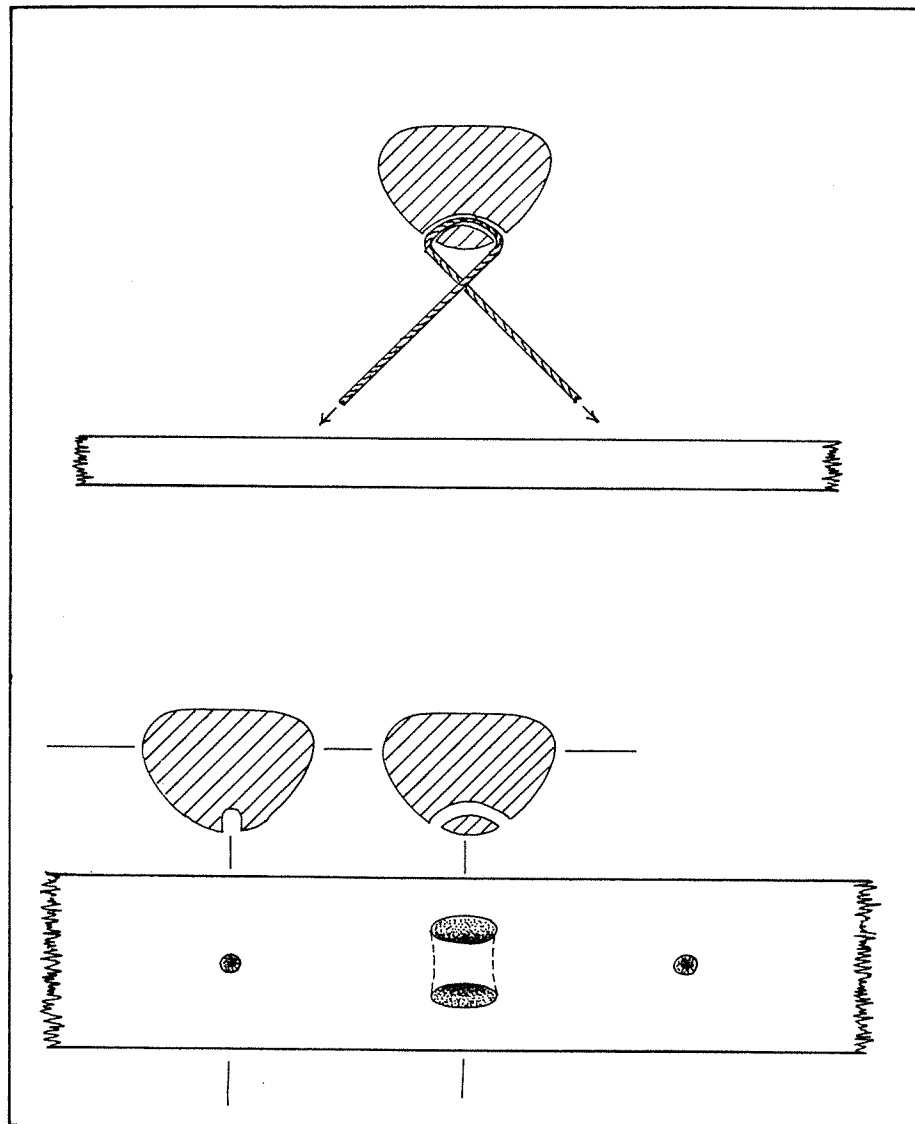


Agmanz News

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The Director

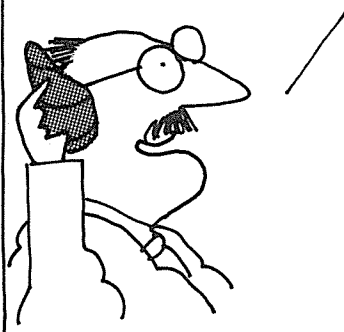
SO THE MET WANTS TO BORROW
OUR 'BRIGHTLY COLOURED SHELLS
OF ALL NATIONS' COLLECTION ?



FAIR ENOUGH. IT'S TAKEN US
LONG ENOUGH TO GAIN
INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION...
BUT I'M AFRAID THEY'LL HAVE
TO DO WITHOUT THE
PISCENSTICK CONCH... FRANKLY
I'M JUST NOT PREPARED TO LET
IT TRAVEL ... AFTER ALL, IT'S
THE ONLY ONE...



I CAN USE TO
HEAR THE
SOUND OF THE
SEA !



B

Cover:

Polynesian pattern of holes for indirect float-to-boom attachment. This pattern is common to New Zealand outrigger canoe floats. The outer holes are for spacer struts, and the inner perforations are for suspensory lashing. See page 22

Cartoon courtesy of Jim Barr.

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September 1984

Anthropology in New Zealand Museums

In this issue

These contributions discuss a wide range of contemporary anthropological concerns and achievements; future proposals, philosophical and ethical discussion, historical comment and a research report reflect the wide ranging interests of New Zealand museum anthropologists. Many of the problems raised in the international museological and anthropological literature are basically the same as our own. Although solutions are available from overseas sources, it is important that we in New Zealand give expression to our own problems and achievements. As the past has shown, we have our own ways of seeing the world. Museum Anthropologists believe that we have an important contribution to make to our own country and to museum anthropology worldwide.

By no means comprehensive, this small beginning is seen as a first instalment in a continuing dialogue. There are many important issues not dealt with here. Now that the *Agmanz News* is to become a museological journal it is to be hoped that significant papers reporting results of research and debating contemporary issues will become a regular feature. The development of such a body of literature is important to the growth of the profession. Specialist groups such as the Museum Anthropologists Group (MAG), provide an ideal structure for bringing together useful collections of papers.

The discussion of such topics as Human Remains in Museum collections are timely. As a profession we must clarify our position on such matters. The need for research and field work is seen as essential to effective performance in the areas of documentation, exhibition and education. The logistical and ethical consequences of the Antiquities Act are mentioned — this discussion has only just begun.

Understanding the historical background to a profession is important. Understanding the responsibilities of being Kaitiaki o nga taonga (the keepers of the treasures of the past) is vital. Many of us are only slowly becoming aware of the multitude of implications behind such a term.

It is the responsibility of the museum anthropologist to communicate that understanding to the profession and controlling bodies.

David Butts.

Ethnology, or anthropology in the museums of New Zealand has a respectable geneology. Its origins go back on the one side to the observations of Tasman in 1642 and Cook in 1769 through to 1777. The latter especially, communicated to a literate public in Europe. It is no fancy that the two major influences of Cook's voyages can be seen as the abolition of slavery through the philosophy of the dignity of all men, and the study of cultures of man that blossomed as ethnology and anthropology. Of course there were other influences at work; the production of sugar beet made the colonial sugar produced by slave labour uneconomic. However, it is significant that slavery was abolished in England in 1807, only twenty-three years after the publication of the results of Cook's Third Voyage in 1784. The interest engendered by publications associated with Cook's voyages in all the languages of Europe is still with us.

The other side of the geneology is the origin in Maori learning. This line of descent has been important in shaping the ways in which museum anthropologists regard the collections in their care — and their involvement with tribal groups. The origins go back to Sir George Grey's publication of *Nga Moteatea* in 1853 in Wellington, followed by the publication of *Nga Mahinga a Nga Tupuna* in London in 1854, followed by the translation *Polynesian Mythology* in 1855. Equal place must be given to the influence of Edward Shortland and the Rev. Richard Taylor. These men, despite their professed motives gave Maori learning *mana*. Grey, in the foreword to *Nga Moteatea* says "It therefore appeared desirable that in New Zealand a monument should be raised to show in some measure what the country was before its natives were converted to the Christian faith . . . It seemed probable that there would be many persons who would study with pleasure the poetry of a savage race, whose songs and chants, whilst they contain so much that is wild and terrible, yet at the same time present many passages of the most singularly original poetic beauty." (Grey 1853: vi-vii).

Dr Thomson in his *Story of New Zealand*, our first history book published in 1859, devotes one hundred and seventy pages to Maori life, beliefs and customs and saw the future of New Zealand as springing from the

amalgamation of the pakeha and Maori people. Of course he saw that the physical features of the "superior" side would in time predominate. Whatever their intent, these early scholars gave museum anthropologists a respect for their second line of descent.

In 1852 the Auckland Provincial Museum was established as a local museum in a post-office. In 1867 it merged with the Auckland Institute and in 1874 T. F. Cheeseman was appointed curator. Cheeseman was a botanist but also made collections of ethnographic material in the Cook Islands. In Canterbury Museum, established in 1861, was Julius Haast, a geologist who was an early archaeologist and theorist whose ideas are still the subject of debate. Otago Museum, opened in 1877, had Capt. F. Hutton as curator, again a natural scientist who wrote on botany, geology, paleontology, ethnology and scientific theory. Hutton, in fact, was a member of the Philosophical Society of Auckland which led to the formation of the Auckland Institute, helped to found Canterbury Museum, was the first curator of Otago Museum and was instrumental in setting up the Colonial Museum, later called the Dominion Museum and now the National Museum of New Zealand. James Hector the first curator of the Colonial Museum was a geologist but he too did not neglect the human side of the collections.

Augustus Hamilton by 1896 had already carved out a remarkable niche for himself in the history of New Zealand museums. He had, while teaching at Petone, joined the Hawke's Bay Philosophical Society becoming its secretary. He then established the first Hawke's Bay Museum with collections made from the local Maori community. In 1896 he became Registrar of the University of Otago and published *Maori Art: The Art Workmanship of the Maori* which is still an important compendium of Maori material culture items. In 1903 Hamilton became Director of the Colonial, later the Dominion Museum. His influence was important in developing the museum's ethnological collections and in the appointment of Eidsdon Best as ethnologist in 1910. While there are some misgivings about the style of patronage he exerted over the carvers from Arawa employed to carve pieces for the Christchurch Exhibition in 1907, he nevertheless was impor-

ant in dignifying and encouraging Maori art in a colonial situation where the Maori population had dropped to about 40,000 and was outnumbered by pakeha. Politicians spoke at this time of "smoothing the pillow of the dying race". Hamilton's mana was such that his son Harold Hamilton became the Director of the Arts and Crafts School at Rotorua, established by Maori leaders, which was responsible for carving many of the meeting houses standing today and training a whole generation of carvers. These men were the forerunners.

The study of anthropology in museums was boosted by the establishment of the Polynesian Society in 1892 "to promote the study of anthropology, ethnology, philology, history and antiquities of the Polynesian races", which continued the good work of the earlier writers and included material written by different races in their own languages, e.g. Vol. 2, No. 1, 1893 "Ko te hoenga mai o te Arawa, raua ko tinui i Hawaiki" by Takaanui Tarakawa or "Te Patunga of Ngarara huarau" by Te Whetu. A corresponding member of the Society, Tarakawa was also a member. Another member, who helped S. Percy Smith found the Society and set up the journal, was Elsdon Best. In 1910 he returned after fifteen years working on the roads and later as Health Inspector in and around Ruatahuna. I suspect more time was spent talking with his Tuhoe friends and informants than was spent on inspecting! In that year he was appointed the first ethnologist for the Dominion Museum. Te Rangi Hiroa said of his Tuhoe work: "He saw things with their eyes and felt with their feelings."

Like Te Rangi Hiroa, Best's publications fill a whole shelf of a bookcase — a record that none of their successors can match. Best published twenty-five books, Te Rangi Hiroa thirteen and both published over fifty papers each.

Best had no academic training, just native intelligence and methodical persistence. He exemplifies more than any other museum anthropologist, the dual heritage we all share. Many of his attitudes were Maori so that he was reluctant to criticise his elders. Percy Smith had been his guide and mentor. Smith "borrowed" Best's Aotea notes and incorporated them in his book *Taranaki Coast*. He asked Best to proof-read the manuscript for him while he was absent in England and of course he discovered his notes had been used. He wrote a mild letter to Smith who replied "I am afraid I have often quoted from you without due acknowledgement" (18th Feb. 1911).

Best had finished his monumental work *Tuhoe* in 1907. The manuscript was submitted to Percy Smith as editor of the *Journal* but sat around for a long time with Smith not wanting to publish the Tuhoe traditions as his own theories of Kupe, Toi and the Great Fleet would have been upset. In 1911 Best referred to Smith in publishing the *Lore of the Whare Wananga*, leaving Tuhoe again.

Tuhoe was eventually published in 1924, two years after Smith's death, with paragraphs added about Toi as a migrant, not given as tradition, but as a comment. Harry Skinner attacked the Maruiwi — Melanesian theory of Smith and Best by publishing *The Moriori* in 1928. Best refused to talk to him again until just before his death when he made a special trip to Dunedin to see Skinner, shook his hand and said gently "Harry, you were right and I was wrong."

In his later works Best is more heavily influenced by pakeha scholarship and finds it necessary to quote extensively from other writers to explain Maori beliefs and to judge them. For example, in *Maori Religion* (1924:233) he remarks, "In the native treatment of the sick we observe some of the most puerile examples of superstition," or "The difficulties in any attempt to understand the religion and mentality of the lower races are not grasped by many people" (ibid:7). This is derived partly from the European founder of Anthropology Tylor, "It always happens in the study of the lower races that the more means we have of understanding their thoughts, the more sense and reason do we find in them." As Best remarks, "This sapient remark well illustrates our experience in studying Maori religion and mythology" (ibid).

Elsdon Best in his person illustrates the two lines of descent, that of Maori learning and European scholarship. The two differing sets of attitudes conducted an unholy war inside his mind so that the man who thought and acted as a Maori in many things was also a Eurocentric snob. It is an interesting commentary that Best became more Eurocentric the longer he worked in the museum.

When Best retired in 1918, an ex Gallipoli veteran who had left the study of law to go to the war was appointed as his replacement. This was Harry Skinner who had been wounded in action and took his discharge in England to study anthropology under Haddon at Cambridge. Before taking up his appointment to the Dominion Museum he was offered the job of assistant curator at Otago Museum with the inducement that he could give lectures on anthropology at the university. He was appointed as curator, part-time lecturer and Hocken Librarian, all at the same time. Skinner's one year course at the university produced six professors of social anthropology (including Raymond Firth), even though Skinner's own bias was towards the taxonomic classification of artefacts. One of Skinner's often attempted projects was to return to Taranaki where he had been brought up and learn the Maori language. The first time he set out to do so he got as far as Lyttleton. Another project was to study the Moriori culture of the Chathams. At Lyttleton he saw a chance to stowaway on a ship going to the Chathams, so he took it. The result was the Bishop Museum Bulletin on *The Moriori of the Chatham Islands* which

classified adzes for the first time and destroyed the two strata theory of Melanesian-Maori origins.

Skinner tried several times to get enough time to live with a Maori family and learn conversational Maori. He had a working knowledge, sufficient to read but not enough to speak. He had a great respect for Maori learning but applied to it the criteria of his own training. On any topic he was prepared to listen and would modify or change his views if he was convinced. Because of his early life in Taranaki and his father, W. H. Skinner, he had been exposed to Maori ideas and legends and had met many of the older kaumatua. He always retained his respect for their learning. On the other hand, he was a Cambridge-trained anthropologist who as curator and later Director of Otago Museum built up Otago Museum to what it was when he retired in 1958. In doing so he instituted a careful recording and cataloguing system. When I first knew him in 1962 I had just taken up the post in Otago Museum. I was woefully ignorant of everything to do with museums. Skinner as the retired director took me under his wing. I noticed that his gold-rimmed glasses had a catalogue number on the side so I asked him about it. He said he had had two girls working with him years before and he was always telling them that everything had to be catalogued. He put his glasses down so they catalogued them. He had worn them ever since and was quite proud that his message had been obeyed.

Unlike Best, Skinner never published a book but his papers had a world-wide currency. During a visit to Europe in 1978 I found that two men from New Zealand were known and referred to, Skinner and Archey.

Gilbert Archey was not trained as an anthropologist but was a zoologist who wrote extensively on Maori art and Maori carving using a taxonomic approach to grouping carving. Two of Skinner's students represent, as did Skinner, varying types of amalgam between the two main lines of descent for museum anthropology. The two students were Roger Duff of Canterbury Museum who like Skinner engaged in archaeology to increase knowledge and add to the museum collections and yet at the same time was Maori speaking and thus able to call on Maori sources to explain his archaeological findings. It is a moot point whether his use of Maori tradition to fill gaps in archaeological knowledge was more influenced by Smith's theories than the true value of Maori tradition. Like Skinner he devoted his other energies to building up Canterbury Museum and influencing the development of archaeology.

Terry Barrow who is now living in Hawaii was another of Skinner's students. He was a labourer helping to shift the collections back to the Dominion Museum after the war. He met Skinner who noted his interest and persuaded him to go to university part-time. He

eventually went to Cambridge and returned with a doctorate. Terry Barrow represents the artefact orientated side of museum studies yet with an artistic sensitivity derived from his own background as a potter. The Maori learning line of descent is rather muted in his approach to Maori art and he owes more to European models.

Elsdon Best's successor as ethnologist at the Dominion Museum in 1919 was Bill Phillips who published important records of carved meeting houses in the North Island. In this he was following the footsteps of Augustus Hamilton whose negatives of meeting houses, gatherings and events are an important research tool of today. Phillips photographed and recorded the histories of the carved houses of the East Coast, Wellington, Horowhenua, Wanganui, Taranaki, Waikato, Taupo and Bay of Plenty. Like Hamilton and Best he saw the museum as having an important part to play in the wider Maori community; to record and help retain knowledge of the carvers, their works and tribal histories associated with them. These records are priceless sources of information for the marae he recorded. A little book he wrote *Maori Carving Illustrated* is one I often see being used by young carvers making their first attempts. It has the further effect of turning their attention to the museums as sources for inspiration.

In Auckland Museum in 1923 Vic Fisher was appointed as ethnologist. He was not a writer and produced very few papers. His knowledge of Maori became good enough to understand and record conversations with the elders but he rarely spoke it. What he did achieve, as a kind, gentle and sincere man, was the confidence of Maori groups, particularly in the Auckland Province. In the museum he devoted his attention to developing a fine cataloguing system. He worked unobtrusively to further the aims of museums and to develop the professional side of museum work. Like Skinner perhaps, his most important contribution was the inspiration he engendered in others. My own early memories as a schoolboy are of Vic Fisher taking the time to see me and talking to me as an equal. Many notable scientists and museum people including Robert Falla and Charles Fleming told me that their early interest was aroused by Vic who for many years ran a museum club for interested schoolboys.

The story of museum anthropology would not be complete without mention of people like Max Smart of Wanganui, Rigby Allen of Taranaki Museum, David Teviotdale of Otago and Southland Museums and many others, all of whom have seen the museum as the centre of a much wider community and not just four walls housing collections. The present day attitude of museums in New Zealand towards their collections stems directly from the involvement with the wider world and the historical line of descent which we all share from Maori learning.

H. D. Skinner's teaching of anthropology was, until 1956, the sole formal teaching of anthropology in New Zealand. The establishment of the Anthropology Department in Auckland opened the door more widely to the European scholarly line. However, even then, Ralf Piddington very wisely included as an integral part of his new development, the teaching of Maori language. In this I think he was following the lead given by Elsdon Best and Peter Buck who had placed the Maori on the world stage in social anthropology and ethnology as Skinner did for the material culture studies. H. D. Skinner's classification of Moriori adzes was followed by a classification of New Zealand adzes, the first typologies ever made in Polynesia. Roger Duff refined and adapted Skinner's typology and extended it to all Polynesian adzes and in the last instance to South East Asian examples.

Archaeology also has a long and respectable history in New Zealand from Walter Mantell's excavations in 1862, von Haast's Moa-hunters in 1872 through to Skinner, Teviotdale and Duff. In 1958 Jack Golson

was appointed as lecturer in prehistory at Auckland University and modern archaeology began. Archaeology though, tends to forget the people and deal in the concrete facts excavated from the ground. In this sense there is a danger of archaeologists forgetting the New Zealand side of their whakapapa and only listening to the English or American academic world. This is partly a reaction to the misuse of Maori traditions perpetrated by Smith and his followers. The balance is being redressed, but slowly.

Most of today's museum anthropologists are trained in the universities and so inherit the European academic line quite painlessly. When they come to work in museums then they are faced with a different line of inheritance. They may hide in their storerooms and become good curators and make no attempt to look outside or they may, as most seem to do, face the challenge that is given them as *Kaitiaki o nga taonga*, the keepers of the treasures of the past, with all that implies.

*D. R. Simmons
Auckland Institute & Museum*

Human Remains

Like many other similar institutions, the Canterbury Museum has in its collections a considerable number of human bones and other human remains. At the time that the bulk of these were collected, the latter half of last century and the first half of this, these remains posed no problems. The Museum was seen by Europeans as an appropriate place to store and study them, even to display them, and the question of ethical or moral considerations did not usually arise.

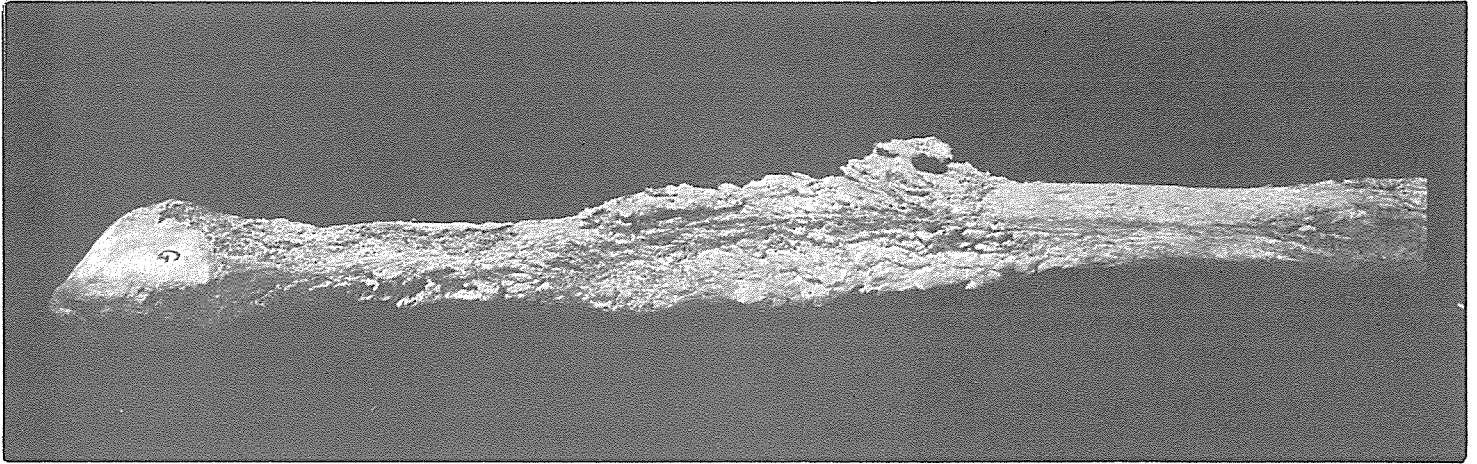
Today however, the situation is different. There is a growing awareness of the distress that may be felt, especially by Maori and other Polynesian people, at the thought of the remains of their possible ancestors being held in a Museum. Should we then, as some people have advocated, return all Maori bones to the appropriate Maori communities for reburial? Or can we genuinely justify keeping bones as scientific specimens or even display items?

The Canterbury Museum's human osteology collection is covered by nearly six hundred catalogue entries, ranging from isolated bones to whole skeletons. Something approaching six hundred people are therefore represented in the collection which is housed in locked cupboards in a special storeroom. These come from all over the world and include Europeans from both Europe and New Zealand, but the majority, some 345, are New Zealand Maori. Besides plain bones there are painted and otherwise decorated

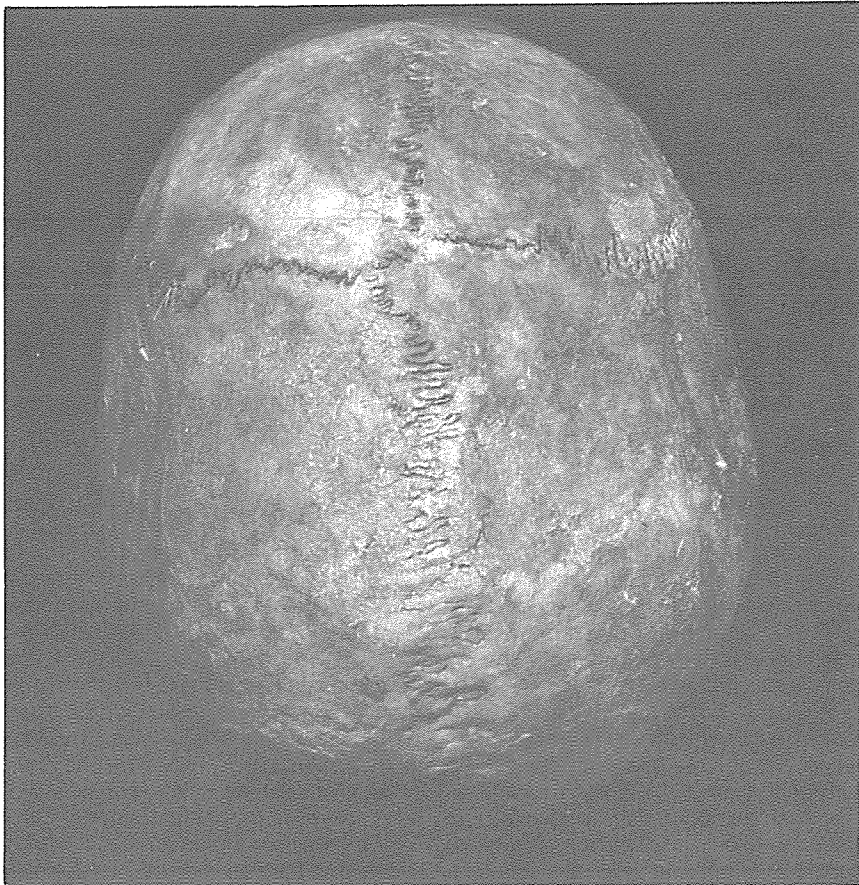
skulls from New Guinea, mummified remains from Egypt and Peru and dried heads from New Zealand. Although these latter may well be classified more appropriately as artefacts, they are kept in the human osteology collection because they retain the basic shape of the original part of the body. (Manufactured items of human bone, hair or teeth — such as fish-hooks and personal ornaments — are held in the Museum's ethnology collections.)

When I was placed in charge of the Canterbury Museum's prehistory department some years ago I wanted to remove from display the well-known Wairau Bar moa hunter burial exhibit. I felt that if society was not prepared to have the remains of a New Zealand European ancestor on display then we should not exhibit the remains of a Maori ancestor. I backed up my argument on racial ethics with the observation that it was neither an accurate nor a typical reconstruction of a moa hunter burial, and that many museum visitors of Polynesian origin gave it a wide berth. The Museum Director at that time listened politely but refused to remove the display. I approached a learned Maori friend for his views and was told that it should be left there — although hand washing facilities nearby would be appreciated.

There the matter rested until I was in the position, as director, to do something about the burial reconstruction myself. Following discussions with a number of Maori friends, all of whom on this occasion expressed feelings



Abnormal bone formation, as on this fibula of an aged nineteenth century New Zealand European, can provide useful positive evidence of disease and general state of health.



Skull of an adult male European showing an unfused metopic suture, a condition that occurs in varying degrees in different racial groups. It has been suggested that this may have contributed to the cause of death of this individual which is known from historical records to have included a blow to the head.

ranging from unease to repugnance at the display, the skeleton was removed and the display dismantled.

Interestingly enough, the Museum has a court order, dating *circa* 1935, to prevent it from displaying a human skull that was found in a carved skull box on Banks Peninsula. The box is on display but the skull is kept under lock and key.

There is no question of display policy concerning dried Maori heads. They too are kept locked away far from public view — and the practice of other staff bringing favoured visitors in for a peek at them is firmly discour-

aged!

An Egyptian mummy, on the other hand, is not only clearly on display, but is one of the more popular individual items in the galleries — we get complaints from the public on the odd occasions it is temporarily put away. Visitors expect to see a mummy in a museum. Yet could it not be argued that we should accord the same reverence and respect to the Egyptian dead as to the Maori dead? If dried Maori heads (and bodies) are to be kept away from the curious visitors, then should not the same rule apply to the dried bodies of people of other races as

well?

There cannot be any doubt of the scientific value of human skeletal remains. From them, and in many cases from them alone, we can learn a great deal about people — their size and shape, aspects of their health, certain diseases, longevity, racial characteristics, even perhaps the size of their families, something about the food they ate, and some of the occupational activities they indulged in.

A procedure often acceptable to the Maori communities in the Canterbury Museum's area when bones of their probable ancestors are uncovered is that they be retained by a Museum (or other institution) for a short period of study, after which they are returned for reburial. While this is admirable in terms of co-operation, only a very basic study can usually be made in such circumstances. Detailed specialist studies cannot be undertaken on a piece-meal basis as bones are found: researchers generally (and understandably) wish to make their own measurements and observations; and all the time new techniques are being developed that require new and different data. There is a real need for research collections to be available on a permanent, or at least a long-term basis. Realistically the best we can hope for is a compromise — perhaps we can retain the collections already held, in specially set-aside areas with access restricted except for *bona fide* research or curatorial work, although I expect there will be increasing pressure applied in many areas for the reburial of Maori remains. As yet, remains from outside New Zealand have caused no problems here, but just as Maori people see a need for the return of their ancestral relics, from overseas, so too can we expect other peoples to be similarly inclined.

The Tasmanian Museum holds a collection of human bones which include some of Tasmanian Aborigines. In 1982 representatives of the local Aboriginal community sought to have the Aboriginal remains returned to them for interment or cremation. The Museum Trustees proposed instead that responsibility for the custody of the bones be shared between them and the

Aboriginal community, with the material being available for study only by full agreement of both parties, even though this could well mean that it became inaccessible for study in the foreseeable future.

This proposal was rejected by the Aboriginal community and later charges were laid against the Museum Director and Chairman under the Criminal Code Act and the Aboriginal Relics Act. The charges were dismissed, and the Government ruled that the bones be "disposed of appropriately" following consultation with the Aboriginal community.

The value of skeletal remains for research purposes is not restricted to those of prehistoric origin. In 1981 we excavated at the request of a local church (and with the appropriate Governmental permission) a small late nineteenth century cemetery in Christchurch. Because the locations, and even the number, of graves were unknown, they were located and excavated by archaeological methods (the area had been used for berry-growing for some years). Some thousands of dollars worth of work were put into the exer-

cise in the expectancy of getting a lot of new and unique information on European burial customs, health and disease, of a sample of people buried between 1862 and 1894. Preliminary examination of the excavated remains showed that this expectancy was more than justified. We were able to make only a basic study of them, however, before the authorities insisted on their reburial. The fact that we had less opportunity for studying the European remains than we do of Maori remains (some of which are only a little older than these Europeans) is a clear demonstration of the double standards applied to human remains.

I believe that the time is near when New Zealand museums should decide not to exhibit the remains of the bodies of any race of people whether they be Maori, European, Egyptian or any other. I hope we will do this before we are forced to, and I still hope that we may be able to retain basic human collections for research, even though access to them might be strictly controlled. In a somewhat comparable situation the Council of Australian Museum Directors agreed to the

following principles last year:

- (i) That the only justification for acquiring or maintaining human remains in museum collections is demonstrable scientific and/or educational value.
- (ii) That human remains which are of relatively recent origin and are of a sensitive nature should not be acquired held or used for public display purposes.
- (iii) That each museum holding collections of human remains has a responsibility to assess the scientific value, provenance and history of each item and to give consideration to the disposal of those of limited scientific value.
- (iv) That human remains in museums' existing collections which can be shown to be the remains of any known persons or of persons whose direct descendants are known, should be buried in an appropriate place or otherwise dealt with, according to the wishes of descendants if any.

*Michael M. Trotter
Canterbury Museum*

Museums and Communication — a Problem for the 80's

Museums are a product of Western European culture. They do not exist in all societies but the idea of acquiring collections of objects for artistic or religious purposes is more widespread. Collecting rare and beautiful objects was and still is part of what "civilised" people do. For the Romans, the Chinese, Renaissance Italy and Europe great collections were symbols of status and sophistication.

The idea that collections could be shared and used to educate has developed only over the last 250 years. The British Museum was established in 1753, the Louvre in 1793, the Prado, Madrid in 1819, Berlin 1830, and South Kensington (now Victoria and Albert Museum) London, in 1832. Collections were based initially on acquiring the rare and beautiful in Art and in Nature but came to include as many different specimens of natural history objects as possible such as shells, fossils, butterflies or plants, preferably those from strange and distant lands. The interest in "natural curiosities" widened to include "artificial curiosities" such as weapons, tools and clothing from non-European cultures.

In the nineteenth century there was a movement in many countries towards improving the education of all the population especially the working classes. Collections of objects were made available for observation and instruction

and artisans were encouraged to copy examples of the "art" of previous periods. In the better displays Natural History specimens were classified and arranged like a three dimensional text book; in the worst they were mixed up with cultural objects; a Chinese lady's slipper for example, might be next to a stuffed bird, or a moa bone might be on a china plate.

Museums eventually came to have three functions of acquisition, research and education. The first stems from the beginnings of museums as collections of rarities, art objects and natural and "artificial" curiosities. Its continuation depends on society thinking that there is merit in keeping such things. Museum collections have become sources of pride, especially in ex-colonial countries, as an important part of national identity.

Museums also maintain collections for research. One field being inquiry into what the collected items meant in their original contexts, for example the ecosystem for natural organisms and the social system for cultural items. Artefacts for instance give an insight into how man viewed his world. No artefact has a single intrinsic meaning, it not only has a context, it is part of a context, indeed of many contexts. It can "speak" to a viewer on different levels depending on whether or not the viewer "recognises" it.

The third function of museums is display and public education. It is no longer sufficient to just place objects on show, they must be interpreted; shown in their context and explained.

In the larger museums, with their greater resources, collecting and research are important activities. In smaller museums, however, with their lesser resources, display and public education are the major activities. For their displays they may rely on loans from larger museums to supplement their own collections, and for their interpretive information, on the results of research from the larger museums. But even in the larger museums, display and education are receiving greater emphasis as museums compete with other forms of communication for the attention of the public.

Museums have a major advantage over other forms of communication about a subject — they have the actual object. They also have the advantage of repeatability, the actual object or one very like it is always there for the viewer to see again and again even if the display is updated and modernised.

In the past museum displays have been a form of illustrated textbook relying on labels to impart information that the public had the choice of reading or not as they chose. Earlier

this century there was research into the principles of human motivation and the use of verbal or visual symbols to guide and influence people without them being aware.

Advertising agencies adopted and developed these principles, manipulating symbols to aid sales. Some of their techniques were imported into museums as designers tried to modernise displays. Unfortunately they sometimes went overboard and the design distorted the meaning of the object.

When studies showed that the average visitor spent only a few seconds in front of a display the amount of labelling was cut drastically and language was simplified when surveys found the reading age of the general public was only 13–14 years. This, however, irritated many museum visitors who often wanted more information about an object than was made available. There is now a swing to providing more information in labels or booklets or pamphlets and as technologies improve use is increasingly made of sound, film and lighting. Displays can be appreciated emotionally and sensually as well as intellectually. Museums want to attract a range of people whose intellectual abilities are different, or not fully developed. They have to assume that some of their visitors may be intelligent though not "educated"; or can perceive an idea though be unable to verbalise it.

There have been some recent changes in displays in New Zealand museums. Very popular is the diorama, used where space permits, showing an underwater scene, a piece of "bush", the inside of a settlers hut or an 1880's mansion. The extreme is the recreated open air village or "heritage park". Light is used dramatically and realistically and there may be some sound such as background music or a spoken tape. For artefacts there is an increasing use of interpretative materials to communicate information and ideas to bridge the gap between the culture of the object and the culture of the viewer.

There is a strong feeling among some museum people that objects, whether natural or cultural should always be shown in their context. Except for special exhibitions artefacts should not be shown as "art objects" but should be displayed as much in context as possible. Displays would be of the "total" environment type, for example to give the impression of walking through an underwater scene. The colonial street is of this type but would need sound and light (and smell?). Such displays must, however, always have labels for the curious.

People have a latent collecting instinct, many like to see lots of objects so they can select what they want to look at. Others prefer to see an isolated object.

Where artefacts are presented as art objects the message often presented to the public is that these are treasures and are collectable. Museums should therefore show the connection between collecting and looting. It is interesting that a recent American touring exhibition of South American artefacts concluded

with a strong statement against looting. It would help if the importance of artefacts as the heritage of a specific group and as part of the heritage of all mankind were stressed.

Ethnology displays have special problems in interpretation. They are trying to communicate ideas from a culture which in many cases is not that of their viewers. Most people can relate to a natural history diorama, they "know" about animals and plants, though not necessarily in detail. They have seen documentaries on TV and so recognize creatures presented in museum cases and there is generally a recognition of an historical scene too if it is of something within the last 100 to 150 years or within living memory.

A European looking at a carved figure from a totally different culture sees what his culture suggests he see. Two hundred years ago it was a grotesque figure nothing like a "real" sculpture and probably an idol that the heathen worshipped. One hundred years ago it was still a grotesque figure but was also an example of the craftsmanship of a dying race. Today it may be seen as an art object. A recent American home decorator's magazine showed a bedroom with good quality furniture and pink walls and in the corner a complete costume of mask and body covering used in sacred ceremonies in New Guinea.

Curators can unwittingly contribute to misunderstandings and confirming of stereotypes by their selection of artefacts such as suggesting Egyptians spent all their time building pyramids and embalming corpses. The embalming of culture in a curatorially determined time span is another misleading message. As well as illustrating the past museums could demonstrate the reasons for the present and adjustments to that reality and give a clearer view of the human situation.

Increasingly museums are reconsidering their role in today's society. They are under pressure to justify their existence and play the numbers game by attracting lots of visitors. To do this they are expected to develop programs of changing exhibits, "openings", and other activities as have some Art Galleries. For short term exhibits, even though the educational function is important and in a minor way the research one is still there to ensure accuracy in presentation, the primary role is becoming one of entertainment.

It is, however, entertainment with a difference because certain types of activities have high "status" especially those that give a "cultural experience". Some interesting studies have recently been done in America which were reported on at the ICAES Conference held in Canada in 1983. The conclusions of the paper "The Socio-symbolic role of Museums" by R. F. Kelly raise interesting points of which New Zealand museum people should be aware.

Kelly suggests that museums have had thrust on them a new role additional to their traditional functions. They have become status symbols and as a consequence have two quite distinct types of visitor: "traditional

visitors" who visit museums because they enjoy being there, and "new visitors" who visit museums to attain a state of having been there. The idea works on the premise that the traditional status system based on possession of objects is being replaced with a status system based on experiences.

At the turn of the century wealth and leisure provided a clear signal of social status but now neither do. Wealth signals (car, stereo etc) are now more evenly distributed and there is less leisure among "decision makers", eg managers, employers and owners than previously. A "new leisure class" based on quality not quantity of leisure has emerged and quality is socially defined. Although there is an increase in higher education in the population this education is now often technical. The new status is based on appreciation of Education, Arts and Cultural Heritage which are held to be of paramount value to society, consequently there is a rise in status seeking by "cultural tourism".

But cultural experiences have to be socially visible and people therefore need signals of their cultural experience. These signals must be explicit, such as an object labelled from a certain heritage park or a photo of someone in front of a museum. Museum shops provide these signals and visitors have been observed going only to the shops. An important implication of this study is that the increase in visitors may be only temporary and museums must be careful that techniques adapted to "hold" new visitors do not alienate traditional visitors.

If the fashion changes and people no longer "collect" museums then museums are left only with the continuing small elite group of traditional visitors. This group may expand, though slowly, as education levels rise.

It is perhaps in the educative role that museums can contribute most to today's world. To tell, one must know, and so the research and the collector functions especially in the larger museums, are vital for underpinning the educative role. The best techniques used for entertainment can be used to educate. This instruction should be holistic. For example the recently complete redisplay of the Canadian Museum of Man was criticized because one department showed Indian culture, another history of Canada, another culture of ethnic groups in Canada, all as separate displays and even on different floors. How much more meaningful the displays would be, the critic said, if they were integrated with the effect of each culture on each other explored as part of an exhibition on what make the people of Canada like they are today. It follows that to do this type of exhibition context is important and also that a range of artefacts, including ordinary ones, are collected and shown. A parallel theme would be interaction between man and environment.

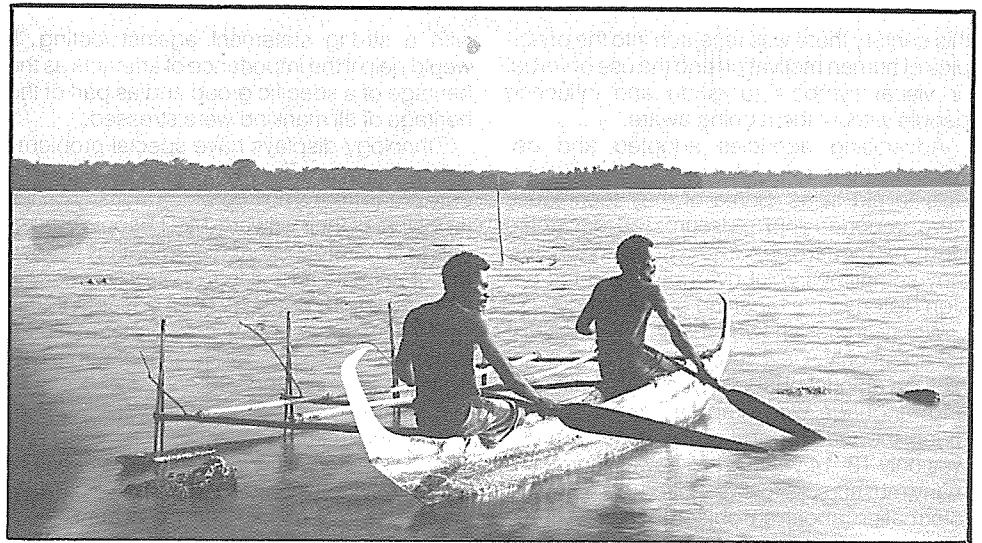
However well integrated the holistic ethnographic display is, it is still an imperfect, incomplete "outsider" view of the culture. It is very difficult to see how the "insider" and "outsider"

views can be reconciled especially where the "insider" view is removed in time from the present day. Museums just have to present their own point of view as a professional organization and then listen to what the descendants of the "insiders" say to try and present the "truest" picture.

By using new technology museums may better communicate with their public about the objects in their care. It is vitally important that context is not lost. No object is isolated, it is part of a culture system and the viewer, who is also part of a culture system, tries to perceive it as such.

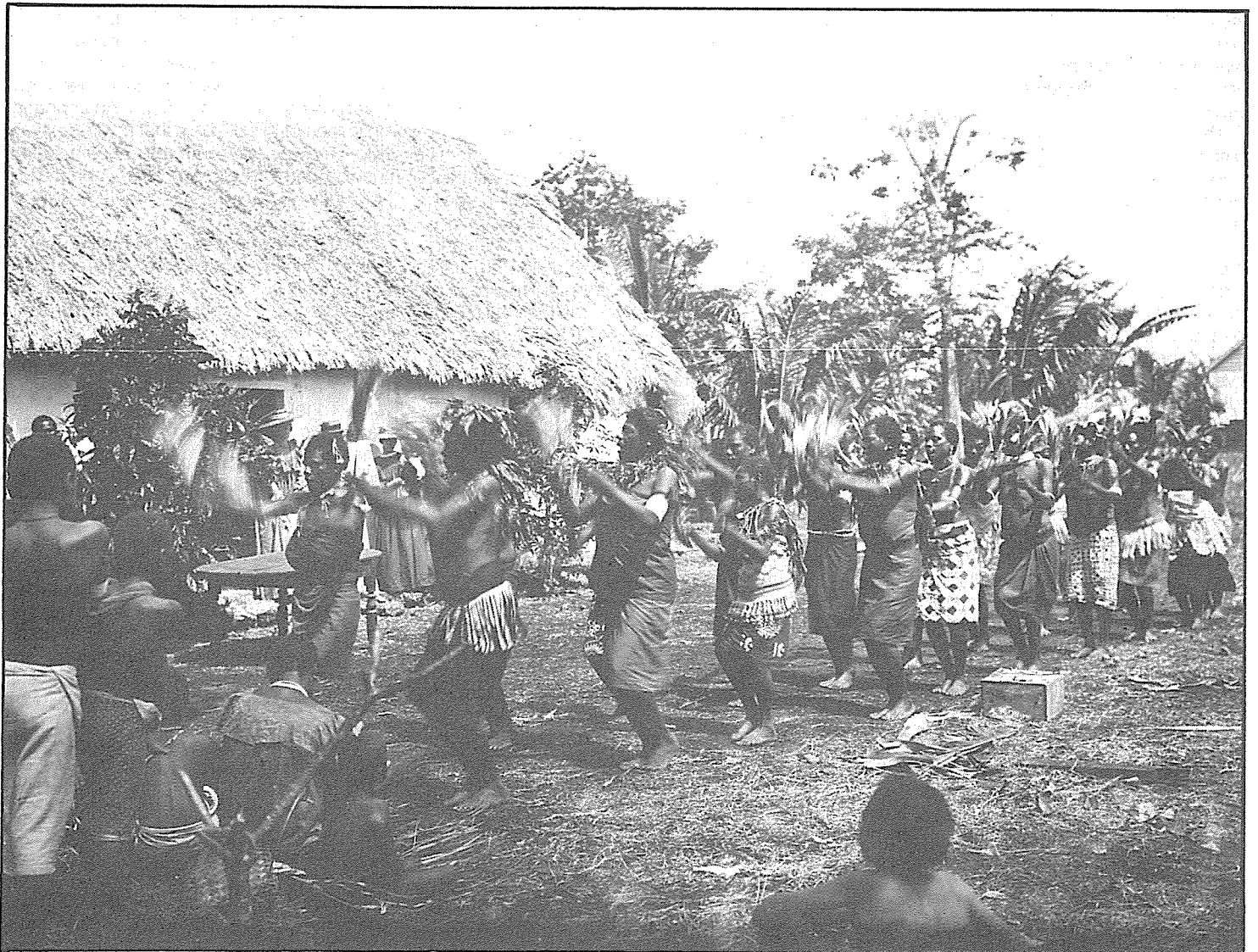
Before all else the safety, dignity and integrity of the artefact must be paramount.

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Curator of Ethnology
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Canoe, Duke of York Islands. John A Crump Colletion National Museum.

Collectors and Collections



Dancing beside the mission house. New Britain. John A. Crump Collection. National Museum.

One of the great problems of museum ethnographic collections is that private collections become separated. Artefacts may be at a museum, papers and photographs at the Turnbull Library or the Hocken Library, and in some instances parts of artefact collections may be at different museums. At the National Museum we are trying to assemble some biographical material about the collectors. This should help to establish dates and provenance for various items as well as telling us something about the nature of the collection and the conditions of the people at the time.

With the collections of Pacific island and Maori material made by Alexander Turnbull and Augustus Hamilton there exists considerable documentation. There are lists of artefacts in the archives and in the registration books. From the correspondence, information about plans and policies for purchase and acquisition is illuminating and useful.

Among the lesser known collections, we have a quantity of material about that made by Gustav Kronfeld. This collection consists largely of clubs, spears and bows and arrows from a wide area of the South Pacific. Our information has been augmented by personal discussions with the late Dr M. Kronfeld of Waikanae held in April 1981. Dr Kronfeld said that his father Gustav was a trader operating from Vava'u where he was stationed in the 1880's by a Hamburg firm. In 1882 he married Louisa Silveira the daughter of a Portuguese captain and the granddaughter of a Samoan chief. He began to collect Pacific island artefacts and continued to do so after he moved with his family to Auckland in 1890. Dr Kronfeld remembered how Princess (later Queen) Salote came to live with them when she first came to New Zealand to attend Auckland Diocesan School. He also remembered how the house was decorated with curios and that his father was acquainted with T. F. Cheeseman of the Auckland Museum.

In 1917 the Kronfeld Collection was offered for sale to the Dominion Museum. The sale did not go through and although Gustav Kronfeld died in 1924, it was not until 1939 that Mrs Louisa Kronfeld donated the collection to the Dominion Museum (Accession Number 1939/35). One of the strengths of this collection is that it was collected within a time of approximately twenty years and is drawn from an area as far as New Britain in the north and as far as Tongatapu in the south.

Another interesting collection of Pacific artefacts is the one made by the Reverend John A. Crump when he was a missionary in New Britain from 1894-1904. This contains a wide range of artefacts and includes photographs. When Dr W. R. B. Oliver was documenting the first of the two deposits of the Crump Collection (Accession Number 1935/52) he corresponded with Mrs Crump at Ocean Bay near Port Underwood. A letter from her in response to a request by Dr Oliver takes the form of a short biography. Mrs Crump described how her husband became very proficient at the language and was able to learn much about

the customs and crafts of the people of New Britain. He also became a good judge of the 'value of native curios'. John Crump was interested in methods of surgery and discovered that trephining of skulls was practised in New Britain in cases of head injuries. He obtained several skulls for study and some of these are included in the material presented to the Dominion Museum. In addition to this information there is a biography of the Reverend John Crump by George G. Carter. It is called *Misikaram* and was published by the Wesley Historical Society in 1975. This has extracts from diaries, photographs and valuable bibliographical references. Many of the collections were made by missionaries and there is often published material as in the above instance.

It has not, however, been so easy to obtain information about some collectors such as Peter Beckett, John Handley and Captain John Bollons. The latter is the subject of a biographical novel by Bernard Fergusson (later Lord Ballantrae) called *Captain John Niven* (Collins 1972). He based the book on the life of Captain Bollons using some of his own memories of him, as he found that sufficient material for a biography did not exist. In the case of the collection of Beatrice

Howes of Otago there are only boxes of stone material and a very inadequate list, but there is always the chance that missing catalogues and photographs will turn up in family papers. When the National Museum archives are finally reorganized some problems may be solved but there will still be difficulties.

It is thought that it might be desirable to have a national register of early collections of ethnological material. A beginning has been made by Roger Neich with the list of collections in his survey for UNESCO in 1982. Such a register could be kept at the National Museum. It could contain the names of collectors associated with specific collections, biographical and bibliographical references, some details about the deployment of artefacts and cross-references to photographic collections. The register should be designed to help all museums and save some duplication of research.

Any suggestions for implementing and operating such a scheme would be warmly received by the Technology Department, National Museum, Private Bag, Wellington.

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Ethnology Associate
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Canoe, Duke of York Islands. John A Crump Collection National Museum.



Bones, Bones and More Bones

The Osteological Collections in Canterbury Museum

I am conscious that some people may well be wondering just how much relevance an article on bones (other than the human variety) may have to anthropology and its related disciplines! The answer is, quite a lot! For many years, the huge osteological collections at Canterbury Museum, surely among the largest in New Zealand, have come under the umbrella of what is nowadays referred to as the Prehistory Department. The principal and original reason for this can be expressed simply in three words, Ronald Jack Scarlett.

Ron, as he is affectionately known throughout the length and breadth of New Zealand, was first appointed to the Canterbury Museum staff in 1950, principally as a "moa man". However, his interest in bones was such that he rapidly extended his field of interest to become the only full-time osteologist, employed permanently, in any New Zealand museum. The attachment of this osteology section to prehistory came about for two reasons.

The first was simply the interest of many prehistorians in the moa. The economic importance of the moa to early man in New Zealand, and the role of man in its eventual extinction, have long been the subjects of debate, and, not infrequently, heated controversy. At least as much interest has centred on the moa-and-man relationship as has on the moa as an object of palaeontological or zoological concern.

The second reason for the osteology-prehistory connection was the service offered by the Museum — or rather by Ron — for the identification of bone from archaeological sites. With the rapidly increasing awareness of archaeologists since the 1950s, that the discipline is a science rather than an art, more and more bone material poured into Canterbury Museum for identification, material originating in archaeological sites ranging from the north of the North Island to Stewart Island and out to the Chathams.

However, Canterbury Museum has had a traditional interest in bones as well, especially those of moas, since its founding in 1870. Its first Director, Julius Haast, created the world's first display of mounted moa skeletons from the famous Glenmark Swamp of North Canterbury and subsequently the Museum acquired large quantities of overseas material for its collections (much of it ethno- and anthropological) in exchange for moa bones from the great swamp repositories of Canterbury and Otago, notably Glenmark, Kapua and Enfield.

However while Haast the geologist was greatly interested in the moa *per se*, he was

also, as one of New Zealand's first prehistorians, interested in the bones of moas and many other creatures as they occurred in the middens of the pre-European Polynesians, especially those of earliest time. Moa Bone Point Cave, Redcliffs, Rakaia Mouth and the Weka Pass rock shelter yielded a wealth of midden bone, which Haast the scientist, unlike many of the artefact-oriented ethnologists who followed him, examined, identified, and included in his assessment of the early human occupation of Canterbury.

Haast's early enthusiasm for bones seems to have inspired many subsequent curators of Canterbury Museum, and some, notably Hutton, Forbes, Stead and Falla added substantially to the osteological collections. With the discovery and excavation of Pyramid Valley Swamp and the Wairau Bar Moa Hunter site in the 1940s and 50s, Roger Duff, with the assistance of Ron Scarlett, Jim Eyles and many, many others amassed so much material that a decision was made, which, in hindsight, can only be seen as regrettable. Because of storage problems, and because the Pyramid Valley material was so superior to anything found previously, it was decided to dispose of much of the bone from some of the early sites such as Kapua, Enfield and Glenmark.

Aware as we are nowadays of the problems of moa systematics, the loss of this material, representative of local populations, is a

tragedy. Even so, at the time of Ron Scarlett's retirement in 1981, Canterbury Museum's osteology collection filled two of the institution's larger storerooms, comprising a wide variety of bird, mammal, fish and reptile bone, both loose material and mounted skeletons, as well as human skeletal material.

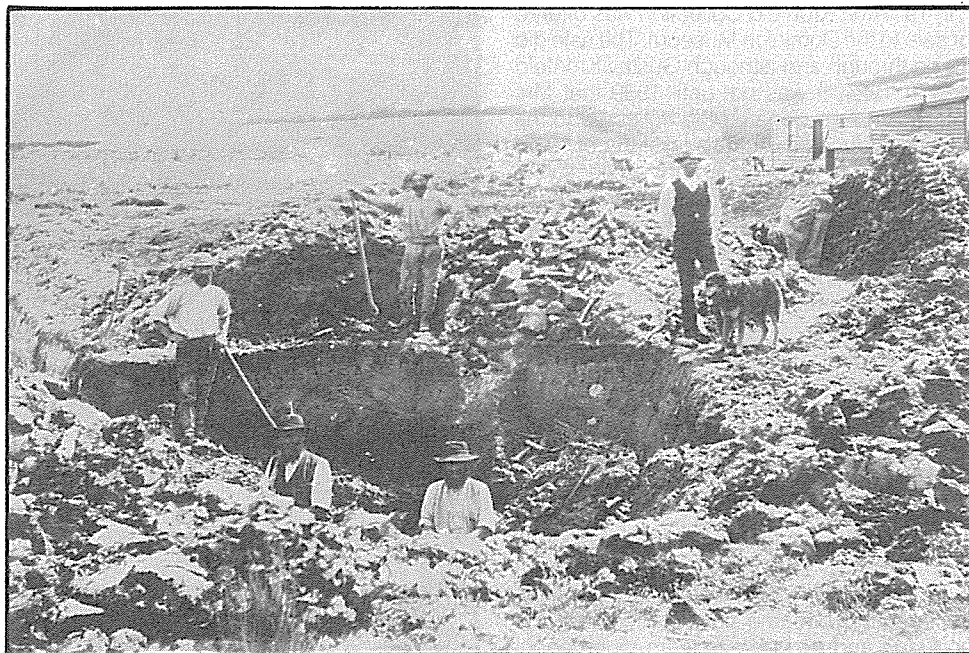
Some indication of the amount of osteological material currently housed is indicated by the catalogue entries which for birds alone have reached more than 36,000 (noting that individual skeletons — even those disarticulated — have only one number).

Of course not all this collection relates, strictly speaking, to human prehistory (or, more specifically archaeology). It can be divided into four principal sections:

1. Human skeletal material. This is housed and treated quite separately from the rest of the osteological material. It is the subject of a separate article by the Museum's Director and Archaeologist, Michael Trotter, elsewhere in this issue.

2. Purely archaeological bones, that is, bones that have been recovered from archaeological sites, usually by controlled excavation.

This well-known photograph shows the excavation of the moa swamp at Kapua, South Canterbury, in 1895 by Frederick Hutton. The bones stacked on the right were later taken to Canterbury Museum. An excavation in 1984 relocated much of the discarded material shown in the centre of the photograph. Canterbury Museum.



vation, and which owe their presence on that site to human activity. Most of these represent food remains, and are the archaeological material "proper" of the osteology collections. Much is fragmentary, and sometimes not even identifiable as to species.

The main value of archaeological bone is in determining the diet of prehistoric people as well as hunting strategies, butchering and cooking techniques etc., but it can also be a useful indicator of past environmental conditions if a species is recovered in sufficient quantities to suggest that it occurred naturally in the vicinity of the site.

Ideally I believe that the archaeological bone from any one site should be kept as part of a total assemblage of all material recovered from that site and I have been working towards that end by sorting it out from the so-called "natural" material (housed by species) and reassembling it according to its site of origin.

There may be some disagreement about this, particularly from zoologists (and palaeontologists) who deal with individual species, but the greatest significance of this material is the information it can give us about human prehistory. It legitimately belongs with the relevant archaeological collections.

3. So-called "natural" bone (that is, non-archaeological bone) of extant vertebrates, particularly mammals and birds, which can be sub-divided in a variety of different ways. In most research institutions such material would be the responsibility of zoology, and it will be transferred to that department at Canterbury Museum. However, it is a valuable and necessary tool for the identification of archaeological bone, and it is intended that the Prehistory Department establish a reference collection of at least those species commonly found on archaeological sites in Canterbury.

4. Bones of extinct birds and other vertebrates almost exclusively from New Zealand. This originally included what may be referred to as "true" fossils, that is bones dating well back into the Pleistocene and beyond (bony-toothed birds, penguins, whales etc) but these have been transferred to the Museum's Geology Department, where they very definitely belong.

The remainder, which comprises principally the Museum's vast moa collection, requires a great deal of work.

The foremost requirement is new, secure storage where the material can be adequately conserved and at the same time be made more easily accessible to research workers. Hopefully this will be completed in 1984. Once this has been achieved, work must commence on the recataloguing of all material, accompanied by the establishment of an adequate, cross referenced, card system so that any individual item can be easily retrieved, by catalogue number, locality, species, or collector. This is an essential, but long term, project.

Once the reorganisation of the material has been achieved and an adequate reference collection set up, the most important projects



for the future insofar as prehistory is concerned must relate to moa research. Just looking at bones and arguing about speciation can no longer be considered to be the be-all and end-all of such research. Certainly someone must, using modern methods, techniques, and ideas, produce a workable re-description of the moa species, but of equal importance is the necessity to try and "recreate" the moa as a "living" bird. Species distribution, general biology and ecology, reproductive habit, food, behaviour, the list is endless. Until this is done adequately, arguments about the man-moa relationship will remain purely academic.

To this end, the role of Canterbury Museum in moa research must, I believe, lie initially in public education. Farmers, engineers, ditch-diggers, cavers, trampers, and all the multitude of interested people who at one time or another come across moa remains lying undisturbed, must be encouraged — and taught — to leave them where they lie — until the experts arrive. It isn't just bones that matter. It is all the subsidiary evidence which can so easily be overlooked or destroyed by an inexperienced collector whether it be in a swamp, cave, loess deposit, or an archaeological site.

How did the bones get where they are

Midden bone in a moa hunter oven is excavated from an archaeological site at Fyffes, Kaikoura. Identification of the large quantity of bone from this site will provide a great deal of information about the early period of human occupation of New Zealand.

found? In what position are they lying? Do they indicate how the bird died. Are there eggshells, feathers, gizzard stones, or plant remains, associated with the bones. Are there any other animal remains present? What other indicators of the environment generally are present that may help in determining moa biology and ecology?

This is the evidence that is going to flesh out the skeleton and help to recreate the living bird. Only by minute examination of all this evidence, each and every time that remains are found, will many of the unanswered questions about moas and the other recently extinct birds of New Zealand be answered. Without these answers, moas will continue to be little more than bones; bones, and more bones.

*Beverley McCulloch
Canterbury Museum*



The Curation of Archeological Collections

During the past 10–15 years a critical situation has developed in the storage and curation of archaeological collections held in many New Zealand museums. Overcrowded storerooms with cramped, poorly catalogued collections for which there is little or no documentation, would seem to be all too common. This situation has arisen in spite of the considerable amount of resources which have been put into improving the standards of curation and conservation of both archaeological and ethnological storage collections in most museums. A number of factors have contributed to the problem, including insufficient museum staff, a change in the type and quantity of material recovered from excavations and subsequently retained for future analyses, the increased number of salvage excavations being undertaken by, or on behalf of, the New Zealand Historic Places Trust and also the legal requirements placed on us by the Antiquities Act of 1975.

The curation of archaeological collections has recently come under scrutiny in both Great Britain and North America and a body of literature pertaining to ethics, documentation, collections management and related concerns is now growing. It would seem timely, therefore, to review the situation in New Zealand. The more so as it is almost a decade since the Antiquities Act and Historic Places Amendment Act of 1975 came into effect, and together, of course, they seek to control both the initial retrieval and final destination of all artefacts.

The following comments are based, for the most part, on the experiences of the Otago Museum and do not necessarily reflect conditions at other museums in New Zealand. It is hoped that they will stimulate discussions between the various Government departments, universities, museums, the archaeological community and other interested persons and perhaps lead to the resolving of some of the very real difficulties which now confront us.

Few people today would argue against the necessity of retaining excavated assemblages in their regions of origin or of keeping all components of the assemblage in the same depository. The extent to which the local provincial museum should be expected to shoulder the responsibility for the long term storage and management of the assemblages alone, however, is open to question. In the past archaeologists and others have often assumed that museums are happy (almost obliged) to accept all excavated, and surface collected, materials from their province or region and have been most surprised to learn that museums are, at times, reluctant to acquire new collections no matter how re-

levant they may be.

Accepting the permanent responsibility for a collection is often a very time-consuming and expensive task. Just how much so obviously depends on the size of the collection — and New Zealand archaeologists (myself included) are notorious for collecting large volumes of lithics and/or faunal material — as well as whether or not specialist treatments, such as conservation, are required. To curate a collection to an acceptable standard requires all materials to be correctly processed, catalogued, accessioned, conserved, stored and maintained in a manner which will ensure their preservation. In addition, to allow the full research potential of the collection to be realised both it, and the documentation (which should, of course, include at least copies of all field notes, plans, drawings and photographs) must be readily retrievable and available to researchers when required. At times, even finding spare bench space in the archaeology store of the Otago Museum can pose problems. There is no available space for more storage. Indeed, archaeological collections are spilling into the ethnology and other stores. There are, however, still approximately 150 boxes of recently excavated (within the past six years), processed but largely uncatalogued materials from ten Otago archaeological sites presently in the University of Otago anthropology department waiting to be transferred to the Otago Museum. The final repository of a lesser, but none-the-less large, number of boxes of both pre-European and historic artefacts excavated from the Clutha Valley and surrounding area, has yet to be decided.

In a recent article discussing the problems of the curation of archaeological collections in North America Marquardt *et al* (1982) comment: "In many cases archaeological contracts include funds for excavations, analyses and report preparation, but little if any money for the cataloguing and curation of collections. Typically, as collections accumulate, space is saturated, cataloguing falls behind and budget and staff capabilities are stretched beyond their limits. . . . As a result, collections deteriorate due to the lack of normal maintenance, documentation of the collections is deficient and materials cannot be located when needed. . . ." A situation which appears all too familiar in New Zealand.

If the present limited resources of museums do not allow the proper management of excavated assemblages, what alternatives are there? Obviously individual archaeologists are not in the position to personally provide permanent care for materials they excavate. Indeed, it would be unethical for them to do so,

although they certainly do have a responsibility to ensure that it is going to be well housed. The New Zealand Historic Places Trust does not have a policy, at present, for the management of collections once they are out of the ground (although several people at the Trust are concerned about the problem), nor do they have the facilities on a regional level for the long term storage of objects. Universities, on the other hand, do have the facilities (or at least Auckland and Otago do) but neither employ nor train curators and it is doubtful whether either would see the permanent storage of archaeological collections in their institutions as appropriate.

In the absence of Government or university funded regional centres equipped with both laboratory and storage facilities as well as curatorial staff, the museums would certainly seem to be the most suitable places. Indeed, to set up duplicate facilities would seem a rather unnecessary and inefficient method of managing our cultural resources. For example, the Otago Museum has, in its existing collections, artefactual and faunal material from eight of the ten sites for which material is presently being held in the anthropology department, University of Otago. If the latter material was to be placed in a separate institution, any researcher wishing to work on any of those eight sites would have to use two different cataloguing and accessioning systems and abide by the security measures of two separate institutions.

A better solution, surely, would be for the financial resources to be given to museums to assist with the permanent curation of excavated assemblages. Funds for photography, laboratory assistance and the preparation of final reports are usually an integral part of an excavation budget. Money for the curation and permanent storage of the collection must also become so, as indeed they have in North America and Great Britain. Museums, in turn, must become more accountable for their particular collections and be prepared to set guidelines for both the financial support and the collection and sampling strategies necessary before an excavated assemblage will be accepted for permanent curation. Only then, will the full potential of our archaeological resource be realised.

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Wendy J. Harsant
Otago Museum

Ethnological Collections: The Documentation Headache

Can scientific techniques provide a cure?

BACKGROUND

Due to the poor documentation of ethnological collections with a large proportion of today's museums, there exists the problem of an excessive number of objects about which museum curators know very little. If we are to accept this estimate, of the approximately 4.5 million anthropological objects in museums across the world, probably 85–90% is inadequately documented (Reynolds 1982:1).

After the First World War, anthropology became synonymous with social and mental culture as opposed to the study of objects. This change in research orientation has consequently led to enormous gaps in the knowledge of culture histories around the world.

Ironically, archaeologists have tended to make noticeable contributions to the study of material culture, through their need to provide fuller interpretations on the artefacts they exhume. These contributions exist through the application of ethnographic analogies to the archaeological record and their use of scientific analytical techniques borrowed from other disciplines such as botany, zoology, chemistry and physics which can provide information on the age, physical and chemical properties and place of origin of individual artefacts.

The adoption of a fresh attitude towards ethnological collections by anthropologists is long overdue. The development of more satisfactory research procedures would involve, in part, a more productive level of communication between museum curators and specialists in other fields, such as the sciences. The arguments concerning how an artefact should be analysed, for example, how much of a sample should be taken from an object, that cause disagreement between museum scientists and curators (Hanson 1973:18) must also be resolved. The need for work of this kind is important when ethnological collections are often relied upon as the only source of information on an aspect of a past material culture (Reynolds 1978:11).

It must be borne in mind, however, that the earlier incomplete treatment of ethnological collections, in part a reflection of the time, should not be repeated. Scientific analytical techniques should be a part of a whole procedure or framework of study. For example, detailed documented collections should be made in the field, along with direct observations of technical pursuits, such as toolmaking, and personal interviews (Spier 1968:151), followed by physical and/or chemical analyses if they are necessary.

Although it is not always possible, techniques applied to museum objects need to be non-destructive, to save the risk of defacement, particularly if these objects are to be viewed by the public. Other considerations include which of these techniques could be best used by museum curators themselves and an awareness of their respective pros and cons, for example, whether the equipment costs are exorbitant or reasonable and how much time is involved during usage.

Considering that a great percentage of ethnological collections is organic material, the museum curator would be particularly mindful of available techniques that can be used in the analysis of such components as bone, tooth, shell, skin, hair, feathers, wood, bark, paper, plant fibres, pollen, seeds, pigments, dyes, waxes and resins. As far as the nature of analysis is concerned, those techniques that aid in the identification, sourcing and dating of ethnological artefacts are mentioned here. It is acknowledged, however, that other aspects of analysis such as how artefacts were made and used, whether there are any signs of damage and repair and what hidden features exist, can be undertaken using some of these techniques.

THE TECHNIQUES

In application to the identification and sourcing of organic materials, macroscopic examination, optical microscopy, infrared and ultraviolet photography recur in the literature as superior techniques with respect to non-destructiveness, simplicity of operation, inexpensiveness and brevity of operating time. These techniques would be preferable to museum researchers wanting to undertake their own experimental work within the museum.

Among the myriad of other techniques which require specialist help and/or equipment, scanning electron microscopy could be regarded by the museum curator as an especially useful method (Figures 1 and 2). It can be used to analyse a wide range of materials, is not overly destructive, and has a depth of focus greater than other forms of microscopy. Lengthy training of operators in the use of this technique is also unnecessary.

Radiographic techniques, electron probe microanalysis and proton induced x-ray emission analysis are also invaluable methods which can be extended to the analysis of a number of organic materials.

Despite the presence of these promising techniques, there are areas in the identification and sourcing of organic materials which have not as yet been fully explored. For example, there are no techniques for the identification and sourcing of feathers beyond macroscopic examination and optical microscopy and comparison with reference material. Bark can as yet only be analysed in the same manner, and waxes and resins appear to have no applicable sourcing techniques at all.

With plant fibres that have been used in the manufacture of artefacts, there is the problem of surface detail being obliterated making, in some cases, productive analysis impossible.

Pollen presents another problem, in that species identification is rare, the family and genus being the best identification that can be achieved in most cases.

With all the organic materials listed here, good reference collections are an essential aid in identification. Such collections can take years to build and yet they are indispensable and should not be done away with.

In the identification and sourcing of ethnological organic materials then there are a few fully applicable techniques, though many others still need to be developed to meet the specific needs of the museum curator, and yet others actually invented.

A significant number of composite or inorganic ethnological artefacts also exist for it to be necessary to look at techniques specifically designed for their identification and sourcing. The list of such artefacts includes those made from stone, glass, glaze, clay, metal and inorganic pigments and colorants.

In the analysis of inorganic ethnological material there appears to be a strong emphasis on those techniques that measure minor and trace elements. With stone and clay these techniques cater for specimens such as obsidian and flint and fine-grained pottery, or pottery with a temper that contains quartz inclusions that cannot be examined petrologically, as can coarse-grained specimens. X-ray fluorescence and neutron activation analysis are two examples of these techniques and although non-destructive, the machinery is relatively complex, expensive and only accessible if specialist facilities can be obtained.

Among the other less complex techniques, those that stand out are simple visual and petrological examination, the latter involving the

Table I: *Dating Techniques Applicable to Organic Raw Materials Used in the Manufacture of Ethnological Artefacts*

Organic raw materials	Dating Techniques
Bone, tooth and shell	Conchiolin dating (shell) Thermoluminescence (bone and shell)
Skin, hair and feathers	—
Wood, bark and paper	x-rays (wood) Densitometry (wood) Proton induced x-ray emission (paper) α -particle scattering (paper)
Plant fibres	Proton microprobe (possibility) Proton induced x-ray emission (possibility)
Pollen and seeds	—
Pigments and dyes	Scanning electron micrography Proton induced x-ray emission
Waxes, resins and other organic material	Carbon 14 Electron spin resonance spectroscopy (possibility)

Table II: *Dating Techniques Applicable to Inorganic Raw Materials Used in the Manufacture of Ethnological Artefacts*

Inorganic Raw Materials	Dating Techniques
Stone	Hydration rim measurement using a filar micrometer eyepiece (obsidian) Hydration profile measurement using resonant nuclear reactions (obsidian) Thermoluminescence Radioactive tracer techniques (possibility)
Glass and glaze	Hydrogen profile measurement using resonant nuclear reactions (glass) Electrical properties (possibility) Radioactive tracer techniques (possibility)
Clay	Thermoluminescence α -recoil track dating (possibility)
Metal	—
Inorganic pigments and colorants	Mass spectrometry Neutron activation analysis α -particle spectrometry

use of the polarizing microscope. These methods, however, are best applied to stone and clay.

Metals, which require light and trace element analyses and a means of identification, are a law unto themselves in that different metals and alloys require different specialised techniques; for example, x-ray fluorescence is applied to copper and bronze (the milliprobe to coins) and atomic absorption spectrometry to iron and steel (as well as copper and bronze).

We are left, then, with a wealth of sophisticated analysing systems which, though effective and on the whole non-destructive, are not a fully acceptable means of analysis for the museum curator if he can neither afford the equipment nor forge the right contacts (that is, establish a rapport with various other researchers who own such equipment).

This situation could be improved through the further development of simpler techniques. Microchemical analysis of inorganic pigments and colorants is an example. There will always be, however, the problem of

materials of which the physical nature necessitates more complex light and trace element analyses.

Scanning electron microscopy could help in the identification of ethnological stone and even metal objects. Although its usual application is in use wear studies of lithic artefacts (Fulbright 1976:3), it can also be extended to the regular analysis of constituents of stone artefacts, as an aid to their identification.

Dating of a good majority of ethnological materials proves problematical in that, because of the short time-span involved (300 B.P. to 50 B.P.) and contamination after collection, many dating techniques that have been applied in the archaeological context cannot be used, particularly for those materials that are organic (Reynolds 1978:12).

Compared with the large number of physical and chemical techniques of analysis which can be applied to the identification and sourcing of ethnological materials, there appears to be a relative paucity of dating methods which could be used in the ethnological context (Tables I and II).

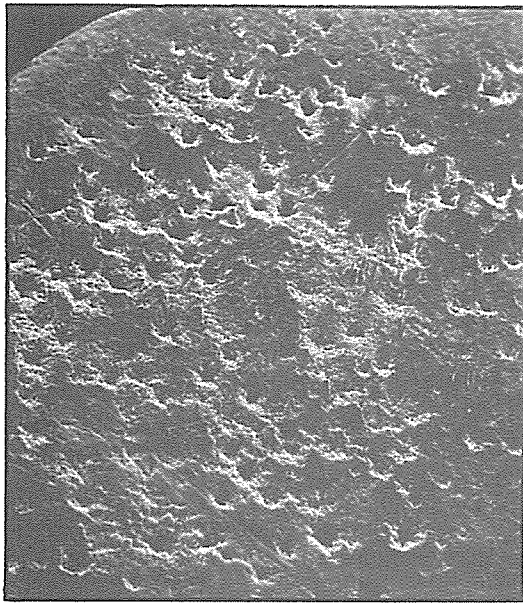
Organic materials are a particular case in point. Skin, hair, feathers, plant fibres, pollen and seeds, appear not to have techniques which could be applied to them, or there are methods with potential but which still need to be fully tested such as the Carbon 14 enriched system and the proton microprobe.

With inorganic materials, the situation is not so acute, metal dating being the only area where there seems to be an absence of techniques. There is, nevertheless, a range of techniques which have been applied to inorganic archaeological materials that cannot be applied ethnologically, because of the short time-span involved.

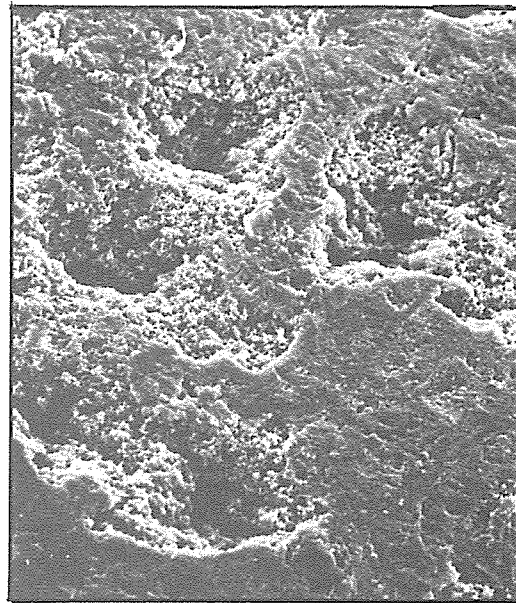
To help alleviate this situation, further experimentation should be carried out on those techniques which show promise but have not yet been fully tested. In the meantime, museum researchers must rely on what dating methods are currently available and applicable.

CONCLUSION

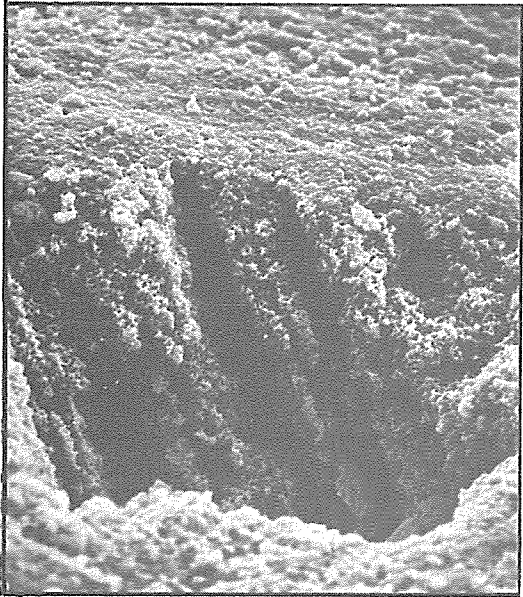
Once a museum curator is forced to resort to



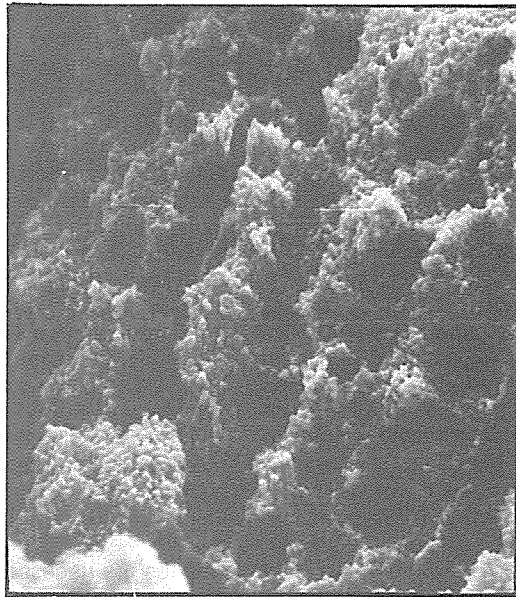
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Scanning electron micrographs of a sea mammal tooth at varying magnifications (from Rawle 1979).

physical and chemical techniques of analysis to supply data on his collections, which should already have been supplied during acquisition in the field, he is beset with problems of many kinds. These problems of analysis are particularly pertinent with regard to organic artefacts as well as composite artefacts which require the analysis of two or more components.

Techniques such as macroscopic examination, optical microscopy, infrared, ultraviolet photography, petrological microscopy and microchemical (wet chemistry) analysis, which are minimally destructive, relatively simple, inexpensive and quick to use and provide acceptable analytical results might be regarded by the museum curator as his "core" techniques upon which to rely when all else fails. These techniques are not always of use, however, especially when the type of analysis required is on the minor and trace element level, as with metals and fine-grained stone and pottery or a large number of artefacts

needs to be analysed.

The dating of ethnological artefacts is an area that contains particularly serious problems, especially when there are no suitable or potentially suitable applications for the dating of skin, hair, feathers, bark, pollen, seeds, organic pigments, dyes, and metals.

With these problems in mind, it has become evident that although the application of scientific analytical techniques may help in some situations, they really do not provide a long-term solution in themselves. Instead, they should be used in conjunction with other non-chemical/physical methods of data collection, which would help to supply the researcher with a more rounded view of the artefact/s he is analysing.

FOOTNOTES

¹The information in this article has been drawn from a thesis written by the author as a part requirement for the Graduate Diploma of Material Culture (James Cook University of North Queensland). The thesis was entitled "A Review of the Applicability of Physical and Chemical Techniques of Analysis to Ethnological Collections".

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Museums and Fieldwork

Anthropological fieldwork has long been recognized as the rite of passage into the profession. This remains true for the museum anthropologist also but our special situation in New Zealand adds some new twists. Unlike anthropologists from metropolitan countries who retreat from the trauma of fieldwork initiation back to their distant and mysterious institutions, our "retreats" are public display areas, often visited by our "informants" who now realise that we are here to serve them. More and more, the "field" is coming to us. The days of "them and us", of "informants" supplying "data" for our "analyses", are long past. We are now involved in a co-operative endeavour where museums have to prove their worth to the people who entrust us with their heritage and support us through their rates and taxes. From this perspective, fieldwork is a continuous experience constantly challenging our professional abilities and offering exciting rewards.

Whether seen in the traditional mode of museum anthropologists journeying out into "the field", or in the more modern terms described above, fieldwork constitutes one of the most critical situations where the museum meets its public. For many people in rural areas, a museum anthropologist in the field can be the only contact they will ever have with a museum. In this situation, people see how we go about our work, how we collect the information to support our pronouncements in writing and displays. On the basis of these experiences, people form their opinions of our competence. The possibilities for confirming old stereotypes of museums or for setting the record straight are limitless. For example, many people still hold to the old stereotype that museums are only interested in old things, especially old bones. Attendance and involvement with contemporary activities is an important opportunity for museum anthropologists to correct this stereotype and to demonstrate the relevance of the museum and its collections for their daily lives. If a visiting museum anthropologist fails to show an interest in the present plans and activities of the community, his concentration on the things of the past can easily be interpreted as an unspoken devaluing of their current endeavours. And the smaller the community, the more pronounced this effect.

Too often in the past and still in the present, museum boards and administrators have regarded anthropological fieldwork as an expensive luxury or as a reward for good work in the basements. They need to realise that fieldwork is a necessity, not just for the professional development of museum anthropologists but also for the good of the in-

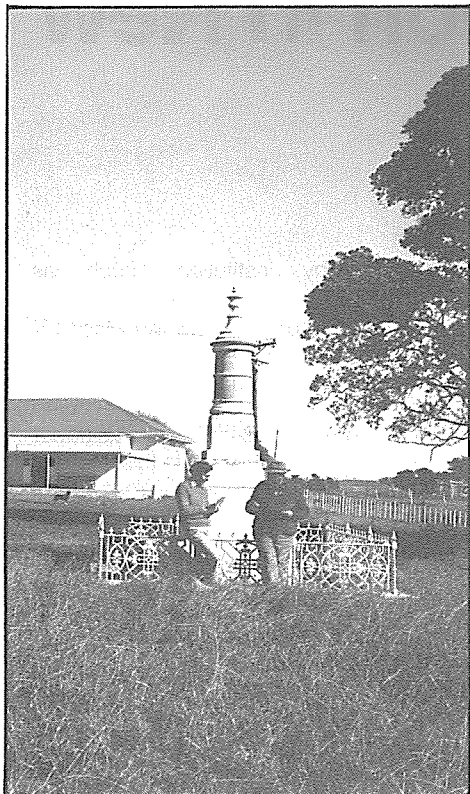
stitution. Fieldwork by its officers is one of the most important ways for the museum to show that it is part of the community, out there sharing, learning and working alongside each other. As people become more accustomed to the presence of museum anthropologists at all sorts of meetings and activities, so they come to understand that the museum is not just a mausoleum where antiquarians sit juggling their collections. By placing its officers out in the field, the museum declares its public accountability. A lone anthropologist on the spot is much more accessible than a city monument and one has to be prepared to deal with all sorts of questions about museum actions and policies. And unlike university researchers who are recognized as fly-by-nighters, museums are expected to have consistent long-term policies. Hence it should come as no surprise to find yourself accounting for the actions of long-departed predecessors who passed the same way thirty or forty years before. Nevertheless, a most pressing need for museums today is better understanding of what the museum and its collections means to all groups and classes of people and what they expect to receive from the museum. We can only achieve this understanding by fieldwork among the people.

Intensive fieldwork is not something to be undertaken lightly. It first requires a deep commitment to preparation by the anthropologist, his family and his institution. Some language training, familiarity with the culture in general, and knowledge of the published and archival sources are necessary in order to make the most of field time, to fit the new experiences into an established framework of significance, and perhaps most importantly, to avoid wasting people's time. For two months of fieldwork in Western Samoa in 1980 I spent one year attending night classes in Samoan language. For the fieldwork in New Zealand, the anthropologist's family must be prepared for frequent absences of one or two weeks, or else be dragged along to out of the way places during school holidays and long weekends. Overseas fieldwork makes even greater demands on an anthropologist with a family, even assuming that the institution can fund the anthropologist himself. I was most fortunate to obtain an NRAC Fellowship in 1980 that paid for my wife, myself and daughter to travel to California, allowing us to stopover in Western Samoa for two months en route. Otherwise, while the National Museum had already agreed to fund me for two or three months in Samoa, the cost of my wife and daughter's travel would have had to come out of my own pocket. And then, we were lucky to have the hospitality of Samoan relatives.

A vital part of preparation involves obtaining permission from the community to carry out the fieldwork. In the Maori and Polynesian situation, this means preliminary personal contact as well as the inevitable letter writing. Patience, the ability to accept refusal gracefully, and perhaps several visits to establish confidence, will usually result in amicable agreement.

Apart from the time actually spent in the field away from his other duties, the museum has to make a second commitment to allocate time and resources for the anthropologist to write up the results of his fieldwork. This normally takes much longer than the fieldwork absence but is absolutely essential for the full benefit of the fieldwork to be realised. Of course, one does not publish everything but it is important that some notice of the work should reach the literature. In some cases, the bulk of the results will be deposited in museum archives without immediate publication although this still requires long periods of careful registration of photographs and expansion of field notes. Even if never published, this material must be made accessible to the public and especially the community concerned, within a reasonable time.

The question of access to material collected raises the third commitment entered into by the fieldworker and his institution, which is to honour all obligations and promises made in the field. Paramount among these is the obligation to control public access and use of the collected material in accord with the expressed wishes of the community concerned. Genealogical information and photographs are especially sensitive, calling for constant vigilance and supervision of their use. Special categories of restricted negatives and confidential files will need to be established in museum archives. Fulfilment of promises made to supply prints of field photographs often depends upon a sympathetic museum director prepared to forego processing charges. Other obligations include the need to consult with the community before any publication of the material, to acknowledge all sources, and to ensure that copies of such publications are distributed to them. From my own experience in many parts of the North Island, a fieldworker also owes a debt of gratitude to the local museum in the area where he is working. At the National Museum, we have made it a practice to supply sets of field photographs to the local institutions and to provide them with copies of all published results. Nowadays, when the detailed recording of a meeting house necessitates a plan locating all photographs taken according to their negative numbers, a copy of this plan is



Tiwai Amoamo and Roger Neich recording local history. Omarumutu Marae, Bay of Plenty, 1977.

lodge in the local museum, as well as with the marae committee.

Although all these commitments and obligations may sound very onerous, it is actually in the fulfilling of them that the fieldworker and his institution begin to enjoy some of the pleasures and rewards of anthropological fieldwork. The establishment of a continuing relationship with a community, rendering assistance to a local museum for displays dealing with your speciality, helping a marae committee assemble a history of their meeting house, locating early photographs of a persons' forebears, being invited to openings and meetings, and guiding visitors from the community around the museum, all help to turn the demands of fieldwork into a pleasure and give added relevance to museum labours.

Despite all the problems and constraints, some good anthropological fieldwork is being done in New Zealand now, but still not nearly enough. Almost all the work is concentrated on Maori topics, with minimal attention paid to immigrant Polynesian groups, and virtually total exclusion of European and Asian immigrants. It is time that we outgrew the old distinction of anthropologists studying Polynesian peoples and historians studying Europeans. The anthropological approach needs to be applied to the study of European culture in New Zealand, just as the historical approach needs to be extended more to the field of Maori arts and culture change. Another factor retarding fieldwork has been the pressure on museum anthropologists to be jack-of-all-

trades, especially display artist, conservation expert and storage specialist. These days are fast coming to an end, and museum anthropologists should not cling to them. As more and more professionals in museum storage and conservation are employed, we anthropologists should leave them to do what they are trained to do, and get on with what we are trained to do.

Unfortunately, with regard to training, most museum anthropologists in New Zealand are trained as archaeologists rather than as social or cultural anthropologists. Of course, museums have an important role to play in archaeological research but it is time that equal attention was devoted to wider cultural studies of the historical and contemporary periods. A pervasive result of the archaeological bent in museum anthropology has been the pre-occupation with material culture. In these modern days where a Polynesian spends more

time repairing the family car than polishing the tribal heirlooms, museum anthropologists tend to feel that there is not much left in the field to be studied. We could take a lead from the American discipline of folklore and folklife studies which deals with all the creative products of culture, their transmission through space and time, and their present functions and meanings for the people who produce them. How much do we know about the *present* function of Polynesian mythology in New Zealand, or Niuean or Greek or Indian or Chinese cultural practices in the New Zealand situation? If our museums are to reflect the current composition of New Zealand society and intend to maintain their relevance to a multicultural society, then surely these are the sorts of topics we should be studying and explaining in our writings and displays.

*by Roger Neich
National Museum of New Zealand*

Toto'a Fagai displaying her newly-completed siapo. Vait'omuli, Savai'i, Western Samoa, 1980.



Maori Artifacts at Auction in New Zealand 1972-1983

INTRODUCTION

Over the past decade there has been an increasing interest in the buying and selling of Maori artifacts in New Zealand. This interest is in keeping with similar trends overseas where ethnic art in general is seen as highly collectable and a good form of investment.

In New Zealand there is little, if any, indication of the market trends in Maori artifact sales and it was because of this that the following survey was undertaken.

While one might use the latest auction figures as a guide these may not reflect a realistic view of market trends as a whole since, taken individually, auction sales can vary considerably in the prices they fetch. Thus it was felt that a survey should extend over a number of years with the aim that averaging prices would help smooth out anomalous individual variations in auction values.

It is important to emphasise that this survey should *not* be regarded as a guide for the buying or valuation of specific artifacts. What I have tried to present here are selected market observations not specific values. As noted below the data is biased but this does not mean we can't abstract some useful information from it.

FACTORS INFLUENCING SALE VALUES

In many respects an artifact is no different from any other collectable item. Its value usually depends on factors such as rarity, quality of craftsmanship, condition and any associated history. As well as this there are intangible human factors which affect values. Some people purchase with little knowledge of what they are buying: beauty still lies in the eye of the beholder. Others see novelty value in an object while for some there is the uncompromising desire to possess. The speculator, too, no doubt has a part to play. Auctions themselves are an additional intangible factor. An auction house with a good selection of artifacts is likely to place them within the context of an auction comprising other highly collectable items such as paintings, antique furniture, silverware etc. A 'quality' auction is more likely to draw a larger number of competing buyers and thus higher prices. On the other hand, one may also go to a poorly attended auction and purchase artifacts at bargain prices.

DATA USED

Gathering data for this survey proved difficult, especially for the years before the 1975 *Antiquities Act* came into force (see discussion below). An attempt to survey the country's major auction houses rapidly proved fruitless

because records were either non-existent, or, auctioneers felt client confidentiality could be breached. Therefore, even though there was not enough data on which to base a national survey it was decided to use whatever data was available and simply admit its shortcomings.

There were two reasons why 1972 became the starting point for this survey: firstly, that year was the earliest date from which a large amount of comparative data could be drawn. Secondly, a timespan of about 10-11 years should reveal some market trends. Sales data were drawn from:

1. annotated auction catalogues
2. purchases made by, or in association with, the National Museum.

The following should be borne in mind with regard to this data base:

1. Values for the first three to four years reflect purchases made mostly in the Wellington province before the 1975 *Antiquities Act* came into force
2. Most of the data collected relates to the most commonly sold artifacts e.g.
3. The survey was concerned only with authenticated artifacts i.e. those registered under the *Antiquities Act (1975)*, or, for the years prior to that Act coming into force, artifacts which ethnologists recognised as being authentic.

SALE OUTLETS

Until the *Antiquities Act (1975)* came into force on 1 April 1976 artifacts could be freely bought and sold privately, from auction houses, second-hand dealers and a few jewellers. The *Antiquities Act* curtailed this freedom as stated by the Department of Internal Affairs (1976:34). The Department's statement is worth quoting, here, in full:

Sale of Maori artifacts within New Zealand
The *Antiquities Act* also introduces new measures controlling the sale of Maori artifacts within New Zealand. These measures apply only to Maori artifacts, and not to the other types of objects which are also classified as antiquities, e.g. antique furniture. Also, they apply only to Maori artifacts already in private ownership prior to 1 April since, as mentioned above, artifacts found after that date are deemed to be *prima facie* the property of the Crown. This means that the pool of artifacts available to the commercial sector will remain static, and probably even gradually decline over the years as more artifacts pass into public

ownership by institutions such as museums.

Under the Act, privately owned Maori artifacts may be sold only to registered collectors, to public museums, or through the offices of auctioneers and secondhand dealers licensed to trade in artifacts under the Act. The only exception to this is where a gift or bequest is made to a member of the family.

Public museum is defined in the Act as meaning . . . a non-profit making museum being eligible for membership of the Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand. Such museum may continue to acquire privately owned artifacts without registering as collectors.

The registration of collectors is directed towards private individuals, and private museums operated on a commercial basis. These collectors of artifacts must apply for registration if they wish to add to their existing collections after 1 April. No fee will be charged for registration, but there are certain conditions which must be met by registered collectors to ensure that data is available on their collections.

The licence which auctioneers and secondhand dealers must hold to trade in Maori artifacts is additional to the licences they already hold under either the Auctioneers Act 1928 or the Secondhand Dealers Act 1963. There are a number of conditions associated with these licences, relating to requirements which must be met before artifacts are sold, who artifacts may be sold to, and records of sales.

The annual licence fee for trading in Maori artifacts is fifty dollars per year and, at present, the number of licenced dealers round the country is small, although Auckland seems well serviced:*

City	No. of Dealers
Auckland	6
New Plymouth	1
Wellington	2
Nelson	1
Christchurch	2
	<hr/>
	12

One wonders if this limited distribution of dealers reflects the fact that there are not enough sales in Maori artifacts to make the annual licence a business proposition, or, could better business be conducted illegally? Put another way, has the *Antiquities Act*

reduced the sale of Maori artifacts, or, are buyers well serviced with only a few dealers?

THE SURVEY

The following were found to be the most common types of artifacts sold. Artifacts which seldom appeared for sale are mentioned individually under 'miscellaneous'.

- adzes & chisels (not nephrite)
- adzes & chisels (nephrite)
- beaters & pounders
- carvings (large)
- cloaks
- fishing gear
- hei tiki
- paddles
- pendants (bone)
- pendants (nephrite & bowenite)
- weapons
- miscellaneous.

Adzes & Chisels (not nephrite)

These were, by far, the most commonly traded Maori artifacts and over the past ten years, they accounted for 48% (638) of the legal sales surveyed. Of that 48%, nephrite adzes and chisels made up 17% (222) and the remaining 31% comprised adzes and chisels made from other types of stone.

Given this amount of data it was possible to see if there were any buying patterns, relating directly to the artifacts themselves, within each yearly price range. Where possible, adzes were examined for their condition, size, shape and any associated history. Of these observations the last was dropped because very few documented adzes (about 2%) came onto the market.

An examination of yearly price ranges showed that people appeared to be consistently buying on the basis of size and condition. Shape did not emerge as an important factor except when associated with size e.g. a large Duff type 1b adze. That adze shape was not statistically important must reflect that about 68% of the adzes offered for sale were of the Duff 2b type.

1. **Condition:** As one would expect, a damaged adze generally fetches a lower price. However, it seems that the damage has to be significant e.g. broken in half, large trauma flaking. Minor damage, such as small chipping of the edges did not appreciably affect the realised price. The unfinished condition of an adze rough-out did not seem to affect prices; perhaps because rough-out adzes contain a deal of interest value.

2. **Size:** Predictably, there was a positive correlation between the size of an adze in good condition and the price it fetched. Three groups were identified:

(a) *Small adzes & chisels* selling in 1983 at approx. \$5-\$25

average size range: 25 mm to 55 mm long
10 mm to 45 mm wide
10 mm to 17 mm thick

When sold at auction three or four of these

smaller items would be put up as one lot, usually fetching an average of about \$15.20.

Over the past 10 years adzes and chisels within this size grouping fetched:

1972	1977	1982
\$1-\$15	\$2.50-\$20	\$5-\$20

(b) *Medium sized adzes* selling in 1983 at approx. \$25-\$50

average size range: 100 mm to 170 mm long
45 mm to 52 mm wide
17 cm to 28 cm thick

Within this group there appeared to be a preference for slightly larger and well modelled adzes in grey-black argillite a number of which were of the Duff 1b type; they consistently fetched a higher price in the vicinity of \$45-\$50.

Over the years the items within this size grouping fetched:

1972	1977	1982
\$1-\$15	\$2.50-\$20	\$5-\$20

(c) *Large adzes* selling in 1983 at approx. \$50-\$130

average size range: 185 mm to 210 mm long
63 mm to 72 mm wide
47 cm to 52 cm thick

Over the past twelve years the prices in this group have remained relatively constant with 77% of the adzes fetching between \$80-\$90. Adzes which fetched \$120-\$130 were all finely modelled, polished, made from argillite (either the grey-black or grey-green variety), were among the few with a provenance and five were of the archaic hog-back form. Adzes at the lower end of the price range were usually made from greywacke, had varying degrees of polish and tended to approximate the Duff type 2(b) shape. Market values over the same five-year interval were:

1972	1977	1982
\$50-\$85	\$50-\$90	\$50-\$120

Nephrite Adzes & Chisels

The general price for these artifacts has tended to approach double its greywacke or polished argillite counterpart even when one compares their respective prices of damaged specimens. The difference in values largely reflects the fact that nephrite and its various forms, is a sought after gemstone.

Length of adzes was found more useful than shape when interpreting selling prices because nearly all of the adzes surveyed closely approximated the Duff 2(b) type. A total of 222 nephrite adzes and chisels were recorded.

Length

- (a) 2.5 cm-5.5 cm
- (b) 10 cm-17 cm
- (c) 17 cm and longer

	\$	\$	\$	\$
	1972	1977	1982	1983
(a)	3-20	5-35	8-35	12-45
(b)	20-70	40-70	45-80	40-85
(c)	90-1000	135	250	100

The largest adzes, 17 cm and longer, were rare at auction and the values for group (c) reflect this. In 1972 only three were recorded and the top price of \$1000 was paid for a fine specimen 28.8 cm long and 10 cm wide, it was tanged and had notching on the blade. Only two adzes in group (c) were recorded for 1977 and both fetched \$135. One adze was recorded for 1982 and one for 1983.

The extent to which buyers were influenced by the gemstone quality of the nephrite could not be determined. Intuitively, one suspects that a fine stone would be a more attractive piece to possess.

Beaters and Pounders

These artifacts are among the more common ones which regularly come up for sale. Over the years 213 were sold via auctions and of those 65% were stone. Prices have never been high and in several cases beaters and pounders were lumped together with other material and sold off as one lot. Bulk buying in this fashion reduces the average price of these artifacts considerably. The highest prices were paid for fine wooden beaters and the uncommon polished stone pounder with a decorated butt.

Although these do not fetch high prices there has been an overall, gradual increase in value:

1972	1977	1982	1983
\$2-\$5	\$5-\$10	\$5-\$20	\$30

Large Carvings

A total of 31 carvings were recorded as legally sold during the period surveyed.

These artifacts make up the largest, heaviest and bulkiest group of artifacts sold. Most are house panels of one sort or another e.g. epa, poupou, pare etc.

Over the surveyed period, the prices obtained for large carvings did not fall into any set patterns. By and large the prices for nearly all large carvings were negotiated directly with the owner, or, a deal was made through an auctioneer who acted as middle-man. In the latter case the carvings seldom reached the auction floor.

In most cases, the negotiated price for a large carving was based on some gut feeling of what a fair price would be. This gut feeling is usually, in turn, based on the advice of others (usually museum ethnologists since museums are probably the largest buyers of big carvings), rough estimates of overseas markets and hopefully, previous sales within New Zealand.

The most difficult problem involved in reaching a selling price comes when one is confronted with a carving which is in superb condition and accompanied by an undisputed, documented history and provenance. While condition is a tangible quality we can assess, how do we monetarise history and provenance? In practice, we don't. We guess. Our guesstimate becomes what we feel is a fair price to all concerned.

The following are examples of what large

carvings have sold for recently:

1982 — three panels from a storehouse approx. 1 m 30 cm long × 39 cm wide \$18,000.

1983 — panels from meeting houses: 1 m 52 cm long × 27 cm wide \$2,200; 1 m 27 cm long × 38 cm wide \$1,200; 1 m 45 cm long × 72 cm wide \$10,000; 1 m 88 cm long × 39.5 cm wide \$1,000; 1 m 21 cm long × 40 cm wide \$1,000.

1972–1977 — smaller carvings such as door lintels have averaged around \$300–\$900.

6 Cloaks and Capes

A total of 19 cloaks and capes were recorded. Sales showed no clear trends and the values here are averages for the whole of the surveyed period:

Candlewick capes — \$20–\$30

Flax capes — \$30

Candlewick cloaks — \$25–\$75

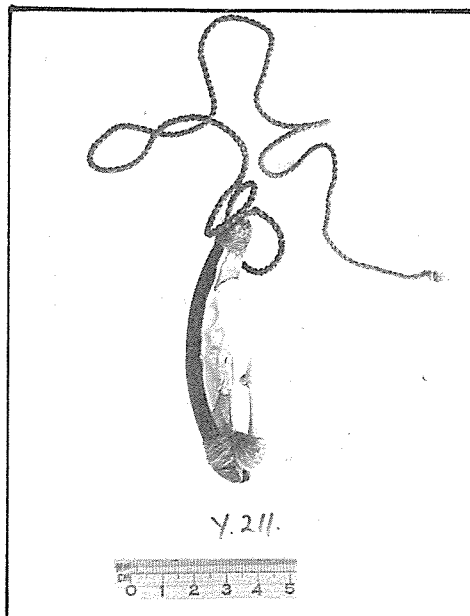
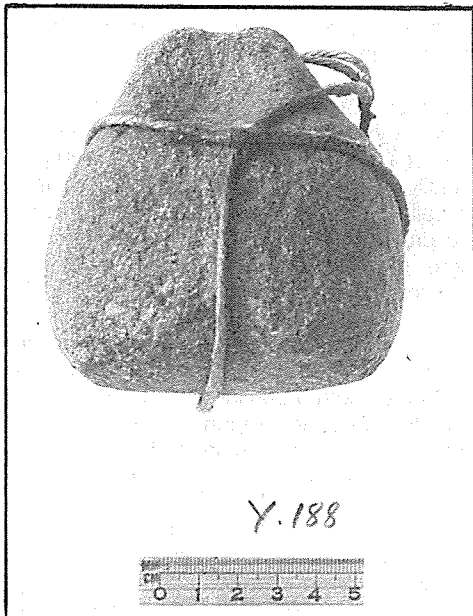
Flax cloaks — \$85–\$500

It is interesting to note that both in New Zealand and overseas Maori cloaks have not commanded the high prices which other artifacts reach. Over the past ten years one could purchase a cloak on the international market at approximately double the New Zealand price. When one compares the craftsmanship in a fine feather cloak with that of a wooden club, cloaks are quite undervalued.

Fishing Gear

The most commonly sold type of fishing gear was the ubiquitous stone sinker. They are usually oval, roughly pecked and have a circumferential groove. They are often sold with other items as one lot which makes the calculation of specific values difficult. Forty-seven were recorded and their values were never high.

Two of the most common types of fishing gear are the stone sinker (a) and the kahawai lure (b). Both are fine specimens. The sinker fetched \$20 and the lure \$80.



1972	1977	1982	1983
\$2–\$5	\$2–\$12	\$2–\$15	\$5–\$20

Kahawai lures, although common, appear to be sought after with the highest prices paid for specimens in good condition and having fine flax lashing of the snood and hook. Very fine specimens fetch around \$50–\$60. A total of 23 were recorded.

1972–1977	1977–1982
\$15–\$20	\$25–\$60

One example of a lure which had a whalebone base and good lashings fetched \$80.

Hei Tiki

The survey recorded 67 tiki auctioned since 1972. They have always been a collectable item and since the introduction of the 1975 Antiquities Act all authenticated tiki appreciated in value. This trend is noticeable on the international market too. In 1983 an extremely fine specimen, four inches high fetched \$NZ54,000 at Christie's. While that is exceptional it is also an indication of high values to come.

Because of their high value, prices are shown here in a little more detail.

1972 — 21 sold, average price \$1561.90, price range \$300–\$3000

1972–1977 — 26 sold, average price \$1637, price range \$130–\$3,200

1977–1982 — 20 sold, average price \$2,000, price range \$300–\$2,600.

All prices at the lower end of each range were for broken, damaged and/or inferior stone quality.

Tiki are a good example to demonstrate that given high quality materials and excellence in traditional craftsmanship, high prices are inevitable. Today, the average price for a good

specimen is about \$3,000–\$3,500 and if associated with a well documented history the price could be in the region of \$4,000.

Paddles

The survey recorded a total of 56 paddles. Their value appreciated as follows:

1972	1977	1982
\$50	\$160	\$150–\$200

Plain paddles now average \$80–\$120 while those which are decorated average \$160 depending on the extent and type of carving.

Pendants of Bone

A total of 63 bone pendants were recorded. For most of the surveyed period bone pendants, particularly those which are undecorated, have remained within the price range of \$10–\$25. All were of simple straight form and some appear to have been modified cloak pins. Pendants with carving (usually simple grooves) averaged \$22.

Of the 63 bone pendants two were late nineteenth century peka peka, finely carved fetching \$80 and \$90. Both were about 6 cm in length.

Pendants of Bowenite

Of the 35 bowenite pendants surveyed all were of the simple, straight kuru type. All fetched consistently lower prices than their nephrite counterparts. The average price remained relatively constant between \$15–\$18 from 1972 to 1980. From 1981 average prices rose to \$24 with larger specimens fetching an average of \$30.

In 1983 the length of pendant appeared to be the decisive factor in values. Pendants up to about 5 cm fetched between \$25–\$30. Pendants greater than about 8.5 cm averaged \$42–\$70. One example 9.8 cm long fetched \$90.

Nephrite Pendants

These have been the most common form of pendant sold. Seventy-eight were surveyed. While some small examples fetched as low as \$10 (these all had broken suspension holes), the average prices have all tended to be greater than their bowenite counterparts.

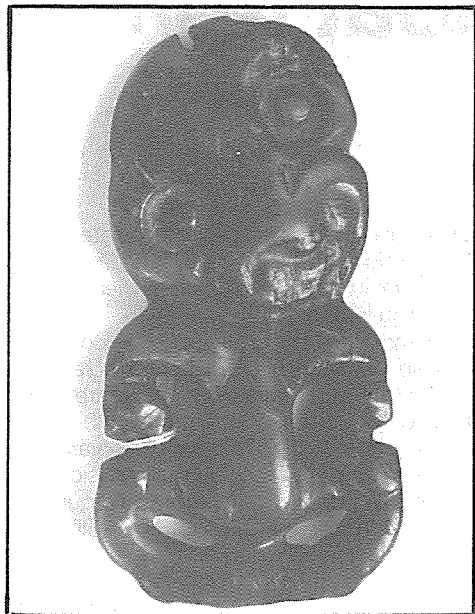
1972	1977	1982
\$10–\$30	\$15–\$150	\$20–\$100

Exceptions to the above values were: in 1972 a fine Kapeu form (hockey-stick shape) fetched \$220. It was 7 cm × 1 cm and had an associated history.

Also in 1972: one double-sided pekapeka, 6 cm × 3.7 cm fetched \$190; another 5.6 cm × 3.8 cm, also double sided fetched \$400; another 4.5 cm × 3 cm, double sided, sold for \$500.

Weapons

Fourteen taiaha were recorded between 1972–1983. During that time their value has appreciated from an average of \$110 (1972) to \$250 (1982). The highest price paid for a taiaha was \$400 in 1979. This was a large



This specimen, 14.7 cm long and 7.6 cm wide fetched \$2,600. It is well modelled with deep ring eyes.

finely carved piece with good patina, paua shell eyes and still possessing the original decoration of dog's hair.

Only nine tewhatewha were recorded. In 1972 one specimen with decorative feathers (hawk?) and shaft carving fetched \$100; in 1973 an undecorated but finely modelled piece fetched \$190; between 1974 and 1979 seven fetched an average of \$200.

Of the short clubs few have come onto the legal market. Only 30 were recorded. The most commonly sold club was the whalebone patu paraoa between 1972 and 1976 prices ranged between \$300 and \$600. One specimen sold for \$510 in 1981. Data for recent years is sadly lacking.

Prices for patu orewa (usually made of greywacke but occasionally basalt) ranged from \$200 in 1972 to \$700 in 1978. One sold in 1979 fetched \$650. In 1977 two handles were sold — one made \$10 and the other \$30.

Both wooden and whalebone wahaika have seldom appeared at auction. One can only estimate that the current values are probably about \$500–\$600 for wooden specimens and \$800 plus for good whalebone pieces.

Few authenticated nephrite mere have come up at auction. All one can say is that prices have ranged between \$1000–\$2000. Today one may expect to pay at least \$500 for a finely modelled specimen made in the traditional fashion thus taking the upper limit to around \$2500 plus.

Miscellaneous Artifacts

This section briefly records several types of artifacts which have only rarely come up at auction.

Treasure boxes (wakahuia) have sold for \$800 (1973) and \$2000 (1977). The price today for a well carved nineteenth century specimen is likely to be \$2000 plus.

Despite their increasing popularity today few flax kits have come up at auction. Presumably people buy kits to use and throw them away once they start to fall apart. The average price has been around \$15–\$20.

The list below has been included largely for interest to show what other artifacts have fetched in the past.

1972 — minnow lure shanks \$5 fine, one piece fish hook \$50, broken bone fish hooks usually sold in groups \$15–20.

1973 — digging stick (ko) \$90, whaletooth pendant \$80.

1974 — head and arms from canoe prow figure \$70.

1975 — fine kiwi feather bag \$65, nephrite hei matau \$130, bird spear \$45, wooden comb \$55, wooden puppet \$250.

1976 — bone birdspear point \$45.

1977 — fine one piece bone fishhook \$75, bone hook point \$35, fine digging stick (ko) \$140, footrest (teka) of digging stick \$65.

1979 — wooden figure carved by J. McDonald about 1930's \$225.

CONCLUSION

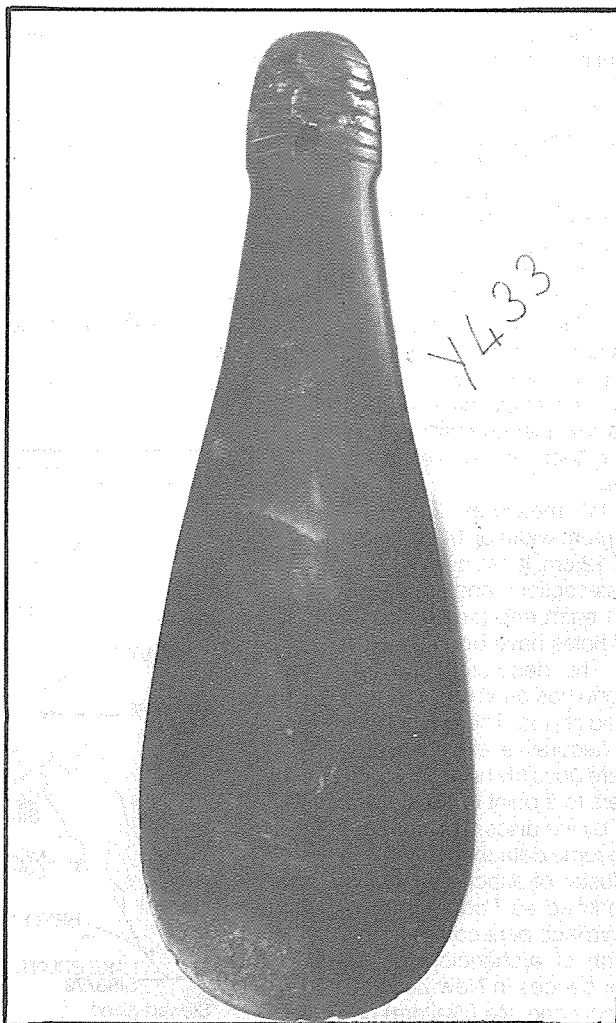
A survey of this nature obviously raises more questions than it seeks to answer. In any event, it can only be considered as an initial

step toward a more methodical watch over future Maori artifact prices. For some artifacts, particularly adzes, there will (or should) be good data on which to assess market values despite the erratic nature of the auction rooms and intangible human factors. At the expensive end of the price range prices will probably continue to be realised via a process of negotiation e.g. when an artifact is passed in below its reserve price and the buyer then negotiates with the owner via the auction house.

The survey was unable to go into any detail to see which individual artifacts came onto the market more than once thus suggesting speculation. At the moment my personal belief is that if people are buying artifacts for profit then they are doing so with the realisation that it is a long-term investment where the returns, in New Zealand, are not all that high but enough can be made if one's collection of artifacts is large.

It was not possible to detect the effect of the 1975 Antiquities Act on prices: has it driven the market underground? Perhaps there is not a very large market for Maori artifacts within New Zealand anyway.

Robin J. Watt
National Museum



This mere, 35.4 cm long and 12 cm wide, is slightly larger than average. The broad blade tapers to a well modelled and shouldered butt. It sold for \$1,000.

An Outrigger Canoe Float from Lake Brunton

In June, 1980, the discing operations of a farmer's contractor brought a wooden outrigger canoe float to the surface of the swampy margins of Lake Brunton (figure 1). The discovery of this float brings the number of confirmed outrigger floats in New Zealand to four.

Lake Brunton is a small coastal lake immediately behind dunes on the shore of Foveaux Strait, approximately 2 km east of the Waipapa Point lighthouse in eastern Southland. An inspection of the findspot (S183/79) revealed no other evidence of occupation. However, several sites have been recorded along the coast in this region, and an historic Maori village once existed on the shore of the lake opposite the findspot (S. Cormack pers.comm). This location could have been a mooring spot, the float may have been left there for storage, or it may have drifted from some other part of the lake when the lake was greater in size. The lake is currently being drained and the reclaimed land brought into cultivation.

The discs considerably damaged the float, cutting it into several pieces. The main pieces were picked up by the farmer (R. M. Blair of Otara) and brought into the Southland Museum and Art Gallery. Ms L. J. Williams (then Anthropologist) and Mr R. M. Forrest (Technician), visited the site and recovered the remaining visible pieces. The artefact was cleaned, wrapped in several layers of plastic and allowed to dry slowly with no special conservation treatment. Although the outer surface was soft and had sustained some bruising, the timber was basically sound and dried with minimal cracking. The sections were glued together with reversible glue, and although there are a few pieces missing from the underside of the float it is relatively intact and in good condition.

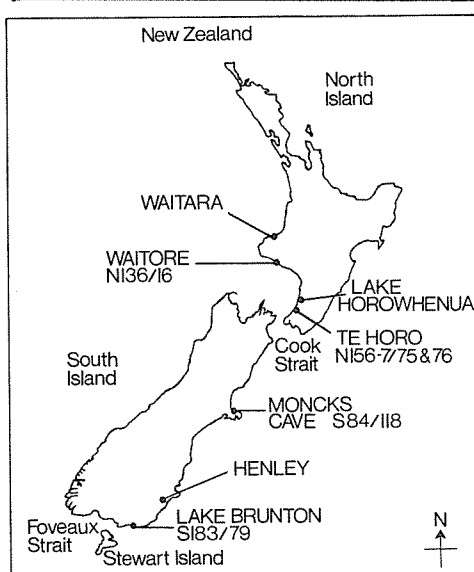
The float (Z.2644) measures 3.96 m in length, with a maximum width of 14 cm and a maximum depth of 12/cm. It has a flat base, a plano-convex cross-section, and is slightly curved upwards at each end (see figure 2). Several clusters of holes have been bored in its upper surface. The decorated end (assumed to be the front) has been carved into a phallic or lizard head shape. The two holes in this may be purely decorative 'eyes', but as is argued later, they are possibly holes for struts. The other end tapers to a point but its tip was sliced off obliquely by the discs. The centre of a large knot has become detached, removing part of a former cluster of attachment holes. The wood was identified as *Podocarpus totara* or *P. hallii* (R. Wallace pers.comm).

There is a dearth of archaeological evidence for outrigger canoes in New Zealand, and material from only one site (Waitore) has

been scientifically excavated. No related artefacts are known to have been collected ethnographically, nor are any known to exist in private collections. Figure 1 shows the distribution of outrigger-related finds in New Zealand. Floats have been recovered from the sites of Te Horo (Adkin 1962), Monck's Cave (Skinner 1924, 1927), Waitore (Cassels 1979) and Lake Brunton (this paper). Descriptions and locations of two other artefacts which may be partially finished outrigger floats were not available at the time of going to press (R. Fyfe pers.comm). Two canoe hulls from the sites of Henley and Te Horo are assumed to be of the outrigger type because of the inherent instability they would have in the water without an attached float (Best 1925:15, Barrow and Keyes 1966). There is also a canoe prow from Waitara and a thwart from Lake Horowhenua which have been interpreted as outrigger-related (Phillipps 1955:173-5), but this assumption is tenuous. The Waitore site yielded a number of artefacts which are probably other sections of an outrigger canoe, as well as the float mentioned above.

The Monck's Cave float is the smallest of the floats, being 1.83 m in length, and with three sets of holes for attaching the float to the booms. By contrast, the Waitore float is much larger. Although incomplete it is 2.21 m long and has only one cluster of attachment holes. The Te Horo float most closely resembles the Brunton float but is longer (4.34 m in length) with five clusters of attachment holes. These floats all have a flat underside, and this feature may have been incorporated to give extra

Sites mentioned in the text. There are no site record numbers for Waitara, Lake Horowhenua or Henley.



'suction-induced' stability in the water. The Brunton float is slightly raised at each end, which would allow it to coast efficiently over oncoming waves.

The most interesting feature that is common to these four floats is the pattern of hole clusters on the uppermost side. These are most likely to have been for indirect float-to-boom attachment. Although there is some variation in the size, shape, and position, the basic cluster pattern is the same (illustrated in figures 3 and 4) — a fore and aft strut hole with a V-shaped perforation between these for suspensory lashing. In the small Monck's Cave float the holes are grouped close together and the strut holes have more or less parallel sides. Skinner (1927:265) suggested a Tahitian mode of attachment for this where the spacer struts are bent under tension from the boom to the float, and pegged or lashed with accompanied V-shaped suspensory lashing. Buck (1929) offered an alternative configuration of straight vertical struts lashed onto a boom, and pegged into the float with V-shaped suspensory lashing. The holes in the Brunton float are comparatively shallow with a variation in depth from 1.1 to 2.2 cm. Most of them have parabolic rather than rectangular cross-sections. They have oval to circular openings that vary in width from 1.4 to 2.4 cm. Although the majority of these holes may give less rigidity due to the shallow fit they provide, they do allow for greater variation in the angles of strut placement. In this indirect method of boom attachment the struts function as spacers, giving some rigidity to the structure, and providing the necessary vertical distance (when straight cross-booms are used) between the gunwales and the sea (float) level.

In the Brunton float the lashing perforations are oval in shape, and their maximum width varies from 2.4 to 7.6 cm. The perforations for the middle-front cluster have a thin section (1.2 cm) of wood separating the underside from the top, and this shows some evidence of wear. There are two extra holes in the top of the carved front. These are similar in dimension to some of the other small strut holes and were probably intended for struts rather than as decorative 'eyes'. These two extra strut holes would help brace against the considerable upward pounding this end would receive from oncoming waves. Other strut holes in the float which seem superfluous to the standard clusters were probably 'trial and error' holes or redundant additions. A few of the strut hole interiors bear depressions on their bases from the pressure of their struts, reinforcing the overall impression that this float has seen 'active service'.

A suggested configuration for the Brunton

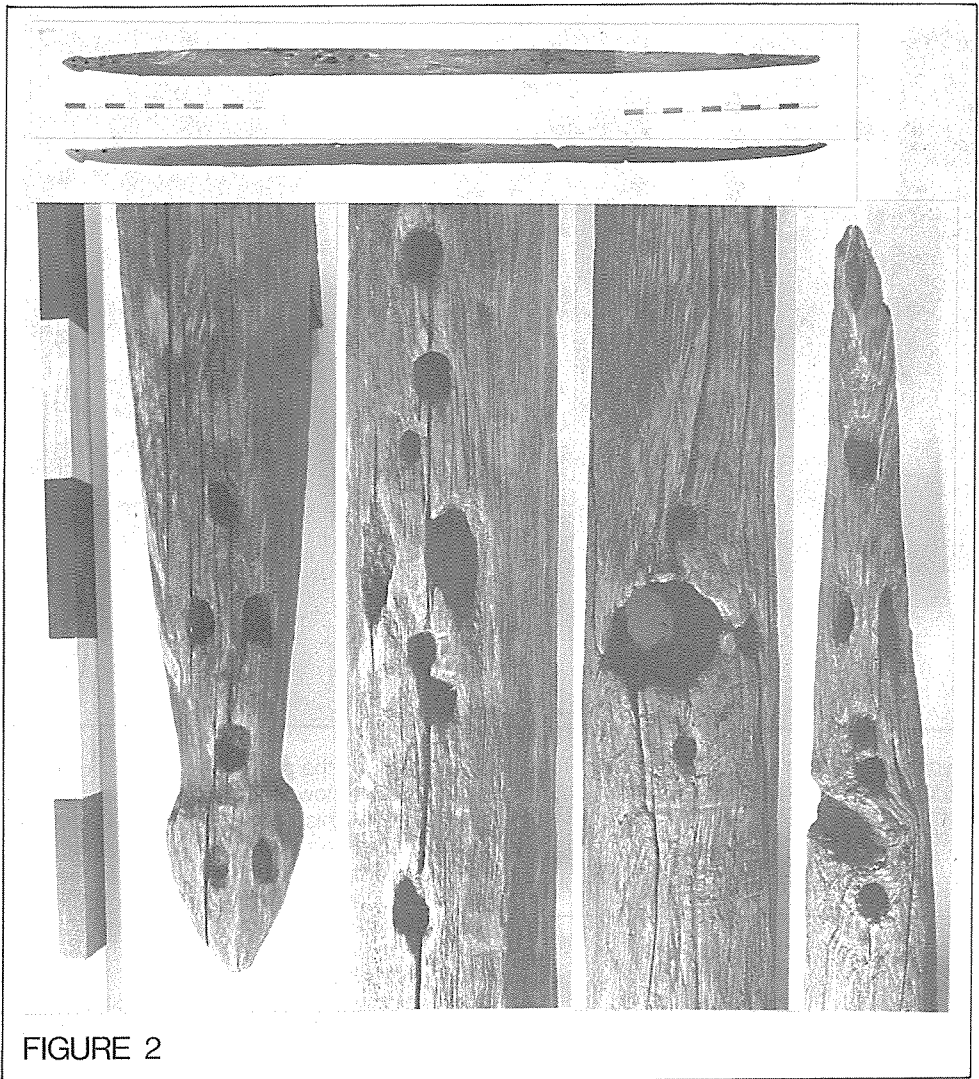


FIGURE 2

The outrigger canoe float from Lake Brunton, showing overhead and side views, and close-up views of the four clusters of attachment holes. The scale is one metre, divided into ten centimetre divisions.

float-to-boom attachment is offered in figures 5 and 6, with a mesial pair of struts inclined to the boom through the same plane as the float ('straight oblique' — Buck 1929:192), and with V-shaped suspensory lashing straddling either side of the boom. It will be noticed that we have opted for a 'criss-cross' lashing-exit from the float (figure 5). This would confer more rigidity on the overall structure than a simple straight exit. The lashing is aligned with the plane of the boom. The float support structure would thus be stabilised against heavy seas by two opposing vectors of tension (lashing) and compression (struts) at right angles to each other. A simple and sturdy Tahitian method of attaching the upper end of the struts to their cross-booms is offered here: two struts attached with a 'single oblique lashing' (Buck 1929:190). Because both struts are splayed out to the float rather than vertically attached, the boom lashings cannot slip down the struts towards the float.

Buck (1929) records that the use of more than two cross-booms in Tahitian outrigger

canoes was uncommon. The long Brunton float, however, represents a reasonably large canoe. The float has provision for up to four booms as there are four clusters of attachment holes (figure 2). The suggested configuration for this float is illustrated in figure 6. The distance between each boom (between the outer struts of each cluster) is 85 cm. Although a wider distance would doubtless have been more comfortable, this is wide enough to accommodate a paddle-stroke. The cross-booms may also have had some reinforcing braces or planking placed across them to minimise any longitudinal racking that might occur in heavy seas.

Despite the small sample size available for study, some tentative conclusions are offered. East Polynesian migrants to New Zealand continued to make and use outrigger canoes similar to those used in their homeland (compare Hornell 1936). There are few sightings of outrigger canoes by members of Cook's first and second (but not the third) voyages to New Zealand. This suggests that by the late 18th century the use of this type of canoe was on the decline (see also Adkin 1962:267, Best 1925:17, Buck 1927:273, Skinner 1927:363). There are only rare reportings from later Euro-

pean visitors. Occasional references in more recent literature, however, indicate that the use of outriggers had not completely vanished. For example, Best (1925:15) cites a 19th century North Island example from his informant Te Whatahoro; the 19th century European explorer, Douglas, used once for eeling in the Cascade Valley, South Island (illustrated in Pascoe 1983:104); and Beattie (n.d.) reported an interesting South Island reference which concerned the opportunist use of a totara log as a temporary outrigger, for negotiating a swift river. No record survives of the use of outrigger canoes with sails or of double outriggers in New Zealand (that is, an outrigger float on each side of the canoe).

The problem with the historical references to outrigger canoes in New Zealand is that they do not include clear illustrations of the structure, especially the float attachments, so that comparison between these records and the archaeological material is not possible. We only have comparison with ethnographic Polynesian Island material of a much later date. As far as is known no Polynesian archaeological material of similar age to the New Zealand archaeological material exists for a comparative basis. This means that tracing the evolution of a structural design can only be superficial, as there could be a discrepancy in the time factor of up to 1,000 years.

Among the four outrigger floats discussed, only the float from the Waitore site has been dated, and then only indirectly to within the 15th century AD (Cassels 1979:89,94). The other three floats could date from any period within the span of New Zealand's prehistory, and it is even possible that the Brunton and Te Horo floats could be of more recent origin. With no secure dates or detailed historical records the way is open for speculation and the temporal factor remains an unknown quantity. The widespread geographical distribution of similar float design throughout the North and South Islands of New Zealand (and other Polynesian islands) suggests that they were constructed to a standardised form.

The adaption to riverine and coastal conditions appears to have led throughout New Zealand to the development and use of wide-bottomed single- and double-hulled canoes without outriggers. Where the Lake Brunton region is concerned, several 19th century sources all noted that dugouts and double-hulled canoes were often not seaworthy in the rough waters of Foveaux Strait (Murray 1810; Edwardson 1822 in McNab 1909:334). In 1823 Kent reported one such example in which two double-hulled canoes sailing from Stewart Island to Ruapuke Island capsized and sank with the loss of forty lives:

"Friday June 27th . . . when it appeared that Pihee and about forty people was drowned, it seems that the canoes were double, one large and small lashed together, and the mast which was fastened to a cross piece, for the purpose of keeping the forepart of the canoes together, had come loose and slipping down between

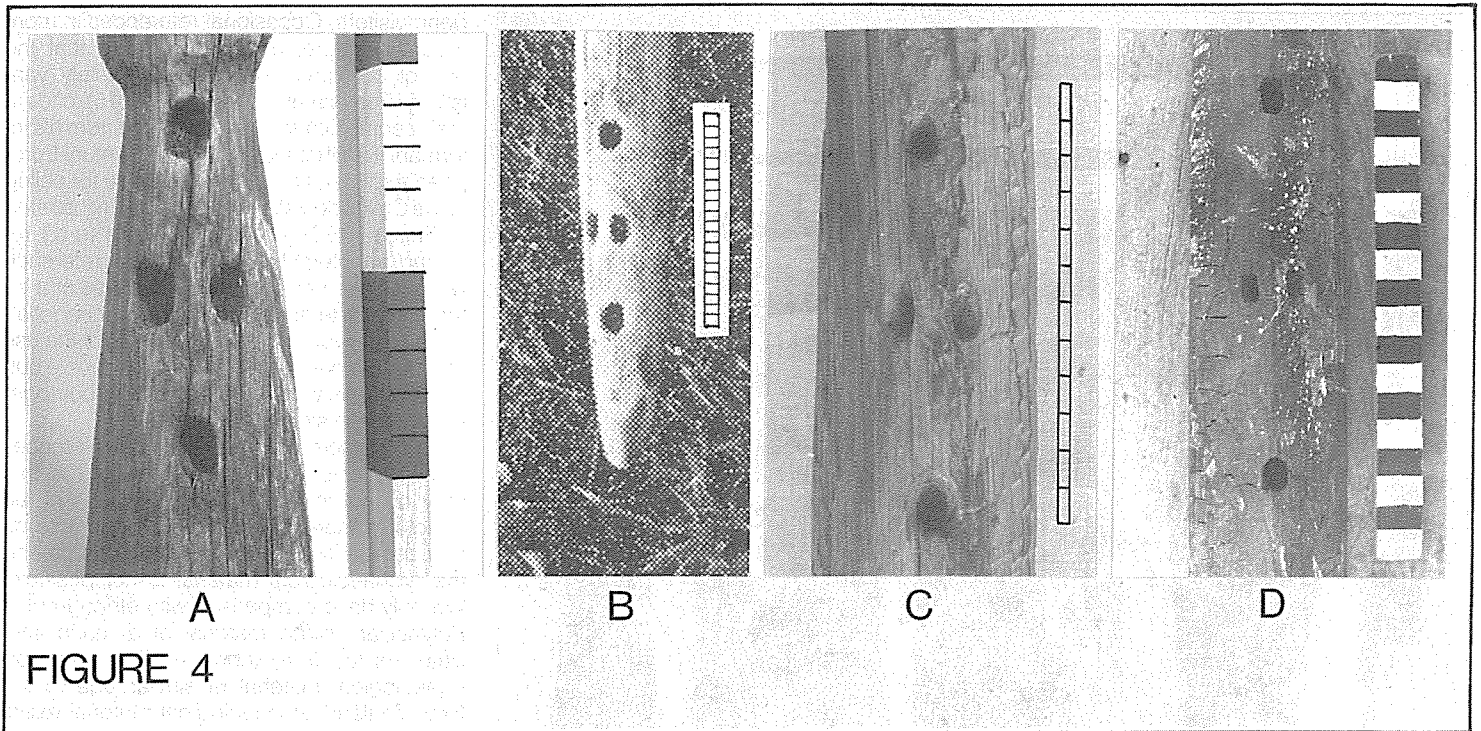


FIGURE 4

Comparison of float attachment cluster patterns, illustrating the close similarity between patterns on the floats from Lake Brunton (A), Te Horo (B), Monck's Cave (C), and Waitore (D). One division of scale equals one centimetre.

Suggested mode of indirect attachment. A Tahitian style 'single oblique lashing' secures the struts to the boom. The angled struts prevent the oblique lashing from slipping down towards the float. Rigidity is conferred on the structure by vectors of tension (suspensory lashing) and compression (struts).

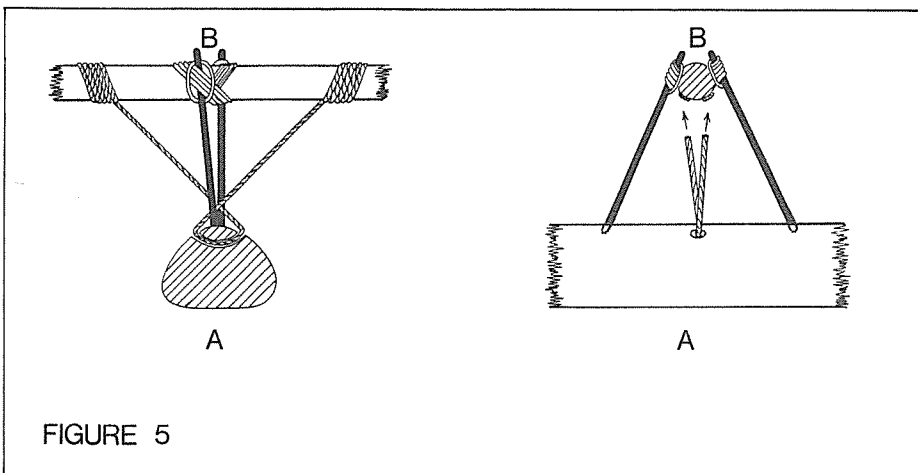


FIGURE 5

the two canoes into the water, when she immediately broached too, and filled with water; the same accident happening to the other double canoe nearly at the same moment, she almost instantaneously broke to pieces together. . . . the sea was running so very high."

(Log of His Majesty's colonial cutter *Mermaid*, 1823, Captain J. R. Kent. In *Rakiura*, Howard 1940:347–348).

The 'outrigger' that Howard (1940:57) refers to regarding Kent's account of the disaster is not the true solid type of outrigger float, but more correctly a type of double-hulled canoe. The disadvantage of a smaller dugout canoe used as a 'float' is obvious.

The Brunton outrigger may well represent a

response to the local marine environment. It is worth noting that both the Brunton and Te Horo floats were found in areas notorious for their heavy seas. Prevalent stormy weather and heavy seas of the Foveaux Strait region would call for the use of a sturdy ocean-going craft such as a large stable outrigger canoe, possibly with the addition of a sail for the prevailing coastal winds.

The Lake Brunton float is the first material evidence for the use of an outrigger canoe at the southern extremity of New Zealand. Several archaeological sites on the coast of Foveaux strait have 13th century dates (Leach and Higham 1971), and the float may be provenanced to this period. Given the local environmental conditions and the conserva-

tive trend in the prehistoric material culture of Southland however, the use of outrigger canoes in this region may have persisted longer than elsewhere in New Zealand. This would fit the scenario of a continual need and use of such seaworthy vessels to contest the persistent stormy seas of this region.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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We would also like to thank Southland Museum and Art Gallery staff — Messrs R. J. Beck (Director) and R. M. Forrest (Technician) for their helpful suggestions on the Lake Brunton float; M. Young for his help in preparation of the drawings for publication, and Mrs S. Barson for typing the script. Messrs R. Fyfe (Taranaki Museum), R. Wallace (Anthropology Department, University of Auckland) and S. Cormack (Tuatapere, Southland) also gave assistance with our research.

Finally, and most importantly, we express our thanks to Mr R. Blair for his recognition of the importance of his discovery of the float.

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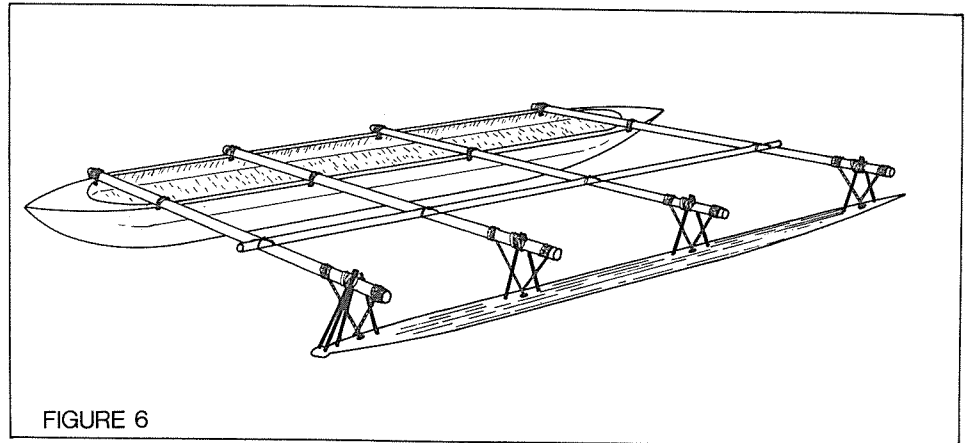


FIGURE 6

Schematic re-construction of the Lake Brunton float-to-boom configuration.

L. J. Williams
Prehistory Curator
Canterbury Museum

K. B. Gillies
Anthropology Curator
Southland Museum and Art Gallery

M.A.G.: Historical Comments — Future Roles

Early 1980, a proposal was circulated to all New Zealand Museums proposing the establishment of the New Zealand Anthropologists Group. The proposal resulted from discussions between Roger Niech, Steve Edson and myself. It was agreed that there was a need to provide a group that would overcome the geographical isolation, professional isolation, and lack of professional museum training experienced by many younger museum anthropologists. By organising ourselves we could take advantage of the experience of older curators and establish an effective dialogue on important contemporary issues.

Across the Tasman Australian Museum anthropologists had established the Conference of Museum Anthropologists (COMA). Roger Niech (1979), Steve Edson (1983) and myself (1980) have attended their meetings and found them stimulating and provocative. I am sure there would be much gained by holding a joint meeting of M.A.G. and COMA. One possibility would be to do this before ANZAAS in Palmerston North in 1988.

The first meeting of M.A.G. was at the 1980 AGMANZ Extended Annual General Meeting in Wellington. The second meeting was held at Auckland Museum, 18 March 1981. Twelve people attended and topics discussed ranged over Documentation (standardisation of terminology), visitor surveys, UNESCO

Oceanic Cultural Property Surveys and Te Maori. The relaxed atmosphere of discussion was very productive and we all looked forward to the next meeting to be held in 1982. The 1982 meeting at the National Museum has been fully reported to *AGMANZ News* by Robin Watt. This 'Material Culture Studies' seminar was successful in bringing together a wide ranging series of contributions and provided an interesting exchange of ideas. However several people observed that that formal presentation of papers should have been balanced by a period of free discussion on current issues.

The 1983 and 1984 meetings moved back to the informal discussion format. Each topic was briefly discussed by the person wishing to raise the matter then the subject was open for discussion by the whole group. The 1984 meeting covered the following issues: redevelopment of ethnographic displays; legal ownership and protection for sub-fossil sites; human remains in New Zealand Museum; a handbook of Maori Material Culture; standardisation and terminology; documentation of foreign ethnographic collections in New Zealand museums; research on early collectors; sampling artefacts; production of replicas for sale; and Maori requests for return of artefacts.

These topics highlight some of the current

concern of museum anthropologists in New Zealand. Many of these issues arise at similar meetings in Australia, Great Britain and America. As their discussions have assisted us, it is hoped that our deliberations can eventually contribute something to the international discussion. This is why it is important that from time to time members of M.A.G. publish their thoughts on these issues so that the benefit of personal research and group discussion can be brought together for use as a reference point both by ourselves and others. The contributions in this issue of *AGMANZ News* provide a marker against which we can examine our progress on these issues in two or three years.

It is vital that in future the free ranging discussion of the annual meetings continue to be balanced by well-reasoned publication.

There are a number of issues which require attention. Among these perhaps the most urgent are the Antiquities Act, the storage of human remains and the redevelopment of ethnographic displays.

The Antiquities Act poses problems on two fronts; the logistics of documenting all finds and the ethics of ownership. While the logistical problems are slowly being rationalised, the ethical problems grow in the minds of some curators. There appears

to be a serious ethical dilemma when on the one hand curators are trying to raise their own consciousness about their role as Kaitiaki and on the other hand they are asked by an Act of parliament to inform Maori people that they must make written request to be granted custody of their taonga at the discretion of the Minister of Internal Affairs. There is also the problem of lesser numbers of artefacts being reported. People believe artefacts will be removed from their custody and as a consequence may not be reporting finds. Over the last two years staff of the Department of Internal Affairs have attended M.A.G. meetings and a useful dialogue has begun. Some consultation has been promised and we are now dealing with people whose faces we remember.

The storage of human remains in museums has led to heated debate both in New Zealand and overseas. Trotter suggests in this issue that existing collections should remain intact but that no additions should be permitted. Some may ask why there is to be a greater sensitivity over future finds of Maori skeletal material than is to be afforded to existing collections. If it is good enough to document new finds and then rebury them, why can we not document and bury existing collections? It is perhaps true that for a policy to be seen to be sensitive it also has to be seen to be consistent.

The redevelopment of Maori Exhibitions in New Zealand is a major feature of this decade. Some museums may not complete their redevelopment much before the turn of the century. An awareness on the part of curators and directors that museums must work much closer with the Maori com-

munities who relate closely taonga in the collections has led to new levels of dialogue. Consultation is a slow and complex undertaking, requiring toleration and understanding on both sides. Maori people will make significant contributions to this new round of exhibitions and this may well be their truly distinguishing feature when history assesses them. I am sure that there is a new level of exhibition that can be attained which breaks out of the traditional framework within which most of us work. It may not be realised this year or next, but the more we experiment the closer we will come to our goal. McFadgen refers to 'context'. Context is indeed the key. 'Whose context?' is the key question. Are we trying to convey the world view of 10th, 18th, 19th or 20th century Maori. Or are we trying to convey what European researchers think that context should be, limited by lack of research, lack of language skill, and lack of sensitivity. Perhaps it is time we as museum professionals asked the Maori communities we serve what context they would provide for their taonga. In my experience they have some very definite views about the type of framework they wish to be used. It does not have to do with dividing culture up into subsystems, so neat and tidy for academic research; rather it has to do with dividing an area into communities; communities that relate to particular landscapes, historical and contemporary at the same time. This important question is not, 'Where did the Maori come from?' — rather it is 'Where did Ngati Kahungunu come from?'

These three issues are only three of many that make the continued existence of M.A.G. essential. Museum anthropologists must

continue to meet, debate and resolve issues of general concern. M.A.G. should be able to act as a sounding board for concerns that AGMANZ Council may have on certain issues. AGMANZ Council should consult on a formal basis with specialist groups in the process of policy formation.

M.A.G. provides a forum for effective communication with Government Departments (eg Internal Affairs about the Antiquities Act). A useful dialogue could also be opened with the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. The Trust needs regional presentation and museum anthropologists are undertaking much of their work at present. A meeting to discuss common ground and future strategies between the Trust and Museum Anthropologists could lead to a more constructive relationship.

M.A.G. must do more to promote research and fieldwork. Maximum benefit can be derived by establishing co-ordinated research projects which result in significant publications, exhibitions, films, performances etc.

Workshops and seminars can be organised which deal with more specific areas of collections. After several years of attending general workshops on a wide range of museological topics some people have expressed a desire to move to more specific or specialised topics. M.A.G. could certainly organise these for its members. This provides a direct way for curators to pass their specialist knowledge on to colleagues and stimulate some debate.

*David J. Butts
Museum Curator
Hawkes Bay Art Gallery and Museum*

Transliterated Museum Labels

A Potential Artefact of the 1980's?

The recent movement within the museum profession to demolish the monocultural aspects of our institutions is laudible in the extreme.

Museums throughout New Zealand, in keeping with the institutions in, at the very least, the western world have been created as monuments to pakeha colonization. One of the often discussed facets of this demolition includes the general introduction and subsequent acceptance of Maori language labelling in museums.

It has, therefore, been of considerable concern that this particular concept often does not appear to have been adequately thought through to the end product. The mere transliteration of a standard professional text into Maori is surely not what it's all about.

The obvious potential in Maori language texts is to enable adequate expression of Maori viewpoint which may possibly be at var-

iance with the more cautious museological attitudes.

Displays on the New Zealand Wars and interpretation of various sites associated with them lend themselves also to text which presents opposing viewpoints. The careful compilation of texts which "do not give offence to either party" is presently in vogue for such situations. One usually finds, however, that a text thus compiled becomes bland, non informative and unacceptable to both viewpoints. Perhaps the major concepts for museums to accept in that there *were* two opposing sides to the war; that conflict between groups cannot be recorded in a completely non partisan manner and that both viewpoints have a degree of historical accuracy.

It is, also, necessary for 19th Century colonial attitudes to be adequately expressed as this helps explain (but perhaps not excuse)

events in the light of the time. An example a little closer in time is the now almost incomprehensible flood of volunteers who served "King and Country" in the blood baths of Gallipoli and the Western Front. Adequate background research, perusal of contemporary fiction (both adult and juvenile) and newspapers etc gives a necessary insight into this "incomprehensible" event. The inclusion of extracts illustrative of the prevailing attitudes in any display is, I believe, obligatory to counter the potential interpretation of our grandfathers' actions as those of "raving loonies".

I therefore believe it is the museum profession's duty to present, adequately and fairly, the opposing viewpoints in the New Zealand conflict.

It is also obvious that other Maori cultural material has a variety of interpretations de-

ending on the viewers/readers attitudes and cultural background.

The response to such a concept in displays is also predictable. Recent letters to our local newspapers by enraged pakehas on the possible restoration of the original name of the mountain from which our province took its name indicates this clearly. We shall have to be prepared to weather the storm!

It should be made quite clear, at this stage, that I am not advocating, nor do I expect, the presentation, even in Maori, of the most sacred of tribal beliefs and concepts.

The pakeha viewpoint, requiring the teaching of these concepts as "reward" for occasional attendance on the local marae exhibits cultural arrogance of frightening proportions. Such attitudes are, unfortunately, all too often seen in Government Departments as well as individuals.

The "Taranaki Maxim" is always worth remembering; "A pakeha at Parihaka should feel like a Catholic at an Orange Lodge meeting."

In summary the major guiding concept must be of a potentially mature multicultural society where opposing viewpoints and concepts can be made and understood but not necessarily agreed with. The alternative path is towards the uniformly grey. That reminds me of the Goon show involving the reawakening of Nelson's statue in a London fog. "He was 12 feet tall and grey!" That should not describe a typical New Zealand.

FOOTNOTE

1. Need Seagoon (pers.comm.)

John Lambert
Taranaki Museum

Notes

AUTOMATIC ACTIVATION OF ACTIVE DISPLAYS

Over the past four months I have been employed as an audio-visual technician by the Waitomo Caves Museum Society. During this time I have developed an electronic shadow sensor to be used to set active displays in operation.

It has occurred to me that there may be some interest from other museums in these devices and in attendant technical details.

Briefly, the device is activated by a shadow falling across one or more electronic sensors. The circuit is sufficiently sensitive to register a shadow only barely detectable to the human eye. I estimate the cost of components to be approximately \$30 or each device, although the cost varies with the number of sensors employed. It is not appropriate to employ these sensors in an area where they can be influenced by sunlight.

Should other museums be interested in

further technical details of these devices, they are available from me on request. Should enquiries be received after my employment project has terminated, museum staff will be able to forward circuit details.

Don Fraser
Electronics Technician
Waitomo Caves Museum Society
P.O. Box 12, Waitomo

JOB SEARCH

Ethnographic Conservators

Two Canadian conservators, experienced in ethnographic conservation are wanting to work in New Zealand.

Curriculum vitae and other details may be obtained from the National Conservation Coordinator, C/- National Museum, Private Bag, Wellington.

Conservator from Poland

Pawel Michalowski, 29, is looking for work in New Zealand. He has specialised in conservation of paintings on wood, canvas and polychrome sculpture. However has wide experience in conservation techniques. For *curriculum vitae* and other details contact Ed.

CONSERVATION SUPPLIES

In March this year, we took over the Bulk Purchasing Scheme from the Society for Cultural Conservation (Inc.), Wellington. You will understand that, because a long time has elapsed since the last price list was issued, the prices have (inevitably) increased.

The aim continues to be to supply institutions and individuals who require smaller quantities of conservation materials. It is not our intention to provide for larger institutions who are able to purchase in bulk direct from importers or from overseas, nor to compete with other suppliers in New Zealand.

Packing and postage are additional to the prices shown in the list.

Please let us know of materials you would like which are not listed here, or of smaller quantities which would be more useful to you.

If you have a surplus of a product you would like to sell and we can include it in the next newsletter, please tell us.

For further details on adhesives — reversible, boards, cleaners, corners, de-acidification, dressing, detergent, envelopes, melinex, paper, paper fasteners, photographic storage materials, polishes, tags, tapes and thymol please write to Rosemary Collier or Marjorie Park at P.O. Box 11-100, Wellington, New Zealand or telephone Wellington 859-086.

DAVID LOW — CARTOONIST

I am currently engaged in writing about David Low, the cartoonist, who drew for the *Bulletin* 1913-1919. In conjunction with the publication of this book I have been commissioned to produce an exhibition of Low's original cartoon drawings at the National Portrait Gallery,

London October 1985-January 1986. I write seeking advice in both these areas.

I require knowledge of the whereabouts of any David Low drawings, photographs, letters or papers by or about Low from unpublished sources. If you are in possession of any unpublished material relating to Low please forward to me details of the nature of the material, copyright restrictions and information regarding reproduction.

Jim Schoff, Research Fellow, The Library, The University, Canterbury, Kent, England CT2 7NU.

AGMANZ Diploma Programme for 1984

A number of students are now completing their workshop points. I thought I should mention that, on completion of the required 18 workshop credits, students no longer qualify for an AGMANZ travel subsidy. Although we are of course delighted to see them continue to attend workshops to broaden their museum education.

As you know the Museum Studies Course is now listed in the Local Government Training Board directory of recognised courses. I have also formally notified the State Services Commission of the details of the Diploma and the Commission has stated that — "The State Services Commission will support those of its employees who wish to study for the Diploma." It is important that this sort of wide and formal recognition is gained for the Diploma.

WORKSHOP PROGRAMME

I give below the details of the remaining workshop programme for 1984. The December issue of *AGMANZ News* will contain full details of theory papers being offered in 1985 and an outline of the workshop programme with complete information on those being offered at the beginning of the year. This should give students plenty of time to plan ahead.

You are reminded that the Exhibition Officers Seminar to be held 26-28 September 1984 at the National Art Gallery, Wellington (for full details see the June issue of *AGMANZ News*) is not part of the formal AGMANZ Diploma workshop programme but any student attending can seek up to two credit points.

It has often appeared to be less easy to cater for the South Island because of the small number of students scattered over a wide area. I'm delighted that we have recently had several new South Island students register. We have also been able to augment our own programme with the recent August ARANZ Archives Training Seminar held in Dunedin. Added to this a Disaster Preparedness Workshop is to be held in Christchurch on 17-19 October, convened by Ms Josie Laing, Canterbury Museum, Rolleston Avenue, Christchurch. This is not an AGMANZ workshop but any student attending may, on application to the AGMANZ Secretary, qualify for two points.

Textile Conservation — Storage and Display of Textiles: Evening of Friday 12 October (starting at 7.00 pm) and 13–14 October. Venue: Manawatu Museum, Palmerston North. Administrator: Ms Bronwyn Simes, National Museum, Private Bag, Wellington. Applications and registration fee of \$20 to Bronwyn Simes. Closing date 21 September. Slides and practical demonstrations. Among subjects covered will be — basic cleaning, correct environment, storage methods, display techniques, identification and care of textiles in emergency situations, use of volunteers. This workshop will be conducted by Mrs Valerie Carson, National Textile Conservator. This workshop will be worth two Diploma points.

Education: Evening of Friday, 2 November (registration 7.00–8.00 p.m.), introductory talk starting at 8.00 p.m., and 3–4 November. Finishing at approximately 3.00 p.m. on Sunday the 4th. Venue: Waitomo Caves Museum, Waitomo. Administrator: Ms Sherry Reynolds, Auckland Institute and Museum, Private Bag, Auckland. Applications and registration fee of \$20 to Sherry Reynolds. There will be an upper limit of 20 people for this workshop. Closing date 19 October. Education within museums and art galleries. Aspects of educational policy and guidelines within your own institution. Examination of museum resources, volunteers, printed material, presentation, technical aids etc. Practical activities. Contributors from inside and outside the profession. Sherry Reynolds can also advise on accommodation

and will supply interested people with further details. This workshop will be worth two Diploma points.

Storage Spaces — Design and Use: 17–18 November, starting at 9.00 a.m. Manawatu Art Gallery, Palmerston North. Administrator: Judy Turner, AGMANZ Secretary. Applications and registration fee of \$15 to Judy Turner. Closing date — Friday 26 October. This workshop will attempt to present solutions to the problems of museum and gallery storage. You are asked to send plans of your storage areas, possibly photographs if you have them, so that any problems or solutions they may have can be discussed at the workshop. (If any institution is worried about security in releasing these plans they can be returned to them immediately after the workshop). Plans should be sent direct to Jack Fry, National Museum, Private Bag, Wellington, by mid October and he will make slides from these for use during the session. Please let Margaret Taylor know of any particular problems which you may have well in advance so that these may be discussed. The workshop will be conducted by Mrs Margaret Taylor, Director of the Manawatu Art Gallery and author of *A Manual for the Packaging and Handling of Museum Objects* and Mr Jack Fry, Conservator, National Museum. This workshop will be worth two Diploma points.

It should be noted that Diploma workshops are open to AGMANZ members who are not registered students but that Diploma students take preference when numbers are limited. In

some cases a few places may be available for non AGMANZ members. Any enquiries to the Secretary, Judy Turner, 40 Kings Crescent, Lower Hutt, telephone (04) 695-353.

AGMANZ SUBSCRIPTION RATES - 1985

To help members with their budgeting for next year I would like to draw to their attention the following Resolution passed at the Annual General Meeting held at the Manawatu Art Gallery, Palmerston North, on Saturday 14 April 1984.

New subscription rates to take effect from 1 February 1985

a) Institutional Members

Institutions with no paid professional staff

All other institutions computed on the basis of .1% of annual operating budget (excluding purchase funds and capital programme)

b) Ordinary Members, Associates and Fellows

Based on annual salary:

Below \$11,000	\$15
\$11,000–\$16,000	\$22
\$16,000–\$20,000	\$30
\$20,000–\$25,000	\$38
\$25,000 and over	\$45

c) Non-Voting Members

\$22

d) AGMANZ News Subscribers

New Zealand	\$20
Overseas	\$25

THEFT — WHAT TO DO

At the recent A.G.M. a proposal was put to the meeting that AGMANZ consider being involved with a register of missing or stolen works of art and artefacts. Council felt that speed and publicity locally are of the utmost importance in such a situation and that it is more appropriate for members to act on their own behalf. However the following notes may be useful.

As a first step, to avoid loss, seek advice from your local police crime prevention officer on your security procedures. This may not involve expense, a lot of security is good housekeeping systems. But if the worst happens —

1. Contact the Police.
2. Contact the media and seek publicity for the loss.

STEPS 1 AND 2 SHOULD BE DONE IMMEDIATELY.

3. Contact professional colleagues, auction houses and fine art dealers, preferably with a photograph of the work.

For a minimal charge the AGMANZ Secretary can provide you with a set of sticky address labels for all institutional members of AGMANZ to facilitate circulating the profession.

The N.Z. Art and Antiques Yearbook includes a directory of New Zealand art and antique dealers — available from Newrick Associates Ltd, P.O.Box 820, Wellington. Price \$15.95.

4. Ask the Police back for advice on deficiencies in your security system.

