane o Wairarapa and Ngati Kahungunu o Wairarapa were established in the region by 1600 CE and had negotiated an accord of largely peaceful coexistence.<sup>116</sup> Hapu on the southern coast and around Lakes Onoke and Wairarapa, in particular, made use of tuna kuwharuwharu (long-fin eel) migration up through the lakes and Ruamahanga River as a rich source of food and trade.<sup>117</sup>

The early nineteenth century saw the impact of the arrival of Pākehā reach the Wairarapa when northern tribes armed with muskets made their way to the region, driving many Wairarapa hapu into leaving the area or retreating deep into the most heavily forested areas of the region. Some twenty years later, in 1841, a peace treaty was agreed between the Wairarapa rangatira Tutepakihirangi and the occupying Te Atiawa rangatira Te Wharepouri. This resulted in the return of local iwi to the area. In 1853, Joseph Masters, Charles Carter and William Allen formed the Small Farms Association with Governor George Grey's support. The Association bought land in the Wairarapa and Masterton and Greytown became New Zealand's first planned inland towns in 1854, with Carterton and Featherston being established just three years later.

Masterton was named after Joseph Masters and was established by the Small Farms Association as part of their efforts to settle the working class settlers of the Wairarapa in villages and on the land. The town overtook Greytown as the major town of the region by the 1870s and became a borough in 1877. The rail connection with Wellington in 1880 saw Masterton become the region's main market and distribution point.<sup>118</sup> This connection was made possible through the use of the Fell Engine to conquer the extreme 1 in 14 to 1 in 16 gradient on the Wairarapa side of the Remutaka Incline.<sup>119</sup>

Some local sites were of significance, not just to the Cairns family, but also to the wider community, including the nation as a whole. Of family and local significance were the likes of Brancepeth Station, a property that epitomised the efforts and accomplishments of the early settler-runholders and where family members had worked and where their children had been born, while sites such as Te Ore Ore and Papawai Marae were of personal, local and even national significance, with Keith assisting with Mass services from a

---

<sup>115</sup> McFadgen, B. G., 2003. *Archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy: Wairarapa : A Study in Tectonic Archaeology*. Department of Conservation. p. 76

<sup>116</sup> Rangitane o Wairarapa, 2019. *Aratoi's Pathways, A brief timeline of the Wairarapa*. Accessed 15 December 2021. <https://rangitaneeducation.com/aratois-pathways-a-brief-timeline-of-the-wairarapa/>

<sup>117</sup> Potangaroa, J., 2010. *Tuna Kuwharuwharu - The Longfin Eel*. ISBN 978-0-473-16583-3. Accessed 15 December 2021. <https://rangitaneeducation.com/tuna-kuwharuwharu-longfin-eel/>

<sup>118</sup> Schrader, B., 'Wairarapa places - Masterton', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 16 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-3>

<sup>119</sup> Masterton District Library. *The Fell Engine*. Accessed 15 December 2021. <https://library.mstn.govt.nz/wairarapa-stories/transport/the-fell-engine>

young age, and Papawai being the site of the Māori Parliament in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Initially founded in 1856 by Jack Hutton and four Beetham brothers in the Wainuioru Valley near Masterton, what was to become Brancepeth Station began with a 4,000 hectare leasehold property.<sup>120</sup> At its peak, Brancepeth was the largest sheep-station in the Wairarapa, with approximately 24,000 hectares running up to 100,000 sheep, and employing hundreds of workers, including Keith's grand-parents, Emily and William Allsworth.<sup>121</sup> It grew from a few buildings to become something resembling a small village, including buildings that remained from its inception all the way up to the large homestead which was constructed in 1905.<sup>122</sup> Lydia Wevers notes that Brancepeth included:

a schoolhouse with a schoolmaster for their [employees'] children, food, tobacco, stationery and other small wants and necessities; the usual cookhouse and sleeping whares; and a substantial station library.<sup>123</sup>

The Station was divided several times early in the twentieth century, due to the threat of compulsory subdivision from around 1905 through to just after World War II, until all that remained was approximately 520 hectares of the original run.<sup>124</sup> The story of Brancepeth Station was echoed throughout the nation as many early runholders saw their lands divided and distributed to meet the demands of an increasing population.<sup>125</sup>

Te Ore Ore marae is on the eastern outskirts of Masterton. The people of the marae are mainly from Ngāti Hamua, a Rangitāne sub-tribe. The original meeting house, built by the prophet and leader Pāora Te Pōtangaroa, opened in 1881. While it was being built, Pāora fell out with the master carver and prophet Te Kere. Quitting the project, Te Kere predicted the house would take eight years to finish: it was completed in three. Mocking Te Kere's prophetic powers, Pāora named the building Ngā Tau e Waru (the eight years). In 1939 Ngā Tau e Waru burnt down, and many valuable carvings were lost. It was replaced by a new meeting house of the same name.<sup>126</sup>

Founded in the same year as Masterton, Greytown was briefly the largest settlement in the Wairarapa before being bypassed by the railway in the 1870s due to flooding issues from the Waiohine

---

<sup>120</sup> Heritage New Zealand, 'Brancepeth Station', Heritage New Zealand. Accessed 14 May 2022. <https://www.heritage.org.nz/the-list/details/7649>

<sup>121</sup> Ibid.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid.

<sup>123</sup> Lydia Wevers, *Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2010).p. 17

<sup>124</sup> Heritage New Zealand, 'Brancepeth Station', Heritage New Zealand. Accessed 14 May 2022. <https://www.heritage.org.nz/the-list/details/7649>

<sup>125</sup> Ibid

<sup>126</sup> Schrader, B., 2015. 'Wairarapa places - Masterton', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 22 December 2021. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-3>

River to the north of the settlement. The town was named after Governor Sir George Grey.<sup>127</sup> Papawai marae, which became the site of the Paremata Maori (Maori Parliament) of the Kotahitanga movement of the late 19th-early 20th century, was established near Greytown in 1850. Te Mānihera Te Rangi-taka-i-waho (Ngāti Kahungunu) was the early leader at Papawai, succeeded by Hāmuera Tamahau Mahupuku along with Te Mānihera's half-brother, Hoani Te Rangi-taka-i-waho. Mahupuku was a larger than life figure who oversaw an expansion of the marae, with the establishment of Hikurangi, Aotea and Te Waipounamu, three significant buildings on the site. Hikurangi was the meeting house of the marae, while Aotea and Te Waipounamu housed the Maori Parliament, which sat there in 1897 and 1898.<sup>128</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup> Schrader, B., '*Wairarapa places - Greytown*', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 16 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-6>

<sup>128</sup> Schrader, B., '*Wairarapa places - Papawai marae*', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 16 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-7>

## CHAPTER FOUR: CHANGING COMMUNITIES

The years from 1945 to 1987 saw significant changes in a number of communities to which Keith belonged. By examining these changes it is possible to observe how the world that had helped to shape Keith began to move away from under him in some areas, such as his anthropological pursuits, even while other areas in his life, such as his family and faith, grew. I close this chapter with a brief discussion on the relationship between researchers and the communities they research as the relationship between the researcher and the subjects of their research are at the heart of any such project. The changes that occurred over the course of Keith's lifetime changed the nature of those relationships, creating new challenges and new opportunities for all concerned.

A new family, the Second Vatican Council, the resurgence of Māori culture and conflict over land and language, the professionalisation of academic subjects and legislative changes, and the social and economic changes in the region presented Keith with several challenges and opportunities after coming home from World War II. The work that Keith had done in the RNZAF enabled him to pursue business opportunities of his own, though ill health would see him shift careers in the early 1960s. The legislative changes in the field of heritage preservation and the professionalisation of anthropology and the subsequent demand for 'professional' content in their associated journals, effectively relegating Keith and other amateurs to the point of being 'second-class' participants – 'not qualified, but thanks for sharing.' Despite all of the changes and challenges, it is clear that Keith never stopped learning and sharing what he had learned. Throughout those years of change, Keith also remained steadfast in his faith and, as with many of his pursuits, he was always prepared to adapt and grow.

### FAMILY

Returning from the war and re-establishing himself in civilian life, Keith set about his new career as a jeweller and watchmaker. He was very much involved with the entertainments of the day, particularly music and dancing, and it was at one such occasion that Keith met the person who would be with him for the rest of his life, supporting him in all his endeavours. Keith met Shirley Fitzgerald at the Hunt Club Ball in Featherston in 1951, they were engaged in 1953, and married at Saint Patrick's Church, Kilbirnie, Wellington on 20 February 1954. The couple moved to Masterton and Shirley gradually got to know all the people that Keith knew from growing up in the town. Shirley was an outsider, marrying into a well-established community, though her mother, Mary (nee Chapman) had been born there in 1887. She was taken under the wing by Keith's father, Jock, who helped her negotiate the new networks of people and



places to which she had to become accustomed.<sup>1</sup> The couple had five children, all born in Masterton, Wairarapa.

All of the children were educated in Masterton, with all but Judy and Peter being educated exclusively at Catholic-affiliated schools. Judith (Judy) was born in 1955, and was educated at St Patrick's School before attending St Bride's then Mākoura College. Judy now lives in Sydney, Australia and works in care and housing. Anthony (Tony) was born in 1958 and educated at St Patrick's School then St Joseph's College. Tony lives and works in Wellington as a science educator. Peter was born in 1960, and attended Central School then St Joseph's College which became Chanel College during his time there. He started work as a farm worker before travelling for a time as a missionary with Youth With a Mission in India, then Australia, where he settled. Robert (Bob) was born in 1963 and attended St Joseph's/Chanel College. Bob now operates a corporate gaming facility with his wife on their farm in Sweden. Russell was born in Masterton in 1965 and attended St Patrick's School then St Joseph's/Chanel College. He moved to Australia and is a Digital Technology/STEAM educator in NSW. The boys, in particular, spent a lot of time with Keith exploring the natural environment and prehistory of the Wairarapa, as well as participating in numerous Science Fairs with some awards and prizes being won.<sup>2</sup>

Keith and the boys would tramp the hills and ranges of the region looking for dendroglyphs (engravings on living trees), shelters, kainga, and pa sites. When on these missions, Keith and the boys could be away for a week or so, while Shirley and Judy stayed at home. Walking for miles up hill and down dale was not everyone's idea of fun. Active participant or not, Keith's enthusiasm for his topics were contagious and all of the children have worked in care, education or environmental protection at some point in their careers to date. Tony completed several tertiary qualifications, including a BA (Sociology & Anthropology) and a BSc (Genetics, Zoology & Marine Biology) from Victoria University, Wellington, and spent a number of years working in museums and as researcher before becoming an educator. Bob was a crucial part of a small team that eradicated possums from Kapiti Island and was described as one of two men who 'provided the physical and psychological backbone of the operation.'<sup>3</sup> This generation of the Cairns family dispersed around the globe, leaving the community in which they had grown and which their ancestors had lived for generations. This diaspora was a familiar story for many families and communities in

---

<sup>1</sup> Cairns Family Interview. Author. 01 May 2021.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Bob won the Wellington Branch Royal Society of New Zealand - Best Exhibit in Fair for his exhibit titled '*Man Killed Out The Moa*' in 1976, a substantial body of work that included moa bone casts from Keith's collection.

<sup>3</sup> Brown, K.P. and Sherley, G.H. 'The eradication of possums from Kapiti Island, New Zealand' in Veitch, C. R. and Clout, M. N. (eds.). *Turning the tide: the eradication of invasive species*. IUCN SSC Invasive Species Specialist Group. IUCN, Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge UK. p. 51

the post-war world of the latter 20th century with rapid urbanisation particularly affecting Māori, even becoming official government policy after the release of the Hunn Report in 1961.<sup>4</sup>

## FAITH

Keith's faith was central to his identity and how he expressed that identity. He had been raised in the Catholic Church and practised his faith daily, having served from his youth in assisting Monsignor Nicholas Moore as he delivered the Mass and administered the sacraments at Te Ore Ore Marae and St Patrick's Church in Masterton. The Catholic Church as a community of faith worldwide was enjoying a period of growth in the twentieth century, keeping pace with the growth of the global population, with Catholics making up approximately fifty percent of that number. In the Asia-Pacific region, the share of the population that identified as Christian grew from three to seven percent.<sup>5</sup>

Described by J.W. O'Malley as 'the most important religious event of the twentieth century', the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican (also known as the Second Vatican Council, or simply Vatican II), was called by Pope John XXIII to bring the Church into the twentieth century.<sup>6</sup> Vatican II was completed in four sessions between 1962 and 1965 and opened by John XXIII in 1962, though he died in 1963, with the remaining sessions being opened and closed by the new Pope, Paul VI. The outcomes were sixteen documents promulgated in the name of Pope Paul VI and the council. The documents had been extensively debated by the 2,200 bishops who met in the basilica of St Peter in Rome, and carefully researched and prepared by the army of experts and others who supported and worked between the sessions to prepare.<sup>7</sup>

The political and cultural contexts in which Vatican II was called and the issue it tried to address was essentially 'modernism.' With new ideas about science and culture and what it meant to be human, the Cold War and potential nuclear confrontation, and the consequences of the holocaust, the question the Church tried to answer came down to: how was the Church going to relate to and remain relevant in this changing world?<sup>8</sup>

Of the sixteen documents, the four 'constitutions,' are considered of the highest importance and rank: On the Sacred Liturgy (Sacrosanctum Concilium); On the Church (Lumen Gentium); On Divine

---

<sup>4</sup> Richard S. Hill. *Maori and the State: Crown-Māori relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950-2000.* NZETC Epub Edition. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University of Wellington. 2015. p. 329

See also:

J. K. Hunn, *Report on Department of Maori Affairs: with statistical supplement*, 24 August 1960. Wellington: Government Printer, 1961.;

Biggs, Bruce. "Maori Affairs and the Hunn Report." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 70, no. 3 (1961): 361–64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20703918>.

<sup>5</sup> Hackett, C. and Grim, B.J. *Global Christianity - A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population*. Washington D.C.: Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life. p. 10

<sup>6</sup> O'Malley, J.W. 2010. *What Happened at Vatican II*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. pp. 1-2

<sup>7</sup> O'Malley, J.W. 2010. p. 2

<sup>8</sup> O'Malley, J.W. 2010. pp. 4-5

Revelation (Dei Verbum); and On the Church in the Modern World (Gaudium et Spes).<sup>9</sup> The essence of the outcomes were: a universal call to holiness, the responsibility of every believer to build the Church; a desire to seek more unity with all Christians, and to seek peace with other religions; that the Church operate in the modern world through the use of new technologies, such as communications technology; a call for renewal of the Church to be a light to the world bringing the truth of Christ to the whole of humanity; and the importance of reading and engaging with scripture for all, lay and religious.

Perhaps the most significant was the nature of the Eucharist and how lay people could and should participate in this central expression of the faith. Most priests now faced the people when celebrating Mass, emphasising the role of the lay people in the ceremony. Lay people participated in other ways, such as the reading of scripture verses, which was more prominent in the service. Priests were also able to say the Mass in the language of the local community in which they served. This practice had been carried out by Monsignor Moore for a number of years, with Keith learning the Mass and much of the prayer book in Te Reo Māori since he was an altar boy at Te Ore Ore marae, though Monsignor Moore was less patient in other areas of change, such as alterations to the liturgy.<sup>10</sup> Lay people were now involved in preparing and leading prayer in the Prayers of the Faithful and assisting at Communion. The call to more unity and cooperation with other Christian groups resulted in a number of multi-denominational and faith events in the Wairarapa, in which Keith participated fully.

The number of Christians around the world grew significantly between 1910 and 2010, though, with the world's overall population also rising rapidly, the number of those professing Christianity as a percentage of the world's population remained in the mid-thirty-percent range.<sup>11</sup> Since 2006, the religious affiliation of respondents in the New Zealand Census in the Masterton District has seen a marked shift. In 2006, the number of people identifying as 'Christian' was 57.7% of the population in the Masterton District, with 33.4% marking 'No religion' and 7.3% marking 'Object to answering.'<sup>12</sup> In the 2018 census, 'Christian' respondents had reduced to just 37.7%, 'No religion' had risen to 50.2%, and 'Object to answering' had also risen slightly to 8%.<sup>13</sup> This appears to match a national shift in religious identity, and is consistent with the global trend in Western nations.<sup>14</sup>

---

<sup>9</sup> O'Malley, J.W. 2010. p. 2

<sup>10</sup> Hills, Claire, *"The Amalgamation of Secondary Schools : A Case Study of Amalgamation Culture Shock in a Rural New Zealand Catholic Community"* (Thesis, Massey University, 1999), Massey Research Online. p. 50

<sup>11</sup> Vegard Skirbekk, Marcin Stonawski, and Anne Goujon, *"Global Christianity: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population,"* December 1, 2011. p. 9

<sup>12</sup> 'Christian' is a broad term covering many faith communities.

<sup>13</sup> Stats NZ. 2018. 2018 Census place summaries. *'Place Summaries | Masterton District'* Accessed 22 December 2021. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-place-summaries/masterton-district>

<sup>14</sup> Stats NZ. 2018. 2018 Census place summaries. *'Place Summaries | New Zealand'* Accessed 22 December 2021. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/tools/2018-census-place-summaries/new-zealand>; Skirbekk, Stonawski, and Goujon, *"Global Christianity: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population."* p. 10

## EDUCATION

From 1935, a programme of education reforms was begun by the newly elected Labour Party. The Proficiency examination was removed resulting in students being able to be enrolled in high school education having only completed Standard Six (Year 8). The school leaving age was raised to 15 in 1944, eventually being raised to 16 in 1989, also by the Labour Party.<sup>15</sup> In the 1950s and 60s, many more post-primary schools were established to serve the post-war population growth. Between 1943 and 1963, the number of post-primary students enrolled grew from 38,810 to 149,063.<sup>16</sup>

The Māori school system was phased out following the recommendations of the *Hunn Report* published in 1960, and, from the 1970s, a number of private and Catholic schools were integrated into the state school system which strained resources in the sector as funds were now being used to administer and maintain a greater number of schools.<sup>17</sup> A gradual change was taking place in the education system and in other areas towards a stronger recognition of the nation's bi-cultural and multi-cultural reality than had previously been the case, particularly in public policy-making.<sup>18</sup> In-service courses in Māoritanga were being offered for teachers throughout the country and Keith assisted in the delivery of a number of these courses in the Wairarapa.

District and Area schools were reorganised, with a number merging to form new, larger schools. In South Wairarapa, the merger of four district high schools from Greytown, Featherston, Martinborough, and Carterton to form Kuranui College, established in 1959. The college used tents for classrooms as the new school buildings, 'Nelson' blocks, were being built, before the college was officially opened in 1960 under its first principal, Sam Meads. From the 1970's onwards the amalgamation of single sex Catholic secondary schools into co-educational colleges saw St Bride's and St Joseph's Colleges amalgamated in 1978 forming Chanel College in Masterton.

The region also saw a number of formerly private schools at the secondary level become state-integrated schools – those that joined the state education system but retained their 'special character,'

---

<sup>15</sup> Nancy Swarbrick, 'Primary and secondary education - Education from the 1920s to 2000s', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 13 May 2022.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/primary-and-secondary-education/page-3>

<sup>16</sup> Stats NZ. 1945. *THE NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL YEAR-BOOK, 1945*. Accessed 16 May 2022.

[https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1945/NZOYB\\_1945.html#idchapter\\_1\\_53977](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1945/NZOYB_1945.html#idchapter_1_53977);

Stats NZ. 1965. *THE NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL YEAR-BOOK, 1965*. Accessed 16 May 2022.

[https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1965/NZOYB\\_1965.html#idchapter\\_1\\_61453](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1965/NZOYB_1965.html#idchapter_1_61453)

<sup>17</sup> Nancy Swarbrick, 'Primary and secondary education - Education from the 1920s to 2000s', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 13 May 2022.

<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/primary-and-secondary-education/page-3> ;

Tearney, Freya. (2016). *Working Paper 2016/03 - History of education in New Zealand*. McGuinness Institute. Wellington. Accessed 14 May 2022. p. 16

<https://www.mcguinnessinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/20161213-Working-Paper-2016%E8%80%A203-History-of-education-in-New-Zealand.pdf>.

<sup>18</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History Of New Zealand*. p. 467

which may have been be affiliation and teaching aligned with a particular faith or educational philosophy.<sup>19</sup> Solway College (Presbyterian), Chanel College, formerly St. Bride's and St. Patrick's Colleges (Catholic), and Rathkeale College and St Matthew's Collegiate (Anglican) were the earliest secondary schools and still retain their religious affiliations as secondary schools in the region. A number of primary schools also retained their affiliations with local faith communities, giving families the opportunity to ensure their child's education is aligned with their beliefs all through their compulsory education. St Mary's School in Carterton, St Teresa's Catholic Primary School in Featherston, and St Patrick's School in Masterton are the region's Catholic primary schools, while Hadlow Preparatory School is part of the Anglican-aligned Trinity Schools group in Masterton.

The Trinity Schools - Hadlow Preparatory School for boys and girls, St Matthew's Collegiate School for Girls and Rathkeale College for boys – had been established with very low numbers, though they too saw roll growth as the local population increased. Hadlow had grown from just 18 students to 100 by 1961. In 1964, Rathkeale College was added, with the Senior College at Rathkeale being formalised in 1988 and girls from St Matthew's in Year 12 and 13 attending classes on the Rathkeale Campus. Rathkeale College and St Matthew's Collegiate were fully integrated in 1992.<sup>20</sup> As private schools, their fees can be substantial though limited scholarships offer some financial relief on a year by year basis.<sup>21</sup> This limits the families who are able to enrol their children to those with the financial means to do so. As a result, the private schools have been viewed as somewhat elitist and their student rolls have remained relatively small compared to their state system peers. In 1974, just prior to both schools amalgamating in 1978 forming Chanel College, St Bride's had a roll of 168, and was showing consistent growth, while St Joseph's had a roll of 240 in 1973.<sup>22</sup> In July 2021, Chanel had a roll of 206 students across Years 7-13, with student ethnic groups listed as 67% European/Pākehā, 16.5% Māori, 5.8% Pacific, and 10.2% Asian.<sup>23</sup>

## INTERESTS

### The Polynesian Society

The Polynesian Society and the New Zealand Archaeological Association are just two of many organisations

---

<sup>19</sup> Ministry of Education New Zealand. *'Types of schools and year levels – Education in New Zealand'*. Accessed 28 December 2021.

<https://www.education.govt.nz/school/new-zealands-network-of-schools/about/types-of-schools-and-year-levels/>

<sup>20</sup> Trinity Schools Trust Board. Accessed 22 December 2021. <http://www.trinityschools.org.nz>

<sup>21</sup> In 2022, Rathkeale & St Matthew's yearly charges are \$7,700 for day students and \$21,700 for boarders up to and including Year 11. There is an additional \$400 per year charged for Year 12 & 13 day and boarding students.

Sources:

<https://www.rathkeale.school.nz/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/2022-Schedule-of-Charges-Rathkeale.pdf>

<https://www.stmatts.school.nz/wp-content/uploads/2021/11/2022-Schedule-of-Charges-St-Matthews.pdf>

<sup>22</sup> Claire Hills, *'The Amalgamation Of Secondary Schools: A Case Study Of Amalgamation Culture Shock In A Rural New Zealand Catholic Community.'* Massey University. 1999. p. 80

<sup>23</sup> Education Counts. *Chanel College: Student Population - Age*. Accessed 21 December 2021.

<https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/find-school/school/population/age?district=&region=&school=244>

affected by the developing professionalisation of the anthropological sciences within New Zealand. Since its establishment in 1892, the Polynesian Society's membership, location, and social and cultural contexts have evolved. Membership grew, slowly at first, from the initial 115 members, composed of a mix of amateur and professional individuals and organisations which has also changed significantly over the years.

In 1892, the Society counted just two prestigious institutions in its membership: the Oahu College Library, in Honolulu, Hawai'i, and the Smithsonian Institute in Philadelphia, United States of America. As noted previously, the membership also included clergy, judges, politicians, two knights of chivalric orders, and three Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society. The bulk of the membership, however, were amateurs. A number were or would become household names in New Zealand, recognizable to many, if not for their deeds, then for the institutions, buildings, streets or mountains that would bear their names, in New Zealand or around the Pacific nations: Emerson, Cartwright, Gudgeon, Govett, Gill, Hocken, Tregear, and Turnbull to name just a few.

*Table 1. Polynesian Society Membership 1892 - 1980<sup>24</sup>*

Year	Membership Total*
1892	115
1927	332
1947	374
1956	748
1963	1129
1980	1250

\*Membership Totals include Ordinary, Corresponding and Honorary members

By 1927, the membership had more than doubled. Along with an increase in individual memberships, more academic institutions were added, as were museums and city libraries. Libraries at Cambridge and Manchester Universities, museums across New Zealand and around the world, such as the Field Museum of Natural History in Chicago, and city libraries such as Boston, New York, New South Wales and New Plymouth signed on to gain access to the *Journal of the Polynesian Society*. 1947 saw only a small increase in membership, with the war having a considerable impact on all of the resources of the Society, particularly on the personnel available to do the work.<sup>25</sup> 1956 saw the membership doubled again, with progress slowing considerably afterwards. The seven years that followed managed only a 381 membership increase, with the next 17 years only adding 121 to the roster. In 1968, the membership reached its zenith

<sup>24</sup> Data from Polynesian Society Lists of Members for years 1892 - 1963. 1980 data from Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty*. p. 134

<sup>25</sup> Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty*. p. 86

at 1468 and began to decline thereafter. Stagnating membership was not a surprise to the Council, but the halcyon days of the 1950s, when W.R. (Bill) Geddes, Senior Lecturer in anthropology at Auckland University College, and his staff were able to 'dragoon a considerable number of their students into joining the Society at the full rate' were long over.<sup>26</sup>

A recruitment committee was established with David Simmons, an ethnologist at the Auckland Institute and Museum and a Society Council member, at its helm. Simmons presented a paper to Council in 1983 which reminded them of what was already known - the Society had low turnouts at its one public meeting a year, the Annual General Meeting, and a Journal which, while retaining its prestige, contained 'a lot of very dull material' which was 'very hard to read.'<sup>27</sup> As Sorrenson notes:

From a journal that had originally published the observations and speculations of amateur scholars and the oral traditions of kaumatua, it had become purely professional, the main vehicle for publication by academic anthropologists interested in the Maori and other Pacific peoples.<sup>28</sup>

Patronage of the Society changed little over the years. The Society's first patron was Queen Liliuokalani of Hawaii, her patronage continuing, despite the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893, until 1899 whereupon she became an honorary member until her death in 1917. From 1900 until 1980, the incumbent Governor-General of New Zealand held the title. In 1981, Te Arikini Dame Te Atairangikaahu became Patron of the Society and served until her death in 2006. Her patronage also provided the Society with a change of venue when she invited the Council to Waahi Marae in 1982, with no record in the Council files of any other meeting before then being held on a marae.<sup>29</sup>

Other changes in the 1980s saw women elected to Council for the first time: Judith Huntsman in 1982, Ann Chowning in 1984, and Margaret Mutu in 1985. The first Pasifika member of Council, Samoan historian Malama Meleiseā, was elected in 1989. This decade also saw the last of the 'old amateurs' step away from the Council. After 31 years, Tony Batley stepped down in 1986, and Les Lockerbie followed in 1987, after 29 years of service on the Council.<sup>30</sup> The Society remained a reflection of the people it served - 'a male dominated anthropological profession' which was increasingly run by academics for other academics.

The Society had begun its life in Wellington, but the establishment and success of the Auckland University College's Anthropology Department from 1950 began a transition of necessity and expedience for first the *Journal*, then the administration of the Society as a whole. The editorial team in Auckland worked diligently to clear a backlog of submissions accepted for publication and received praise from the

---

<sup>26</sup> Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty*. p. 133

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

<sup>28</sup> Sorreson, *Manifest Duty*. p. 137

<sup>29</sup> Sorreson, *Manifest Duty*. p. 132

<sup>30</sup> Sorreson, *Manifest Duty*. pp. 131-132

membership for an invigorated style and range of content.<sup>31</sup> There remained an underlying tension between the amateur and professional ‘camps.’ New technologies also stirred the pot, such as radiocarbon dating, which gave a measure of certainty when dating artefactual remains and brought doubt on the traditionalist approach of genealogically based chronologies introduced to New Zealand by Percy Smith and being used by regular contributors to the *Journal*, such as Leslie Adkin and J.W.B. Robertson. Radiocarbon dating was used on a number of artefacts unearthed in the Wairarapa, and Keith Cairns, Les Lockerbie, and other amateurs published pieces which made use of this and other new technologies as they were being introduced.<sup>32</sup>

With Bill Geddes’ appointment as co-editor of the *Journal* in 1954 came a fresh design and reassurances that amateurs and professionals would continue to be served by the *Journal* and its editorial team. From then on, editors of the *Journal* were drawn from the University of Auckland Anthropology Department. The range of articles published in the *Journal* became more diverse; an increasing proportion provided by professional anthropologists, the staff and students of the Auckland Anthropology Department and leading social anthropologists in the United States. Despite these assurances, however, friction between amateur and professional remained.<sup>33</sup>

Andrew Sharp’s work, ‘*Ancient Voyagers in the Pacific*,’ published by the Society in 1956 created ‘a lively controversy, much of it waged in the [Journal].’ Sharp’s contention was that the Polynesian voyagers had lacked the navigational technology to purposefully find their way across the vast oceans, and had instead stumbled across the most remote Pacific islands, including Hawai’i and New Zealand, in one-way voyages that resulted in an ‘accidental’ migration. This view differed markedly from the traditionalist views of two-way navigation supported in the works of the likes of Percy Smith, Elsdon Best and Peter Buck.<sup>34</sup> Many academics supported the ‘new’ - which was not entirely new - idea of accidental migration, while others held to the traditionalist line of purposeful navigation by skilled seafarers. Jack Golson defended Sharp’s work, while Leslie Adkin held the traditional banner and attacked Sharp’s ideas in the *Journal*. The debate provided opportunities for published arguments and counter-arguments for many years.

The location of the Society’s library was another source of contention in the tensions between Auckland and Wellington. The question was resolved by a postal ballot which resulted in the library being placed in the Alexander Turnbull Library. A lower North Island contingent had sent an open letter to Society members prior to the vote, encouraging them to choose the more geographically central location of

---

<sup>31</sup> Sorreson, *Manifest Duty*. pp. 99-107

<sup>32</sup> Knox, F.B., Cairns, K.R., Hitchings, M. 1961. Introduction to resistivity surveying. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 4: 159-160

Cairns, K.R.; Lockerbie, L. 1980. Radiocarbon dates from Castlepoint. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 23: 268

<sup>33</sup> Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty*. p. 107

<sup>34</sup> Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty*. p. 107



Wellington.<sup>35</sup> While it is unclear whether the open letter had any direct influence on the vote, the result was very clearly in favour of the Wellington-based option.<sup>36</sup> The Wellington membership's contribution to the Society continued through the 1960s and 70s, with Jock McEwen serving as President from 1959 to 1979. John Booth served alongside McEwen as Secretary from 1958 to 1971.

The expansion of anthropology and the social sciences in New Zealand universities at this time also contributed to a period of growth for the Polynesian Society, which also had an effect on the membership as more departments, staff and students were added to the roll. The need to meet the expectations and interests of the academic membership and readership of the Journal saw both becoming more a vehicle for professional anthropology and associated disciplines than for the amateurs. The decline in membership after 1968 could be attributed in part to the rise of new publications with the same audience, but the over-specialisation of the Journal was also putting amateurs off. Some amateurs remained, including Council stalwarts like Tony Batley, Keith Cairns and Les Lockerbie, but Batley last published in the Journal in 1973, leaving in 1986, Cairns had only published once in 1958 and died in 1987, while Lockerbie left in 1987 and died in 1996, leaving a substantial collection of collected materials, some of which was left in the care of the Owaka Museum.<sup>37</sup>

1979 and 1980 were to be the pivotal years in the Auckland-Wellington dichotomy. The Auckland University Bindery replaced Wellington printers, Consolidated Press Holdings, who had often delayed production for months on end.<sup>38</sup> In 1979, Society Secretary Peter Ranby moved to Auckland to take a position as a Senior Tutor in the Anthropology Department, and Jock McEwen stepped down as President to be replaced by Bruce Biggs, Professor of Linguistics and Māori Studies in the Auckland Anthropology Department. The printer, the Secretary and the President were all now based in Auckland and the next logical step was for the Council to resolve to transfer the Society's registered office to Auckland which they did at the March 1980 meeting. The last A.G.M. held in Wellington was on 10 July 1980.<sup>39</sup>

### **The New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA)**

Garry Law notes that, while his early interest in archaeology was sparked and encouraged by his father's amateur pursuit in the field, 'few children seem to follow archaeologist parents,' into the profession.<sup>40</sup> Law adds that their family interest 'had great encouragement from professionals and wonderful opportunities for participation,' but that such encouragement and opportunities were 'peculiar to the times.'<sup>41</sup> In the

---

<sup>35</sup> Keith Cairns personal files supplied by Cairns family. 01052102.pdf

<sup>36</sup> Sorrenson, *Manifest Duty*. p. 119

<sup>37</sup> De Reus, H., 'Treasures put in order.' Otago Daily Times. 30 July 2012. Accessed 09 January 2022.  
<https://www.odt.co.nz/regions/south-otago/treasures-put-order>

<sup>38</sup> *Manifest Duty*, p. 130

<sup>39</sup> *Manifest Duty*, p. 130

<sup>40</sup> Campbell, *Digging into History : 50 Years of the New Zealand Archaeological Association*. p. 154

<sup>41</sup> Campbell. p. 157

‘more constrained and correct world,’ Law concludes, ‘the attraction is much less,’ as were the ‘opportunities for a return from that encouragement.’<sup>42</sup> The era of free-range fossicking for archaeological gold had passed. The professionalisation of the field and legislative changes introduced to preserve and protect what remained undisturbed had dampened enthusiasm somewhat, though not entirely. Mary O’Keefe takes a different view, noting that, while archaeology in New Zealand ‘is a very different beast’ from the ‘pioneering days of the 1940s and 50s,’ the enthusiasm of the members remains, though ‘governance and practice’ had not kept pace with the rise of professionalism in the field.<sup>43</sup> In addressing the issue of trespassing with Archaeological Association members in the Newsletter in 1969, John Daniels noted that ‘the goodwill of landowners is vital to archaeologists, and the general rule must still be to request permission before entering on any land.’<sup>44</sup> The emphasis added here is on the relationship between the archaeologist and the land-owner.

### **New Zealand's Historic Places Legislation**

The Historic Places Act 1954 gave the Trust the power to acquire any land or places for the purpose of maintaining and preserving them, though this was debated and amended a number of times over the years that followed.<sup>45</sup> The Trust, the New Zealand Archaeological Association and the general community, particularly those whose property might be affected by powers being used under the authority of such legislation, argued over the most appropriate methods to protect historic places.<sup>46</sup>

The question of classification and the protections that classification provided for the site and the artefacts, and the process that was required to administer the proposed system led to amendments in 1975 and 1980 that established a ranking system for buildings and an authority consent procedure for archaeological sites, though Allen notes that the provision for a register of archaeological sites to be established by the 1980 amendment did little to actually protect sites.<sup>47</sup> The 1975 Amendment had established a system to preserve the information that could be obtained from a site, through a consent procedure that developers could follow that, if granted, gave authority to alter or even destroy a site as long as they paid for an investigation that could save the information contained within the site before it

---

<sup>42</sup> Campbell. p. 157

<sup>43</sup> Mary O’Keefe, “‘PROFESSIONAL’ ARCHAEOLOGY —THE NEXT FRONTIER,” *Archaeology in New Zealand* 46, no. 1 (2003). p. 33

<sup>44</sup> John Daniels, “ON TRESPASS - A NOTE ON THE TRESPASS ACT 1968,” *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 12, no. 4 (n.d.): 228–29.

<sup>45</sup> Evolving legislation in the Historic Places Act, Trust, Trust powers & control, funding since the 1950s has included the Historic Places Act 1954 (and several amendments), Nature Conservation Act (1962), Resource Management Act (1991), Historic Places Act (1993), Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act (2014), and the establishment of the Māori Heritage Council.

<sup>46</sup> Harry Allen, “PROTECTION FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND THE NZ HPT REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES, HISTORIC AREAS, WAHI TAPU AND WAHI TAPU AREAS,” *Archaeology in New Zealand* 37 (1994): p. 209

<sup>47</sup> Allen. p. 209, 223

was physically altered.<sup>48</sup>

This 'salvage archaeology' focussed on the information and not in situ preservation which drew the rancour of some conservationists and archaeologists.<sup>49</sup> This approach was particularly questionable in the cases of traditional sites or wahi tapu, with the majority of archaeological sites in Aotearoa New Zealand being of Māori origin, an issue of particular interest and concern to Keith in the Wairarapa, where his survey of local sites registered dozens of locations alongside the many sites listed in the New Zealand Archaeological Association Site Record.<sup>50</sup> The location of many wahi tapu were often known only through preserved oral traditions or, in some cases, documented accounts, and their permanent protection could only be achieved through the cooperation of all stakeholders, primarily tangata whenua.<sup>51</sup>

An example of some of the tensions in play with the discovery of such wahi tapu can be found in the discovery of multiple burial sites in the sand dunes at Castlepoint, on the Wairarapa coast between 1975 and 1977. Several bones were missing by the time Keith arrived at the site during one such discovery in 1976. He was able to secure what remained and a 'four-man team of archaeologists from the National Museum in Wellington' were dispatched to inspect the site with Keith's help.<sup>52</sup> This work was carried out with the knowledge and cooperation of the Wairarapa Māori Executive Committee at the time, though at numerous hui many were reluctant to have the bones removed for reburial elsewhere, and one elderly delegate recalled the consequences of ignoring the tapu of such sites, recounting how 'that night he suffered.'<sup>53</sup>

Tensions rose during a Committee hui in 1976 where one delegate suggested 'the old people of 50 years ago would have shot us for the way we have handled this situation,' while George Hawkins (Waihenga) said that 'he was angered to hear that "graverobbers – and that is what they are" – had desecrated the sit (sic).' Keith was engaged by the Committee to prepare a full report on 'what the various authorities (Historic Places Trust, Masterton County, National Museum) intend[ed] doing with the site, and what [would] happen to bones and artefacts uncovered during excavation.'<sup>54</sup>

## CULTURE

The early days of Māori-Pākehā interactions in the Wairarapa were amicable and mutually beneficial, with land leased by Pākehā squatter-sheep farmers from Māori landlords proving a very successful arrangement.

---

<sup>48</sup> Allen. p. 210

<sup>49</sup> Allen. p. 211

<sup>50</sup> Bruce McFadgen, *Archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy: Wairarapa: A Study in Tectonic Archaeology.* p. 5

<sup>51</sup> Allen, "PROTECTION FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES AND THE NZ HPT REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES, HISTORIC AREAS, WAHI TAPU AND WAHI TAPU AREAS." p. 212

<sup>52</sup> Wairarapa Times Age, 'Archeologists to investigate at Castlepoint,' 29 June 1976;

Wairarapa Times Age, 'Archeologist discovers more human bones,' 21 February 1977 (ATL 88-070-07/08)

<sup>53</sup> The Evening Post, 'Maori Respect For Ancestors' Bones,' 28 March 1977; Wairarapa Times-Age, 3 July 1976.

<sup>54</sup> Wairarapa Times-Age, 'Strong Maori reaction to desecration of grave sites,' 16 August 1976.

With the calling of the *komiti nui* in 1853, a hui (gathering) also attended by Governor George Grey and Crown purchase agent Donald McLean, Māori began to be persuaded toward sale rather than lease arrangements for the land.

The establishment of the Native Land Court in 1865 was seen as a solution for Māori land grievances over disputed purchases with settlers, but proved to be primarily a mechanism to facilitate the purchase and settlement of more Māori land through the conversion of collective title and tenure of land to individual title which was far simpler to negotiate for purchase. In the Wairarapa, many land transactions prior to 1865 were still being disputed over such fundamental matters as 'boundaries, price, whether the right people had been paid, and whether they had even agreed to sell that land at all.'<sup>55</sup> Many Wairarapa Māori were looking for the security that title guaranteed by the Crown would bring in their dealings with their own land, and in having a proper forum for airing and resolving disputes.<sup>56</sup> The extended processes and associated costs of utilising that forum soon disillusioned Māori of the notion that the Land Court was in place to do them any favour or service.<sup>57</sup> Later reforms to the Court were too little, too late for Wairarapa Māori.<sup>58</sup>

Wairarapa Moana (Lake Wairarapa and Lake Ōnoke) had provided local Māori with food and trade through the sizable tuna (freshwater eel) fishery that relied on an open path through the mouth at the bottom of Lake Ōnoke. The eels only make the journey to the sub-tropical Pacific Ocean once, at the end of their lives, to breed and die. Their larvae drift back to New Zealand waters on the ocean currents before transforming into 'glass' eels, transparent eels that darken as they move further inland.<sup>59</sup> The closure of the mouth for the eel harvest, or at other times due to weather, caused the lakes to flood, covering large areas of otherwise rich grazing land which frustrated the settler farmers in the area. They attempted to widen the mouth of the lake through earthworks, but Māori men and women, led by Ngāti Kahungunu's Piripi Te Maari-o-te-rangi, worked together to refill the trench.<sup>60</sup> The confrontation led to a court case, which Māori lost before petitioning Parliament who found in their favour. Piripi Te Maari-o-te-rangi died soon after and in 1896, Hāmuera Tamahau Mahupuku gifted the lakes to the Crown in exchange for £2000 and the promise of land to be set aside for local Māori. The land eventually set aside was part of the Pouākani Block in southern Waikato, which consisted of swamp and undeveloped hills with infertile soils, many miles from their traditional whenua, on the ancestral land of another iwi, far removed from whanau, and without any

---

<sup>55</sup> Waitangi Tribunal (2010) *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report: Wai 863 - Combined Record of Inquiry for the Wairarapa Ki Tararua Claims*. Wai 863 volume 2. p. 530

<sup>56</sup> Wai 863 volume 2. p. 530

<sup>57</sup> Wai 863 volume 2. p. 532, 536-538

<sup>58</sup> Wai 863 volume 2. p. 540

<sup>59</sup> Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai, '*Eels: New Zealand freshwater fish.*' Wellington: New Zealand Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai. Accessed 12 January 2022.

<sup>60</sup> Schrader, B. (2015) '*Wairarapa places - Wairarapa lakes*', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 12 January 2022. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-11>

means of access.<sup>61</sup> The trauma experienced by generations of Wairarapa Māori resulting from these actions by the Crown in the region is still being felt today.

In 1944, New Zealand's population was estimated as 1,110,514, including 97,336 Māori, in the North Island and 565,779, including 3,534 Māori, in the South Island.<sup>62</sup> By the census of 1986, the population had more than doubled to 3.3 million.<sup>63</sup> From the 1950s, the growth of the nation saw more urbanisation, particularly for Māori. Economic growth meant work opportunities and work meant money for possessions and entertainments which enticed young Māori away from their traditional rural upbringing to the bright lights of the towns and cities. With the release of the Hunn Report in 1963, this urban shift for Māori became government policy.

Jack Hunn, born in Masterton in 1906, attended Wairarapa High School and was a career civil servant who became a commissioner in the Public Service Commission and served in the capacity of Commissioner, the temporary head of department at the Departments of Justice, Internal Affairs and, in January 1960, Māori Affairs. He later served as Secretary of Defence, Secretary of Maori Affairs, and Secretary of Justice. It was during his time at the Department of Māori Affairs that Hunn wrote his report which gave a comprehensive account of the then current state of Māori in New Zealand.<sup>64</sup> Hunn argued that integration and urbanisation were not only practical but inevitable solutions for Māori to move forward in New Zealand society. The Māori Education Foundation and the New Zealand Māori Council were established in 1961 and 1963 respectively, and significant advances were made in social housing, as was seen in Masterton with the building of over 300 houses in Masterton East, also known as 'the Cameron Block.'

Māori and Pasifika populations grew quickly after the war, reaching 400,000 and 100,000 respectively by 1980 out of a total population of less than 3.2 million.<sup>65</sup> The rising biculturalism of New Zealand was becoming multiculturalism. But this rapid urbanisation led to warnings from some. In *The Maori and New Zealand Politics*, Professor J.G.A Pocock wrote:

[the] theme [of this book] may be summarised as 'how Maori lost their land and with it their social structure and traditions; and how they recovered from this loss through prophecy and politics'.<sup>66</sup>

---

<sup>61</sup> Ibid; Wai 863 volume 2. p. 709

<sup>62</sup> Stats NZ. 1945. *THE NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL YEAR-BOOK, 1945*. Accessed 16 May 2022.  
[https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1945/NZOYB\\_1945.html](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1945/NZOYB_1945.html)

<sup>63</sup> Stats NZ. 1988. *THE NEW ZEALAND OFFICIAL YEAR-BOOK, 1987-88*. Accessed 16 May 2022.  
[https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1987-88/NZOYB\\_1987-88.html](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1987-88/NZOYB_1987-88.html)

<sup>64</sup> Williams, R. M. 'Hunn, Jack Kent', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2000, updated July, 2011. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 12 January 2022.

<sup>65</sup> King, M., 2004. *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books. pp. 467-478

<sup>66</sup> Pocock, J. G. A. (Ed.). (1965). *The Maori and New Zealand politics*. Auckland, New Zealand: Blackwood and Janet Paul Ltd. p. 11

This collection of 'talks from a N.Z.B.C. series with additional essays' included work from Keith Sinclair, M.P.K. Sorrenson, John A. Williams and others, which pointed to a future New Zealand with urban ghettos, 'urban areas where a distinctly pigmented minority have to live with bad houses, bad schools and unrewarding jobs - and, when faced with such ghettos, the Pakeha may find that he is more prejudiced than he likes to believe, and that his prejudices help condemn them to continued existence.'<sup>67</sup> It was almost prophetic in its portrayal of the nation that grew from the consequences of the policies adopted from the Hunn Report. Whakama, Pocock writes, would become a 'bitter sense of rejection' and 'ideologies of alienation and ambivalence may arise.'<sup>68</sup> Arise they certainly did. Motorcycle gangs who rejected society's mores grew from the 'youthful, largely working-class, subcultural movement that emerged in the 1950s.'<sup>69</sup> These young organisations, both in terms of age of members and experience, 'grew up' into the outlaw clubs whose crimes matured with them.<sup>70</sup> By the mid-1970s, the gangs were no longer focused solely on the bikes, they were patched, and they were spreading rapidly throughout the country. The Mongrel Mob, also known as the Mob, and Black Power were transforming into predominantly Polynesian gangs.<sup>71</sup> The gangs offered the disaffected something they felt they could not achieve in mainstream society - 'they were able to become something.'<sup>72</sup>

#### PLACE - THE WAIRARAPA

The problem of connecting Wellington with the Wairarapa more efficiently is a longstanding one. The physical barrier between the Hutt Valley and the Wairarapa is challenging to negotiate, even today, but was necessary to link the fertile and ever more productive lands of the Wairarapa with the growing population and port of Wellington. While the introduction of the Fell Engines on the Remutaka Incline in the late 19th century had increased access, this was not without its challenges. Slips, trees on the line, derailments, and wind on the hill were ever-present hazards and a regular occurrence, but proved fatal on the morning of 11 September 1880 when a gust lifted two carriages and a brake van off the rails and over the bank. Two children were killed and several passengers were injured.<sup>73</sup>

The extreme gradient on the hill meant a load no greater than 60 tons per engine could be managed, of which only 20 tons could be paying passengers or freight.<sup>74</sup> A number of proposals for

---

<sup>67</sup> Pocock, J. G. A. (Ed.). (1965). *The Maori and New Zealand politics*. p. 12

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Gilbert, J. *Patched : the history of gangs in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. 2013. pp. 2-3

<sup>70</sup> Street gangs in the 1950s had members as young as 12. Source: Gilbert, J. *Patched : the history of gangs in New Zealand*. pp. 6, 12

<sup>71</sup> Gilbert, J. *Patched : the history of gangs in New Zealand*. p. 37

<sup>72</sup> Gilbert, J. *Patched : the history of gangs in New Zealand*. p. 66

<sup>73</sup> Bagnall, A. G. (1976). *Wairarapa : an historical excursion*. Masterton : Hedley's Bookshop for the Masterton Trust Lands Trust. pp. 438-440

<sup>74</sup> Schrader, B., 'Wairarapa places - Masterton', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 16 December 2021 <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-3>

alternative routes over, around or through the hill had been proposed, some surveyed and costed, but ultimately fell to nothing over the years. The Wall Street crash in 1929 saw cut backs across the nation and the plans lay fallow until after World War II, when they were revived with a final decision made in 1948 to proceed with work on a tunnel of 5 miles 35 chains (8.75 km).<sup>75</sup>

The line was officially opened 3 November 1955, the Fell engines retired and passengers and freight flowed more efficiently and profitably than ever before. One glaring oversight in the project, however, remained - there was no provision for motor vehicles at all, leaving the Remutaka Hill Road as a hazardous option for passengers & freight transport alike. Even after many years and many millions of dollars spent on improvements, between 2002 and 2011 there were four deaths and 50 serious injury crashes on the hill, earning it the reputation as the third 'riskiest' highway in New Zealand.<sup>76</sup> On their journeys over the Remutaka Hill in the 1960s and 70s, the Cairns family would be entertained by Keith reciting all the names and history of the locations they passed or those they could view from vantage points on the journey.

The Remutaka link was sorely needed in the early 1950s as wool exports rapidly increased, due in large part to demand generated by the Korean War and the ongoing market in the United Kingdom.<sup>77</sup> The introduction of aerial topdressing in 1949 allowed the application of fertilisers and seed to hill country boosting the fertile land for sheep to graze in a period of high demand for meat and wool.<sup>78</sup> In 1952, the United States of America took almost thirty nine thousand tons of wool, though this still paled in comparison to the more than eighty nine thousand tons exported to the United Kingdom. Meat and dairy exports to a post-World War II United Kingdom also increased significantly: 7,052,914 hundredweight (352,000 ton) of frozen and chilled meat was exported to the UK in 1952 alone - more than 91 percent of the total weight of exports for that year. These figures were similar for canned meat, butter, and cheese. The port of Wellington was second only to Auckland in the value of exports moving through it.<sup>79</sup> This period of booming economic success also saw the population of the Wairarapa increase.<sup>80</sup>

---

Masterton District Library. The Fell Engine. Accessed 15 December 2021. <https://library.mstn.govt.nz/wairarapa-stories/transport/the-fell-engine>

Bagnall, A. G. (1976). *Wairarapa : an historical excursion*. Masterton : Hedley's Bookshop for the Masterton. Trust Lands Trust. p. 440

<sup>75</sup> Bagnall, A. G. (1976). *Wairarapa : an historical excursion*. pp. 441-444

<sup>76</sup> Forbes, M. & Easton, P. 'Rimutaka road one of NZ's riskiest'. Dominion Post. Accessed 05 January 2022. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/dominion-post/7987080/Rimutaka-road-one-of-NZs-riskiest>

<sup>77</sup> Stats NZ. Digital Yearbook Collection. 'The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1955.' Accessed 05 January 2022. [https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1955/NZOYB\\_1955.html](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1955/NZOYB_1955.html)

<sup>78</sup> 'History of Aerial Topdressing', from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McIntock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 05 January 2022. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/aerial-topdressing/page-2>

<sup>79</sup> Stats NZ. Digital Yearbook Collection. 'The New Zealand Official Year-Book, 1955.' Accessed 05 January 2022. [https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New\\_Zealand\\_Official\\_Yearbooks/1955/NZOYB\\_1955.html](https://www3.stats.govt.nz/New_Zealand_Official_Yearbooks/1955/NZOYB_1955.html)

<sup>80</sup> 'Statistics of the Wairarapa Region', from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McIntock, originally published in 1966. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 05 January 2022. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/wairarapa-region/page-4>

Dairy farming in the region also changed with the growing use of milk tankers and rotary milking sheds. Dairy co-operatives began to merge: the Tui Co-operative Dairy Company was formed in 1975 by the merger of the Wairarapa Amalgamated and Ruahine Co-operative Dairy Companies. Other manufacturing businesses grew with decentralisation. Alcatel, Philip Morris and Government Print all began operations in Masterton, bringing new employment opportunities to the growing population.

In an area of Masterton known as the 'Cameron block,' three hundred state houses were built in the early 1960s, and Dick Himona (Ngati Kahungunu) successfully lobbied the Government to allocate some of the houses to Maori. The 'Block,' on the east side, between the central business district and the Ruamahanga River, was and remains a low-socio-economic area, with all of the associated social problems. Keith accompanied community leaders such as Dick Himona on several occasions when domestic violence threatened families. More than 570 state houses in Masterton were sold in 1998 to Trust House, a community-based company in the Wairarapa which today operates several hospitality businesses in the region, as well as in Pahiatua, Flaxmere and Porirua, along with its rental housing stock.

With the success of the agricultural sector in the region came new entertainments. The Golden Shears quickly grew from a small competition based at the A & P Show to commanding its own venue and attracting crowds by their thousands. Despite the decline of the sector from the 1980s, the Golden Shears remains a significant local and international event, with many of the names in shearing, such as Bowen, Quinn, Ngataki and Te Whata, becoming local legends.<sup>81</sup> Other local sporting heroes, such as golfer Bob Charles and All Black Brian Lochore, became national and international stars and local children grew up wanting to emulate their deeds. Lochore served for a time on the Wairarapa College Board of Trustees, before being appointed by then Education Minister Lockwood Smith to be the Commissioner at Kuranui College in Greytown after Smith sacked their Board. Upon Lochore's death in 2019, Simon Fuller, the current principal at Kuranui College, noted: "Today's students are still enjoying the benefits of his work 25 years later."<sup>82</sup>

In 1977, Greytown Rotary held the first Martinborough Fair. From an initial 35 stalls, the popularity of the Fair saw this increase to nearly 500 by 2007, with crowds in their tens of thousands attending and spending. The fairs provided funds for Rotary's projects in the region, including generous support for local schools and scholarships for further studies, and involved large numbers of volunteers.

The development of small beachside communities in the Wairarapa such as Castlepoint and Riversdale after World War II gave Keith and his boys opportunities to enjoy the holiday sun while working on local excavations. Keith would also occasionally be called by local police, farmers or local Māori on the

---

<sup>81</sup> Golden Shears International Shearing Society. 'History - The Golden Shears' Accessed 06 January 2022. <https://www.goldenshears.co.nz/history>

<sup>82</sup> Wairarapa Times-Age, 'Tributes flow for our Sir Brian - Times Age' 06 August 2019. Accessed 06 January 2022. <https://times-age.co.nz/tributes-flow-for-our-sir-brian/>



discovery of kōiwi (bones) as the result of erosion in a stream, river, or sand dune, or some work being done on farm land. Keith would travel to the coast, farm or river, recover the bones and bury them in the closest urupa or on safer ground, saying the karakia and prayers and perform the ceremonies as he had been taught.

With the region so dependent on pastoral farming, boom and bust impacted heavily on the whole community. Central government had helped to maintain regional growth by heavily subsidising the agricultural sector, though this was economically unsustainable.<sup>83</sup> The United Kingdom's move to closer links with the European Economic Community, followed by the oil shocks of the 1970s and shifting trends in international economics 'drove the demand for domestic trade liberalization.'<sup>84</sup> The removal of the subsidies and the restructuring of the agricultural industry led to a steep decline in sheep numbers in the last two decades of the 20th century. In 1982, sheep numbers peaked at 70.301 million but numbers fell consistently afterward to just 45.68 million in 1999.<sup>85</sup> The average unemployment rate in New Zealand rose from 0.3 percent in the 1960s-mid 1970s, to 4.2 percent in the early 1980s.<sup>86</sup> By 1988, the rate was 9.9 percent. Māori were hardest hit, with unemployment rates of 17.3 percent for both Māori men and women.<sup>87</sup> The Waingawa Meatworks, one of the largest single employers in the Wairarapa which had been operating as part of Auckland Farmers Freezing Co. (AFFCO), closed in 1989, added a further 850 to the unemployment lines overnight.<sup>88</sup>

Fanslow, Hashemi, Gulliver, and McIntosh (2019), in their study of adverse childhood experiences in New Zealand, showed that respondents in the 55-64 age group - those born between 1955 and 1964 - were more likely to have witnessed or experienced sexual or physical violence in their lifetime. Māori were more likely than any other ethnic group to witness family violence, almost double the rate of European New Zealanders.<sup>89</sup> Newbold notes that reported crimes and the number of violent offences increased steadily from 1955, then dramatically from the early 1960s.<sup>90</sup> This social trauma was also reflected in the

---

<sup>83</sup> Vangelis Vitalis (2007) Agricultural subsidy reform and its implications for sustainable development: the New Zealand experience, *Environmental Sciences*, 4:1. p. 25

<sup>84</sup> Vitalis, p. 24

<sup>85</sup> Hugh Stringleman and Robert Peden, '*Sheep farming - Importance of the sheep industry*', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 05 January 2022.  
<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/interactive/16621/sheep-numbers-in-new-zealand-1851-2014>

<sup>86</sup> Brosnan, P. and Wilson, M. 'How does New Zealand compare now? International comparisons of disaggregated unemployment data.' *New Zealand journal of industrial relations*, 1989 (14) p. 243

<sup>87</sup> Brosnan, P. and Wilson, M. 'How does New Zealand compare now? International comparisons of disaggregated unemployment data.' *New Zealand journal of industrial relations*, 1989 (14) p. 249

<sup>88</sup> The Dominion Post. '*Coming in from the cold in Waingawa*.' 25 October 2008. p. A11

<sup>89</sup> Fanslow, J., Hashemi, L., Gulliver, P., and McIntosh, T. 'Adverse childhood experiences in New Zealand and subsequent victimization in adulthood: Findings from a population-based study,' *Child Abuse & Neglect*, Volume 117, 2021. p. 6

<sup>90</sup> Newbold, G. *Crime, Law and Justice in New Zealand*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2016. Accessed January 12, 2022. ProQuest Ebook Central. 'Figure 1.2 Reported crime, 1945-1990' p. 4 & 'Figure 5.1 Reported violent crime 1950-1990' p. 104.

Wairarapa.

While the research conducted for a Ministry of Social Development report on homicide within families completed in 2010 covers a period (2002-2006) well after Keith died, the indications from this and other studies tell us that intimate partner violence (IPV) has long been an issue in New Zealand, with a higher proportion of familial homicides involving a female victim and male perpetrator.<sup>91</sup> Jeffries and Hayes note that while it may be impossible to measure the true extent of such violence, due in no small part to the numbers of incidents that go unreported to authorities, other data suggests that the problem is also widespread.<sup>92</sup> Areas in the Wairarapa earned a reputation as 'rough' areas of town, or even whole towns. As noted above, Cameron's Block in Masterton was an area of low socio-economic status, with large areas of social housing, gang-related crime and violence. The (Black Power) Nomads, a group that broke away from Black Power in 1977, maintained territory in the Wairarapa and had a fearsome reputation for violence.<sup>93</sup>

Places that held special significance for Keith also changed over the years. Brancepeth Station, Te Ore Ore and Papawai marae, and St. Patrick's Catholic Church were quite different from their original state before Keith was born and certainly experienced varied fortunes during his life.

As discussed above, Brancepeth Station had been a huge property at its peak, though had been reduced to a shadow of its former size largely through the impending threat of, then enforced, redistribution of the land through the Liberal land policies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries allowing for closer settlement of the land.<sup>94</sup> The reforms on which the Liberal Government had been elected, were hoped to generate employment, increased production and a broader prosperity than was being enjoyed by a small percentage of the population at that time.<sup>95</sup> It was also an age of technological advancement in the sector, particularly in refrigeration techniques and mechanisation across a range of farm activities. This was often enough to entice large run-holders to sell voluntarily, without the need for government enforced sales to break up the estates. This story was played out across the nation, including in the case of the author's own ancestor, John (Jock) Anderson, who had emigrated in 1848 to settle in Otago. Anderson established a large run at Blueskin, then Wyndham, before close settlement resulted in the breakup of the land and, as a result, the family. Half the family were left to maintain the

---

<sup>91</sup> Ministry of Social Development. 2010. *Learning from Tragedy: Homicide within Families in New Zealand 2002–2006*. Wellington: Ministry of Social Development. pp. 7-11

<sup>92</sup> Jeffries, S. and Hayes, S. 'Domestic Violence, Violence in Close Relationships, and Violence Against Women' in Deckert, A. and Sarre, R. (eds.) 2017. *The Palgrave Handbook of Australian and New Zealand Criminology, Crime and Justice*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan. p. 192

<sup>93</sup> Gilbert, J. *Patched : the history of gangs in New Zealand*. p. 176

<sup>94</sup> Michael King, *The Penguin History Of New Zealand*. pp. 260-261, 270-272.; Heritage New Zealand, 'Brancepeth Station', Heritage New Zealand. Accessed 14 May 2022. <https://www.heritage.org.nz/the-list/details/7649>

<sup>95</sup> Michael King. p. 270

smaller holding in the South Island while Jock moved to the Hawke's Bay and established Poporangi Station.

The closest marae to Masterton, Te Ore Ore marae (Ngāti Hamua, Rangitane) was established under the guidance of the prophet Paora Potangaroa in the early 1880s, with the wharenui being completed under the mana of chief Wi Waaka in 1880. Nga Tau e Waru, the 'Eight-Year House', hosted a number of important visitors, including the prophet T.W. Ratana in 1921, but burnt down in 1939. A new whare was built and opened in 1941, with the carving being undertaken by Te Nahu Haeata, assisted by Hohepa Hutana.<sup>96</sup>

Papawai marae, established in 1850 and located just out of Greytown, was the focus of the Kotahitanga Māori parliament movement, and site of the Māori Parliament buildings Aotea and Te Waipounamu, where the Paremata Māori sat in 1897 and 1898. It was also the site of a flour mill which contributed to the prosperity of local Māori. Te Mānihera Te Rangi-taka-i-waho (Ngāti Kahungunu), the initial leader of Papawai, supported active engagement with Europeans to the benefit of both peoples. In the 1880s, Te Mānihera was succeeded by the powerful personality of Hāmuera Tamahau Mahupuku.<sup>97</sup> It was largely due to the mana of Mahupuku and other strong Māori leaders that the site maintained its influence, until Mahupuku's passing in 1904.

The palisade that was built around the marae just before Mahupuku died included 18 tōtara whakairo (carved figures), which were added later, the figures represented famous individuals, both Māori and Pākehā. Typically, such figures face outwards to confront potential enemies, however the figures at Papawai face inwards to represent peace between Māori and Pākehā.<sup>98</sup>

From this point, and with the passing of the other strong leaders, Papawai's significance began to wane. His passing was mourned by many influential figures, including Sir James Carroll. Approximately seven thousand attended the unveiling of the monument that was erected to Mahupuku at Papawai, for which the government provided finance. When gale force winds from a large storm destroyed both houses in 1934, followed by the damage caused by the 1942 earthquake, the marae began to fall into decline.<sup>99</sup> Little was done to preserve the site until the 1960s, when conservation work began on the whakairo figures, that work being completed in the late 1980s.<sup>100</sup>

---

<sup>96</sup> Rangitāne o Wairarapa Education, *Wairarapa history*. Accessed 12 May 2022. <https://rangitaneeducation.com/wairarapa-history/>

<sup>97</sup> Ben Schrader, 'Wairarapa places - Papawai marae', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 13 May 2022. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-7>

<sup>98</sup> This story has been recounted to the author on a number of visits to Papawai over the last fourteen years.

<sup>99</sup> Cairns, K., *Papawai and the Maori Parliament*, New Zealand's Heritage, Sydney: Hamlyn House, 1971. pp. 1697-1701

<sup>100</sup> Ben Schrader, 'Wairarapa places - Papawai marae', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 13 May 2022. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-7>

## COLLECTORS AND COMMUNITIES

The emerging professionalism of anthropological studies after 1945 has been indicated to complicate the relationships between researchers and the communities they were studying and those who would read their findings.<sup>101</sup> In qualitative research, the researcher has a relationship with the subject which places them, to various degrees, on the 'inside,' while professional researchers may be viewed more as 'outsiders.'<sup>102</sup>

Bogachenko argues that the positioning of the researcher in relation to the subject of the research is a complex relationship that might be better viewed as a continuum, rather than an 'insider-outsider' dichotomy. The acceptance of the amateur scholar in various sciences has changed over time, both negatively and positively. In areas such as astronomy, this acceptance has been driven in part by easier access to the technologies that form part of the research method, creating a far greater body of data than may be gained by the limited numbers of personnel and funding available to professionals.<sup>103</sup> In other areas, the relationship between researcher and subject has often been impacted by the degree to which the researcher is seen as being invested in the community in which their subject is located.

Donaghey notes that the value of heritage is attributed by a social process involving all communities, and is 'thus meaningful to those it benefits, both present and future generations.' Donaghey also highlights that the preservation of that value implies an ongoing relationship between the people and the place in which the community resides.<sup>104</sup> This relationship may be extended to all things which are valued by the community, including non-tangible taonga, such as oral histories, language and stories. In a survey of the heritage sector in New Zealand, Donaghey found that non-professionals showed an 'intimate knowledge of, and a passionate engagement in, the historic heritage,' as well as a 'highly developed awareness' and understanding of the many facets of heritage and the issues involved, which was 'grounded in an uncomfortable reality and first-hand experience of the challenges.'<sup>105</sup> It is local heritage which is important to local people, as it is this that 'has the potential to inspire, engage emotions and stimulate energies,' embodying local values.<sup>106</sup>

---

<sup>101</sup> Sara Donaghey, "People's pasts : reflections on the community and historic heritage in New Zealand," *Archaeology in New Zealand* 50, no. 1 (01/01/2007 2007).; M. P. K. Sorrenson and Richard M. Moyle, *Manifest duty : the Polynesian Society over 100 years*, Memoir: no. 49, (The Society, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1992). p. 106

<sup>102</sup> Bogachenko T. (2017) From the Inside Outside. In: Iveta Sobe Noah W. Korzh Alla Kovalchuk Serhiy Silova, "Reimagining Utopias : Theory and Method for Educational Research in Post-Socialist Contexts," (2017), <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6351-011-0>. ; Brayboy, B. M., & Deyhle, D. (2000). Insider-outsider: Researchers in American Indian communities. *Theory into Practice*, 39(3), 163–169.

<sup>103</sup> An example of the development of positive amateur-professional relationships can be found in Rendtel, J. 2017. "Review of Amateur Meteor Research." *Planetary and Space Science* 143 (September): 7–11. doi:10.1016/j.pss.2017.01.007.

<sup>104</sup> Donaghey, "People's pasts : reflections on the community and historic heritage in New Zealand." pp. 17-18

<sup>105</sup> Donaghey, "People's pasts : reflections on the community and historic heritage in New Zealand." p. 18

<sup>106</sup> Donaghey, "People's pasts : reflections on the community and historic heritage in New Zealand." p. 19

The disconnection of the community from the heritage process leads to a perception by professionals that the community does not care, and that there is a clear need for an informed public to engage with the process, when those who do engage are most likely local interest groups not necessarily representative of the whole community, but rather a 'more organised and vocal minority.'<sup>107</sup> The process preferred by professionals is acknowledged as a 'broadly-based consultative [one], combining both professional and community interest and involvement,' recognising that 'raising community awareness and consciousness of heritage values is a key role of professionals.'<sup>108</sup> Donaghey's and four other comparable studies were all carried out between 2000 and 2007, and reflect a belated acknowledgement of the issues of professionalisation, such as those raised in Sorreson's centennial history of the Polynesian Society where it was noted that the *Journal* of the society had become 'so specialised that much of it was... unreadable' to many interested amateurs.<sup>109</sup> This disconnect has remained for some time and is starkly illustrated in the contrasting opinions of professionals and community groups on the matter of which group should lead the heritage assessment process:

There is a view (amongst some professionals) that local community or 'grass roots' knowledge is trivial, anecdotal and best ignored in preference to published academic and scientific-based evidence.' On the other hand, another candidly remarks that some cultural groups view 'professional' assessment and evaluation as "arbitrary and white middle class conservative."<sup>110</sup>

Donaghey concludes that worth of historic heritage, once 'exclusively determined... by experts on behalf of society,' is a 'quality to be determined collectively, through the participation of all who treasure it.'<sup>111</sup>

Linda Tuhiwai Smith (Ngāti Awa, Ngāti Porou, Tūhourangi) highlights a disconnect between professional researchers and indigenous communities such that 'institutions such as the academy and major funding agencies maintain and reinforce the idea that research is a highly specialized skill that by

---

<sup>107</sup> Donaghey, *"People's pasts : reflections on the community and historic heritage in New Zealand."* p. 21

<sup>108</sup> Donaghey, *"People's pasts : reflections on the community and historic heritage in New Zealand."* pp. 22-23

<sup>109</sup> Sorrenson and Moyle, *Manifest duty : the Polynesian Society over 100 years.* p. 128 ; The four studies were conducted in Dunedin, Ruapehu-Rangitikei, and Auckland, as well as an exploratory study carried out for the Department of Conservation:

Marsh, R. 2004. *Digging up Dunedin: research into the attitudes and knowledge of Dunedin residents towards New Zealand archaeology.* Unpublished BA Honours thesis, University of Otago;

New Zealand Historic Places Trust 2003. *Ruapehu-Rangitikei pilot project.*

[http:// www.historic.org.nz/Register/register\\_pilot\\_project.html](http://www.historic.org.nz/Register/register_pilot_project.html) ;

Walter, G. 2002. *Market research on heritage: an opinion survey about public perceptions of archaeology and heritage in Auckland.* Unpublished MA thesis, University of Auckland; and

Warren, J. and E. Ashton 2000. *New Zealand historic and cultural heritage: an exploratory study of public perceptions and expectations.* Department of Conservation, Wellington.

<sup>110</sup> Donaghey, *"People's pasts : reflections on the community and historic heritage in New Zealand."* p. 23

<sup>111</sup> Donaghey, *"People's pasts : reflections on the community and historic heritage in New Zealand."* p. 25

definition is developed and supported at a distance from the community.’<sup>112</sup> For indigenous peoples, ‘distinctly different ways of thinking about and naming research’ have not traditionally been recognised by the academy, and they are often reluctant to label their own endeavours as ‘research’ as this is ‘regarded as the domain of experts who have advanced educational qualifications and access to a specialized language and skills’ and may attract the ‘scorn of ‘real’ researchers.’<sup>113</sup>

Noting in her introduction that it ‘galls [Māori] that Western researchers and intellectuals can assume to know all that it is possible to know of [them], on the basis of their brief encounters with some,’<sup>114</sup> This pattern was well established from the earliest days of colonisation and perpetuated by Pākehā writers and collectors such as those discussed in this paper.<sup>115</sup> This was, at times, encouraged by some Māori, such as was the case with Apirana Ngata’s cooperation with writers such as Best, Andersen and the Polynesian Society’s *Journal* to develop his programmes.<sup>116</sup> Smith articulates an indigenous research agenda. A powerful poem by the young scholar, activist, and poet Abhay Xaxa (Kurukh or Oraon tribe of Chhattisgarh) included in Smith’s work concludes with a firm statement of indigenous self-determination:

So I draw my own picture, and invent my own grammar,  
I make my own tools to fight my own battle,  
For me, my people, my world, and my Adivasi self!<sup>117</sup>

The self-determination and ownership of indigenous knowledge and heritage by indigenous people has grown, particularly in the latter part of the 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. In this paper, I have looked at an earlier time in a localised context. Before the 1980s, it was possible for local, non-Māori amateur scholars to connect with and be part of local Māori communities, and to record and share their stories. While professionalisation disconnected academics from local communities, it also provided Māori with a status with regard to important issues which they were able to capitalise on later, especially with the Waitangi Tribunal where Māori have been able to draw on professional knowledge and research to support claims to redress breaches of Te Tiriti o Waitangi by the Crown.

---

<sup>112</sup> Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*, 3 ed. (London, UNITED KINGDOM: Zed Books, 2021). p. 146

<sup>113</sup> Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*. pp. 145-146

<sup>114</sup> Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*. p. 1

<sup>115</sup> Gibbons, "Going Native " : A Case Study of Cultural Appropriation in a Settler Society, with Particular Reference to the Activities of Johannes Andersen in New Zealand during the First Half of the Twentieth Century. p. 666

<sup>116</sup> Ibid.

<sup>117</sup> Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*. pp. 160-161. Abhay Xaxa’s poem, titled ‘I am not your data’ was published in 2011. Abhay Xaxa died 14 March 2020 at the age of 43.

Gibbons highlights that many Pākehā writers of Andersen's generation 'treated the artifacts and traditions of the Polynesians... as intellectual puzzles...' rather than the taonga of 'still-living creatures.'<sup>118</sup> A criticism levelled at Johannes Andersen, and other writers of his generation, was that, just as the early settlers and subsequent generations had garnered their knowledge of Te Ao Māori and the people from books, so too did the early writers and subsequent generations gather much of their knowledge from existing written Pākehā sources with little, if any, 'real contact... with Maori people.'<sup>119</sup> Others then took these writings as gospel truth, particularly when the writer was 'one of the reputed authorities on Maori culture,' as was the case with Andersen's *Maori Life in Ao-tea*.<sup>120</sup>

Gibbons refers to these actions as a form of 'cultural appropriation' perpetuated by writers, historians, anthropologists, cartoonists and composers, who 'deliberately textualized the Maori' or 'took Maori subjects.'<sup>121</sup> Gibbons also highlights how such behaviours results in Pākehā defining Māori culture, and the *what* and *how* of being Māori.<sup>122</sup> Conversely, those like Keith Cairns appeared to treat the knowledge and materials collected with all appropriate care, and with the approval of that generation of Māori who recognised the mana that had been earned through dedication and hard work in the community over a lifetime.

---

<sup>118</sup>Gibbons, "Going Native " : A Case Study of Cultural Appropriation in a Settler Society, with Particular Reference to the Activities of Johannes Andersen in New Zealand during the First Half of the Twentieth Century. pp. 667-668

<sup>119</sup> Gibbons. pp. 673-674

<sup>120</sup> Ibid.

<sup>121</sup> Gibbons. p. 675

<sup>122</sup> Gibbons. p. 679

## CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS

The twentieth century saw a world transformed. Social, religious, and technological changes that have altered the planet itself and the lives of those upon it. World wars, cold wars, ‘incidents’ and ‘emergencies’ changed families, communities and nations. The population of the young nation of New Zealand grew substantially, particularly after World War II, and land was needed upon which to build urban centres and rural hubs. Social reforms saw Māori urbanised, though most often into poor housing and disconnected from their traditional whenua. This disconnection also impacted marae, with these centres of Māori life depleted and becoming neglected as the younger generation left for the bright lights and employment opportunities of the urban areas. Each of these various influences on Keith’s life underwent significant changes which had a direct impact on the nature of the relationships within and across the communities in which he lived and worked.

Liberal education reforms in the 1930s and the impact of the *Hunn Report* in the 1960s altered the academic landscape with area and district schools, and Māori schools merged with existing campuses or into new builds as a proliferation of standard build schools sprang up around the nation. The integration of many private schools into the state school system saw a number of religiously-affiliated schools come under the system. In the Wairarapa, the amalgamation of single sex Catholic secondary schools into co-educational colleges saw St Bride’s and St Joseph’s Colleges merge in 1978 to become Chanel College. These educational changes provided Keith with opportunities to share some of his knowledge in classrooms and in tertiary education programmes.

Communities of faith experienced the expansion which accompanied world population growth, decline in church attendance in the West as the century wore on, and disruption as traditional views and beliefs were challenged and new approaches to the expression of faith emerged. In a social, technological and cultural climate of such change, how the Catholic Church was going to remain relevant in the modern world was a crucial question addressed at the Second Ecumenical Council of the Vatican (Vatican II). While many embraced a new ecumenical direction, some traditionalists, such as Monsignor Moore in Masterton, resisted such new ways. The core tenets of the Christian faith remained a central part of Keith’s life throughout, and he did not shy from sharing or standing firm in his faith when the opportunity arose.

Māori-Pākehā relations, often strained, sometimes openly hostile, and often related to the land and its possession throughout the nineteenth century, were further challenged by the urbanisation of Māori from the 1960s and the social problems of poverty and crime that were exacerbated by such policies. Almost every town in the nation could name its poorest quarters and Māori and Pasifika families were often relegated to areas of poor housing and schools, and the lowest paid jobs. Some youth chose gangs as a means to express their dissatisfaction with and disaffection from the mainstream, largely Euro-centric, society.



The century also saw the rise of the academy, including the social sciences, and with it, the rise of the 'professional' anthropologist. Tensions rose between traditions – the amateur gentleman-scholar, collector and writer, and the academically qualified and sanctioned professional – tensions often played out in the pages and meeting rooms of the associations and societies, such as The Polynesian Society, which had begun in the amateur era but had morphed into altogether drier beasts. In the latter half of the nineteenth and in the early twentieth centuries, the culture of the young nation of Aotearoa New Zealand and its indigenous people, the Māori, was being 'salvaged' – captured and preserved for future generations to read about and claim that they 'knew' the culture or the people. This they could claim without having spent any great length of time, if indeed any at all, actually speaking with Māori, individually or collectively - without taking the time to build relationships, or establish trust, or any sense of mana with Māori. With the renaissance of indigenous identity in a post-colonial context, Māori, along with other people groups around the world began to reclaim and rework what was theirs.

Legislative changes, particularly in the area of heritage protection and preservation, also altered the relationships between researchers and those materials and locations being researched. The establishment of the Historic Places Trust and the administration set up to capture and to control access to sites and artefacts saw the amateur collectors and scholars relegated to the ranks of potential law-breakers should they so much as move a stone tool or bone. The burden was placed on developers to pay for an investigation and recordings of what information could be 'salvaged' before proceeding with altering, or even destroying, the site. Little thought was given, at least initially, to the vital relationship between tangata whenua and wahi tapu, as most sites of an archaeological nature were Māori in origin.

Keith served on committees and councils, including a number of years on the council of the Polynesian Society, of which he was an enthusiastic member for many years. The rise of professionalism created tensions which were seen in Keith's personal correspondence over the years and may have contributed to some extent to his failing health at such a relatively young age. Keith's dedication to his faith, work, and local communities, both Māori and Pākehā, from an early age allowed him to move between and across all of them as an 'insider.' His family was well known and trusted in the area, particularly amongst the working class and Catholic communities. The extent of his access was a tangible benefit of the depth and breadth of the relationships he had established with his communities. He was accepted and trusted with the knowledge he gained, and was able to cross academic, economic, social and cultural boundaries allowing him to become recognised by Māori and Pākehā alike as 'the foremost authority on Māori prehistory in the Wairarapa' of his time.

Rather than being seen as an 'outsider' poking and prodding for knowledge that was not his to collect or share, access was gained through a lifetime spent in building relationships in the many communities to which he belonged, as an 'insider' with mana, entrusted with the taonga of local Māori and trusted to tell some of their stories. His hard mahi from a very young age, as an altar boy serving the

faithful at Catholic services, as a local business owner serving his community, or an insurance agent serving to help the community protect their assets and provide security for the future, saw Keith respected and entrusted with much that others in his community held dear. The substantial collections of material and knowledge gathered by amateur scholars such as Keith Cairns provide researchers, whether amateur or professional, with a wealth of evidence for future research and forms part of the significant contribution that amateurs bring to the understanding of the cultural history of Aotearoa New Zealand.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### PRIMARY SOURCES

*Note.* Because this thesis is a study of the rise of professionalism through an examination of the life and work of Keith Cairns, a number of books, articles and theses which are contemporary to Keith's lifetime, and which might otherwise be considered secondary, are listed as primary.

### PRIVATE COLLECTION

*Note.* The Cairns family made a considerable amount of personal material available for this project. Where used, the material is referenced and includes telephone interviews with various family members conducted by the author, genealogical data, photographs, letters, and personal reflections.

Air Force Museum of New Zealand. Meteor NZ6001 at RNZAF Station Whenuapai, after its first flight, 11 February 1946. Image ref WhG4285\_46, RNZAF Official. Accessed 20 June 2021.

<https://www.airforcemuseum.co.nz/blog/meteoric-rise-new-zealands-first-jet-flight/>

\_\_\_\_\_. Gloster Meteor NZ6001, flown by Squadron Leader RM McKay, over the Auckland area, 14 February 1946. Image ref OhG2976-54, RNZAF Official. Accessed 20 June 2021.

<https://www.airforcemuseum.co.nz/blog/meteoric-rise-new-zealands-first-jet-flight/>

Alexander Turnbull Library Collection. 88-070. Cairns, Keith Raymond 1925-1987 : Research papers relating to the Wairarapa, particularly archaeology and Māori history.

Folders: 88-070-01/04; 88-070-01/06; 88-070-02/01; 88-070-02/02; 88-070-02/05; 88-070-02/06; 88-070-02/09; 88-070-02/12; 88-070-03/2; 88-070-05/04; 88-070-05/16; 88-070-06/11; 88-070-06/12; 88-070-07/08; 88-070-09/5; 88-070-09/7; 88-070-10/13; 88-070-11/01; 88-070-11/12; 88-070-15/12; 88-070-17/05; 88-070-17/09.

Ballara, A. and Cairns, K. "Te Pōtangaroa, Pāora", Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 12 May 2022.

<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t57/te-potangaroa-paora/sources>

Barber, F.T. "View of The Department of Lands and Survey." *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 9, no. 3 (1966): 130-134

Bates, D., "*The modest man of Masterton*." Colonial Mutual. 1984. pp. 4-6.

Beaglehole, E. *Property: A Study in Social Psychology*. G. Allen & Unwin, 1931.

\_\_\_\_\_, "SOME WIDER OBLIGATIONS OF THE FIELD ETHNOLOGIST." *American Anthropologist* 38, no. 3 (1936): 516–19. <https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1936.38.3.02a00320>

Biggs, Bruce. "Maori Affairs and the Hunn Report." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 70, no. 3 (1961): 361–64. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20703918>

BoxRec. *Russ Broughton*. Accessed 29 August 2021. <https://boxrec.com/en/proboxer/143666>.

Brosnan, P. and Wilson, M. 'How does New Zealand compare now? International comparisons of disaggregated unemployment data.' *New Zealand journal of industrial relations* 14 (1989): 241-250

Cairns, K.R. Hakikino Pa. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 67, no. 4 (1958): 330–334.

\_\_\_\_\_. Work in the Wairarapa. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 2, no. 4 (1959): 19-20

\_\_\_\_\_. A hangi site at Glenburn. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 2, no. 4 (1959): 26

\_\_\_\_\_. Wairarapa. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 3, no. 4 (1960): 24

\_\_\_\_\_. Wairarapa District. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 4 (1961): 178–180

\_\_\_\_\_. 'Papawai and the Maori Parliament', *New Zealand's Heritage*, Sydney: Hamlyn House, 1971. pp. 1697-1701

\_\_\_\_\_. 'War Parties in The Hutt', *New Zealand's Heritage*, Sydney: Hamlyn House, 1971. pp. 495-499

\_\_\_\_\_, and Lockerbie, L. Radiocarbon dates from Castlepoint. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 23, no. 4 (1980): 268

\_\_\_\_\_. Radiocarbon dates from Okau excavation—Wairarapa. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 23, no. 4 (1980): 269

\_\_\_\_\_. Radiocarbon dates from Wairarapa. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 29, no. 4 (1986): 252-253

Cairns, Terence J., *Carry Them Shoulder High. Heroes of Athletics and Cycling Over the Years to 1980 in Masterton*. 1st Edition. 1980.

\_\_\_\_\_, *Life is just what you make it!*, Wairarapa Times-Age, 17 February 1988.

Cairns, T., and Walton, T. Excavation of a midden (U26/24) on the Wairarapa coast. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 35, no.4 (1992): 220–227

Cyclopedia Company Limited, "The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Wellington Provincial District]," The Cyclopedia Company, Limited, 1897, Wellington, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc01Cycl-t1-body-d4-d83-d9.html>. Accessed 22 December 2021.

Daniels, J. On Trespass - A note on the Trespass Act 1968. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 12, no. 4 (1969): 228-229

Davidson, P., "The Historic Places Act 1980 - preservation or progress?", *New Zealand Law Journal* No. 10 (October 1982): 358-359

Education Counts. Chanel College: Student Population - Age. Accessed 21 December 2021.

<https://www.educationcounts.govt.nz/find-school/school/population/age?district=&region=&school=244>

Evening Post, 'Maori Respect For Ancestors' Bones,' 28 March 1977

Find a Grave, Memorial page for Mary Cecelia Chapman Fitzgerald (1888–2 Feb 1970), Find a Grave

Memorial ID 221590964, citing Karori Cemetery and Crematorium, Wellington, Wellington City, Wellington, New Zealand. Accessed 04 August 2021.

<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/221590964/mary-cecelia-fitzgerald>

\_\_\_\_\_, Memorial page for Mary Fitzgerald (1860–25 Oct 1935), Find a Grave Memorial ID 221562290, citing Karori Cemetery and Crematorium, Wellington, Wellington City, Wellington, New Zealand.

Accessed 17 July 2022. <https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/221562290/mary-fitzgerald>

\_\_\_\_\_, Memorial page for Thomas Fitzgerald (unknown–6 Aug 1928), Find a Grave Memorial ID 221543455, citing Karori Cemetery and Crematorium, Wellington, Wellington City, Wellington, New Zealand. Accessed 04 August 2021.

<https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/221543455/thomas-fitzgerald>

Firth, R., ed. *Man and Culture: An Evaluation of the Work of Bronislaw Malinowski*. London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1957.

Hiroa, Te Rangi. "The Passing of the Maori.": *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 1924.

Hosking, M., 1987. Address to Historic Places Trust Triennial Conference. *Archaeology in New Zealand*. 30(3): 139-143

Hunn, J. K., *Report on Department of Maori Affairs: with statistical supplement*, 24 August 1960. Wellington: Government Printer, 1961.

Knox, F.B., Cairns, K.R., Hitchings, M. Introduction to resistivity surveying. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 4 (1961): 159-160

Lucas, P.H.C., 1970. "The preservation and interpretation of historic and archaeological sites in USA and lessons for New Zealand." *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter*. 13 no. 3 (1970): 103-112

McKinlay, J.R. Comments on 'Notes on the protection of archaeological sites and historical material'. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter*. 16 no. 1 (1973): 18-21

\_\_\_\_\_. The protection of archaeological sites and material in New Zealand. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter*. 16 no. 1 (1973): 25-34

\_\_\_\_\_. The New Zealand Historic Places Trust and the new legislation. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter*. 19 no. 1 (1976): 38-65

Native Affairs Commission. "NATIVE AFFAIRS COMMISSION. REPORT OF THE COMMISSION ON NATIVE AFFAIRS. Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, Session I, G-11" Wellington, New Zealand: New Zealand Government. 1934.

New Zealand Gazette, World War II Ballot Lists, 1940-1945. Military Area No. 7 (Napier). 639990 Cairns,

Keith Raymond, civil servant, 26 Waltons Ave. Masterton. The New Zealand Gazette, 27 July 1943.

Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision. History of Kuripuni, Ref. 319646. RNZ Collection. Accessed 12 May 2022.  
[https://ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record\\_id=311276](https://ngataonga.org.nz/collections/catalogue/catalogue-item?record_id=311276)

Park, G.S., Sutton, D.G., and Ward, G.K. Notes on the protection of archaeological sites and historic materials. *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter*. 16 no. 1 (1973): 5-13

Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment 1996. *Historic and cultural heritage management in New Zealand*. Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment, Wellington. URL:  
<https://www.pce.parliament.nz/media/1526/historic-and-cultural-heritage-management-in-new-zealand-june-1996-small.pdf>

Patrick, K. "My Journal of Memories / by Kit Patrick." Wellington: Kathleen Clayton. 1991.

Polynesian Society (Inc.). "Annual General Meeting." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 85 no. 1 (1976): 139-40.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Annual General Meeting." *The Journal of the Polynesian Society* 86 no. 1 (1977): 145-47.

\_\_\_\_\_. "Annual Report." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 68 no. 2 (1958): 169-172.

Siegfried, André. *Democracy in New Zealand*, trans. E.V. Burns. London: G. Bell and sons, Limited, 1914.

Smith, T., "Over 400 at funeral." *Wairarapa Times-Age*. 25 November 1987.

Wairarapa Daily Times, Volume 2, Issue 151, 5 May 1879, Page 2. Accessed 22 December 2021.  
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WDT18790505.2.7>

Wairarapa Times-Age, Obituary. 23 July 1963.

\_\_\_\_\_, 03 February 1968. (image supplied by Cairns family)

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Government 'insensitivity on Maori land slated.' Masterton, 28 June 1978.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Archaeologist leaves video legacy.' 23 November 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Archeologists to investigate at Castlepoint,' 29 June 1976.

\_\_\_\_\_, Untitled column. 3 July 1976.

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Strong Maori reaction to desecration of grave sites,' 16 August 1976

\_\_\_\_\_, 'Archeologist discovers more human bones,' 21 February 1977

\_\_\_\_\_, 04 March 1978. (image supplied by Cairns family)

Whites Aviation Ltd. *Gloster Meteor aeroplane NZ6001, on tarmac, RNZAF Station, Hobsonville, Auckland*.

Whites Aviation Ltd: Photographs. Ref: WA-01500-G. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand. /records/30654150

## SECONDARY SOURCES

- Allen, H. "Protection for archaeological sites and the NZ HPT register of historic places, historic areas, wahi tapu and wahi tapu areas." *Archaeology in New Zealand* 37, no. 3 (1994): 205-227
- Anderson, Atholl. "Beattie, James Herries." *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1998).  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4b16/beattie-james-herries>
- Auditor-General, Office of the. *From Auditor to Soldier: Stories of the Men Who Served*. Wellington: Office of the Auditor-General, 2014. <https://oag.parliament.nz/2014/ww1/docs/ww1.pdf>.
- Bagnall, Austin Graham. *Masterton's First Hundred Years*. New Zealand: Masterton Centennial Committee, 1954.
- Barber, I. "Archaeological investigation and the Historic Places Act 1993 – a brief guide." *Archaeology in New Zealand* 41, no. 1 (1998): 59-64
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Archaeological heritage management reform in New Zealand – what happened?" *Archaeology in New Zealand* 43, no. 1 (2000): 22-36
- Barlow, Cleve. *Tikanga Whakaaro : Key Concepts in Māori Culture*. Melbourne, Australia: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Barnard, A. and Spenser, J. (eds). *Encyclopedia of Social and Cultural Anthropology*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2002.
- Barth, F., Gingrich, A., Parkin, R., Silverman, S., and Hann, C., *One Discipline, Four Ways: British, German, French, and American Anthropology*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005.
- Beattie, H., J.H. Beattie, A. Anderson, Hocken Library, and Otago Museum. *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori: The Otago University Museum Ethnological Project, 1920*. New Zealand: University of Otago Press, 1994.
- Belgrave, M. "The storm before the calm: The treaty of Waitangi since the 1960s." In R. Bell, M. Kawharu, K. Taylor, M. Belgrave, & P. Meihana (Eds.), *The treaty on the ground: Where we are headed and why it matters*, 53–72. Auckland, New Zealand: Massey University Press, 2017.
- Belich, J., "Review Of: The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850–1900 by Miles Fairburn," *Journal of Social History* 24, no. 3 (1991): 674
- Bernardo, F. Palma-Oliveira, J-M., "Urban neighbourhoods and intergroup relations: The importance of place identity." *Journal of Environmental Psychology* Volume 45 (2016): 239-251
- Bickler, S.H., and Low, J.M. "Lies, damned lies and geophysics" – uses and abuses of remote sensing techniques in New Zealand heritage management. *Archaeology in New Zealand* 50, no. 3 (2007): 195-210
- Binney, J. "Maori Oral Narratives, Pakeha Written Texts: Two forms of telling history." *New Zealand Journal of History* 38, no. 2 (2004): 203-214.

- Binney, J. and Montgomery, D. "Editorial Introduction." *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, no. 1 (1997): 3-5.
- Bourke, E.M., *Little History of New Zealand; Progressive from Discovery to 1880; for children*. George Robertson, Melbourne, Sydney and Adelaide, 1883.
- Brantlinger, Patrick. *Dark Vanishings : Discourse on the Extinction of Primitive Races, 1800–1930*. [in English] Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2003.
- Brayboy, B.M., and Deyhle, D. "Insider-Outsider: Researchers in American Indian Communities." *Theory into Practice* 39, no. 3 (2000): 163–69.
- Brooks, R. (ed.), *Masterton Harrier Club - 75 Years of Harriers in the Wairarapa, 1912-1987*. Greytown: Lamb-Peters Print, 1987.
- Brown, D., "Nga Paremata Maori: The Architecture of Maori Nationalism," *Fabrications* 12, no. 2 (2002): 1-17. DOI: 10.1080/10331867.2002.10525166
- Brown, K.P. and Sherley, G.H. "The eradication of possums from *Kapiti* Island, New Zealand" in Veitch, C. R. and Clout, M. N. (eds.). *Turning the tide: the eradication of invasive species*. IUCN SSC Invasive Species Specialist Group. IUCN, Gland, Switzerland and Cambridge UK. 2002.  
<https://portals.iucn.org/library/sites/library/files/documents/SSC-OP-028.pdf>
- Byrnes, Giselle M. "Smith, Stephenson Percy," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 19 April 2022.  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2s33/smith-stephenson-percy>
- Cairns, A.R., 'Ngātata, Wiremu Tako', *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, first published in 1990. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 29 December 2021.  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1n10/ngatata-wiremu-tako>.
- Cameron, W.N. *A Line of Railway : The Railway Conquest of the Rimutakas*. Wellington: New Zealand Railway and Locomotive Society, 1976.
- Campbell, M. (ed), "Digging into History: 50 years of the New Zealand Archaeological Association." *Archaeology in New Zealand* 47, no. 4 (2004) (special issue).
- Challis, A.J., 1992. "Registration of archaeological sites under the Historic Places Act 1980." *Archaeology in New Zealand* 35, no. 4 (1992): 228-242
- Chavis, D.M., Wandersman, A. "Sense of community in the urban environment: A catalyst for participation and community development." *American Journal of Community Psychology* 18 (1990): 55–81  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/BF00922689>
- Conon, F., *Looking at New Zealand*, Whitcombe & Tombs Ltd, Christchurch. 1969.
- Cordy, R. "The dangers of historic preservation and contract archaeology." *New Zealand Archaeological Association Newsletter* 25, no. 4 (1982): 277-289



- Crean, M. "Minority Scholars and Insider-Outsider Researcher Status: Challenges along a Personal, Professional and Political Continuum." *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 19, no. 1 (2020). <https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-19.1.2874>
- Daley, C., "Taradale Meets the Ideal Society and Its Enemies," *NZ Journal of History* 25, no. 2 (1991): 130
- Dalley, B., and J. Phillips. *Going Public: The Changing Face of New Zealand History*. Auckland University Press, 2001.
- Davies, S., and Dilkes-Hall, I.A., "Pacific Matildas: Susan Davis breaking ground in 1950s New Zealand." *Australasian Women in Ancient World Studies*. Accessed 13 January 2022.  
<https://www.awaws.org/history-of-women-in-ancient-world-studies/category/susanna-davies>
- Deckert, A. and Sarre, R. (eds.). *The Palgrave Handbook of Australian and New Zealand Criminology, Crime and Justice*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017.
- Department of Conservation. "Historic Heritage Management Review. A discussion paper for public comment." *Archaeology in New Zealand* 41, no. 1 (1998): 18-53
- Department of Conservation, "Eels: New Zealand freshwater fish." Wellington: New Zealand Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawhai. Accessed 12 January 2022.  
<https://www.doc.govt.nz/nature/native-animals/freshwater-fish/eels/>
- Department of Sociology And Social Studies, "Definitions of Community," University of Regina. Accessed 20 June 2018. <http://uregina.ca/~sauchyn/socialcohesion/definitions%20of%20community.htm>
- Donaghey, S. "People's Pasts : Reflections on the Community and Historic Heritage in New Zealand." *Archaeology in New Zealand* 50, no. 1 (2007): 17-26
- Dreaver, A. "Adkin, George Leslie," Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1998. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 18 December 2021.  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4a3/adkin-george-leslie>
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'An Eye For Country: The Life and Work of Leslie Adkin.' Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1997.
- Fairburn, M. *The Ideal Society and Its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850–1900* Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989.
- Fanslow, J., Hashemi, L., Gulliver, P., and McIntosh, T. "Adverse childhood experiences in New Zealand and subsequent victimization in adulthood: Findings from a population-based study," *Child Abuse & Neglect* 117 (July 2021) 105067. Accessed 20 June 2022.  
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2021.105067>
- Fuller, Piers, *New Zealand's largest dark sky reserve one step closer in Wairarapa*. Stuff Online. 03 July 2021. Accessed 12 June 2022.  
<https://www.stuff.co.nz/travel/destinations/nz/wellington/125620423/new-zealands-largest-dark-sky-reserve-one-step-closer-in-wairarapa>

- Gibbons, P. J. *"Going Native " : A Case Study of Cultural Appropriation in a Settler Society, with Particular Reference to the Activities of Johannes Andersen in New Zealand during the First Half of the Twentieth Century.*, PhD. thesis, University of Waikato, 1992.
- Gilbert, J. *Patched : the history of gangs in New Zealand*. Auckland: Auckland University Press. 2013.
- Golson, J. "New Zealand Archaeological Association." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 64 no. 1 (1955): 155-156.
- Green, Anna, "Unpacking the Stories" in *Remembering: Writing Oral History*, edited by Anna Green and Megan Hutching, 9-24. Auckland: AUP, 2004.
- Green, Anna & Troup, Kathleen, *The houses of history : a critical reader in history and theory*. Manchester University Press, 2016.
- Green, D. Ministry for Culture and Heritage. *"About Internal Affairs - Department structure - History of the Department."* Accessed 20 August 2021. <https://www.dia.govt.nz/About-Internal-Affairs---Department-structure---History-of-the-Department>.
- Green, R. "Where is the map, Roger?" *Archaeology in New Zealand* 47, no. 4 (2004): 97-107
- Hackett, C. and Grim, B.J. *Global Christianity - A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population*. Washington D.C.: Pew Research Center's Forum on Religion & Public Life. Accessed 12 January 2022. <https://www.pewforum.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2011/12/Christianity-fullreport-web.pdf>
- Hill, R.S., *Māori and the State: Crown-Māori relations in New Zealand/Aotearoa, 1950-2000*. NZETC Epub Edition. Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University of Wellington. 2015.
- Hillery Jr., George A. "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement." *Rural Sociology* 20, no. 2 (June 1955): 111-123.
- Hilliard, Chris. *"Island Stories: The Writing of New Zealand History 1920-1940."* Masters thesis, University of Auckland, 1997.
- Hills, Claire, *"The Amalgamation of Secondary Schools : A Case Study of Amalgamation Culture Shock in a Rural New Zealand Catholic Community"* PhD. thesis, Massey University, 1999.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Moore, Nicholas. In *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 1998. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/4m61/moore-nicholas>.
- Hougaard, M. "The dream time of the ghost from layer 4." *Archaeology in New Zealand*. 47, no. 4 (2004): 128-132
- Hutt City Council. Petone Settlers Data. Accessed 04 August 2021. <http://www.huttcity.govt.nz/Leisure--Culture/Museums-and-galleries/Our-museums/petone-settlers-data/DisplayPerson/?Id=39088&SearchString=STRATHNAVER&Page=2>.
- Innes, Stephen. "A Bibliography of Writings by M. P. K. Sorrenson." *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, no. 1 (1997): 189-94.

- Jackson, A., "Report to Council: 'Makora Road Project - Putting the 'U' back into 'Makora Road.'" Masterton District Council . 16 September 2020. p. 154-159. Accessed 10 December 2021.  
<https://mstn.govt.nz/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/AGENDA-Council-2020-09-16.pdf>
- Jackson, A-M., Mercier, O., "Community Connections to Place | Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga." Accessed 01 December 2021. <http://www.maramatanga.co.nz/project/community-connections-place>
- Kaa, H. "Ngā hāhi – Māori and Christian denominations - Anglican Church," Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. 2017. Accessed 22 December 2021.  
<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-hahi-maori-and-christian-denominations/page-1>
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ngā hāhi – Māori and Christian denominations - Mormon Church," Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. 2017. Accessed 22 December 2021.  
<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/nga-hahi-maori-and-christian-denominations/page-5>
- King, M. *The Penguin History of New Zealand*. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books, 2004.
- Kirch, P.V. *On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands Before European Contact*. Oakland, California: University of California Press, 2000.
- Knox, Ray. *New Zealand's Heritage : The Making of a Nation*. Auckland, New Zealand: Paul Hamlyn, 1977.
- Leach, B. F. "Prehistoric communities in Palliser Bay, New Zealand" PhD. thesis, University of Otago, 1976.
- Leach, H. Early attempts at historic site protection in New Zealand. *Archaeology in New Zealand*. 34 no. 2 (1991): 83-90
- Lee, J. M., Begg, J. G. (compilers). *Geology of the Wairarapa area*. Institute of Geological & Nuclear Sciences. Lower Hutt, New Zealand: Institute of Geological & Nuclear Sciences Limited. 2002.
- Lewis, J., "Problems Involved in the Conservation of Historic Buildings in New Zealand." M.Phil. thesis. Massey University, 1984.
- Lineham, Peter J. (2014, January 1). "The place of small denominations in the religious landscape of New Zealand." *Stimulus*, 21, no. 2 (2014): 14-25
- Lowenthal, D. "Stewarding the past in a perplexing present." In *Values and Heritage Conservation*, E. Avrami, R. Mason and M. d. I. Torre (eds) 18–25. Los Angeles: The Getty Conservation Institute. 2000.  
[https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications\\_resources/pdf\\_publications/pdf/valuesrpt.pdf](https://www.getty.edu/conservation/publications_resources/pdf_publications/pdf/valuesrpt.pdf)
- Macdonald, Judith. "Obituary: Sir Raymond Firth 1901–2002." *Oceania* 72, no. 3 (2002): 153–55.
- Mccreary, J. R. "Ernest Beaglehole - A Tribute." 7, no. 1 (May 1, 1966): 85–87.  
<https://doi.org/10.1111/apv.71005>.
- Masterton District Library. *The Eight-Year House*. Accessed 04 December 2021.  
<https://library.mstn.govt.nz/wairarapa-stories/our-places/the-eight-year-house>
- McFadgen, B. G. *Archaeology of the Wellington Conservancy: Wairarapa : A Study in Tectonic Archaeology*. Wellington, New Zealand: Department of Conservation. 2003.

- McSaveney, E., *Historic earthquakes - The 1855 Wairarapa earthquake*, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 21 December 2021 <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/historic-earthquakes/page-3>
- Mead, H. M., and S. M. Mead. *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori Values*. Huia, 2003.
- Ministry of Social Development. *Learning from Tragedy: Homicide within Families in New Zealand 2002–2006*. Wellington: Ministry of Social Development. 2010.
- Morrow, Daniel. "'Māori and Pakeha - Two Peoples or One?' : Ralph Piddington and 'Symbiosis' in Mid-Twentieth-Century New Zealand." *New Zealand Journal of History* 47, no. 2 (2013).
- Mruck, K., and Breuer, F. "Subjectivity and Reflexivity in Qualitative Research—The FQS Issues". *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 4 no. 2 (2003).  
<https://doi.org/10.17169/fqs-4.2.696>
- Newbold, Greg. *Crime, Law and Justice in New Zealand*. London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2016.
- O'Keefe, Mary, "'PROFESSIONAL' ARCHAEOLOGY —THE NEXT FRONTIER," *Archaeology in New Zealand* 46, no. 1 (2003): 33-36
- O'Malley, J.W. *What Happened at Vatican II*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2010.
- Owens, J.M.R., "[Review] Manifest Duty, the Polynesian Society over 100 Years," *New Zealand Journal of History*, 27 no. 1 (1993): 105-106
- Perks, R., and A. Thomson. *The Oral History Reader*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Pocock, J. G. A. (Ed.). *The Maori and New Zealand politics*. Auckland, New Zealand: Blackwood and Janet Paul Ltd. 1965.
- Portelli, Alessandro, 'What Makes Oral History Different' in *The Oral History Reader*, Robert Perks and Alastair Thomson eds, 63-74. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Pouhere Taonga Heritage New Zealand. *Archaeological Reports Digital Library | Archaeology | Protecting Heritage | Heritage New Zealand*. Accessed 12 May 2022.  
<https://www.heritage.org.nz/protecting-heritage/archaeology/digital-library>
- Putnam R.D., *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2000.
- Rangitāne o Wairarapa Incorporated. *Tararua Forest Park and Pa Punanga*. Accessed 10 December 2021.  
<https://rangitaneeducation.com/tararua-forest-park-and-pa-punanga/>
- Reid, A. (Researcher), and Hillmarè S. *Engaged Communities : How Community-Led Development Can Increase Civic Participation*. BERL and Helen Clark Foundation. 2019.  
[https://helenclark.foundation/app/uploads/2021/10/HCF\\_Engaged-Communities\\_Reid-Schulze\\_December-2019.pdf](https://helenclark.foundation/app/uploads/2021/10/HCF_Engaged-Communities_Reid-Schulze_December-2019.pdf)

- Rendtel, J. "Review of Amateur Meteor Research." *Planetary and Space Science* 143 (2017): 7–11.  
doi:10.1016/j.pss.2017.01.007.
- Robertson, J. B. W. "The Early Tradition of the Whakatane District." *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 75, no. 2 (1966): 189-209.
- Roman Catholic Archbishop of the Archdiocese of Wellington New Zealand. "*The Monsignor Moore education trust.*" Accessed 29 December 2021.  
[https://www.wn.catholic.org.nz/adw\\_welcom/the-monsignor-moore-education-trust/](https://www.wn.catholic.org.nz/adw_welcom/the-monsignor-moore-education-trust/)
- Ryan, Chris. "Prehistory in the Balance." *Listener (Wellington, N.Z.)*, January 1, 1986.
- St. Patrick's School. "*History - St Patricks School Masterton.*" Accessed 28 August 2021.  
<https://stpatmsn.school.nz/our-school/history/>
- Schrader, B., "*Wairarapa places – Greytown*", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 16 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-6>
- \_\_\_\_\_, "*Wairarapa places – Masterton*", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 16 December 2021 <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-3>
- \_\_\_\_\_, "*Wairarapa places - Papawai marae*", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 16 December 2021. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-7>
- \_\_\_\_\_, "*Wairarapa places - Wairarapa lakes*", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 12 January 2022. <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/wairarapa-places/page-11>
- Silova, I., Sobe N.W., Korzh, A., & Kovalchuk, S. "*Reimagining Utopias : Theory and Method for Educational Research in Post-Socialist Contexts.*" [In English]. 2017.  
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-6351-011-0>.
- Simmel, Georg; Frisby, David. 2011. *The Philosophy of Money*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge.
- Sinclair, Keith. *A History of New Zealand (Pelican)*. Revised ed. Auckland, New Zealand: Penguin Books, 1989.
- Sissons, J. '*Best, Elsdon*', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 1993. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, Accessed 19 April 2022.  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2b20/best-elsdon>
- Skirbekk, Vegard Skirbekk, Marcin Stonawski, and Anne Goujon, "*Global Christianity: A Report on the Size and Distribution of the World's Christian Population*," December 1, 2011. Accessed 21 April 2022.  
<https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2011/12/Christianity-fullreport-web.pdf>
- Smith, Linda Tuhiwai. *Decolonizing Methodologies : Research and Indigenous Peoples*. 3 ed. London, United Kingdom: Zed Books, 2021.
- Sorrenson, M. P. K. *Maori Origins and Migrations : The Genesis of Some Pakeha Myths and Legends*. Auckland University Press, 1990.

- \_\_\_\_\_, and Moyle, Richard M. *Manifest Duty : The Polynesian Society over 100 Years*. Memoir: No. 49. The Society, Dept. of Anthropology, University of Auckland, 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_, "Buck, Peter Henry." Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2002.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Ko Te Whenua Te Utu / Land Is the Price : Essays on Maori History, Land and Politics*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2014.
- Stirling, B., with O'Brien, R. and Howes, X. "Brancepeth Station | Heritage New Zealand." Accessed 10 December 2021. <https://www.heritage.org.nz/the-list/details/7649>
- Sutherland, I. L. G. ed. *The Maori People Today: A General Survey*. London; New York: Oxford University Press, 1940.
- Swarbrick, Nancy "Primary and secondary education - Education from the 1920s to 2000s", Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 13 May 2022.  
<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/primary-and-secondary-education/page-3>
- Taonga, New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu. "Beaglehole, Ernest." Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga. Accessed April 2, 2022.  
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5b15/beaglehole-ernest>.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Ngata, Apirana Turupa." Ministry for Culture and Heritage Te Manatu Taonga. Accessed November 30, 2021. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/3n5/ngata-apirana-turupa>.
- Taylor, Stephanie. *Narratives of Identity and Place*. London: Routledge. 2010.
- Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. 'Constitution of the Trust', from An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, edited by A. H. McLintock, originally published in 1966. Accessed January 4, 2022.  
<http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/1966/new-zealand-historic-places-trust/page-2>
- Tearney, F. "Working Paper 2016/03 - History of education in New Zealand." McGuinness Institute. Wellington. 2010. Accessed 14 May 2022.  
<https://www.mcguinnessinstitute.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/20161213-Working-Paper-2016%E2%80%A2History-of-education-in-New-Zealand.pdf>.
- Thompson, P. *Voice of the Past: Oral History*. OUP Oxford, 2000
- Tipa, Rob. "The Man on the Bike." *Karaka (Christchurch, N.Z.)* 01 January 2008
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Māori." *Te Karaka: The Ngai Tahu Magazine*, no. 45 (Summer 2009): 48-48
- Tönnies, F., *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. Leipzig, 1887. translated and edited in Tönnies, F., Harris, J., Hollis, M., *Tönnies: Community and Civil Society*. Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press. 2001.
- Tregear, E. "The Late Stephenson Percy Smith, president and founder of the Polynesian Society and editor of its journal." *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 31, no. 122 (1922): 67-74

- Trew, Johanne Devlin. *Place, Culture and Community : The Irish Heritage of the Ottawa Valley*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing. 2009.
- Tribunal, Waitangi. "*Te Manutukutuku*." 60. Wellington: Department of Justice, 2016.
- Trotter, M. and McCulloch, B. Archaeology of the Fyffe historic area. *Archaeology in New Zealand*. 41 no. 1 (1999): 44-56
- Tuan, Y-F. "Space and Place: Humanistic Perspective." In *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*, edited by J. Agnew, D. N. Livingstone and A. Rogers, 444-57. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. 1996.
- Twigger-Ross, C., and Uzzell, D.L., "Place and identity processes." *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 16 (1996): 205-220
- van der Krogt, Christopher John. "*More a Part than Apart, the Catholic Community in New Zealand Society, 1918-1940*" (Doctoral, Massey University, 1994), <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/2931>
- Vangelis V. "Agricultural subsidy reform and its implications for sustainable development: the New Zealand experience", *Environmental Sciences*, 4, no. 1 (2007): 21-40. DOI: 10.1080/15693430601108086
- Waitangi Tribunal. *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report: Wai 863 - Combined Record of Inquiry for the Wairarapa Ki Tararua Claims*. Wai 863 volume 1. 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report: Wai 863 - Combined Record of Inquiry for the Wairarapa Ki Tararua Claims*. Wai 863 volume 2. 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Wairarapa ki Tararua Report: Wai 863 - Combined Record of Inquiry for the Wairarapa Ki Tararua Claims*. Wai 863 volume 3. 2010.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Decision concerning Treaty settlement with Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki nui-ā-Rua and the trustees of the Ngāti Kahungunu ki Wairarapa Tāmaki nui-ā-Rua Settlement Trust: Wai 3058, the Wairarapa Moana ki Pouakani Incorporation (Smiler) claim*. Wai 3850. 2021.
- Ward, Alan. "A Tribute to Keith Sorrenson ". *New Zealand Journal of History* 31, no. 1 (1997): 6-8.
- Webster, Steven. "American-Plan Anthropology in New Zealand." *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice* 43, no. 2 (1999): 96-107.
- Wevers, Lydia. *Reading on the Farm: Victorian Fiction and the Colonial World*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, 2010.
- Williams, R. M. 'Hunn, Jack Kent', Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, first published in 2000, updated July, 2011. Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Accessed 12 January 2022. <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/5h43/hunn-jack-kent>
- Wylie, J. "Waiu Pa – 'Keep Out – Historic Place'." *Archaeology in New Zealand*. 49, no. 2 (2006): 120-130
- Yeo, R., and Dopson, S. "Getting Lost to Be Found: The Insider–outsider Paradoxes in Relational Ethnography." *Qualitative Research in Organizations and Management: An International Journal* 13, no. 4 (2018): 333–55. doi:10.1108/QROM-06-2017-1533