CREATING AN ONLINE EXHIBIT:
TARANAKI IN THE NEW ZEALAND WARS: 1820-1881

A Project

Presented to the faculty of the Department of History
California State University, Sacramento

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

History
(Public History)

by

Tracy Phillips

SUMMER
2016
CREATING AN ONLINE EXHIBIT:

TARANAKI IN THE NEW ZEALAND WARS: 1820-1881

A Project

by

Tracy Phillips

Approved by:

__________________________________, Committee Chair
Patrick Ettinger, PhD

__________________________________, Second Reader
Christopher Castaneda, PhD

______________________________
Date
Student:  Tracy Phillips

I certify that this student has met the requirements for format contained in the University format manual, and that this project is suitable for shelving in the Library and credit is to be awarded for the project.

________________________________, Graduate Coordinator  ____________________________
Patrick Ettinger, PhD  Date
Abstract

of

CREATING AN ONLINE EXHIBIT:

TARANAKI IN THE NEW ZEALAND WARS: 1820-1881

by

Tracy Phillips

This thesis explicates the impact of land confiscations on Maori-Pakeha relations in Taranaki during the New Zealand Wars and how to convey the narrative in an online exhibit. This paper examines the recent advent of digital humanities and how an online platform requires a different approach to museum practices. It concludes with the planning and execution of the exhibit titled “Taranaki in the New Zealand Wars: 1820-1881.”

_____________________, Committee Chair
Patrick Ettinger, PhD

_____________________
Date
DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this paper to my son Marlan. He is my inspiration and keeps me motivated to push myself and reach for the stars. As an informal consultant, he told me what he found interesting about my exhibit with unflinching honesty. He accompanied me on endless library and archival visits and knew the timing and value of a reassuring hug. I would also like to recognize my mother, whose selfless devotion and support kept me moving forward whenever I felt like giving up. I could not have made it this far without my sister, who taught me the meaning of unconditional love and support. Lastly, I would like to dedicate this paper to my father, who passed away shortly after I left for New Zealand.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my advisor, Professor Ettinger, for his dedication to this project. He supported me greatly and was always willing to help me. He kept me engaged, even if I did not always make it easy for him. I would also like to thank Professor Castaneda for his input and support. He remained reassuring even when I approached him with large amounts of text to review. In addition, I would like to thank all of the faculty in the History Department for their valuable guidance. They provided me with the foundational tools that I needed to pursue and successfully complete my thesis. I could not close my acknowledgements without thanking the Maori tribal leaders I met during my visit in New Zealand. I truly hope this project can bring more attention to the history of all those involved in the shaping of this country.
PREFACE

My induction into the Public History program began when I took a course in which I collaborated with classmates to curate the installation “What’s Happening Sacramento?” that displayed at the Oakland Museum of California. I had gotten very close to completing the standard program, but after I participated in this project I knew that I must dedicate myself to learning the principles and techniques for conveying history to the public. Once I had switched programs I found a renewed sense of curiosity and interest in the varying constituencies within the archival, museum, and historical society communities. It is interesting to note that what I thought would simply be an elective course forever changed my professional path.

I completed a wide range of projects during my time in the program and whether I was conducting an oral history interview or creating a finding aid for an archival collection, I was drawn to establishing a strong narrative in the process. During my last internship, I launched a cataloguing index for the Sacramento City Special Collections. It was during this process I became appreciative and indebted to the public historians who take the time to lay the foundation for future visitors. Although my duties mainly amounted to summarizing and detailing files to allow access to library patrons, it was within these intern hours that I began to sense that so many worthwhile narratives and exhibits were hiding within these files. At the same time, I was presented the opportunity to travel to New Zealand and my journey to create a web-based exhibit commenced.
When I was in the planning stages for my project, I did not think I was capable of creating my own physical exhibit. I thought it would be preferable to inquire with established institutions to create a small display case or potentially creating a traveling exhibit. However, while I was dedicated to finding a way to bring a physical exhibit to fruition, I realized that I was overlooking a medium that could allow me to create a rich narrative while staying within a limited budget of both time and resources. I decided to join the ranks of other digital historians and create an exhibit on the Internet.

This paper examines the formulation of a temporary web-based exhibit created by the author as a solo project to be launched at the end of 2016. The exhibit will be titled “Taranaki in the New Zealand Wars: 1820-1881” and it will explore the transformation that the Taranaki region underwent from the period of European contact through the New Zealand Wars and their aftermath. Although there are a multitude of interpretations of the war, the one prevailing consensus among historians is that they “defy an easy designation.”¹ This was not a simple conflict between the indigenous Maori and Pakeha (European settlers).² The removal of prominent Maori tribes, the inability of the colonial government to discern between “Rebel” and “Loyal” Maori, and the complete transformation of New Plymouth into a military settlement are but a few of the significant disruptions that molded and changed the region.

² The terms ‘Maori’ and ‘Pakeha’ have been Anglicized and used commonly among English audiences so they will not be italicized. However, other terms will be italicized and will always come first, in order for the translation to find purchase.
The region of Taranaki could easily be just a footnote in the New Zealand war narrative, which is why this project aims to bring this story to the forefront. In fact, the tendency to downplay the region’s conflicts in their severity, magnitude, and significance has been an area that historians have fought to rectify and which results in a need for further exploration. In addition, the Maori have maintained most of their history in the form oral tradition, which creates an added burden for curators attempting to include their voice and their perspective. The Maori representation has been distorted in past studies due to biases and blind spots that were a product of the times and a result of a Eurocentric perspective. This thesis project developed out of a vision to create an exhibit that presents the incidents that occurred during this the New Zealand Wars but utilizes stories, correspondence, and artifacts to create a story.

This thesis will examine the process of researching and creating a web-based exhibit on the impact of land confiscations on Maori-Pakeha relations in Taranaki during the New Zealand Wars of the nineteenth century. The materials that contribute to the thesis findings are largely primary sources in the form of government papers and correspondence, newspaper articles, and personal journals. This study would not be complete without the requisite secondary sources to provide an anchor in the historiography and to build on the knowledge of other historians who have contributed their voice to nineteenth century New Zealand history. The thesis also examines the rise of digital humanities and incorporates the ideas of those who have pioneered efforts at online historical exhibits.
Chapter 1 will introduce basic museum exhibit literature and methodology including collection, interpretation, and determining an audience. Chapter 2 explores the considerations specific to an online exhibit. Chapter 3 then examines the foundational research that assisted in composing sections of the exhibit. It will provide an overview of Taranaki’s role in the New Zealand Wars, providing the proper context starting in 1820 and ending in 1881. This chapter will illustrate how land purchases and military campaigns in this region were unique and how public scrutiny of them brought local events to national significance. The chapter will also serve to highlight the different thematic portions of the exhibit ranging from European contact to periods of war and ending in a legacy particular to Taranaki.

Chapter 4 addresses the difficulties of displaying indigenous history and introduces New Museum theory as a way to honor cultural representation. It will evaluate the importance of collaboration and explore the debate on biculturalism in New Zealand. Chapter 5 will discuss digital history and its place in the overarching designation of digital humanities. It will then detail how the exhibit was created through the process of planning, procuring object, pictorial, and graphic selections, writing textual labels, and launching on an open source platform. The conclusion will summarize the project as a whole and provide insights into the challenging yet rewarding experience of curating an online exhibit.

A person only has to enter “online history exhibit” into any of a number of search engines available and a great many sites will be available. But one must maintain an
observing and critical eye while determining the efficacy and utility of the various sites. It must be emphasized that although a collection has been formulated for this exhibit, this project does not culminate in a digital archive or collection. There is a strong delineation between an online collection and an online exhibit. What separates an exhibition from a collection is that an exhibition has a “tight connection between its idea, objects, and script that ties them all together.” Therefore, the presence of a strong narrative with the support of pictorial and object connections will distinguish this project from the many excellent collection-based websites present today.

---

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Dedication ................................................................................................................................. vi
Acknowledgements .................................................................................................................... vii
Preface ....................................................................................................................................... viii

Chapter

1. CREATING AN ONLINE EXHIBIT - THEORY ................................................................. 1
   Types of Exhibits and “The Big Idea” .................................................................................. 2
   Writing for a Museum Audience ......................................................................................... 7
   Interpretation ....................................................................................................................... 9
   Museum Labels ................................................................................................................... 11
   Conclusion ......................................................................................................................... 14

2. CREATING AN ONLINE EXHIBIT - APPLICATION ...................................................... 15
   Design Considerations ...................................................................................................... 18
   Conclusion ......................................................................................................................... 23

3. THE Taranaki REGION AND THE NEW ZEALAND WARS: A
   HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS ................................................................................. 25
   Balance of Power .............................................................................................................. 31
   Treaties, Purchases, and Rising Tensions .......................................................................... 35
   The First Taranaki War ..................................................................................................... 44
   The Second Taranaki War ................................................................................................. 49
   The Last Protest ............................................................................................................... 54
   The “Taranaki Circumstance” ......................................................................................... 57
4. THE POSTCOLONIAL MUSEUM ................................................................. 59
   New Museum Theory ........................................................................... 60
   Cultural Representation ....................................................................... 66
   New Zealand and National Identity .................................................... 69
   Conclusion .......................................................................................... 72

5. CREATING AN ONLINE EXHIBIT: TARANAKI IN THE NEW ZEALAND
   WARS: 1820-1881 – CONTEXT, PLANNING, AND EXECUTION .......... 73
   Defining Digital Humanities ............................................................... 74
   Conceptual Phase ............................................................................... 77
   Development Phase ............................................................................ 80
   Exhibit Design Considerations ......................................................... 86
   Conclusion ......................................................................................... 88

Appendix A. An Exhibit by Tracy Phillips: Taranaki in the New Zealand Wars........ 89

Bibliography .......................................................................................... 114
Chapter 1

CREATING AN ONLINE EXHIBIT - THEORY

A simple definition of the term ‘museum’ is elusive. Museums have been personified as shrines, stewards, and educators. Their collections can contribute more information to a topic or provide a new interpretation. Susan Pearce argues that an institution can be defined as a museum if they house a collection and if they have three things in common: they are made up of objects, the objects come from the past, and they have been assembled with the intention that they are “more than the sum of its parts.”\(^4\)

Until the late twentieth century, one could also argue that a museum required a physical structure, whose architecture could be considered integral in the portrayal of artifacts and conveying of information.

Since the 1990s, there has been a rise in the use of the World Wide Web to convey ideas, contribute scholarship, and present arguments. In its most basic form, this medium is used for communication and grants access to a vast audience. Although the wide availability of information does not mean that one can be any less critical of sources and where the information is coming from, this relatively recent development has created a culture of instant gratification where one expects to find information at their fingertips in an expedient manner. As a curator attempting to create an exhibit on this medium, one must wear many hats, taking into account matters specific to a digital platform such as designing a website, hosting and budgeting, and various issues that arise with information technology.

---

This chapter will discuss the broader concerns of exhibit literature, including developing “The Big Idea,” working with collections, writing for a specific audience, and creating interpretation through labels. It will then address the technical factors of executing an online exhibit and demonstrate that, similar to most curatorial considerations, the process of creating an online exhibit involves advantages and drawbacks. An online historical exhibit should not be a virtual tour of an archival collection. There are many successful examples of archival collections available that feature pictorial images and go even further to integrate new interactive and mixed media projects. One should not mistake an archive with a narrow focus to be an exhibit. An online exhibit pulls from collections to create a workable argument. It provides an opportunity for public access to the interpretive presentation of items that have “something to shout about.”

Advocates for online exhibits do not advocate replacing the traditional museum model, but do contest the idea that artifacts “cannot be experienced outside their ‘real’ walls.”

Types of Exhibits and “The Big Idea”

The initial step in producing an online exhibit is to survey existing online exhibits. The purpose is two-fold. It is important to determine which styles can be incorporated into one’s project and it is also critical to identify and avoid the pitfalls of letting one’s project fall too far away from its primary objectives. Martin R. Kalfatovics’s Creating a

---

Winning Online Exhibition: A Guide for Libraries, Archives, and Museums is a defining guide for public historians forming online projects. Kalfatovic offers five types of exhibits that should be considered for online platforms. The first type of exhibit is aesthetic and organizes the exhibit around the beauty of objects. The second approach could be emotive, aiming to elicit certain emotions in the visitor. A third approach would be the evocative direction, which is designed to create a feeling of a complete atmosphere. Historians tend to gravitate to the fourth approach, the didactic approach that teaches the specifics about a topic. Lastly, a fifth approach is to create an entertaining exhibit purely for entertainment value. Fortunately, the availability of these different approaches does not mean that one’s exhibit will remain solely in one category. It is an important benchmark to choose a style but it is not impossible, for example, to construct a didactic approach that elicit emotions from the visitor.

The level of thought and planning that goes into devising a strong, complete main idea will determine the success of a specific type of exhibit. The main idea of the exhibit will be the working compass that guides the project and determines what is included and what is left out. This may seem simplistic on the surface, but when one is conducting extensive research there is a temptation to over note, overwork, and overextend the reach of the project. Museum Theorist Beverly Serrell coined the term “The Big Idea” to describe the process of creating a singular non-compound sentence that provides an “unambiguous focus” for the scope and purpose of an exhibition. This sentence becomes a reference for every other step of the project and serves to “clarify, limit, and focus the

---

7 Beverly Serrell, Exhibit Labels: An Interpretive Approach (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1996) 5-6.
nature and scope of an exhibition and provide a well-defined goal against which to rate its success.” This is essential no matter what the medium will be, whether one is executing an in-museum, traveling, or online exhibit. This idea will be the binding agent between the objects, storyline, and the visitor.

After determining the main idea, one can begin to formulate the thematic organization of their exhibit. The theme is the guiding statement that was established with the “The Big Idea.” If an object or text does not relate back to this theme then it should not be included in the exhibit. Sub-themes should break down how the information is organized and grouped. Sub-themes should follow the “rule of 7 plus or minus 2.” The general rule is that visitors can fit approximately seven items of information in their short-term memory at a time. If the main theme has too many sub-themes the visitors will fail to remember them. When considering the online platform, this idea of modularity will be all the more essential to the visitor. It is important to present smaller themes in place of a large complex topic.

The thematic structure will then serve to guide the storyline. A storyline should be created as a roadmap that refines the subject of the exhibition by identifying key topics to be addressed and includes how content in the exhibition might flow and be presented with its text and objects. Gary Edson and David Dean describe this process as more than just a “verbal blueprint” but a compound document that includes a narrative, outline, outline.

8 Ibid, 1.
9 George A. Miller, “The Magical No. Seven Minus Two: Some Limits on our Capacity for Processing Information,” Psychological Review, 63, 81.
and flowchart of information.\textsuperscript{11} This storyline can be established early on in the planning process, with aims to expand and change alongside the procuring of items and the drafting of interpretive materials. With this established, one can begin to collect the items needed.

Although there has been an emphasis, thus far, on the risk of producing an online collection versus an exhibit, it does not negate the fact one will be working with a collection or collections that hold “potential values as examples, as reference material, or as objects of aesthetic or educational importance.”\textsuperscript{12} There has been a transformation over time from museums serving as an all-encompassing repository to an institution that seeks out artifacts that support the institution’s mission. Collections that have a strong focus are a good source for exhibit planning. However, drawing from another institution’s collection requires the curator to ensure they are providing something new, provoking, and valuable.

Another issue to consider when drawing from other collections is that one must secure all permissions before displaying any public items. Objects found online are not necessarily legal or free to publish. Copyright law, intellectual property, and use and reuse terms can vary from collection to collection and can be applied in a different capacity for certain items. Consequently, a strong knowledge of copyright requirements is needed early in the planning stages. It is essential to document which items have copyright holders and which can be used for fair use. Copyright in unpublished works

---

\textsuperscript{12} G. Ellis Burcaw, \textit{Introduction to Museum Work} (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1997), 14.
lasts for the life of the author plus 70 years. Works published before 1923 in the United States are considered public domain.

A “fair use” document is a document that is available for public use and does not have to ask permission to use. There are four considerations in determining the fair use of an item including the purpose and character of use, nature of the copyrighted work, amount and substantiality of the portion used of the work, and the effect of the use upon the potential market or value of the copyrighted work. Government records are commonly part of the public domain and make a good starting point for research. It is highly recommended to get familiar and acquainted with the staff at the collections in use in order to see what items can be employed in the public domain. One may have to be in contact with various collections specialists within the same institution. It is also imperative to note that even if a collection is open to researchers, a portion of their materials may be restricted unless purchased. Finding these details out early in the planning process can help determine an overall budget.

Copyright law is not intended to be restraining. It is a balancing act between the owner’s rights and the rights of the user.\textsuperscript{13} There are a few examples where online exhibits are employing Creative Common licensing. This licensing provides a blanket license for reuse. The British Library Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts operates under the Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain Dedication. This type of reuse policy is a liberal one, but the library asks that anyone downloading the images refrain from cropping or modifying the images and that they credit the source of the

material. The Smithsonian Institution also provides many images under Creative
Common License as long as they are for non-commercial purposes.

Writing for a Museum Audience

Not every exhibit is catered to every visitor. Therefore, a curator must determine
their audience. The variety of types of museums and exhibits is mirrored in the great
range of visitor demographics. In order to move a project forward, one must know what
type of visitor they are trying to reach. Ideally, one should be able to visit an exhibit, read
the text provided, and be able to determine what type of audience will connect most to
the text. There are two methods for writing to different levels of attention and knowledge.
The first method is to target a specific audience and hope that those outside of the target
audience will still connect to the text in some capacity. A second method is to write
something for every type of visitor audience ranging from the casual visitor to the expert
visitor. Serrell’s research shows that visitors tend to be more similar than dissimilar but
when considering differences in gender, race, and education there are general guidelines
to follow. For example, writing text between the 6th and 8th grade education levels can
ensure that the text is not too difficult for a general audience.

Jean-Marc Blais’ “Creating Exhibitions for Learning” looks at how people learn
and how a person’s preferred style of learning will influence how the curator develops
“display techniques which respond to those styles.”14 He focuses on the cognitive,
affective, and kinetic learning types and their preferences. Cognitive learners thrive on

14 Jean-Marc Blais, “Creating Exhibitions for Learning,” in Museum & Gallery Education: A Manual of
Good Practice, ed. Hazel Moffat and Vickey Woodlard (Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press, 1999), 32.
factual knowledge; affective learners gain from their environment; kinetic learners desire a physical interaction with their learning. Marilyn Hood looks at the broader motivations that influence an adult’s decision making in regards to their leisure time. Hood argues that prior experiences, new challenges, and new learning opportunities can motivate a visitor to choose to spend their free time at a museum over other leisurely activities. Curators must continually refer to visitor learning style and motivation in order to gauge their materials and their effectiveness with a target audience.

An interesting nuance in working online is that while one may choose an audience, many times your audience will choose you—and it may not be the audience you had anticipated. The interconnectivity of the web presents an opportunity for a visitor to find a website while searching for a similar topic. Search engines are designed to pull from keywords and topics. Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig argue that building a digital market has similar goals to non-digital markets. The primary objective is to get the visitor in the metaphorical door. However, the success of the project will put more weight into how well the website is being used versus how many visit it. Amassing a large number of visitors should be of little comfort if no one is gaining from the experience.

There are a plethora of reading materials that discuss the lack of minority representation within museum exhibitions, but institutions are equally at risk for ignoring diverse constituencies in their audience. Online exhibits already make the vast presumption that the visitor holds certain technical skills. Exhibit design should consider

---

the varying levels of computer literacy in order to make the website approachable. Also, in an effort of inclusion, one should review disability discrimination acts in order to ensure they are providing equal access to everyone. Large point size text and graphics with simple captions can take the place of lengthy text, which assists the partially sighted. The World Wide Web Consortium (W3C) suggests testing color contrasts for hyperlinks because many people have color deficiencies. Lastly, closed captioning should be available for all audiovisual materials for the hearing impaired.

**Interpretation**

Public historians must demonstrate an understanding of historical ideas and relationships and make informed judgments of materials and their usefulness as evidence. This training underpins the exercise of interpretation in which the curator guides the visitor through a narrative that is, unavoidably, imbued with his or her own arguments and justifications based on the evidence collected. The National Association for Interpretation defines interpretation as a “mission-based communication process that forges emotional and intellectual connections between the interests of the audience and the meanings inherent in the resource.” It is a great responsibility when considering how much trust the visitor invests in the authoritative voice of the curator. Curators of historical exhibits have a greater interpretive responsibility than science or art exhibits because they deal largely in subjective and sometimes controversial matters.

---

According to Gianna Moscardo’s *Designing Interpretive Signs: Principles in Practice*, all effective interpretation adheres to six basic principles:

1. Makes a personal connection with, or is relevant to, the intended audience.
2. Provides or encourages novel and varied experience.
3. Is organized with clear, easy-to-follow structures.
4. Is based on a theme.
5. Engages visitors in the learning experience and encourages them to take control of their own learning.
6. Demonstrates an understanding of, and respect for, the audience.

Interpretation should take into account all of the research that had been conducted on the topic, storyline, and audience to create an interpretive planning strategy. The first part of planning should be to consider what one is interpreting and what is exceptional about a specific collection that merits analysis.

The next step is to state objectives for interpretation that are specific, measurable, and achievable. The Scottish Natural Heritage Museum’s *Interpretive Planning Guide* distinguishes four discernible objectives: Learning objectives, Emotional objectives, Behavioral objectives, and Promotional objectives. These objectives states what the visitors should *know*, what the visitors should *feel*, what the visitors should *do*, and how the exhibit should *represent the organization*. For example, the United States Holocaust Museum provides interpretation that advances the knowledge of the “state-sponsored systematic persecution and annihilation of European Jewry by Nazi Germany and its Collaborators between 1933 and 1945.” It hopes that the visitor will feel empathy for the

---

lives lost and to take action by reflecting, “upon the moral and spiritual questions raised by the events of the Holocaust as well as their own responsibilities as citizens of democracy.” The organization promotes itself as an institution that exists to broaden the public understanding of the Holocaust. It is apparent that they clearly outlined their objectives and fulfilled their mission by establishing strong objectives.

Determining these objectives will aid in deciding what interpretation will be relevant to the audience. At this point, one can observe the themes that they have chosen to see if they are going to be helpful in communicating the larger message. Much of the process of exhibit planning is re-evaluation. Re-evaluating and refining the different themes will assist in assuring that the curator will be able to tell the stories they want to tell when the time comes.

**Museum Labels**

After determining the exhibit type and formulating “The Big Idea,” one is equipped with the markers needed to conduct research into the subject matter and collection choices. At this point, one knows what to say but “knowing how to say it remains a challenge that requires, in part, developing an effective style.” Label writing is the process of combining the research conducted and the interpretations created. The purpose of a museum label is to aid the visitor in connecting with the object they are observing. Depending on the nature of the exhibit, the label may only exist to provide basic identifying information. This is common in natural history and art exhibits.

---

However, writing labels for historical exhibits requires additional levels of interpretation to provide connection points between the materials and the thematic framework of the exhibit. A successful label will be based on the chosen themes and reinforce the main point.

There are certain factors that affect a label’s ability to attract a visitor, keep their attention, and convey a message. Labels should be brief. Visitors prefer to read shorter texts. Psychologists Stephen Bitgood and Donald Patterson conducted a study in 1993 evaluating interpretive signs and their influence on visitor interest. Bitgood and Patterson visited the Anniston Museum of Natural History in Alabama and started by taking a large panel of 150 words and breaking it into three smaller panels. Visitors were less likely to stop and read the larger panel but the smaller panels were effective in grabbing the visitor’s attention and keeping it. The study concluded that visitors would be attracted to a sign based on fewer numbers of words.

Other researchers have come to similar conclusions and although there is variance in what researchers consider optimal, there is a common consensus that writing in short sentences and paragraphs is most effective. 22 The visitor will better understand the label content if it is short, clear, and avoids jargon. Jargon introduces technical terms that are unfamiliar to the visitor. Reducing the length of text will not be helpful if the reader is challenged to decipher unfamiliar terms. However, just as important as it is to be brief one must never “sacrifice clarity for economy.”23 A label must anticipate any questions

22 The general maximum for larger panels is 150 words. Smaller panels can be composed of 50 word paragraphs.
the visitor may have, and it is acceptable to elaborate on portions of the exhibit that may require more explanation than others.

The physical features of the label will attract the visitor; the content must also be interesting enough to keep their attention. Beverly Serrell’s *Exhibit Labels: An Interpretive Approach* provides an exceptional guide for engaging the interest of the visitor. Her work asks to what extent visitors were actually paying attention to the subject and provides suggestions for how to make labels interesting and integrate them into the greater context of exhibit. Moscardo also provides helpful tips and suggests that one treat the interpretation as a “conversation between you and your visitor.”

Curators can execute a label in the first person, asking questions and engaging the visitor’s imagination through the use of context. Use of metaphors and analogies can assist the visitor in creating a personal connection to the material by having them draw comparisons between the subject matter and their own personal experiences.

Applying readability formulas to labels will point out areas that may be difficult for the visitor to comprehend. These readability formulas require the curator to count syllables and number of words contained in a label in order to calculate averages. These averages can be entered into a formula in order to determine the ease of reading. Two examples of readability tests are the Flesch Ease of Reading Test and the Gunning Fog Index. However, it is common for the same piece of text to result in vastly different

---

scores. Further, these tests measure readability but they do not “suggest what reading age is appropriate for a general audience.”

**Conclusion**

Having discussed types of exhibits and “The Big Idea,” it can be seen that a strong main idea is required to guide the process of working with collections, writing for a specific audience and creating interpretation through labels. While these are important matters, one must also plan how this information will be conveyed. Physical museum planning involves wall space, item orientation and label writing. Online exhibits have different considerations. The next section will shift from the more theoretical aspects of exhibit planning to focus on the technical issues that may arise.

---

Chapter 2
CREATING AN ONLINE EXHIBIT - APPLICATION

Creating the structure of a website is dependent on the level of the designer’s aptitude for information technology. It is important to understand the medium before proceeding. For a website to meet the most basic requirement for a general audience, it should be operational on both Windows and Macintosh interfaces. To further ensure availability, one must take into consideration that there are multiple browsers available (Internet Browser, Google, Safari, Firefox, etc.) and that websites do not always publish the same on different browsers. HTML (Hypertext Markup Language) is the structure of a website. It codes documents for the world wide web. Cascading style sheets (CSS) are the presentation. Basic training can help one command the properties of presentational information. The foundational knowledge required to work within HTML and CSS languages are simply font properties, text properties (word spacing, letter spacing, etc.), and boxing (margins and borders). Knowing how to control these elements will simplify a designer’s options and ability to make materials friendlier across browsers and on smartphone displays.

Price, capability, and usability will be the three most important criteria for evaluating hosting sites and software applications. Hosting can be considered the digital house for the exhibit. Unless one is privileged enough to have a relationship with an institution that can provide its own server or web hosting, one will have to be purchased. Popular hosting sites for educators and museum staff include Reclaim Hosting, Bluehost, Hostgator, and Academic AMIS. Certain sites on this list provide web hosting, but it is
important to note that they do not all include domain registration as well, which could come at an additional cost. A domain registration is needed to create a Uniform Resource Locator (URL) slug which will be the exact address of the website. Reclaim Hosting is the most suitable hosting site for designers working on a small budget, needing adequate memory, and requiring a simple administrative panel.

The number of digital images included in the exhibit will determine the size of the collection and the amount of space one will require from their hosting site. The advantage of creating a strong narrative focus is that one will only be posting the collection items that are supporting their argument. This will aid in keeping the collection relatively small because the aim is to only use items important to the exhibit. This will save space and data costs. Another factor that will influence space and data requirements is the quality of the images being showcased. Most online exhibits use high quality resolution in order to give the visitor as close to an authentic experience as possible. If the designer is in charge of reproducing images or digitizing collections, imaging software such as Adobe Photoshop and PDF (Portable Document Format) will need to be purchased to execute these tasks. Further, if necessary items have not been digitized additional costs will go into purchasing the necessary hardware for digitizing items including scanners, digital cameras, and copy stands.

The next technical consideration is the software application. If the hosting site is the home for the collection, the application can be considered the different rooms that are holding the information you need to display. The most popular open-source applications available at the moment are Collective Access, Omeka, and WordPress. Open source
applications are programs that make their source code available with a license, allowing users the rights to study, change, and distribute the software to anyone and for any purpose.

Collective Access is a free tool for managing and publishing museum and archival collections. It has a powerful cataloguing and data management application that supports the organization of large-scale collections. This program would benefit a large-scale exhibit. For example, the New Museum of Contemporary Arts utilized this tool and boasts over 8,000 items in their collection. Archives largely use this tool but it's not limited to just cataloguing. The Chicago Film Archives present full exhibits with streaming video and display labels. It is a sophisticated platform and user friendly, but it caters to institutions because it comes with expensive monthly hosting costs.

Omeka is another free, open-source application. This is a good option because one is not required to refer to outside web authoring software, such as Macromedia Dreamweaver. Macromedia Dreamweaver is a web-developing system that allows one to work on their web pages in a desktop publishing framework by generating HTML coding. It can be quite costly to purchase and is typically out of budget for smaller institutions. Omeka does not require additional software and it also has an exhibit builder that employs the Dublin Core Initiative Standards. DCI Standards is a vocabulary that ensures consistency in description. Additionally, Omeka has templates plugins available for a user-friendly experience, but it also offers the ability to manipulate and adjust code in order to customize the website to their preference. Lincoln at 200 is a collaborative project housed on Omeka, featuring the Newberry Library, The Chicago Museum, and
the Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission celebrations of Abraham Lincoln’s legacy. It employs simple pages and the exhibit builder plugins to bring two rich exhibits to the public. In comparison to the Chicago Film Archives, its strengths are its exhibit narratives and metadata organization. It may not have the same multimedia capabilities, but it tells a compelling story.

WordPress exhibits are on the rise, but it lacks the exhibit, cataloging, and metadata capabilities seen in Collective Access and Omeka. WordPress presents like a blog and does not have the same ease of use in creating exhibit sections. However, its user-friendly platform has not been lost on museum educators. The “Origins: The Birth and Rise of Chinese American Communities” in Los Angeles created a user-guided map for visitors to explore the San Gabriel Valley and to contribute suggestions for “landmarks, places and stories, shops, food and entertainment” pertaining to the Chinese American suburb.26 It transformed the typical map from a reference to an interactive and collaborative effort to locate new areas of interest. So, while it may not be suitable for a complete exhibit, it has components that make it viable as an interactive builder.

**Design Considerations**

Design is the foundation for communication. Design Theorist Brandon Jones argues that people process and organize information visually and if offered a large block

---

of information, they “won’t bother to read it.”²⁷ In order to cater to visual thinkers, one must learn the basics of visual communication and this starts with the exhibit format. The exhibit format will determine the complexity of the website and should be determined in tandem with the research topics’ themes and sub-themes. Sarah Goodwin Thiel’s *Build It Once: A Basic Primer for the Creation of Online Exhibits* argues that a simple hierarchy is suitable because it simplifies development and the web designer is free to “concentrate on the details that uniquely represent each collection.”²⁸ Thiel compares the organization of an online exhibit to that of a book. A book divides content into manageable parts so that the reader does not lose track of the book’s content.

Developing a simple format does not mean a static presentation. Different elements can be manipulated in order to ensure this hierarchy is communicating the proper information to the visitor. To begin, size is a tool to direct the visitor to track the page for order of importance. If size provides a correlation between design and importance, larger elements will be seen as more important and viewed first. Color options can be chosen selectively to correspond to the size of items to grab the visitor’s attention. Carliner argues for repetition in design because it assigns meaning to elements. For example, if the majority of text in a box is black print then one can always use a colored print for quotes to train the visitor to pay attention to the color print when it arises. Lastly, density and whitespace are a critical component for conveying relationship between items online. White space is the unused space around components and, similar to

coloring, it can be used to bring attention to particular components. With the proper planning and execution, the page can be spaced to demonstrate relationships between elements.

Thiel describes four basic levels a simple hierarchy must employ on a website. The home page is considered a level one page and should be the main page of the exhibit that is informative, giving background to the exhibit itself and providing the visitor with the pertinent overview of what is contained in the next levels. The second level pages are narrative pages. These pages provide the description of the theme of the area. Third level pages contain images and metadata, which is identifying information. The most important consideration in developing these levels is ensuring simple navigation movement indicators so that the visitor can move back and forth within levels and easily to and from previous sections. Mobility is critical so there should be a navigation bar and a return button on all items.

Label design has similar guidelines to exhibit design. Lynda Weinman devised the concept of the “browser-safe color palette” in order to ensure that colors will render on any system.²⁹ Color design influences the ease of reading and the ability to recognize significant information. Typography must also be considered early on in the design phase. It is all too easy for typographical designs to compete with the information being conveyed; the more complicated the font, the greater competition for the visitor’s audience. Spencer and Reynolds claim that many readers “find sans serif faces subjectively less legible than serif faces, but objective measures of reading performance

are often less conflicting and it cannot be said that one type style is significantly more or less legible than the other.” However, as a general rule, san serif fonts are widely accessible. One should not use more than three different fonts and should avoid using decorative fonts. Another suggestion is to use boldface and italics conservatively because they are more difficult to read on-screen. Finally, there should be a strong contrast between the label background and the font color.

Metadata is defined as “data about data” and its primary purpose is to assist in locating a resource. It is an important facet to integrate into one’s exhibit because it addresses information issues, copyright issues, and provides the foundation for tagging. There are types of metadata available are institutional, organizational, and item specific. Anne J. Gilliland breaks down the institutional metadata types in Introduction to Metadata beginning with administrative metadata. This is used in the managing and administering of collections and information resources and will cater to the acquisition information and museum criteria. Descriptive metadata identifies and describes collections and related information resources by ensuring there is a hyperlink relationship between resources, creators and users. Preservation metadata is related to the state of the documentations physical condition. Technical metadata is an important source for hardware and software documentation. Use metadata is related to the level and type of use of the collections.

---

The next category of metadata is organizational, which is website-specific. This level of metadata can be embedded in the pages of the exhibit in order to help search engines locate them. This should include Exhibit Title, Exhibit Slug, and Exhibit Credits. The Exhibit Title matches the subject title and will become the website URL for the exhibit. It can be abbreviated for the sake of ease but the main issues should be included for the sake of search engine optimization.

Finally, there is item-specific metadata. These provide a great amount of information about an item and ensure that appropriate meta tags can help unit any pre-existing relationships between items. The Dublin Core Metadata Initiative (DCMI) is an organization dedicated to the best practices of metadata procedure. They have composed the 15 most used metadata elements that are commonly used in museums: Title, Creator, Subject, Description, Publisher, Contributor, Date, Type, Format, Identifier, Source, Language, Relation, Coverage and Rights. Each element is optional and can be listed in a different order and repeated if necessary.

Web content should be “Short. Clear. To the point. Scannable.” The significant take-away is that web users utilize quick, easy platforms to procure information and the more time they have to spend scrolling for information, the less likely they are to remain on the page. Additionally, people are less likely to read text that is not in direct association with an object, therefore labels containing only text should be limited. Hyperlinking should also be employed with a critical eye and conservatively. If the visitor wants to continue the experience, they can use hyperlinking to find additional

---

information and resources at coordinated stopping points, preferably at the end of a section. One must also consider that the visitor is in control of their movements and they will typically jump around in a nonlinear fashion. For this reason, content and design are going to have to work together to ensure that a visitor can benefit from a visit to an online exhibit even if they do not visit every component of the exhibit.

Conclusion

John Cotton Dana provides an exceptional synopsis of what a good museum can do, from attracting to entertaining to promoting learning. Dana argues that people will only benefit if they choose to use it and “they will use it only if they know about it and only if attention is given to the interpretation of its possessions in terms they, the people, will understand.”33 If the curator is the leader, then the visitor must be able to follow along. This chapter provided helpful suggestions for working through issues commonly encountered by curators and designers. However, the previous discussions of theoretical and technical deliberations for an online exhibit are most useful if they take the visitor’s understanding and comprehension into consideration every step of the way. Henry James’ biography of Nathaniel Hawthorne observed that it takes a “great deal of history to produce a little literature.”34 In a similar strand, it takes an abundance of research to create an approachable narrative for the visitor. The next chapter will cover the

historiographical background and research that created the narratives included in the online exhibit.
Chapter 3

THE TARANAKI REGION AND THE NEW ZEALAND WARS: A HISTORIOGRAPHICAL ANALYSIS

This chapter will focus on the factors that made the Taranaki region one of the most contentious regions during the New Zealand Wars and why warfare took place instead of legal recourse. Interpretation of these wars must surpass emotionally driven reactions and analyze how both parties viewed treaty breaches and how the land disputes reflected back on other significant issues such as race relations and contests for authority. The primary cause of war was land disputes, but the most significant issues that prevailed during the wars to the present day has been the relationship between the Maori and Pakeha (European settlers), as established by the Treaty of Waitangi. The Taranaki Maori were not in rebellion against the British government, but responding to treaty breaches that demanded the loss of autonomy and land as a show of substantive sovereignty to the Queen of England. While the British Crown initially formulated the treaty to protect Maori interests, the resulting land purchases, campaigns, and confiscations were controversial and drew much attention to the region.

Before one can even begin to explore this conflict, this paper’s use of “The New Zealand War” title instead of the plethora of other titles in use from “The Maori Wars,” “The Native Wars, “The Land Wars, ” “The Anglo- Wars,” to the “Nga Pakange Whenua O Mua” must be explained. The author will use “The New Zealand Wars” to denote that the conflict took place in New Zealand and that the war was fought over territorial claims. Giving names to history, specifically history of warfare, is rarely without
contention because it implies “decisions being made about participants, localities, causes and even culpability.” In order to bring the reader into the history with minimal prejudices, the New Zealand War will be used henceforth.

Two dominant theories are exercised in the works presented in the following section. The first is the “fatal impact theory” that emphasizes a traditional view of indigenous societies. Applied to the New Zealand Wars, historians argued that the wars were fought over land alone, European dominance was inevitable, and the Maori were passive victims in this interaction. Over time the “acculturation theory” arose, which promoted a revisionist view to replace this theory. This view translated the series of events, as originating from more than just the issue of land, was not an inevitable, and viewed the Maori as active participants in their interactions. This historiographical review will begin with the historians operating under the traditional perspective and show the shift over time to a revisionist perspective that combated the issues of Eurocentric presentations of the Maori.

Historians have been grappling with the history of these wars since James Cowan’s debut of the groundbreaking book The New Zealand Wars in 1922. In 1918, there was concern within the New Zealand wartime Coalition Government that many veterans of the wars, both European and Maori, were passing away with their experiences unrecorded. The Department of Internal Affairs commissioned Cowan to work for two

35 Danny Keenan, Wars without End (New Zealand: Penguin NZ, 2009), 32.
36 These theories will be evaluated in greater detail in Chapter 4, where I will discuss the impacts of these approaches on the displaying of indigenous culture.
years to compile the history of these wars and this resulted in a detailed military account. This was significant because it included Maori records and worked to consult veterans for a better understanding of the battles from both perspectives. Cowan and his contemporaries argued that race relations between the Maori and Pakeha were among the most successful in British colonial pursuits.\textsuperscript{39} As historian James Belich put it, Cowan endorsed the mythology that New Zealand was a “paradise of racial harmony.”\textsuperscript{40}

Cowan was exceptional for his time, however, because he believes in the value of oral histories and argues for their saliency in historical writing. He emphasizes a strong oral narrative base, heavily relying on memory alone. This was problematic because he does not question the accuracies of these interviews and fails to consult official records. This results in large discrepancies between his narrative and the official accounts. However, this text was not intended to explore the causes of the war or present an historical argument. Furthermore, it was only a slight departure from the dominant traditional view that lacked any respect for Maori participants. His text emphasized the adventure and romance of the colonial experience while showing a considerable respect for the Maori warriors and claimed that the wars “ended with a strong mutual respect, tinged with a real affection, which would never have existed but for this ordeal by battle.”\textsuperscript{41}

Cowan represents a period of history that was largely influenced by Eurocentric views of race relations, and he was surrounded with Victorian propaganda and writings

\textsuperscript{39} Chris Hilliard, \textit{Island Stories: the writing of New Zealand history, 1920-1940} (Auckland: University of Auckland, 1997), 45.
\textsuperscript{40} The \textit{New Zealand Wars}, Tainui Stephens. Landmark Productions, 1998, Documentary.
that justified the actions of the British Crown. His close proximity to the events were reflected when he argues that “the inevitable shock of battle between the tribesman of Aotearoa and the white man who coveted and needed his surplus lands” was a basic feature of New Zealand history. The periodicals *Southern Cross, Taranaki Herald*, and the *Taranaki Punch* covered the Taranaki wars, and each encouraged the use of “racial discourses as a necessary affirmation of British cultural superiority.” Therefore, Cowan was operating under the fatal impact theory or traditional view that characterized Maori as passive victims of European superiority.

Keith Sinclair’s *The Origins of the Maori Wars*, published in 1957, was a continuance of the traditional view, analyzing the role The New Zealand Company’s (NZ Company) settlements played in the First Taranaki War. His central argument contends that land was the solitary cause of war. He provides a comprehensive history of the period of early contact and the Maori national movements that developed in response to imperial expansion. Unlike Cowan, Sinclair provides an argument for the causes of war and states they could be traced back to the initial purchases made by the NZ Company. However, he fails to escape the Eurocentric view that these settlements were inevitable and that they worked with the humanitarian movement to civilize the Maori. According to Sinclair, the Pakeha’s superior technology was bound to overtake the Maori and their cultural presence; thereafter, the Maori would be assimilated into the dominant society. Additionally, he considered the transformations accompanying new legislation and land

---

42 Ibid, 3. (emphasis mine)
confiscations to be positive transformations that the Maori reacted to in an irrational capacity.

Historians departed from the fatal impact theory in the post World War II era and gave the Maori a new role in the New Zealand Wars. The new revisionist view focused on the Acculturation Theory, which argued that the Maori were capable decision makers that were not overrun or dominated, but adjusted to large changes by adapting within their own cultural framework. James Belich wrote *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* in 1986. This work contests the traditional view and focuses its efforts on showing how racial discourse distorted the acknowledgement of the Maori as capable fighters and of a tribal community with established hierarchies strongly connected to their land. Belich carefully navigated the propaganda and battle correspondence to reveal that the Maori won the majority of battles in the 1860s. Further, their leaders employed sophisticated leadership that several British leaders applauded in their correspondence with the Crown.

Danny Keenan’s *Wars without End* provides one of the most critical departures from the traditional view. Keenan argues that it is not sufficient to state that the Maori were only fighting over land. His work explores the concept of *Rangatiratanga* (chieftainship), showing that *mana* (the contest for power) is inseparable from land. Keenan’s approach explores Maori culture and demonstrates that land was the cornerstone of Maori knowledge because religion, social organization, and balances of power stem from the land. While Belich focuses on Maori leadership and forces, Keenan explores the concepts of *Tino rangatiratanga* (chiefly powers) in order to show that not
only were the Maori accomplished fighters, they were fighting for complex issues that could not be reduced to hectares of land.

Historians Michael Belgrave and Vaughn Wood represent the most recent scholarship on the New Zealand Wars. They question the origination of the wars themselves to determine if the wars derived from colonists’ land hunger or whether myths of empire spurred on the colonial government’s aggressive confiscation policies. These surveys highlight the role that colonial propaganda played both in England and New Zealand to justify land confiscations and portray the Maori as inadequate cultivators of the land. Alternatively, Lachy Paterson emphasizes the Maori perspective and argued the origins of the war were connected to the Maori maintenance of territorial autonomy. Each of these works argued for Maori agency in the face of social, political, and economic change by articulating their decision-making capabilities and adaptability to great change in the nineteenth century.

This brief historiographical overview demonstrates that the process of conveying this history has been rife with issues of its own but there has been a drastic shift from the traditional to revisionist interpretation. In the last decade alone, there have been a plethora of activity over this period and while the same general sources are consulted in this paper, “if historical research is to yield greater understanding and not simply more facts, new hypotheses must be advanced from time to time.” The following sections will address the research that will underpin the exhibit sections in Taranaki in the New

---

Zealand Wars: 1820-1881 and strive to advance the historical scholarship concerning Taranaki.

**Balance of Power**

Taranaki is a region on the North Island of New Zealand that rests on the southwest coast. In the thirteenth century, East Polynesians migrated to the New Zealand islands and began to establish their own social organizations and lifestyles. Tribes lived in whanau (extended families) determined by their iwi (tribe) and any hapu (sub-tribe) they may associate with which was largely determined by their ancestry. A common tupuna (ancestor) unites eight iwi in the Taranaki region. These iwi are the Ngati Tama, Ngati Mutunga, Ngati Maru, Te Ati Awa, Taranaki, Nga Ruahine, Ngati Ruanui, and the Nga Rauru Kiitahi. There was no singular Maori leader in these organizations. Each whanau had a chief, these leadership roles were fluid and ever changing because the role of chief was contingent on mana and if an individual lost his mana, another chief would rise in his place.

The centrally located stratovolcano in Taranaki that culminates in a 2,518-meter peak is a unifying force for the iwi. Maori legend says the mount was originally named Pukeonaki and it resided with the other mounts named Tongariro, Ruapehu, and Ngauruhoe in central North Island. He fell in love with a maiden mountain named Pihanga but she was already betrothed to Tongariro. Tongariro and Pukeonaki fought and

---

45 It is important to note that these are considered “Crown recognized” iwi which means that there is even more variation within the social organization than is officially recognized. The variations between iwi will be recognized in this chapter because it is insufficient to use the term ‘Taranaki’ to address each and every iwi when they had different levels of participation throughout the wars.
Pukeonaki was exiled to where he now rests on the western coast. The Maori refer to the mount as Taranaki based on the ancestry of Rua Taranaki, but the Pakeha referred to the mount as Egmont, on the premise that James Cook discovered the mount and titled it. It was not until 1985 that the National New Zealand Geographic Board restored the official name to Mount Taranaki.\(^{46}\) The extreme backlash to this action resulted in a present-day agreement to use Taranaki and Egmont equally and interchangeably. The mount is a widely recognized iconic landmark and its presence permeates a majority of the paintings, carving, and cartoons depicting the region. Paintings of fighting depicted in the New Zealand Wars are easily identified when this mount is present in the background.

The iwi had occupied the bush land at the base of the mount for decades before European contact but they themselves participated in inter-tribal warfare with iwi from Waikato to Auckland.\(^{47}\) The history of warfare between Waikato and Taranaki was predicated on land and slavery. Ngati Whatua, Te Roroa, Ngapuhi and Ngati Toa would raid the region with the intention of taking sections of land and capturing slaves for their own communities. Introduction of the musket in the 1810s aided these iwi from the north in battles from 1821 to 1834 that resulted in members of the Taranaki and Te Ati Awa iwi being taken as prisoners of war to Waikato. Deemed the “Musket Wars,” these battles played a crucial point in later accusations that various iwi in Taranaki were absent from their land. The concept of absenteeism would be discussed in regards to land claims.

because the colonial government relied on their own concepts of land ownership in land claim evaluations.

The first Europeans to arrive were missionaries, traders, and whalers.\(^{48}\) The Maori were dominant in population, and there was regional variation in contact during this time. While it would be too generous to say the Maori-Pakeha relations were without issue, the immediate impact of European arrival was cooperative enough to establish commercial shipping networks and local bartering.\(^{49}\) Increasing social contact led to intermarriage and some individuals were deemed “Pakeha-Maori” for adopting the lifestyle. The balance of power could be described as a partnership of interdependence where each party desired things from one another and found that conflict disrupted the ability to trade. Intertribal conflict occurred during the Musket Wars because the musket, or *te pu*, created an advantage for one tribe over another that did not possess arms. Two decades of fighting in the 1820s and 1830s proved that traditional weapons were no longer enough to gain *mana*. Therefore, Maori required continued contact with Pakeha in order to build up their arms. The gun trade facilitated a working relationship that accounts for the period of peace previous to the annexing of the islands.

The 1840s would see an unprecedented tide of migration from Britain to the region. The precedent of transient visitors would be subverted when a surplus of workers and emigrant ships began arriving with the intention of settling a community. The New Zealand Company (NZ Company) was a private association of businessmen looking to purchase land cheaply. They quickly made purchases between 1839 and 1840, but these

\(^{49}\) Knight, *The New Zealand Wars 1820-71*, 7.
purchases would later come under review. Colonel William Wakefield was a land purchase agent who was fighting against the clock to make private purchases before Britain could intervene in New Zealand and exercise control. However, this migration was not solely Pakeha. At the time, an increasing number of Maori had returned from their captivity in Waikato. This established regular contact between the Taranaki iwi and incoming Pakeha settlers.

The pace of acculturation between 1834 and 1839 would be rapid, as more and more settlements were erected. The most prominent example of acculturation was the acceptance of Christianity. The historical interpretation of this phenomenon has changed over time. Harrison Wright held the Fatal Impact view and argued that the Maori were suffering from a lack of cultural identity. In the face of depopulation, they turned to Christianity. John Owens had a Eurocentric view and argued that missionaries became role models for the Maori to emulate because they were so effective in their mission. In the late 1960s Judith Binney began to argue that the Maori did not accept Christianity for Eurocentric reasons; instead, Maori saw the benefit of incorporating Christianity into their religious structures for mana. Belich focused on Maori agency, claiming that conversion practices served to reflect Maori adaptability and openness to new beliefs.

Around 1840, Maori dominance rested in their numbers and their extensive knowledge of the land and its resources. They also exhibited military dominance. The lack of a formal army meant that every Maori was trained to be a warrior. Their primary purpose was to gain mana. The concept of utu (reciprocal action to a wrong) led to

---

fighting for the sake of reprisal. Fighting was an accepted form of asserting authority. However, tribal organization and inter-tribal rivalries meant that they were not a unified force and when Pakeha began arriving in greater numbers, it would be easier for them to control local Maori tribes.

Treaties, Purchases, and Rising Tensions

In the first half of the nineteenth century, the British Crown demonstrated an increasing interest in New Zealand’s resources and various factors contributed to the need for a legal framework. These factors included the need to be recognized in international waters, to assert control over land purchases, and to protect Maori interests from British settlements. Additionally, France’s interest in New Zealand concerned the Maori tribes and sped up Britain’s interest in annexing New Zealand as its own colony. In the first-ever correspondence between the Maori and the British crown, they state that they have “heard that the tribe of Marion [the French] is at hand coming to take our land, and therefore we pray thee to become our friend and guardian of these islands…lest strangers should come and take away our land.”\(^5^1\) James Busby was appointed as British Resident in 1833 with the mission of helping New Zealand gain international status.

There was no political unity in the Maori social organization at this time. They lived in territorial-based communities led by their respective chiefs. Busby established a formal link between the Maori and British when he persuaded a group of chiefs to pick a national flag and declare their sovereignty. His aim was to equip New Zealand-built ships

---

\(^{51}\) James Busby, “British Resident's Despatches, ” *Despatch* No. 70, 3 November 1835.
with an internationally recognized flag and he hoped to delay any recognition of Frenchman Baron de Thierry's land claims in Hokianga. In 1835, the United Tribes of New Zealand was created when 34 North Island chiefs congregated at Waitangi to sign the _He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tirene_ or Declaration of Independence. The _rangatira_ (chiefs) signed the document while also thanking the King for acknowledging their flag. The Maori respected the significance of British flags as “symbols of sovereignty and allegiance.”

The document established King William IV of Britain as the “Parent” and “Protector” of the independent State and stated that “all sovereign power and authority within the territories of the United Tribes of New Zealand is hereby declared to reside entirely and exclusively in the hereditary chiefs and heads of tribes in their collective capacity.” It can be argued that when the British government recognized Maori independence, they were acknowledging the idea of a Maori New Zealand that was welcoming Pakeha settlers. Political pressure would shift the agenda to forming a British state with Maori citizens.

The rise of the humanitarian discourse at the time in Britain cultivated a sentiment that there was a responsibility to protect the Maoris from the rise of the settlements. From 1838 to 1839 the N Z Company was surveying land and conducting purchases. They were considered outside of British sovereignty due to the lack of British legal authority. The leaders of the time chose a humanitarian approach that emphasized Christian conversion and cultural reform to civilize the indigenous populations and ensure their

---

52 Knight, _The New Zealand wars 1820-71_, 20.
53 Busby, “British Resident's Despatches,” _Despatch No. 70, 3 November 1835_.

success in adapting to settler society.\textsuperscript{54} There was a common assumption among settlers that ‘whites’ were superior to the Maori. Settlers felt threatened by Maori tradition and argued that they should abide by British authority. Further failure to understand Maori culture and migration patterns created a consensus among settlers that Maori were not properly using the land on which they were residing.

William Hobson, initially a British Representative and later on, the first Lieutenant-Governor of New Zealand, was tasked with creating a treaty that ensured Britain had legal authority to regulate the NZ Company and began to resolve the unrest among settlers concerning land ownership regulations. Hobson was not the ideal candidate for the position. He had spent very little time in New Zealand and lacked a basic knowledge of Maori culture or language. He also lacked any legal background. Under instructions from Lord Normanby, British Secretary of State for the Colonies, Hobson was to work with the missionaries in garnering support for the treaty. In addition, he was to decide how much land they should gain sovereignty over and seek consent from the Confederation of Chiefs in order to pass sovereignty to the Crown.

The British Crown had expectations of what the treaty document should establish. They were under the impression that it should give them complete control over land and land-related issues. From their point of view, it was also essential that the document ensured that the Maoris were agreeing to an unspecified number of new British settlers. There could not be a quantitative limit on this expectation. Lastly, they expected to exercise law and order on both Maori and Pakeha settler alike. The Crown needed to

establish legal authority in order to assert a pre-emptive right to purchase Maori land. This would ensure that the NZ Company could no longer purchase land directly from the Maori because the Crown would be the only authority that could oversee these transactions.

Hobson received positive instructions with regards to the treatment of the Maoris. He was to deal openly and fairly with them while recognizing their indigenous rights. He was also to exhibit the humanitarian spirit and protect the Maoris from settler and trader exploitation. In short, Hobson was required to obtain the “free and intelligent consent of the natives” before New Zealand could be annexed.\(^{55}\) The transfer of power was only to be taken with the full understanding of the chiefs that they must affirm “the recognition of Her Majesty’s sovereign authority over the whole or any part of those islands which they may be willing to place under Her Majesty’s dominion.”\(^{56}\) This document differed greatly from the Declaration of Independence that vested all power in the tribal chiefs.

Hobson wrote The Treaty of Waitangi and *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* to establish various British objectives. These two titles are not interchangeable but represent two different documents, an English version and a Maori version. Hobson, James Freeman, and James Busby wrote the Treaty of Waitangi. They were tasked with writing the document in a very short amount of time. Henry Williams and his son Edward Williams translated the draft into the Maori version *Te Tiriti o Waitangi* overnight. Notably, they were not fluent in the official Maori language, *Te Reo Maori*, and did not translate the


\(^{56}\) *Parliamentary Debates: Official Report...Session of the ...Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, 92.
document word for word. This resulted in significant differences between both
documents. To begin, in Article 1 of both documents there lacks consensus concerning
the concept of sovereignty. The English version stated that Britain was to have
substantive or absolute sovereignty and authority to rule. The Maori version used the
term *kawanatanga*, which translated to nominal sovereignty. This stark difference in
understanding meant that Maori chiefs were not agreeing to the substantive sovereignty
the British Crown was seeking.

In Article 2 of the Maori version, the term *rangatiratanga* was used incorrectly
because it did not directly translate to “possession of lands.”\(^{57}\) When Williams drafted the
treaty and stated that they would have “unqualified exercise” of *rangatiratanga*, he was
unknowingly affirming that the term used was a combination of land and sovereignty and
inseparable from *mana*.\(^{58}\) If they were to have control over their lands, they were to have
sovereignty as well. This meant that they did not believe they were transferring power to
the Queen. They saw that they were still in power of lands and would acknowledge, at
most, *hokonga* or bartering of land. The Maori did not believe that land could be
permanently owned, due to the continual changes within the social organizations that
could determine power and land ownership. The term *taonga katoa* was another example
where this term meant more than “all precious things.”\(^{59}\) They believed that the British
were recognizing their sovereignty when they let them retain items that would build their
*mana*.

\(^{58}\) Ibid, 16.
\(^{59}\) Ibid, 16.
The British officials and Pakeha settlers would go on to emphasize Article 1 of the English version because it gave them sole authority to rule in New Zealand. They downplayed parts of Article 2 where it stated that the Maori could hold on to anything they wished. On the other hand, the Maori emphasized Article 2 of Te Tiriti o Waitangi because it guaranteed Tino Rangatiratanga, the recognition of their full chiefly powers and mana. They did not perceive Article 1 to be addressing any real power.

Initially, many Maori viewed the influx of Pakeha as a positive development. The increase of access to Pakeha was a positive influence and provided the Maori opportunities for increasing their mana. They saw the potential in this treaty as an extension of the earlier declaration. The meeting to go over the treaty took place on February 6, 1840 at James Busby’s house. The chiefs that attended went over the proposal for five hours. They were looking at the Maori version, and few chiefs actually read the document and depended on an oral explanation from missionaries present. During the initial signing of the treaty, 43 chiefs drew their moko (signature) on the Maori version. Williams, Thomas Bunbury, and James Fedarb continued the campaign to gather signatures. There were nine sheets of signatures with 540 signatures altogether. Yet, eight of these sheets were the Maori version and only one was in English, meaning that only 39 signatures were collected for the English version. Most importantly, many chiefs never signed the documents, many were not given the opportunity, and no chiefs from the Taranaki region were present at the treaty signings. Hobson did not see a need for unanimous Maori consent; therefore, their official entry into the British Empire was completed with only partial Maori consent. In his reports to Britain he did not mention
that there were two versions of the treaty and that they had differing meanings. He also failed to mention that the treaty was not universal. In the *London Gazette* of 2 October 1840, the British government formally announced acceptance of the treaty and its newly declared assertion of sovereignty over New Zealand.

After the Treaty of Waitangi was signed, tensions increased among Taranaki iwi and the Pakeha residing in the New Plymouth settlement. The New Plymouth settlement was located on blocks of land the NZ Company had purchased from the Taranaki and Te Ati Awa iwi. Settlers were unhappy because they were mostly inland, lacked a natural harbor, and wanted to expand to the Waitara River where the land was more optimal for farming. Tensions rose when Governor Robert Fitzroy overthrew the validity of the purchase, arguing the negotiations had not occurred with Maori owners. Fitzroy ruled that the negotiations were null because they occurred with the local missionaries of the region and not the iwi themselves. Eventually there was an agreement to transfer the FitzRoy block at New Plymouth. However, this was a short-term fix and not a permanent solution. The colonial government would continue to be pressured to buy more land.

The Maori were also experiencing a loss of *mana* and economic decline due to new government ordinances stating that land not occupied or worked on was to belong to the Crown. Land acquisition practices were increasingly suspect, considering that the Maori did not conduct individual land selling but conferred with their community as a whole. In 1853, a group of North Island Maori met in order to address the increasing Pakeha pressures and advances. Considerable thought and discussion was needed before Potatau Te Wherowhero of the Ngati Mahuta would agree to take the role of King. The
*Kingitanga* (King Movement) was a pan-tribal movement that sought to maintain traditional land possession and reassert the rights of chieftainship. The Maori saw this as an opportunity to form a relationship between two authority figures with the “*[Maori] King on his piece; the Queen on her piece, God over both; and Love binding them to each other.*”\(^{60}\) Overseas, the British government did not initially see this as an issue, discussing how “it may be expedient that the laws, customs and usages of the aboriginal or native Inhabitants of New Zealand, so far as they are not repugnant to the general principles of Humanity, should for the present be maintained for the government of themselves, in all their Relations and Dealings with each other.”\(^{61}\) There were clear differences between the Crown government and the Colonial government in regards to the Maori forming their own political entities.

Settler perception varied but most saw the *Kingitanga* as a land-holding movement. They did not see this movement as protecting “the tribes in the exercise of their admitted right to retain their lands, but to coerce those who are desirous of selling.”\(^{62}\) This reinforces the notion that Maori culture was misunderstood at the time and the intricate ties between land and leadership ignored. In order to restore *mana*, chiefs argued against further individual sales that were not discussed as a community. The Board of Native Affairs questioned if a native had a “strictly individual right to any particular portion of land, independent and clear of the tribal right over it” and quickly concluded that custom dictated a communal response.\(^{63}\) Therefore, the King movement

---

\(^{60}\) Quoted by ‘Curiosus,’ *New Zealander*, 3 July 1858.

\(^{61}\) *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. 21, 147.

\(^{62}\) C W Richmond to T Richmond, 27 August 1855, The Richmond Atkinson Papers, Vol. 1, 177.

was not attempting to regulate land selling policies, but hoped a centralized authority would be serve to reassert traditional laws and customs.

At this juncture Governor Thomas Browne was brought in to replace Fitzroy and declared that the formation of the *Kingitanga* as a challenge to the Queen’s authority and sovereignty. The *Kingitanga* was seen as incompatible with Article 1 of the Treaty of Waitangi, which demanded sovereignty to the Queen. In response, Browne asked for Imperial troops to be stationed at New Plymouth. He was told they would only supply New Plymouth with troops if he raised a volunteer corp. All males between the ages of 16 to 60 were ordered to join under the penalty of five pounds. They were volunteers on paper until 1858, when the Taranaki Volunteer Rifle Corp was officially formed. New Plymouth was changed into a garrison town.

The immanency of conflict revolved around a land purchase near the Waitara River. Chief Te Teira offered to sell Brown a block of land, known as the Pekapeka Block. Supreme Chief Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake had been absent from the block for many years but returned to find that Browne had ordered a survey of land for settlement purposes. Wiremu Kingi argued that this was his land he had won in conquest and he refused to sell it. Browne did not believe Wiremu Kingi could refuse to allow an individual Maori to sell land he resided on. Wiremu Kingi sent supporters and family members to perform a passive sit-in and interrupt the survey. When the survey could not be completed, Browne declared martial law. The British Parliament supported Browne’s decision stating:

“The opposition of Wiremu Kingi to the sale of Teira's land has been uniformly based…on his pretensions as chief, to control the sale of all lands belonging to his
They pleaded with Browne not to make any peace agreements with the Maori that would compromise the Queen’s supremacy and the only other alternative would be war.

The First Taranaki War

On the eve of the New Zealand wars of the 1860s, Te Ati Awa leader Wiremu Kingi asked Browne to “remember that the Maoris and Pakehas are living quietly upon their pieces of land, and therefore do not you disturb them.” Browne’s correspondence with Kingi showed that he underestimated the effect that this transaction had on the Te Ati Awa and Waikato Kingites. He felt that the Maori had to be taught a “sharp” lesson and that he could only assert British sovereignty by denying Wiremu Kingi autonomous authority.

Military Commander Colonel Charles Gold set up camp on the disputed land at the mouth of the Waitara River. Gold’s men consisted of the 40th and 65th Regiment. They built a large redoubt, which was a temporary for system that consisted of a fort system reliant on a main defensive line. In response, Wiremu Kingi erected the Te Puketakauere and Onuku Kaitara Pas. They were adjacent to one another. Pas are fortified settlements that the Maori built that provided defensive measures and storage. They were often built in times of peace due to the labor-intensive task of digging contour lines and trenches to produce defensive perimeters around high platforms for fighting.

---

65 Kingi to Governor, 25 April 1859, *AJHR*, 1860, D-3, pg. 6
They looked simple from the outside but these defensive structures were complex, resulting in an impenetrable exterior with a sophisticated stockade interior.

The first shots were fired on Wiremu Kingi Te Kohia Pa, which was nicknamed the “L” shaped Pa due to its odd formation. In a show of aggressive offensive action, approximately 500 troops proceeded to bombard the pa. However, they quickly found that the pa had been abandoned. This would be a signature strategy of the Maori, to fight during the day and abandon the pas at night. They had also adapted their pas to serve short-term objectives in battle and they “saw no shame in abandoning it” when those objectives were met. The British soldiers initially fought by inflicting heavy artillery bombardment, followed by soldier assaults. This strategy was costly but a repeated strategy during the Taranaki campaign.

The first official battle occurred at Waireka on the 28th of March. British troops and local militia attempted to rescue settlers trapped to the south of Waitara. They were successful in liberating the settlers and British reports testified that “cart-loads” of bodies had to be removed from the beach. However, this became the first of many fabricated victories, what Belich considered a “paper victory.” There was an attempt to increase the death toll while also claiming victories when the troops were actually bombarding empty pas. Exaggerated numbers coupled with accusations that the Maori had poor leadership made settlers believe that this war would be brief.

---

67 Knight, *The New Zealand Wars 1820-72 (Men-At-Arms)*, 16.
The Maori began to raid the settlements, which forced British troops to stay back and protect settlers. However, the raids turned into attacks, and in March five settlers were ambushed and killed in Omata. The British retaliated on Te Ati Awa villages at Manukorihi and Tikorangi. Originally, Wiremu Kingi was against the idea of the Kingitanga movement but he saw the utility in recruiting allies and he sent a delegation of Te Ati Awa, Taranaki, and Ngati Ruanui to tender their “allegiance to King Potatau.”\(^6^9\) Te Ati Awa had approximately 200 to 300 fighters and the joining Waikato Kingites provided an additional 700 fighters. These men could only provide part-time support because they were constantly being drawn back to their fields and families. The British troops had a great advantage because they were there solely to fight. They were committed to their orders full-time whereas Maori warriors had to split their focus between the battlefront and their home responsibilities.

The battle of Puketakauere involved Ngati Maniapoto tau, Te Ati Awa, Taranaki, Nga Rauru, and Whanganui, an outstanding demonstration of widespread unity among iwi who had previously been disposed to inter-tribal discontent. Additionally, this battle demonstrated that this was not strictly a battle between Maori and Pakeha. Maori fought alongside the 40\(^{th}\) Regiment, with Ihaia Te Kiri Kumara as their guide. They were concerned that Maori resistance would weaken European trade. The battle at Puketakauere was a segment of a three-part advance on the Onuku Kaitara pa, Puketakauere pa, and the Te Wai Kotero Swamp. Major Nelson had split his men into three parties, hoping to create a breach at Onuku Kaitara and feed the fleeing men into

\(^6^9\) Claudia Orange, *The Treaty of Waitangi*, 642.
the party waiting at Maungakawa just north of Puketakauere. The last party waded through the swamp to surprise those at Puketakauere from the east. Nelson’s strategy failed horribly due to the military leadership of Kingi’s war chief Hapurona.

Nelson brought two 24-pound howitzers and attempted to create a breech in the pa. The ensuing attack was described by his survivors as “hotter than anything in the great Indian Battles or in the attack on the Redan in the Crimea.” When he had created a breech, he ordered his men to advance but the Maori had been waiting and ambushed the troops. Captain Bowdler and his party were positioned to prevent any Maori from escaping Nelson’s advance. Upon seeing Nelson’s defeat, they retreated back to camp. Meanwhile, Captain Messenger had the difficult task of traveling through swampland in order to target Puketakauere from the rear. However, “ignorant of the lie and nature of the country” the men found themselves getting stuck while carrying heavy ammunition and supplies. Additionally, Messenger was under the impression that the hill was undefended but the men emerged from the swamp and found that the Maori were waiting for them. Belich described these events as “one of the three most clear cut and disastrous defeats suffered by imperial troops in New Zealand.” At this point, women and children were evacuated from New Plymouth to Nelson.

General Thomas Pratt was brought in to replace Major Nelson. He attempted to advance on the Maori by building a sap (trench) and a series of redoubts on the bank of

---

70 W.I. Grayling, The War in Taranaki, during the years 1860-1861 (Auckland: University of Auckland Library, 2009), 35.
72 Belich, The Victorian Interpretation of racial conflict; The Maori, the British, and the New Zealand Wars, 92.
the Waitara River in order to advance against the Te Arei pa. His planned offensive was to advance on the Te Arei through sapping and build a total of eight redoubts along the way. This technique was meant to undermine Maori fortifications but served to amuse the combatants. It was also a labor-intensive technique that preoccupied many of the troops and divided their attention between sapping, settler protection, and offensive battle.

Maori attacked No 3 Redoubt at Huirangi and suffered heavy losses. Pratt’s men marched on Te Arei, but when they arrived Wiremu Kingi retreated and instructed his war chief Hapurolina to negotiate the peace. This truce agreement settled on the promise that the government was to investigate the Waitara purchase.

Two issues remained unresolved at the conclusion of this war. The land issue had not been determined and the King Movement had not been disbanded. The fighting was taken out of the Taranaki region to Waikato under the justification that Kingites had fought for the Taranaki region and Grey feared they were planning an attack on Auckland. Grey hoped that the Waikato campaign would eliminate the Kingitanga movement once and for all, since he saw this movement as the last obstacle in the way of establishing substantive sovereignty. Each new battle strengthened the resolve of the colonial government to establish sovereignty.

Nigel Prickett argues that this war initiated the decade-long battles that “tipped the balance of power from Maori to Pakeha.”

Depending on the approach, the two wars can be conflated as the Taranaki Wars, 1860-1866. The Taranaki Report argues that it

---

was indeed a nine-year war. Yet, for the purposes of this study, it is beneficial to separate the two conflicts in order to understand the development of the confiscation policy that would occur in the second war. This next section will discuss the Second Taranaki War, which took place from 1863-1866.

**The Second Taranaki War**

Following the peace treaty, the Pekapeka block remained occupied by the government. Land occupation continued under the promise that the purchase would be furthered reviewed and restored to the Maori. The Maori retained Omata and Tataraimaka. Wiremu Kingi retreated inland when he lost Waitara. Sir George Grey replaced Governor Browne and wished to establish the substantive sovereignty found in the Treaty of Waitangi. Grey’s journals, correspondence, and reports to the Crown reflect his primary objective to Europeanize the Maori. He did not believe that the Maori could retain their own cultural identity and instead had to assimilate to Pakeha society and civilization in order to obtain what he saw as the rightfully obtained British sovereignty.

New Zealand’s Parliament, the General Assembly, passed the 1862 Native Land Act, which created the Native Land Court. Its first operation was to establish the Land Settlement Act of 1863, which stated that community consent to land sales was no longer needed and fully legalized the individual sales of land. Further, it allowed for the confiscation of land without compensation from any Maori found “in rebellion against

---

74 The *Taranaki Report* is a report written for the Minister of Maori Affairs that addresses 21 Taranaki land claims. It was presented on June 11, 1996 and argues that the treaty breeches and land confiscations in Taranaki were unparalleled to other hapu of the North Island.
50

Her Majesty’s authority.” 75 Under this law, the Te Ati Awa lost all of their land in Taranaki. Shortly after Governor Grey issues a proclamation to the Waikato iwi warning any “native” who was “in arms” would forfeit their right to their land. 76 This proclamation established a military settlement between Omata and Tataraimaka. Two large redoubts were built south of New Plymouth.

In March of 1863, the 57th Regiment evicted those residing at Omata. They moved onto Tataraimaka early the next month, crossing Maori-owned land to gain entrance. This was seen as an act of war. The government had trespassed on Maori land and they failed to uphold their truce. The Maori ambushed a party of British soldiers at Oakura and nine British soldiers were killed. At this juncture, the Waitara review was complete and the Ministers agreed to forsake the land purchase on the premise that the Maori warriors involved in the Oakura ambush were brought to justice. If these men were not held accountable, all the land in Waitara would be taken. While the first war was viewed as a failure to establish sovereignty, this second battle was an opportunity to change the aim of the conflict. This conflict provided the Colonial government an opportunity to portray the Maoris who were refusing to give up land as “rebels.” The demands were clear, the Maoris must either give over both land and thus sovereignty or be designated a rebel and have their land confiscated by the Queen.

The Pai Marire “Good and Peaceful” or Hau Hau movement played an important role in Maori battle strategy during the Second Taranaki War. Te Ua Haumene of

76 “Governor Grey’s Proclamation,” New Zealand Gazette (15 July 1863), 277.
Taranaki founded this movement that combined traditional Maori beliefs with Christianity. He interpreted the bible to mean that Maori were descendants of the tribes of Israel and that they would have their lands restored to them in the same manner. This theology resulted in an anti-European sentiment that supported Maori independence. This movement scared local settlers but like most transformations, this was not uniformly accepted or followed by all Maori.

The Maori who supported the British were called *Kapapa*, meaning, “to be neutral in a quarrel.” But they were not neutral; they aided the British troops with guidance and knowledge of the land. Settlers referred to them as “Queenites.” Michael King argues that they fought for the same reasons. They were ensured that their land would remain intact and they would be favorably rewarded with a voice in public policy making proceedings. Some Maori fought alongside the British and some Pakeha advocated for the Maori perspective. One such Pakeha, Bishop Selwyn, spoke on the “behalf of the native rights” and argued that:

1. The outbreak of war had taken the colony by surprise, before the public were well informed about it;
2. The Maori were denied equal rights with Englishmen in a dispute about land ownership, in that the Government had had recourse to arms before it had turned to the supreme Court or to some tribunal which might have arbitrated in the matter;
3. The Government had also, despite its concern about the Maori King movement, dealt a blow against the one "great southern chief" who had "effectually set his face against that league" before the war;
4. The Kingi, despite being a firm ally of the British in the wars of the 1840s, had been attacked because “he refused to let another sell land which he (W. Kingi) claimed for himself and other members of his tribe, though he allowed that Te Teira ... had a certain (usufructuary) title to a part of it.”

---

78 Bishop Selwyn and Octavius Hadfield to Newcastle, 1 June 1860, IUP/BPP, Vol. 12, 77.
Selwyn contended that with each proclamation, the government secretly intended to make war. The colonial government stated that the outbreak of fighting in Taranaki was attributed to *hauhauism*. New Plymouth had transformed into a military settlement, and the colonial militia called themselves the Taranaki Military Settlers. Imperial troops from Melbourne moved in and executed a scorched earth policy south of New Plymouth to compel Maori forces to retreat when they ran out of food. Taranaki iwi ambushed these men, killing seven and wounding twice as many men. This was the first confrontation by proponents of the Pai Marire religion. This garnered support and followers among other iwi. The battle at Sentry Hill demonstrated a shift in battle tactics, with Maori warriors taking the offensive. Some historians suggest the Maori involved believed their faith in *hau hau* would protect them from being wounded in their offensive drive. Paul Clark argues that characterizing the Pai Marire offensive as a blind fanatical advance only served to justified British actions. Peter Gibbons concurs, stating that colonial narratives served to “narrativise their aggressive history as the just defence of their persons and property against ‘rebels’ and ‘fanatics’.”

A small Maori village behind the Weraroa Pa was taken by a group of colonial militia in July of 1865. The pa itself had been abandoned but the “capture” was seen as a British success. There was a great divide between the colonial troops and Imperial troops at this point in the war. The Imperial troops did not wish to be used as instruments in an

---

effort to confiscate Maori land. General Duncan Cameron was ordered to stop Maori resistance in Southern Taranaki. He disagreed with this policy and tendered his resignation. In 1866 General Chute replaced General Cameron. He employed scorched earth tactics that would drive away landowners. He marched around Mount Taranaki attacking pas along the way. During his march he destroyed seven pa. As the plight of the Taranaki iwi worsened, the peaceful nature of the Pai Marire region transformed. When Chute got to Waikoukou, the fighting ceased. A majority of British troops also left, and the Pakeha forces were then comprised of colonial militia and kupapa. At the conclusion of the Second Taranaki War, there were approximately 30 colonial fortifications in North Taranaki. The landscape had been transformed into a collection of defensive markings. The military network was established for future conflicts and the settler societies had all but disappeared behind fortifications.

The colonial government used land confiscation as a punishment for the wars. The effect of the New Zealand Settlements Act of 1863 was not only to "remove and change the long relationship that [Taranaki] Maori had established with the land,” but also to damage and alter the cultural, economic, and political fabric of the iwi as well.81 The scorched-earth policy, combined with proclamations perceiving any armed defense as rebellion, resulted in the confiscation of Maori land. Not only was land occupied under the notion that rebels had participated in war, there was a new program of confiscating land from tribes uninvolved in the disputes but housing warriors who had fought in them.

The Last Protest

The British Crown considered the first Taranaki War a failure because it did not reach the objectives it sought. The second Taranaki War established the Maori as rebels and established land confiscation as method for punishing these rebels. Historians have referred to the next period as “The Third War” and “Southern Taranaki War” but it was not a war; it was a last protest to the “creeping confiscations.”82 This last series of conflicts has also been named “Titokowaru’s War,” after the leader of the southern Taranaki iwi. To name this war after him would be to name him the protagonist. Chief Titokowaru of Ngati Ruani’s land was confiscated under the Land Settlement Law due to the fact that members of his tribe had gone to fight under the Kingitanga. Titokowaru, himself, did not engage in fighting. In fact, in 1867 he declared it the “year of the daughters and the lamb,” because Maori resistance had receded.83 However, his wishes for peace were dashed with renewed conflicts. In 1868, the local magistrate arrested three of Titokowaru’s men. In reply, three military settlers were killed. Additionally, one of the men killed was surveying the land for settlement, which showed Titokowaru that he would be the next target in confiscations. When Titokowaru refused to give up this party to the authorities, the last protest commenced.

The two main iwi who fought in this conflict were Ngati Ruanui and Nga Ruahine. The fighting was brought to the settlers when a hotel and house belonging to Edward McDonnell, Colonel McDonnell’s brother, were burned down. Historians have speculated that McDonnell saw this as a challenge to fight. However, when McDonnell

took a mixed group of volunteer militia and military settlers into the bush, many of the soldiers became lost. This assisted Titokowaru in a success where he was outnumbered with a force of 60 compared to McDonnell’s force of 1,000.

Titokowaru’s victory helped him recruit from central and north Taranaki in order to build a comparable force of 1,000. With renewed numbers, he continued to advance southward toward the Waitara River. Major Gustavus von Tempsky coordinated the Forest Ranger Unit that worked in conjunction with the Queenites. He was killed in battle, and his death was dramatized in many paintings overlooking the fact that the Maori warriors were largely outnumbered 2 to 1. The death of a prominent leader resulted in a majority of settlers taking refuge at Whanganui. The making of settler refugees put more pressure on the government to contain these fights. The rest of the fighting was dedicated to disbanding Titokowaru's forces. On February 2, 1869, Titokowaru abandoned the Tauranga iki Pa and fled behind Waitara.

Parihaka was the last site of a military operation, but was unique because the leaders abided by a peaceful philosophy and refused to fight. Parihaka was the largest settlement near Mt Taranaki in 1866. Reserves were supposed to be established for “landless natives” but these reserves were not being created. Te Whiti O-Rongomai was the leader of the community, refused to fight and wished to live a pacifist existence. The

---

84 Gustavus Von Tempsky died during an assault on Titokowaru’s south Taranaki (Te Ngutu o te manu). Historians have debated whether his death was attributed to Captain McDonnell’s indecision that delayed their retreat or whether von Tempsky grew disillusioned of the war and became careless. It seemed unlikely he would fall at this point, given that he was one of the most effective bush fighters to participate in the New Zealand Wars.

prophets had attracted followers from around the North Island. However, they resided on confiscated land. The government had designated it “unwanted” at this point.

The Parihaka community wished to retain the lands in southern Taranaki that were being surveyed for Pakeha settlements. Te Whiti’s men ploughed the land in an effort to reclaim it. The colonial government’s treatment of Te Whiti during this period showed the strength of British authority and weakness of chieftainship. They refused to formally meet with Te Whiti as a leader and presumed that the Parihaka community would vacate the land in exchange for minor relief. Te Whiti did not accept this reality. What followed was a parade of Maori men plowing settler land throughout Taranaki and being arrested. His instructions were to “Go, put your hands to the plough. Look not back. If any come with guns and swords, be not afraid. If they smite you, smite not in return.”  

It was seen as a protest without bloodshed. Titokowaru had participated in these protests as well and was imprisoned on multiple occasions.

However, Te Whiti, Tohu, and Titokowaru were arrested and held without trial, leaving the community undefended. In 1881, 1,500 men invaded Parihaka and destroyed the settlement. Captain W B Messenger’s eyewitness account of the passive resistance described:

“A line of children across the entrance to the big village, a kind of singing class directed by an old man with a stick. The children sat there unmoving . . . and even when a mounted officer galloped up and pulled his horse up so short that the dirt from its forefeet splattered the children they still went on chanting, perfectly oblivious apparently, to the Pakeha, and the old man calmly continued his monotonous drone.”

---

87 *Wanganui Chronicle*, 3 November 1881
These lines of children were forcibly removed. Men were removed from their homes and women reported being assaulted before their houses were torn down. As the last of the confiscations, central Taranaki had officially become “Pakeha farmland.”88 Maori autonomy in the Taranaki region had come to an end.

The “Taranaki Circumstance”

For 175 years, the “Taranaki Circumstance” has been the unresolved land confiscations of close to 2 million hectares of land taken in the 1860s. From 1860 to 1881 the region was subjected to an unrelenting amount of military action, resulting in Taranaki iwi considered “squatters on Crown land.”89 On numerous occasions, the government claimed that it would create reserves for the Maori to live on but even a decade after the Parihaka invasion, these promises had not been fulfilled.

In 1975, the New Zealand government established the Waitangi Tribunal. The purpose of the tribunal was to review land claims. In 1996, the tribunal published the Taranaki Report, which found that “Taranaki Māori were dispossessed of their land, leadership, means of livelihood, personal freedom, and social structure and values.”90 The report summarized the conditions in present-day Taranaki and attributed their struggle to the land confiscations of the 1860s. The conclusion being, “if war is the absence of peace, the war has never ended in Taranaki.”91 The war has never ended for these iwi. Some tribes have negotiated compensation with the Crown but, at present,

91 Ibid, 2.
there are still tribal initiatives asking the government to recognize their faults and return the land that was unfairly confiscated in the wars.
Chapter 4

THE POSTCOLONIAL MUSEUM

Museum exhibits have the power to affect visitor identity and indigenous people wish to reclaim the articulation of that identity. Indigenous communities have been historically subjected to the paradigm that presumed they were “primitive, uncivilized or otherwise less than fully human.” This is reflective of colonial practices in museums that promoted the narrative of indigenous assimilation and extermination. During Britain’s colonization period, empire building and museum building often went hand in hand. Nation building took place within the museum walls themselves, emphasizing the narrative of the victor and the spoils of triumph. With the dominant notion that indigenous societies were meant to assimilate and lose their identity, items from these societies were collected as evidence of material culture.

Examination of the national museum in places like the United States, Canada, and New Zealand demonstrates the difficulties in breaking down colonial practices that neglected indigenous cultural representation. Indigenous societies have had to jump interpretive hurdles to find their representation in museums and eliminate the notion that “primitive” items do not change and cannot provide a progressive history for such

---

93 Dominic Thomas, Museums in Postcolonial Europe: An Introduction (Los Angeles: University of California) 34.
cultures. Fortunately, in the past several decades there has been a shift from museums presenting material cultures to promoting living cultures. This development is advancing how museums deal with their collections through the lens of postmodernism.

The social and political climate of the 1960s provoked an interest in how museums portrayed indigenous societies. By the 1990s, there was a call for the national museum to detail how they were doing this and what tasks they were undertaking to reconcile difficult histories. This chapter will discuss the role of the museum and new museum theory, the portrayal of indigenous/settler culture and history, and the concept of biculturalism in New Zealand history. It will start broadly with the general relationship between museums and colonial history and will narrow its focus to New Zealand museums and how they are addressing these issues with Maori and Pakeha representation.

**New Museum Theory**

Museums are institutions that foster a relationship between the collections they hold and the society that is interested in learning more about them. There has been an evolution from its origins as a place of philosophical contemplation to a reinvention as a site of classical collecting and personalized collections. The latter provided a broader scope of interaction between collections and visitors. Museum educators observe the period of time from the fourteenth century, continuing through the sixteenth century, as

---

the precursor to a modern museum in which the institution consciously opened its doors and began fostering a relationship with the public domain.

Gray Edson and David Dean explain that this progression was the result of the museum shifting from “homocentric to tellurian thinking,” expanding the manner in which museum audiences are supplied with information. This was an expansion that originated in opening private collections to public view and developed from public reactive to public proactive exhibits. Reactive exhibits provide information that the museum staff determines will be important to the public. Proactive exhibits attempt to develop programs that will address the anticipated interests of the public. The modern museum must serve their audience and this concept of total inclusion requires a greater responsibility in the role of the museum as an educating institution.

The role of museum education theories played a significant function for the research that was established in Chapter 3. Every visit to an exhibit, regardless of duration of visit or level of engagement, serves to educate the visitor. John H. Falk argues that “learning tends to take the form of confirmation of existing understandings, attitudes, and skills in order to allow the individual to be able to say, ‘Okay, I now know that I know/believe that’.” How then, does one “educate” an audience on people, places, and events that require a greater level of consideration than factual-based narratives? Further, how can the curator dismantle inaccuracies or heavily embedded falsehoods long accepted as fact? This section will argue that new museum theory will be a necessary foundation in transmitting difficult histories.

---

The modern museum is heavily influenced by postmodernism, which seeks to challenge the old trends that tightly control the education process. These old trends include the imposition of an authoritative voice that opposes diversity of thought and other potential truths. Postmodernism is skeptical of the singular curator truth, “opposes what it sees as elitism in culture, tends toward cultural relativism, and celebrates pluralism, discontinuity and heterogeneity.”\(^{98}\) Truth can be socially constructed and embedded with a curator’s ideology and conscious or unconscious acts of selection. Therefore, if a visitor trusts the curator without bias, they are allowing the curator to lay claim to the absolute knowledge of these topics. Nigel Briggs demonstrates the power of the exhibit in “the decisions it makes about what is displayed (and what is not), what is said (and what is not said), who is allowed to say it (and who is not)…[arguing] the museum, and especially the curator, holds great power over the visitor and the artifacts and is able—even expected—to impose their prejudices upon them.”\(^{99}\)

New Museum theory can mediate the power of the museum and the curator. This theory chooses to replace traditional discourse with difficult histories and critical reflection.\(^{100}\) Janet Marstine argues that museums provide the packaging for cultural consumption and that critical reflection will deconstruct this packaging for a greater transparency and sharing of power. There is no neutral approach to framing and displaying history, and with this knowledge both the curator and the visitor have to take on greater responsibility in critiquing the materials presented. Martine’s volume sought to

---


empower the reader to become an “advocate for change,” but it can be argued that the museum as an institution can provide the tools for their visitors to enact change.\textsuperscript{101}

Change does not come easy because museum exhibits are undeniably tied to the political arena. This is especially clear with exhibits in national museums where nation states are not only pressured to represent unflattering histories, but also address how they have made amends. Museums can never be completely neutral politically or culturally. Jones argues, “Representation is a political act. Sponsorship is a political act. Curation is a political act. Working in a museum is a political act.”\textsuperscript{102} The \textit{Enola Gay} exhibit is constantly brought up in the debate over politics and the museum. In 1985, the Smithsonian Air and Space Museum began restoring the front section of the B-29 used to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6, 1945. The original exhibit date was meant to occur on the bombing’s 50\textsuperscript{th} anniversary. However, it was cancelled due to opposition.

While the exhibit fit with the Smithsonian’s mission, there was an inability to reconcile the interests of Japanese peace groups and American war veterans. Each group wanted to emphasize a different aspect of the Enola Gay. The veterans believe that the exhibit should emphasize what the Enola Gay meant to America versus a moralistic treatment that questioned whether or not America should have dropped the bomb. The peace groups argued that the exhibit should highlight the damage inflicted on Japanese civilians. Politicians became involved in the process when they warned the curators not to

\textsuperscript{101} Ibid, 5.
create an exhibit that would offend the veterans. The controversy surrounding this exhibit showed a struggle to have power over the process of historical representation. The result was a diluted representation that ensured a less controversial message was transmitted to the public.

Scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith argues that the process of change must begin with the acknowledgment that the very existence of a museum is a western concept, which represents “a significant site of struggle between the interests and ways of knowing of the West and the interests and ways of knowing of the Other.”103 Smith recounts how the process of researching, collecting, and classifying subjugated the indigenous by making them the object of research. She shows the challenge of operating within a “colonized academy” that criticizes indigenous intellectuals trained through Western education for not speaking from an authentic position or labels them as too nativist and activist when they integrate community concerns into their work.104

Smith’s Decolonizing Methodologies is directed at “other researchers committed to producing research knowledge that documents social injustice, that recovers subjugated knowledges, that helps create spaces for the voices of the silenced to be expressed and ‘listened to,’ and that challenge racism, colonialism and oppression.”105 This is a hefty mission when considering that the process of collecting and exhibiting reflects on their Western origins. Recognizing this restraint, it follows that a greater collaboration between indigenous groups and the curatorial process must exist in order to

103 Ibid, 5.
104 Ibid, 168.
include their voice. The museum “cannot set itself up as the interpreter” of indigenous culture. Instead, it must provide the canvas where the collaborative efforts paint a truly representative portrait. Michelle Horwood, head curator at the Whanganui Regional Museum, worked directly with Maori artifacts and argued that the Maori had to play a part in any exhibits and collections concerning their people because “spiritually [the Maori] still have far more relationship with it than any museum staff member will ever have . . . There’s the saying of ‘keeping things warm,’ they need to have that connection so those things still have the warmth of the people that made them and wore them and owned them as an ongoing thing.” This collaboration ensures that the indigenous become the researchers and not just the research topic.

Smith operates under a Foucauldian approach, similar to Edward Said. Said’s work focuses on postcolonial culture studies and the analysis of orientalism and its "subtle and persistent Eurocentric prejudice." He explores the discursive production of knowledge and the idea that exhibits are created in the language of the West. As Edward Said argues, representations are “the historical moments in which they are located and interpreted.” It is therefore important to understand the discursive framework within which the New Zealand Wars have come to have meaning. Representation of Maori as

“rebels” was part of the “exercise of raw power; military force and other colonizing acts required societal legitimation that was cultivated by such symbolic representations.”

A more difficult approach, but one that must be discussed, would be to fully repatriate all items to a community institution that would be equipped with displaying the histories from firsthand knowledge and experience. The United States has legislation that supports the return of museum artifacts to their owners. ‘Site museums’ have emerged as one of the principal means by which indigenous peoples and their descendants have “resisted many of the negative cultural effects of globalization.” For example, in Calcutta, the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad is considered a museum of indigenous societies and it strives to be a national repository that recognizes its national presence in relation to its colonial inheritance. It employs collaboration between Indian and Bengali representatives to negotiate this relationship and reflect a pan-Bengali sentiment.

**Cultural Representation**

Cultural representation is the attempt of “an institution of European and colonial heritage…to transform and incorporate more fully non-Eurocentric cultures.”

New Museum theory should be utilized during this transformation to overcome traditional tropes and stereotypical portrayal of indigenous populations. Colonialism had a great impact on indigenous populations during the nineteenth century and their

---

dwindling numbers caused various professions, including museum professionals, archeologists, and ethnographers concern that these racial groups would die out. Moira G. Simpson states that as a result of this concern, exhibits sprung up which were “laden with associations of colonialism, cultural repression, loss of heritage, and death.”113 This could be attributed to the fact that ethnographic collections have traditionally been used to display material culture. These displays suffered from the “condition of permanence” where indigenous collections are seen as ahistorical and separate from the dominant western history.114

Cultural representation begins with eliminating dominant colonial components. To start, one goal would be to eliminate a “European timeline that would impose a colonialist perspective.”115 Composing a sequence of events can be troublesome if they imply an inevitability of outcome. An example is the Smithsonian’s exhibit “Nation-to-Nation: Treaties between the United States and American Nations” which does away with the definitive timeline of events to focus on the relationship between history and legacy of U.S.-Indian diplomacy. In the same strand, the colonialist perspective can be instilled in an exhibit through its interpretation. Peter Adams notes that the “application of a European theory of land value was "peculiarly inappropriate" to a society that used land in many different ways apart from cultivating it.”116

114 Marstine, New Museum Theory and Practice, 35.
It is necessary at this point to return to the discussion of the Fatal Impact Theory introduced in Chapter 3. This traditional notion was employed in literature and museum exhibits by promoting “preconceptions that a dark race died out whenever confronted with a white one.” 117 Similarly, there was a “rhetorical tendency to freeze Pacific cultures in the static post of the rescued past.” 118 This theory was promulgated by Social Darwinism, which argued that inferior races would fade away as the result of European contact. Widely popular in the early nineteenth century, observers regarded the Maori as a dying race. Seen as a common fate for all indigenous societies, this approach robbed the indigenous of any agency to change and adapt to European contact. The curator can return agency to the indigenous population if they move away from the myth of inevitability and present the Acculturation Theory. We should embrace concepts that recognize that all cultures “are becoming, changing in order to survive, absorbing foreign influences, continuing, growing.” 119

Another weakness in portraying indigenous history is the use of negative binary relationships. It is quite easy to slip into this portrayal when one is juxtaposing two very different societies. However, one must also avoid the inclination to view the lesser familiar culture through the lens of their own, for “when we attempt to make others less strange to us, we make those others strangers to themselves.” 120 In whole, this discussion amounts to the need to adopt new curatorial protocols for this approach. To begin,

119 Ibid, 118.
120 Susan Pearce, Interpreting Objects and Collections (New York: Routledge, 2012), 98.
members of the group being portrayed must be consulted and offer their partnership in providing a complete narrative. Interpretive panels must accompany any portrayal of artifacts in order to avoid the appearance of being a cabinet of curiosities. Design must abandon the representation of indigenous groups as relics of the past. If one is using such non-indigenous tools for decolonizing purposes (i.e. exhibits, archives, collection displays) they must ensure that they are avoiding a static representation.

Lastly, one must consider if the material being used could be considered secret or sacred. Historian James Clifford coined the term “contact zone” to describe the museum as a zone for spiritual encounters. In Maori culture, taonga is a term used for treasure. Unfortunately, in the nineteenth century, Pakeha exhibited taonga as a symbol of European colonization and progress. Sacred objects forge a shared experience between the visitor and the object. If an item is improperly displayed or disrespected this influences the partnership between museum, consultant, and visitor. Additionally, the curatorship of certain objects may distort the mission of an exhibit to communicate a religion. There is a fine line between teaching about a religion and teaching a religion. One must ensure that they follow the boundaries of the educational mission of the institution.

**New Zealand and National Identity**

New Zealand is a unitary island state that created a bicultural nation between the state’s founding cultures, Maori and Pakeha.\(^{121}\) Erik Schwimmer first used this term in the 1960s to characterize New Zealand as having a relationship where there are “two

\(^{121}\) Justice Durie, “The Rule of Law, Biculturalism and Multiculturalism,” *ATLA Conference*, University of Waikato, (Given July 12, 2005)
distinct social groups and two distinct cultures.”¹²² Although Maori have Polynesian roots, they view New Zealand as their home. Through colonization in the early 19th century, the Pakeha created a home base of their own. Although it has expanded into a multicultural country, it is still repairing the depiction of its bicultural origins. Matalena Tofa describes the nation as an on-going project and process that was “anxiously proclaimed and violently asserted in Taranaki.”¹²³ Tofa argues that the dynamic product of colonization in Taranaki reflected the colonial government’s fear for plurality. The colonial government sought to enforce a singular sovereignty that managed this plurality by enforcing legislation that would regulate Maori customary practice. For example, the New Zealand Constitution Act of 1852 contained Section 71, which set apart districts where Māori laws and customs would be observed. It was believed this would be a temporary measure until Maori fully assimilated into Pakeha society. However, the Tohunga Suppression Act in 1907 demonstrated the government initiative to ban Maori practices, in this case the tohunga, or traditional Maori healers. In order to rectify this there has been a movement to represent the bicultural nature of the founding parties.

The most apparent display of bicultural nationalism in New Zealand is the use of language. Showing both English and Te Reo Maori translations for text does not occur solely in museums. One can see this technique employed in the local supermarket. However, a degree of trust must occur that these translations are accurate and it is difficult to capture nuances within translation. Language operates as the “boundary of

interpretation." The difficulties of translation were previously outlined in the creation of the Treaty of Waitangi/Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The imposition of English meanings on language has shaded meanings. Once again, the call for collaboration is clear. Current scholarship also explores the role that the Maoris played in the formation of the Pakeha identity. For a Pakeha to identify as a New Zealander, they have to accept Maori culture and practices because it permeates their heritage. Michael King wrote Being Pakeha: An Encounter with New Zealand and the Maori Renaissance to addresses the unique quality of being Pakeha in New Zealand in regards to their ties to Britain and their ties to the Pacific.

The Colonial Museum of New Zealand was founded in 1865 and serves as a case study for the struggles of nation building in a bicultural domain. The museum initially existed to tell the settler society who they thought they should be. They were members of the British Commonwealth who were critical in creating a nation with the best race relations in the world. In the wake of the Waitangi Tribunal, reevaluations of this history demanded a reconfiguration of what it meant to be Pakeha. Therefore, the national identity became fluid and the museum strove to help both Maori and Pakeha find a new sense of self and identity.

It became ‘The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa’ in 1998, with a renewed mission of becoming a “partnership between Tangata Whenua (the indigenous people of New Zealand) and Tangata Tiriti (people in New Zealand by right of the Treaty

---

125 Ibid, ii.
126 Te Maori and the Middle Ground Pacific Arts Newsletter, No. 26 (January 1988), 27.
of Waitangi). Its mission was intertwined with its Maori leaders who had the “same rights as Pakeha or even special rights as an indigenous minority…[whose] people had a unique status since they were the Tangata Whenua or Indigenous of the land.”¹²⁷ There is a balance of interpretation between Maori and Pakeha and a strong representation from the Maori community in this particular exhibit interpretation and should serve as an example for increasing Maori involvement in museums.

Conclusion

The traditional museum evolved over time in both function and responsibility. It developed an educator’s role and reached out to engage audiences. In light of the postmodern age, it also took on the greater responsibility of tackling difficult histories and deconstructing colonial practices. New Zealand museums demonstrate the struggles of dismantling colonial legacies and reincorporating Maori representation and collaboration in their exhibition plans. At this point, it can be seen that a great deal of theory and direction is required to plan an exhibit. The next section will demonstrate how I planned and executed my exhibit in consideration of these matters.

Chapter 5

CREATING AN ONLINE EXHIBIT: TARANAKI IN THE NEW ZEALAND WARS:
1820-1881 - CONTEXT, PLANNING, AND EXECUTION

Public History has the responsibility of making the “process of history-making visible and comprehensible to the lay person.”128 Thanks to the digital age, this goal is more attainable than ever. By making archival collections, museum exhibits, and publications available online, the historians’ tools become more transparent. Whether one agrees or disagrees that the past was analog and the future digital; written records, photographs, and ephemera, to name a few, are being digitized at a rapid pace. For example, the Library of Congress’s American Memory Project has more than 8 million historical documents digitized.129 What is even more impressive is this digitization program began in 1990 and provides free and open access through the public domain.

Yet, even with this notable digital shift, formal training for operating on a digital platform is still sparse so there are relatively few resources in existence. One must turn to more informal resources and scholarship, filling in the gaps with workshops, guides, and forums. With this understanding, digital humanities, as a disciple, should be reviewed. This chapter will start by situating the project within the context of the digital humanities movement. It will argue that digital history is not a fleeting phenomenon but will continue to grow and adapt with the ever-changing momentum of technology. It will

---

conclude with an exploration of how the exhibit was created from planning and
development to execution. In most current exhibitions, several people take on different
specialized roles. For this project, however, I have been researcher, curator, and designer,
and the discussion below sheds light on the various steps of executing an online exhibit.

**Defining Digital Humanities**

Digital humanities promote new manners of scholarship and institutional projects
through collaborative, transdisciplinary, and computationally engaged research, teaching
and publication. This definition can seem broad and although it appears less than
unifying, at first, it encompasses all practices in which print works are no longer the
primary medium for producing and disseminating knowledge and information. In short, it
is any project that “re-configures the humanities for the Internet age, leveraging
networked technologies to exchange ideas, create communities of practice, and build
knowledge.”¹³⁰ Therefore, the primacy of text is not being challenged, just the manner in
which it is transmitted.

While certain scholars seek to place historical studies under this the broader term
of digital humanities, others fight against the designation. Historian Tom Scheinfeldt is
resistant to the conflation of digital history and digital humanities and argues that the
term ‘digital humanities’ ensures that historians will not be evaluated on their work
because few will fail to see them as more than “digitally fluent.”¹³¹ Scheinfeldt argues

---

¹³⁰ Lisa Spiro, “‘This is Why We Fight’: Defining the Values of the Digital Humanities,” *Digital
that the term *digital* causes the field to be seen as one that is “limiting its scope to the study of digital culture” instead of promoting the social sciences through new methods of discovery.\(^{132}\)

However, this shouldn’t stop historians from identifying with the distinguishing phrase for it has positive ambitions. Lisa Spiro proposed that there should be a uniform set of values for the digital humanities in order to avoid such confusion or negative connotations with the digital era. As many of these have been debated, this article has narrowed down a few values to be considered. Spiro argues that openness, collaboration, diversity, and experimentation are foundational. Digital humanities provide open access to scholarship by making it freely available to everyone. Most of the materials explored in Chapter 2 are open source tools that are free to utilize and share. Providing access to materials online is conducive to this goal. Openness is committed to providing an open exchange of ideas. There should be a drive to develop open content and software. This is tied with producing digital texts.

Collaboration is not a new ethos for the humanities. Instead, Spiro emphasizes the positive effects of identifying with a digital humanities community. She argues that this attitude will promote collegiality and connectedness, so if the “underlying goal is the promotion of public knowledge, why not share?”\(^{133}\) This will result in more diversity in the field and enable scholars to ask questions and get assistance with digital practices outside their scope of expertise, for example, coding. Lastly, there should be a transparency in the development process. As mentioned earlier, Public Historians are

---

\(^{132}\) A short guide to digital Humanities SG2

\(^{133}\) Spiro, 27.
gifted with the task of “leaving a clear trail for subsequent historians to follow” so the profession should embrace other disciplines to broaden the goals of openness and communication to create a pathway of connectedness for a broader audience.  

“The Difference Slavery Made: A Close Analysis of Two American Communities” debuted in December 2003 as an ‘applied experiment’ in digital scholarship. This project utilizes Geographic Information Systems to evaluate communities near the Mason-Dixon Line during the Civil War in order to engage in the debate about how the relationship between slavery and contract labor. The authors attributed the power of Vannevar Bush’s hypertext. Janet Murray piggybacked this dialogue to emphasize the four characteristics of electronic narratives: spatial, participatory, procedural, and encyclopedic. Murray argues that hypertext and simulations are the “two most promising formats” for a digital narrative and can aid in mastering the complexities of knowledge bases.

In his online review, Perry L. Richards posits that one can open their “own museum, welcoming hundreds of visitors to share your passion for, say, vintage calculators or the Connecticut highway system.” This statement is quickly followed with the cautionary details of how liberating, yet dangerous this type of freedom can

---

permit to the creator. Digital humanities opens the door for practicing historians to hone their craft and present projects in a capacity unseen till now. Digital history, as a subset of digital humanities provides scholars another medium to provide as will be seen in the next section, which will detail my project from the conceptual phase through the development phase and it will show what methodologies worked best to bring this project through to fruition.

**Conceptual Phase**

The conceptual phase can be described as the idea-gathering phase. I began my project in the spring of 2014 with a strong interest in highlighting the delineation between collections and museum exhibits and a desire to explore this interest through the creation of an exhibit. I was presented the opportunity to travel to New Zealand in August of that year! For practical reasons, I decided to base my online exhibit thesis project on some aspects of New Zealand’s history.

The initial stage of research was broad, beginning with an overall familiarization with New Zealand History. It was in this process that I made one of the first of many museum study blunders or what would become, in reflection, a learning moment. I focused too narrowly on the colonial fortifications of the Taranaki Wars in 1860. I let my narrow interest guide my research and turned in a prospectus with a tight focus. My problem stemmed from my interpretation of Serrell’s Big Idea. I was too preoccupied with creating a sophisticated sentence and not concerned enough with the availability of materials. Serrell states that exhibit developers can make the mistake of showing little
self-control when selecting content in an attempt to tell every story.\textsuperscript{138} I had the opposite issue when I picked an idea that could not produce enough material to tell a strong, cohesive story. Exhibit ideas can display precision, but will fall short if one cannot locate supporting narratives and objects. I quickly learned that the colonial fortifications were successfully discussed in journal articles and print works but beyond that, I would have a difficult time engaging a visitor.

Armed with my concentration, I traveled to New Zealand and began my in-depth research on colonial fortifications during the First Taranaki War. I had hopes of creating an in-house exhibit for the Puke Ariki Museum in Taranaki, but a short conference with the Pictorial Collection Technician reflected the immense expense in procuring reproductions and the lengthy grant process for non-resident scholars. At this point, I began to look into creating an online exhibit. The New Zealand Wars have been a topic of interest for many institutions and the public interest reached its peak when James Belich released the documentary series “The New Zealand Wars” in 1998. It was interesting to note that my research on the Taranaki wars, thus far, felt disconnected from the New Zealand Wars narrative. Not only were they undeniably connected, there was an extensive amount of cause and effect between the treatment of Taranaki as a region and the greater wars that started in Taranaki and spread to Auckland. At this juncture, I knew that I wanted to evaluate Taranaki specifically, with the New Zealand wars as a backdrop. Not only did I open up the topic to a wider availability of materials, I had found a distinct approach to the topic that would present a new perspective in analysis and representation.

\textsuperscript{138} Serrell, 4.
At this point I was able to determine that the focus would be Taranaki in the nineteenth century and its experience during the New Zealand Wars. I was hoping to bring a different perspective, by observing how this region changed with the advent of war. I was also hoping to introduce a different time frame, in order to thoroughly explore the social, political, and economic continuities during this time. I chose the title “Taranaki in the New Zealand Wars: 1820-1881” because I felt that it other titles used in articles, such as “The War that Never Ends” or “Two People: One Land” were politically charged. I saw my duty as a historian to present a project that was as close as possible to a non-biased narrative and one which identified the biases present in past projects.

After establishing the Big Idea, I was able to engage in in-depth research into Taranaki. I composed a historiographical bibliography in order to see the trends and arguments regarding the wars as a whole. I was pleasantly surprised to note that scholarly articles were beginning to reflect a Taranaki focus. I was also reassured that I could contribute to this dialogue. There was a lack of common knowledge about this historical event. In fact, during my first visit to Auckland, I was able to witness the celebration of the Treaty of Waitangi and inquire with a large number of attendants as to their level of understanding of the event and their sentiments.

I conducted secondary source research at the Auckland Library and located my collection repositories at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Puke Ariki Museum, and Earl Grey Collection. With a foundation in common themes and arguments, I then proceeded to delve into the primary sources available. Past Perfect was a wonderful resource of digitized historical newspaper articles dating back to 1863. I was able to glean significant
information pertaining to legislation, settler discontent, and land claim issues. Also, in regards to copyright, these clippings were released under a Creative Commons New Zealand BY-NC-SA license. Due to the nature of documents and its state of digitization I was not looking at these articles for artifact purposes, but it was helpful knowing I could reproduce portions of it in super quote or text fashion and not have to be concerned with purchasing or permission rights.

I further examined primary sources in central government publications, most specifically, the Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR). The AJHR records the activities of government departments and are a treasure trove for colonial inquiry seeing that they went into great detail about their activities and proceedings. After I had a good footing on the chronology of events and significant players, I was able to move onto personal correspondence and journal entries. Slowly but surely, I was able to see the story I wished to tell and how I could potentially show it through my chosen repositories.

**Development Phase**

The development plan requires planning, budgeting, and organization. I started by creating a vague timeline that would designate my phases of research, collecting, and writing. This stage is essentially where one budgets both their time and resources. I knew that I would only have a certain amount of money to fly from Auckland to Taranaki on four occasions. Therefore, I did most of my pre-planning on how I could obtain a library card as an “immigrant visitor” and rely on interlibrary loan when I couldn’t be present in
Taranaki. I also had to budget for visa extensions seeing that I was only allowed to stay in the country for certain extensions of time.

My next step was to choose my audience. It became apparent to me, quite early on in my residency, that this history was largely unknown to the general population. It wasn’t until one of my later visits to the Puke Ariki when I realized that college students were required to learn the history of the New Zealand Wars for their National Certificate of Educational Achievement (NCEA). There are three levels of certificate and students work through these levels of education from year 11 to year 13. I did extensive research into the Level 3 curriculum in order to ensure that my narratives provided these students an opportunity to make connections and facilitate a more critical approach to the wars. Students are advised to familiarize themselves with Achievement Standards 90645 through 90658. They are required to demonstrate capability in planning and carrying out independent historical research, ability to communicate and present historical ideas clearly to show understanding of an historical context, analyze and evaluate evidence in historical sources, and examine a significant decision made by people in history. My exhibit could serve as a model for these checkpoints.

During the planning stages I quickly became imbued with a sense of dichotomy and could not seem to escape the constant juxtaposition of Maori and Pakeha as complete opposites to one another. This phenomenon was largely found in children’s books and articles that sought to reduce the wars and the communities to two sides of a coin in order to make the story bite sized and easily digestible. This harkened back to the earlier
museum theory, which emphasized “simplistic oppositions in which everything is either one thing or another.”\textsuperscript{139} Clearly, people and events require more complex consideration. However, I knew if I was speaking to an older audience, high school aged and above, I could challenge my audience to see the complexities and difficulties of saying these wars were not solely based on land and that it was not fought exclusively between Maori and Pakeha. If this were to be an honest narrative, I would have to address all these nuances and attempt to make them approachable for my audience.

Gary Edson and David Dean argue that “responsibility begins with acquisition” and I argue that responsibility permeates the entire research process.\textsuperscript{140} When I began compiling my object list, I kept. These are not wholly mementos; actual people fought in these wars. In anticipation of my collection process, I reviewed several museums on the North Island and saw many items were decorative in nature but did nothing to respect the individual(s) in the pictures and their connection to the narrative. Due to the importance of collaboration, I also had to immediately discard Maori pictures that had no identifying information. My decisions regarding Maori artifact and pictures pertained to the arguments in the previous chapter. I was not going to provide interpretation for pictures when I was not qualified to and when collaboration with the Maori iwi in question wasn’t apparent. Additionally, I was not going to let any objects remain in isolation. I assured that every piece was interwoven into the interpretation. Ultimately, I wanted to ensure I did my due diligence in observing that institutions themselves are subject to “shifting


\textsuperscript{140} Edson, The Handbook for Museums, 32.
moral grounds” as well by thoroughly research the provenance of each and every object.141

After I had compiled enough research, I moved onto creating interpretive plan. 142 This document is started during the initial phase and is meant to grow in scope and complexity as themes are outlined, objects are collected, and the script begins to take its shape. I began the document with an exhibit prospectus. The prospectus is the opening information of the exhibit script and it provides the basic information of the exhibit including the title, intended, venue, summary and description. It then moves into detailing the collections used, sections, target audience, exhibit goals and manner of presentation. The interpretive planning strategy can be included in the exhibit goals. The next section will detail the information I included in my prospectus and how I formulated my sections.

The main purpose of this exhibit is to focus on the race relations and contests for authority in Taranaki during the New Zealand Wars. The intended venue is the World Wide Web via Omeka. The interpretive strategy planning helped me designate my Learning objectives, Emotional objectives, Behavioral objectives, and Promotional objectives early on. The exhibit was divided into five sections. The sections were as follows:

1. Balance of Power
2. Treaties, Purchases, and Rising Tensions
3. The First Taranaki War
4. The Second Taranaki War
5. The Last Protest
6. Legacy: The “Taranaki Circumstance”

142 Included in Appendix A, xx.
These sections followed the series of events chronologically but they use Taranaki as the lens from which to look at social, economic, and political changes that affected the relationship between Maori and Pakeha. Each section has their own message but they all connect back to the theme of changing authority and race relations. I used Sam Ham’s worksheet in order to develop my exhibit summary. The three steps to creating a theme are to:

1. Select your general topic and use it to complete the following sentence: “Generally, my exhibit is about…”
2. State your topic in more specific terms and complete the following sentence: “Specifically, I want to tell my audience about…”
3. Now, express your theme by completing the following sentence: “After hearing my exhibit presentation, I want my audience to understand that…”

This framework helped me direct my exhibit as a whole and to refine my different sections.

The first section discusses the Taranaki iwi and their social and political organization before pre-contact through 1840. It observes the balance of power between Maori and Pakeha and shows that the Maori were adapting Pakeha culture to their own and were not destined to die out due to contact. The next section discusses the pertinent legislation and land purchases that threw the balance off keel and the rising tensions that made Taranaki a site for war. The next two sections detail the larger battles ending with the last confrontations between both parties. The last section ties the events of these times to present day tribunals and the continuing desire to rectify treaty breaches and amend Maori-Pakeha relations.

---

Ultimately I was hoping to tell the human story because “people connect to people.” However, this story was not meant to be told as events on a timeline. When preparing to write my panel text, I knew I needed to have an organized approach to the cause and effect nature of my various sections. In order to do so, I employed the Ishikawa Fishbone chart. This is an excellent tool for historians. The way it functions, is one identifies a problem. For example, in the section ‘Treaties, Purchases, and Rising Tensions’ the problem is rising Maori-Pakeha tension. I would place rising Maori-Pakeha tension at the head of the chart and draw a straight line out which becomes the backbone. The next step would be to identify as many factors as possible that could be contributing to the problem. They are written off of lines protruding from the backbone, which creates the skeleton. Then these issues can have their own branches concerning the causes of these issues. This approach works better than a linear flow chart because it produces a more effective cause and effect analysis.

In addition to telling a human story, I wished to express the “fluidity of cultural boundaries and identities” between both settler groups. As I touched on earlier in Chapter 4, there is a great danger in creating a binary between Maori and Pakeha, if I were to only identify both groups by their “discrete communities and traditions.” It would be impossible for me to ignore differences so I do organize my first section by cultural groups at one point, to help the visitor grasp the diversity occurring on the North

---

144 “Telling the Story through people USS Constitution” Museum Team Family Learning Forum, 5.
146 Sharon J. Macdonald, “Museums, national, postnational and transcultural identities,” University of Sheffield, 7.
147 Macdonald, 7.
Island. However, by instilling the subtle theme that they are both New Zealand settlers, I was able to build “empathy and common ground” and weave together these two groups through their migratory origins.148

**Exhibit Design Considerations**

After the preliminary phase was completed and I had my “fundamental defining statement…to which [I could] return, again and again,” it was time for me consider the exhibit design. A common design issue can be described as the ‘And then’ phenomenon. War is usually portrayed as sequential events that operate in a linear cause and effect fashion. I incorporated interactives in the ‘First Taranaki War’ and ‘Second Taranaki War’ sections in order to avoid this phenomenon. Technology should be used to drive the field of history “rather than driving the agenda.”149 In short, technology should not be used just because it exists but it can be helpful in navigating complicated wartime narratives. I used Prezi for my two interactives. I wanted to ensure that I used interactives sparingly and only when necessary.

The first interactive I created focuses on the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. I wanted to emphasize how quickly the founding document of New Zealand was proposed, written, and translated and I didn’t believe a timeline was impactful enough. Therefore I created a time scale interactive that has the course of events on the left and then a counter approach on the right that shows that this flurry of activity as contained within the

---

months of January and February. I found that it appealed to a visual thinker and also considered the “visual thinker” that was introduced in Chapter 2.

The second interactive focuses on the Battle of Puketakauere. As a three part offensive, it is difficult to track the chronology of events through text. Additionally, a linear flow chart would restrain my efforts to demonstrate a cause and effect between Imperial troop expectations and the Maori war chief’s pre-emptive strategy. I was able to create a recreation of the battle with the three primary fortifications and the swamp. Not only does the interactive take the visitor through the events, it has the ability to zoom in and out in order to see what was occurring in the other portions of the battle at the time. This ties back to the Ishikawa fishbone chart and the historians’ obligation to do away with the typical flow chart and find new and innovative methods to convey the passing of time in conjunction with cause and effect events.

Tagging is also a fundamental skill that affects exhibit design. Creators and users of digital material apply tags to help people navigate their way to items of interest. Since there are no formal standards for tagging, it can best be described as subjective user-applied keywords. This tool is commonly seen in social media where people are alerted to recent trends and events. However, it is useful, in conjunction with Omeka because it provides an additional layer of organization that ensures that the exhibit sections are tied together in a broader manner because one cannot always anticipate the paths the visitor will take to locate objects and narratives that strike their interest.
Conclusion

I consider my journey from planning to execution to be a success but it was not without its drawbacks and challenges. My first challenge was time management. In retrospect, I dedicated too much time to minor details and should have budgeted more time for my major goal posts, specifically label writing. When I was conducting my primary research, I presumed that it would be an easy task to develop my script directly from this research. However, when my object list was established, I realized that my narrative had developed in ways I could not have predicted beforehand. Therefore, evaluation should not wait till a project is near completion. Re-evaluation should occur every step of the way to accommodate for the growth and changes that naturally develop over time. Additionally, I learned that my exhibit plan was meant to focus my project but I did have to remember at times that initially it is a template. If one is too rigid and does not allow it to change with the life of the project, new and exciting directions could be missed.
APPENDIX A

An Exhibit by Tracy Phillips
Taranaki in the New Zealand Wars: 1820-1881

Exhibit Prospectus
Title of Exhibition:
Taranaki in the New Zealand Wars: 1820-1881

Intended Venues: World Wide Web via Omeka Platform

Exhibit Summary and Rationale:
This exhibit will portray the history of Maori and Pakeha race relations and contests for authority in Taranaki from contact through the New Zealand Wars. Specifically, I wish to communicate the ebb and flow of the relationship and show how impactful land confiscations became to members on both sides of the issue. After viewing the exhibit, my audience will have a greater understanding of the role Taranaki played in the New Zealand Wars and the formation of New Zealand society thereafter.

The sections will be chronological but can be contemplated in a stand-alone fashion. While a consecutive progression will better emphasize the themes of race relations and contests of authority, the separate sections are all inclusive. This is due to the non-linear nature of online exhibits, which means each component should have the ability to stand on its own merit.

Sections:
Introduction
Balance of Power
Treaties, Purchases, and Rising Tension
First Taranaki War
Second Taranaki War
The Last Protest
Legacy: The “Taranaki Circumstance”

Target Audience:
The targeted audience will be New Zealand college students studying for the NCEA Level 3 and further include the general New Zealand population unfamiliar with the Taranaki region’s history.

Exhibit Goals:
1. Learning Objective:
   a. To educate the general population of the history of the Taranaki region. Upon completion of interacting with this exhibit the majority of visitors will be able to do so.
   b. Those studying for the NCEA Level 3 will be able use the exhibit to prepare for Achievement Standard 90655-90658 where students are tasked
to analyze and evaluate evidence in historical sources, examine a significant decision made by people in history, and examine a significance historical situation in the context of change.

c. Compelling Questions
   i. These questions were formulated in the planning stages and the text will address these questions in the form of an argument. Therefore, the exhibition will provide an interpretive argument with the support of facts in lieu of a collection of facts.

2. Emotional Objective: To promote a connection to the people represented in these histories. To surpass looking at battle records as numbers on a page and see them as people who had their own lives, families, and occupations outside of battle.

3. Behavioral Objective: To illuminate the complexities of Maori/Pakeha history and disband with the myths of Maori passivity and Pakeha dominance and inevitability.

Manner of Presentation:
Design: The design should reflect the experience and emotions of the content. Therefore, it will be grounded in the earthy tones, as opposed to bright, primary colors. Quotations will be a larger font and positioned in a center alignment to capture the attention to the visitor. These quotes are carefully curated to set the tone for the text and will also serve to reinforce the argument.

Interactives: Appropriate to content, look and feel.

Tagging: Each section will end with a splash page that has a list of the most important tags and terms that are found in the section. These will be hyperlinked to take the reader to the section that addresses their search.

Ex:

![Image with various words like Treaties, Balance, Legacy, Tension, Rising Power, First, Second, Taranaki, Last, Legacy, Last, Taranaki, First, Second, Circumstance]
Thematic Outline & Item List

Introduction

I. This section will introduce the exhibit. The main take-home message is that both the Maori tribes of Taranaki and the incoming Pakeha effected change on one another and this changing relationship can be seen in the long-term social, political, and cultural changes over The New Zealand Wars and beyond. The exhibit storyline will argue against that the story of Taranaki is dynamic and fights against common pre-conceived notions of fatalistic and predetermined Pakeha dominance over Maori tribes.

i. Message about the story: In 1860, a war was fought between the local Maori tribe and the government over a block of land. This seemingly innocent transaction was anything but, and the continuing wars that took place through 1881 would show that there were deeper issues underlying the war.

ii. Message about the exhibit: The Taranaki story tells a regional tale that can stand alone or pose as a case study for the struggles Pakeha and Maori communities experienced as they strove to acclimatize to a new land and to new neighbors.

iii. Message about the visitor: This approach should challenge visitor’s assumptions about Treaty of Waitangi and the land confiscations that provoked a war that, to many, is still ongoing today. Quotes and historical evidence should serve to establish an empathy with the various characters that fought on both sides of these battles, with varying motivations.

b. Themes

i. Relationships

ii. Sovereignty

iii. Land

c. Subthemes

i. Encounters

ii. Exchanges

iii. Effects

Balance of Power

II. This section will describe the migration of both groups to the North Island of New Zealand. The most important lessons will include the social organization of Maori tribes in the Taranaki region and the power dynamic the Pakeha introduced with increasing settlement and the musket.

a. The purpose of this section is to see both Maori and Pakeha as settlers of New Zealand. Historians have argued in the past that the European settlers were bound to overcome the Maori but the argument is invalidated when
one explores the balance of power between the two groups when they arrived to the country.

b. Compelling Questions
   i. What cultural function did fighting have for the Maori?
   ii. Which factors accelerated British involvement in Maori affairs?

c. Case Study: The Musket Wars
   i. The Musket Wars can serve as a launching point to understand the cultural concept of utu and mana. By understanding these concepts in the context of Maori social organization, it shows that Maori saw Pakeha initially revered the Pakeha as helpful for gaining mana and the musket as the ultimate leveler of Maori rank in the traditional social organization.

Treaties, Purchases, and Rising Tensions

III. This section will describe the key British political actors and the lack of political unity in the Maori networks. It will utilize this understanding to show how important treaties and land purchases aggravated the balance of power and understanding between the two groups.
   a. The purpose of this section is to illustrate how misunderstandings and miscommunications prevailed through the period of increasing interdependence and cultural contact between both groups. Most importantly, the tendency to downplay the importance of translation
   b. Compelling Questions
      i. Were the Wairau (Pekapeka Block) purchases justified?
      ii. What does sovereignty look like for the Maori versus the Pakeha?
   c. Case Study: Drafting the Treaty
      i. The Treaty of Waitangi is foundational to understanding the conditions that surrounded the controversial land purchases that preceded the New Zealand Wars. The exercise of evaluating how quickly the document was drafted in addition to acknowledging the issues with translation and cultural definitions of sovereignty will prepare the visitor to understand the origins of the wars that will follow.

First Taranaki War

IV. This section will describe the first battle of New Zealand Wars. It will explore the many different voices contributing to the dialogue of this war from the Maori tribal leaders and Pakeha leadership to the settlers, British soldiers, and newspaper accounts. It will also focus on the fighting methods, weapons, and fortified structures that influenced the course of events.
   a. The purpose of this is to demonstrate that the war was not being fought in isolated forests or unoccupied lands. These battles were happening in their backyard, which resulted in a mass exodus of New Plymouth women and
children and the continued suffering of Maori crops when men were forced to leave their homes to fight. It will also set up the conclusion that even the British government recognized the deeper issues that accompanied the land purchases.

b. Compelling Questions
   i. Was the First Taranaki War a success for anyone?
   ii. Is violence ever justified?

c. Case Study: Battle at Puketakauere
   i. This case study will examine how the tribal nature of Maori organization was changing in response to the outside pressures of Pakeha government and settler discontent. The King’s Movement would assist the Taranaki iwi in the short term, with the unifying of factions that had a long history of fighting. It will also show the different military strategies employed.

**Second Taranaki War**

V. This section will describe the consequences of the First Taranaki War in regards to land confiscation policies. Although the government acknowledged that the Pekapeka block was obtained through faulty procedures, the truce was temporary and did not resolve the issues regarding the King’s Movement and land confiscation, as a whole.

a. The purpose of this section is to show how the second war served to transform the Maori image from those unhappy with land policies to rebels that refused to acknowledge British sovereignty. It also shows how land confiscations became a method of punishment.

b. Compelling Questions
   i. How did tenets of Christianity effect Maori fighting strategy?
   ii. How did New Plymouth transform into a garrison town?

**The Last Protest**

VII. This section will evaluate the story of Chief Titokowaru who serves as an interesting intersection of Maori resistance and land confiscations. It will then describe how the Parihaka community served as the last respite from settler encroachment.

a. The purpose of this is to show that the land confiscations were a legitimate threat to Maori economic and cultural traditions. Parihaka was the proposed solution to this threat and its non-violent nature called the aggressive efforts to remove them from their land and unfairly imprison individuals into question.

b. Compelling Questions
   i. How should history remember Titokowaru?

c. Case Study: Parihaka Resistance
   i. The Parihaka Resistance is aptly named for its irony, in that the Maori community proved no military threat and was forcibly
removed from their land. Focusing on this community as the last line of resistance illuminates the power dynamic that promoted land interests over the preservation of tribal interests.

**Legacy: The “Taranaki Circumstance”**

VIII. This section will describe how the wars of the 1860s and land confiscations throughout the nineteenth century had an impact on the Taranaki region Maori till the present. It will recognize the attempts at compensation, the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal, and the publishing of the *Taranaki Report*.

a. The purpose of this section is to tie together the various sections and argue that the war is still being fought today.

b. Case Study: Reparations

i. The existence of reparations shows that the government acknowledged that there were systemic issues in the land policies and the verbiage in the Treaty of Waitangi.

c. Compelling Questions

i. When did the Taranaki region Maoris gain sovereignty?

**Exhibit Sections**

I. [title of exhibition] Taranaki in the New Zealand Wars: 1820-1881

[**Introductory text panel**]

[1.01 text] On the eve of 7 March 1860, Maori living in the Taranaki region went to war with the Pakeha (or European) settlers. They stood behind Wiremu Kingi Rangitake and his claim to the Waitara land. This event was more than a disagreement over living spaces. It was the beginning of decades of fighting in the New Zealand Wars.

[1.01 object caption]


[1.01 object label]

New Plymouth would become the site of conflict for the native Maori and migrating Pakeha settlers.

Look For: The island nearest to the shore has a hut in foreground. It was common for the Maori to integrate their homes into the surrounding nature.

#New Plymouth#Migration#Nature#Coast

[1.01 quote]
A collision between the races, to avert, which so much effort was made, has taken place, and it must not be disguised that the result has disappointed everyone. Taranaki Herald, 24 March 1860

Yet, this is not just a story about fighting. It is about human relationships and the push and pull of power struggles over the years. The Taranaki region shows this relationship through economic, political, and social change. These changes took place from the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present.

*Taranaki in the New Zealand Wars: 1820-1881* tells the story of how New Zealand formed in a contest of authority and land ownership. This is an exhibit that observes the Maori-Pakeha relationship in Taranaki and how it changed over time.

The first two sections introduce important people and events that defined Maori-Pakeha relations. The next three sections follow the warfare tied to land ownership issues. The last section will explore how these events impact the region to this day.

[Section 2 Title] Balance of Power

[Introductory text panel]

[2.01 text] New Zealand is actually two islands – the North Island and the South Island. Our story takes place on the northern island. The western most point showcases a large stratovolcano named Mount Taranaki (or Mount Egmont).

The first settlers to come by canoe were the Maoris. Afterwards, the Pakeha would arrive in their ships. They had different societies and lifestyles but exploration and exchange occurred between both groups. The amount of contact and the type of contact would depend on the needs and wants of those involved.

[section 2a title] They came by sea

[2.02 Video] Waitangi Maori Canoe 3
*Waitangi Ceremonial Maori Canoe or Waka Ngātokimatawhaorua*
© 2012 Picture Talk Productions Ltd.
HD Photo Jpeg 1080i 25fps
Duration 0.12
#BalanceofPower#Maori#Canoe#Ceremonial#WakaNgatokimatawhaorua

[2.02 text] Maori were the first settlers to come to the island. Maori legend says that the early settlers of New Zealand traveled from Polynesia and scattered throughout the North and South Island.
The tribal social organization included whanau (extended families) living in large iwi (tribes) and hapu (subtribes). Whakapapa (ancestry) was important and helped determine the ranking of status within this system.

[2.01 quote]
A tribal elder in 1892 wrote about the first canoe to reach the South Island:

Ko tēnei wakako te waka tuatahi ma iki tēnei taha o moana. E kīa ana I haere mai I te Tāepatanga-o-te-rangi.

This canoe was the first to cross to this side of the ocean, as we say that it came from the other side of the horizon. Because of its speed, the canoe was named Waka-huruhurumanu.

[2.01 object label] Maori tribes cherish stories of the voyage their distant ancestors took over the seas in canoes similar to the one shown.

Pakeha settlers started arriving in the 1840s. Until then, Maori iwi exchanged and bartered from food and water to metal and tobacco. There was a relationship established around trade. Maori were adaptable! They adapted to meeting the Europeans and finding new forms of culture.

There was also an exchange of ideas and of ideas and concepts. Maori blended ideas of Christianity with Maori culture. Europeans blended into Maori tribes, calling themselves “Pakeha-Maori.”

[Two-sided panel]
[2.05 object label] This lithograph shows the town of New Plymouth. Look for: The use of fences shows that it is a Pakeha settlement. There is also a horse pictured, which was introduced during the 19th century.

Maori Pa. (engraving) Illustration for the Natural History of Man by J G Wood (George Routledge, 1870), Private collection.
[2.06 object label] Maori used fortified villages to house their tribal community.

Taranaki land was most valuable on the shoreline, where the soil was good for farming. New Plymouth became a major city in Taranaki.
[section 2b title] An Unlikely Truce – The Musket

[2.08 text] To gain status, Maori chiefs and hapu competed for mana (power). Mana was found in the presence of Europeans, Maori control of Europeans, and traded goods. Te pu (muskets) were important in race relations between Maori and Pakeha. Various Maori iwi gained mana through this exchange. Tribal leaders had an advantage if they owned a musket.

The Musket Wars began in the 1820s. It was a competition between tribes to gain new weapons. Fighting and conflict in this arms race led to the desire for utu (revenge). The musket changed the style of fighting Maori iwi were used to. It changed from hand-to-hand fighting to fighting at greater distances. Early on, they were found to be difficult weapons to use in the Bush or damp conditions.

[2.08 object label] The musket was incorporated into Maori warfare. It became a symbol for status. Look for: One man wears a kakahu (Maori cloak).
#BalanceofPower#Maori#Musket

[2.09 text] The musket created a new balance of power. In order to survive, tribes had to obtain a musket, and they typically bought them from the Pakeha.

[Section 3 title] Treaties, Purchases, and Rising Tensions

[Introductory text panel]

[3.01 text] In 1835, the Confederation of Chiefs of the United Tribes of New Zealand designed the first flag of New Zealand. This flag helped ships identify as New Zealand trade ships. The Maori and Pakeha had a working a relationship up until the 1840s. At this point, the British government felt pressure to colonize the islands.

[3.01 object label] Did you know that the first design for this flag was rejected because it didn’t have red in it? This design was accepted at a meeting in Waitangi between Maori chiefs and the British Resident.
#TreatiesPurchasesRisingTensions#UnitedTribes#Flags
[section 3a title] One Treaty – Two Versions

[3.02 text] Britain’s rise to prominence in New Zealand began with a piece of paper. The British government needed to establish a legal presence in New Zealand. They needed a treaty to transfer sovereignty from the Maori to the British.

Lieutenant-Governor William Hobson and James Busby drafted the Treaty of Waitangi. Missionary Henry Williams and Edward Williams translated the document overnight. There were several problems with this process.


[3.02 object label] This painting shows Tamati Waka Nene signing the treaty. James Busby, Captain William Hobson and other British officials witnessed the event.

#TreatiesPurchasesRisingTensions#TreatyofWaitangi#JamesBusby
#WilliamHobson

[section 3a interactive] Time Scale of the Treaty 1840

[PATH 1]
Full-Scale Outline

[PATH 2]
29 January
William Hobson, chosen to be Lt. Governor of New Zealand, arrives at the Bay of Islands.

[3.03 object caption]

[PATH 3]
30 January
Invitations are finalized to invite Maori to meet with Hobson on 5 February.

[PATH 4]
3 February
James Busby, British Resident, sends draft of treaty to Hobson.


[PATH 5]
3-4 February
Minor changes are made to Busby’s original draft.

[PATH 6]
4 February
Maori travel to Waitangi.

**PATH 7**
5 February
Treaty draft is translated from English into Te Reo Maori. Henry Williams and his son were not masters of the Maori language when they translated the treaty.

**PATH 8**
5 February
Treaty is discussed and explained orally.

**PATH 9**
6 February
Treaty of Waitangi signed.

[3.05 text] There were two versions of the treaty. Most tribal chiefs, almost 500, signed the Maori version, Te Tiriti o Waitangi. The English version was signed by 32 chiefs.

[**section 3a simple chart**]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Te Tiriti o Waitangi</th>
<th>The Treaty of Waitangi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>{Article 1}</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Kawanatanga’: Nominal Sovereignty</td>
<td>‘Sovereignty’: Authority to rule</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lack of real power! |
No substantive (or real) power | Complete governance of queen |
In Maori version |
| **{Article 2}**      |                        |
| ‘Rangatiratanga’: Mana + land + power | Pre-emption: Possession of land |
‘taonga katoa’: All precious things | Pakeha saw power and land as |
Maori version states they can hold onto these things |
Land and power were inseparable |
| **{Article 3}**      |                        |
| Authority | Protection |

[object 3.05 caption] King Tūkaroto Pōtatau Matutaera Te Wherowhero Tāwhiao (Tainui Ngāti Mahuta) Unknown photographer, 1880s. ATL, ½-050875-F.

[object 3.05 label] The Maori “King” was a new idea for tribes that were divided and determined on chief status. He did not agree with the colonial government and the Treaty of Waitangi.
[section 3b section title] The Land

[3.05 quote]
This Taranaki question is much too long and complicated, and the documents are too numerous, to admit of my saying more here than that peace and good-will prevail at that settlement.
Extract from Dispatch from Governor FitzRoy to the Secretary of state, Dated 19 December 1844

[3.06 text] The buying and selling of land caused issues in race relations. Governor Thomas Gore Browne did not understand the tribal social organizations and their impact on land sales.

Browne bought a block of land in Waitara called the Pekapeka block. He bought the land from Chief Te Teira. Yet, Wiremu Kingi Rangitake was the paramount chief of the Te Ati Awa tribe and refused to sell on behalf of the entire tribal community.

[object 3.06 label] The first copy of the survey shows that Wiremu Kingi shared a portion of the land.
#TreatiesPurchasesRisingTensions#Waitara#Surveys#WiremuKingi

[section 3.07 two-sided panel]

[3.07 quote]
Wiremu Kingi wrote in 1859,
I will not agree to our bedroom being sold (I mean Waitara here) for this bed belongs to the whole of us; and do not be in haste to give the money…
Wiremu Kingi to Governor Browne, 25 April 1859

[object 3.06 caption] Portrait of Wiremu Kingi Rangitake. Unknown photographer, c. 1880. ATL, ½-022668-F.
[object 3.06 label] Wiremu Kingi argued that his argument was not a new one and that his warnings were serious.
#TreatiesPurchasesRisingTensions#WiremuKingi

[3.07 quote]
Waitara has been bought…for (pounds) 100. The land was not surveyed, the payment was given without anything being done. We objected and objected…
Ritahona Te Iwa to Reverend Riwa Te Ahu, 5 December 1859.
These objections were ignored and the consequences would be severe. As a consequence, New Plymouth was on alert. Governor Browne ordered Colonel Emilius Gold to occupy the land.


No elaboration.

Tensions were high among the New Plymouth Settlers. The war was brought to their front door. This made their town unique in the later New Zealand Wars. Families were concerned for their safety and unhappy with a series of changes that would change their Taranaki experience for years to come.

Colonists wrote to family in England,
“You need not be more alarmed than we are and that is not at all, with the exception of Aunt Helen, who seems to expect we shall all be murdered.”
Jane Maria Atkinson to Margaret Taylor, 19 February 1860


This blockhouse was called the ‘Bell Blockhouse’ and was designed by settlers in early 1860. Look for: The red coat would be a bad fashion choice in battle. The British Army and Colonial Army could not stay hidden in this bright fashion statement.

First Taranaki War

The lines were draw in 1860 and no one was budging. The signs of a coming battle could be seen in New Plymouth. Men and young boys joined the Taranaki Volunteer Militia while the British Army arrived in groups of ships. Maori and Pakeha Settlers would strengthen their villages and plan for conflict.
This painting shows troops being brought ashore. Look for: The high number of ships pictured shows how the colonial government were building up a strong tactical force.

#FirstTaranakiWar#NewPlymouth#Troops#Ships

[Section 4a title] Women and Children First

[4.02 text] The Taranaki tribes and the New Plymouth settlers fought the First Taranaki War near their homes. Later battles would spread across the North Island but these battles were unique because they transformed the New Plymouth town into a garrison town.

[4.02 quote]
This day has been rather animating. People have stood in the streets watching the various files of soldiers in quest of [women and children returning without them.
Francis Gledhill, diary 7 September 1860

[object 4.03 label] Proclamations from this time period give us an inside look at the local government and the issues that the settlers experienced during the war.
#FirstTaranakiWar#Proclamations#NewPlymouth#Refugees

Not everyone was happy about this decision. The settlers were unhappy with having to leave behind their husbands and older sons. The Nelson settlers were sympathetic of the situation but unhappy to see their towns become cramped.

[4.04 quote]
A public meeting was held at the Motueka Literary Institution on the eleventh instant, to consider what accommodation the district could provide for refugees from Taranaki…

[Section 4b interactive] The Seat of War

Weapons (Static)
* Firepower (Static)
**FLIP CARD:** Musket
[4.05 object label] The 1820s Musket Wars spread this type of musket across the North Island. Maori called them ngutu-pārera (duck bills) because of their hammers.
[4.06 object caption] Percussion double-barreled muzzle-loading shotgun
Collection: Puke Ariki, New Plymouth (A76.914)
This shotgun became popular among Maori iwi because it could be fired twice per loading.

**FLIP CARD:** Enfield rifle


**FLIP CARD:** Beaumont-Adams patent 5-shot revolver

[4.08 object caption] Ammunition

Collection: Puke Ariki, New Plymouth

[4.08 object label] Did you know that the Maori made their own ammunition? Here you can see bullets fired from muskets and rifles.

* Hand-to-Hand (Static)

**FLIP CARD:** Patu okino


[4.09 object label] The 43rd regiment collected these weapons. It is a short-handled weapon designed for close contact fighting.

**FLIP CARD:** Parāoa


[4.09 object label] This weapon belonged to paramount chief Paora Kukutai. It is considered a whalebone weapon.

**FLIP CARD:** Mere pounamu


[4.11 object label] Hapurona, Wiremu Kingi’s fighting chief who successfully planned the Battle at Puketakauere, used this weapon.

War Structures (Static)

#FirstTaranakiWar#Weapons#Firepower#Hand-to-Hand

[4.12 quote]

This battle – the word skirmish, which has been applied to it, is a misnomer – appears to be the worst reverse we have suffered in all our engagements with the natives.


[4.12 object caption] Sketch of Kawiti’s pa Ruapekeka (NZ Map 222)

[4.12 object label] No elaboration

#FirstTaranakiWar#pa#warstrategy

[Subsection 4c interactive] Battle at Puketakauere

[PATH 1]
A struggle between the races was inevitable… it should be conducted with such force upon our side that all but the most utterly rabid among them must soon be convicted of the hopelessness of resistance.

Edmund Hobhouse, first Bishop of Nelson

[PATH 2] Te Atiawa war chief Hapurona led the Te Atiawa and the Ngati Maniapoto to begin building the Onukukaitara pa by the Puketakauere pa. These pa were south of Camp Waitara. 65th Regiment leader, Colonel Gold, saw it as a threat.


[object 4.13 label] No elaboration.

[PATH 3]

[PATH 4] 27 June 1860 Major Thomas Nelson marches 350 troops and two 24-pound howitzers to storm Wiremu Kingi’s pa, nicknamed the “L” shaped pa. The pa held 200 of the Atiawa tribe.

[PATH 5] This battle was a three-part advance, choose your starting point…


[object 4.14 label] Look for: Captain Messenger’s route was long and through damp and muddy conditions.

[PATH 6] Onuku Kaitara pa: Captain Richards and Lt Battiscombe were supposed to advance on this pa, positioning their guns west. The strategy was to create a breach and send the Maori in the direction of Major Nelson and Captain Seymour’s troops. This did not happen because Hapurona had set a trap. When the troops advanced, the Maori fired upon the men and Nelson’s troops quickly retreated back to Waitara Camp.

[PATH 7] Puketakauere pa: Captain Bowdler waited at Maungakahai pa, north of the Puketakauere pa to prevent the Maori at Onuku Kaitara pa from escaping Major Nelson’s advance.

[PATH 8] Te Wai Kotero Swamp: Captain Messenger and his 125 troops started to make their way through the swamp the night before. The Maori attacked and the men that could escape made their way back to Camp Waitara.

[PATH 9] Chief Hapurona used Maori strategy to defeat this advance.


[object 4.16 label] No elaboration.

#FirstTaranakiWar#Battle#Puketakauere#warstrategy

[4.17 two-sided panel]


[4.17 object label] Settler attitudes can be seen in the local satirical magazine, the Taranaki Punch. The inscription reads: Maori (loq) please when will it be convenient to begin burning the houses in the town, for we have nearly done the job outside.
[4.18 object caption] *New Zealand Province of Taranaki from Waitara to Oeo* (1862).
[4.18 object label] This map shows the number of European homesteads burnt in the region. Look for: You can also see symbols representing blockhouses and Maori villages.

#FirstTaranakiWar#Settlerattitudes#burning#homestead

**[Section 4d title] Consider the Terms**

[4.19 quote]
Friend the Governor:
Will you cause the sun to shine in New Zealand – or not? Look out at the sea – there is the wind! Now, O friend, who can spear that wind and cause it to be calm? In my opinion, it is you who will make it calm; perhaps not. I am very dark because of this work – the Pakeha and Maori biting each other.
Wiremu Maihi Te Rangikakheke to Governor, 6 August 1861

[4.19 text] Governor Browne agreed that the wars should not have happened and that the block of land would be returned. But, the damage was done. The war created a legacy of distrust between the Maori and Pakeha.

**[section 5 title] Second Taranaki War**

[Introductory text panel]

[5.01 text] After the First Taranaki War ended, there was a two year cease-fire with no record that the peace terms were broken by either side. However, the Pekapeka block remained occupied. Wiremu Kingi was saddened by the loss of Waitara. He left Taranaki, but this would not be his last attempt at supporting Maori land movements.

Governor George Grey replaced Governor Browne and the parliament made changes. The General Assembly passed the Native Lands Act, which created the Native Land Court.

[5.01 quote]
On 3 December 1863, the Land Confiscation Act made it legal to take land from Maori who were now seen as ‘rebels’ who ‘shall have counselled, advised, induced, enticed, persuaded, or conspired with any other person to make or levy war against Her Majesty, or to carry arms against Her Majesty’s forces in New Zealand.’
W.M. Watts, Crown Court Temple Bar, *A protest against the confiscation of native lands in New Zealand; the report of a debate in the Legislative Council of*
the colony, together with The Memorial of the Aborigines Protection Society and other documents, 1864.

What’s in a name? The Maori refer to it as ‘Te Kōti Tango Whenua’ or the land-taking court.

[section 5A title] Dangerous Ideas

[5.01 text]
Prophet Te Ua Haumēne lived in Taranaki and founded the Pai Marire or Hau hau movement. It combined elements of the bible and traditional Maori ideas. Haumēne had a vision, telling him to deliver the Maori people from the ‘yoke of the Pakeha.’

The religion was peaceful. Yet, with land issues and war, the religion took on a more violent tone. This made the Pakeha settlers view the religion as a threat to their safety.

[object 5.01 caption] Te Ua Haumēne Reference: PA2-2275, Collection: Alexander Turnbull Library
[object 5.01 label] This is a photograph of the founder of the Pai Marire religion. Pakeha settlers argued that the religion was ‘Anti-European’ but it incorporated Christianity taught by missionaries. Their real concern was that the religion could unite the various Maori tribes.
#SecondTaranakiWar#PaiMarire#hauhau#TeAu

[object 5.02 label] The top flag is associated with Te Ua Haumēne, it was his personal flag. ‘Kenana’ stands for Canaan, the Jewish promise land.
#SecondTaranakiWar#PaiMarire#hauhau#flags

Chief Titokowaru was leader of the Nga Ruahine iwi. He practiced the Pai Marire religion. Fighting in Taranaki resumed in May.

[section 6 title] The Last Protest

[Introductory text panel]

Titokowaru fought in the First Taranaki War and he hoped that peace would prevail in southern Taranaki. Yet, he grew angry that Maori land continued to be taken and that people had nowhere to live.

This sketch shows Titokowaru attending a hui near New Plymouth. Francis Gordon drew this original sketch.

**State Within a State**


The survey camps were an unwelcomed sight.

The Parihaka Community was the last retreat for Maori wishing to keep their land and their culture.


A line of children across the entrance to the big village, a kind of singing class directed by an old man with a stick. The children sat there unmoving . . . and even when a mounted officer galloped up and pulled his horse up so short that the dirt from its forefeet splattered the children they still went on chanting, perfectly oblivious apparently, to the Pakeha, and the old man calmly continued his monotonous drone.

**Legacy: The “Taranaki Circumstance”**

Historians argue over the amount of time the Taranaki Wars lasted. Some argue that the first war lasted a year and the second war lasted from 1863-1866. Others argued that the war began in 1841 and ended in 1881 with Parihaka. Historian Danny Keenan calls it the...”War without End”

The West Coast Settlement Act 1880 confiscated 201,395 acres. The following Reserves Act of 1881 let the Public Trustee manage this land. From 1982 to 1955, Maori in Taranaki were given little power and access to the land.

**Not Just One of “England’s Little Wars”**

[chart]
Maori Population | Pakeha Population
---|---
1800 86,000-100,000 | 
1840 70,000 | 2,000 
1858 60,000 | 59,413 
1867 38,540 | 97,904 
1871 37,520 | 254,928 
1874 47,330 | 297,654 
1878 45,542 | 344,984 
1886 45,542 | 534,030 

[7.01 two-sided panel]
[7.01 quote]
The Taranaki claims could be the largest in the country. There may be no others where as many Treaty breaches had equivalent force and effect over a comparable time…the war itself is not the main grievance. The pain of war can soften over time. Nor is land the sole concern. The real issue is the relationship between Maori and government. It is today, as it has been for 155 years, the central problem.
The Waitangi Tribunal

[7.02 quote]
If war is the absence of peace, the war has never ended in Taranaki.
The Taranaki Report

[subsection 7b title] Unfinished Business

War is a very personal matter. Many historians, authors, and archeologists that write about these wars and are residents of New Zealand.

[7.03 quote]
Renowned archeologist Nigel Prickett argued that these wars, …played a critical role in our history…[and lead] to an understanding of events that made our country what it is.

[7.04 text]
Do you have any ancestors that fought in these wars?

[subsection 78 title] A Matter of Opinion

[7.05 quote]
What you called the Maori wars ought to be named the pakehas wars (not British wars). By the same token what you term ‘rebels’ are our heroes; the ‘murders,’ reprisal killings; the ‘victory’ our loss.
Reverend Cameron
Taranaki Daily News, 28 March 1960

[Background image] Taranaki Map – self-made

[object 7.06 label] This cross marks the burial site of Te Atiawa fighters. Forty-one fighters lose their life when they attacked a redoubt on 23 January 1861. The text on the cross reads: ‘HE TOHU WHAKAMAHARATANGA MO NGA IWI, NEI MO NGATI HAUA, NGATI RAUKAWA, NGATI MANIAPOTO, NGATI MAHUTA ME NGATI AWA, I HINGA I KNOEI I TE 23 HANUERE, 1861.’

[object 7.07 label] This tablet reads: ‘THIS CROSS IS ERECTED IN MEMORY OF THE OFFICERS & MEN WHO FELL OR DIED FROM WOUNDS RECEIVED NEAR THIS SPOT IN ENGAGEMENTS WITH THE MAORI TRIBES ON THE NIGHT OF AUGUST 20th AND THE MORNING OF AUGUST 21st 1868 AND ON Sep 7th 1868’

[object 7.08 label] The text on the cross reads ‘HE POU WHAKAMAHRA KI A RAWIRI WAIAUA ME ONA HOA I HINGA I TEN [sic] TAKIWA I TE 3 O NGA RA O AKUHATA 1854 O A RATOU I HAPAI ANA I TE MANA O TE KAWANATANGA.’
Bibliography


Bugden, Emma, Te Tuhi Centre for the Arts, and PROGRAM. *The Land Wars Reader*. Manukau, N.Z.; Berlin: Te Tuhi Centre for the Arts; PROGRAM, 2008.


Experienceology Guide.