

rates the highest in the world in 1974. And homemaking organisations such as the Women's Institute are mentioned. The importance of rural culture, however, remains largely unexamined. Thrift during the depression is present, and as throughout the entire book, there are useful case studies.

With such a potentially large and unwieldy topic, there is excellent treatment of continuity and change through time. For example, the chapter on 'The tub: making it through blue Monday' gives a sense of the sheer hard work involved in being a housewife before and during the introduction of labour-saving devices. In 1956, 40% of New Zealand households were without a washing machine. The last chapter of the book, 'Putting Her Feet Up: and so to rest, briefly', covers leisure. The most innovative chapter in the book, it includes the pastimes of reading tea leaves, smoking cigarettes, and making ginger and pumpkin wine.

*Inside Stories* recovers the dynamic and complex age of the housewife. It demonstrates how and why that age was so thoroughly challenged and ended abruptly during the 1970s. It recovers and analyses the past in clever and ironic ways that evoke importance, restriction and conformity. Its ambivalent tone leaves room for many more contributions to this vital part of New Zealand women's history.

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*Museums and Māori. Heritage Professionals, Indigenous Collections, Current Practice.* By Conal McCarthy. Te Papa Press, Wellington, 2011. xvii + 315pp. NZ price: \$69.99. ISBN: 978-1-877385-70-4.

IN AN INFORMATIVE INTRODUCTION to this useful book, the author is at some pains to confess his journey from comparative ignorance as 'a typical Pākehā, a New Zealand European, in a predicament not uncommon for many museum professionals in a Māori situation,' towards enlightenment. As a result he sets out to 'provide practitioners from differing backgrounds with a framework to think critically about their practice in relation to indigenous peoples' (p.1).

In numerous ways, McCarthy lives up to this promise in the three parts that follow. Part one, aptly entitled from monoculturalism to biculturalism, surveys what the author describes as the process of decolonisation from the 1980s on, whereby formerly monocultural museums were transformed into 'avowedly "bicultural" institutions' only to be further 'reformed' as a result of both external pressure from tribes and internal pressure from the so-called 'new museology' (p.3). In outlining his understanding of biculturalism, the author reiterates the official and now largely accepted definition, drawing particularly on the insights of writers such as Jeffrey Sisson and Mason Durie, whose indefatigable work in the context of continuing Māori activism during the past three decades has subsequently formed the basis of cultural orthodoxy throughout the various state agencies, including museums, libraries, art galleries and other public facilities where indigenous culture is on public display. Consequently we learn from this book a good deal about the journey of our national museum, Te Papa, in particular, towards a culturally appropriate preservation and presentation of things Māori — a journey that amongst other things has led to considerable reorganisation of objects, reflecting a sincere desire to better serve indigenous perspectives.

Part two of *Museums and Māori* describes the various ways in which museums have responded in practice to the pressures described in part one, especially from the 1990s on. Particularly interesting here is the author's recounting of the far-reaching

recommendations of the 1997 O'Regan Report. Significantly, this document was highly critical of the gap between what are described as Māori understandings of the Treaty, which emphasised partnership, and Pākehā understandings that stressed social inclusion. Inevitably and rightly, this led to significant changes in the governance and oversight of many museums. One important outcome was the adoption of a new bicultural policy at Te Papa in 2002 that embodied the concept of *mana taonga* as a corporate principle. This concept gave iwi and communities 'the right to define how taonga within Te Papa should be cared for and managed in accordance with tikanga or custom' (pp.114–15).

The third and final part of this book offers a glimpse 'beyond biculturalism'. Here, the author argues with conviction that, notwithstanding the growth of Māori representation in Parliament to approximately the same proportion as in the general population, along with the recent flowering of post-settlement arts and culture, the ultimate aim of sovereignty has not yet been achieved. One symptom of this is that the early years of the twenty-first century have seen little movement in the museum sector on substantive Māori concerns. A particularly complex issue, the author contends, is that of repatriation, specifically though not exclusively involving the return of human remains and artefacts. Significantly, it is in chapter 8 of this section that the author clearly signals to readers that biculturalism as an officially endorsed concept has had a number of critics. On the one hand some argue that the term is simply a pragmatic response to concerns that assimilation had failed to work. Others (and here Elizabeth Rata's work is mentioned very briefly) have argued that biculturalism has become largely driven by identity politics on the part of neotribal elites. Not surprisingly, amongst museum professionals, there appears to be a diversity of viewpoints on these key issues.

From the foregoing description of its contents it will be obvious that this well-written and timely book is highly relevant for a wide readership, and deservedly so. More specifically, *Museums and Māori* will doubtless be used as a standard text by heritage professionals seeking to learn more about current museum practices in respect to Māori heritage and culture. In this context it is highly appropriate that they learn something of the debate that provides the context and the justification for those practices. However, it is precisely for this reason, and especially because of the previously cited p.1 intention that the book should provide practitioners not just with a framework but with a *critical* framework, that we do need to be aware of some of its shortcomings.

My main reservation is that, notwithstanding several passages suggesting that the issues surrounding the preservation of indigenous culture and heritage are very far from being unproblematic, the author has largely opted for what one might describe as contemporary conventional wisdom (at least in museum policy circles), whereby virtually anything indigenous is to be uncritically endorsed. In the reviewer's opinion, this approach arguably renders the book of rather less utility than it might otherwise have been to the author's intended readership.

Towards the end of *Museums and Māori*, we are told that we have now shifted from asking how museums can meet Māori needs to asking how they can support Māori aspirations (p.246). But does not this and similar assertions in the afterword by Sean Mallon regarding Pacific and Māori cultures (see for instance p.253) beg some crucial questions? In most of the Northern Hemisphere societies from which Pākehā originated, the uncritical celebration of nationality and culture in this way has long since ceased to be an unchallenged orthodoxy, even in institutions generally held to be primarily responsible for the preservation of these matters. In fact, for many decades now, a counter-discourse has steadily matured following the wider dissemination of such seminal texts as Hobsbawm and Ranger's, *The Invention of Tradition* (1983), supplemented by the incorporation of feminist and neo-Marxist critiques into mainstream discourses on heritage from at least the mid-1980s. The result has been that over the last three decades,

in heritage sites and museums alike, where culture is on display to the world, there have been sustained attempts to present a diversity of viewpoints, even where the result has been a whole lot less likely to make indigenous cultures feel good about themselves as a people. Arguably, this is one indication of growing maturity and confidence.

Coming back to New Zealand, it might well be claimed that whilst this process is increasingly evident in the presentation of Pākehā history, culture and heritage, it is a good deal less evident in our official attitude towards Māori culture and history. It is for this reason that, as an historian with an interest in the origins and influence of dominant ideologies such as 'culturalism', I miss a sustained critique in the book of what is now a well-entrenched institutional adherence to New Zealand's own version of culturalism — known as biculturalism, the caveats on pp.230–34 notwithstanding. The justification for this omission appears to be on the grounds that the author is Pākehā, hence he is not entitled to be critical of the way a publicly funded institution deals with a major aspect of the nation's past. However, in failing to take up more emphatically this opportunity to explore and, more importantly, to challenge, the author ends up simply endorsing conventional wisdom, giving the impression that many critics are simply academic malcontents. The danger is that this may ultimately serve to marginalise a substantial body of historical and sociological research that, whilst presenting a more mixed, less sanguine picture, should nevertheless be seriously considered by this book's readers.

Sanitised views of ethnicity that support existing interests are, of course, hardly new. Certainly in education, the message conveyed in social studies and history school textbooks from the Second World War on clearly demonstrates that Māori history and culture have been constantly massaged to suit contemporary political and economic priorities, whether Pākehā or Māori. Unfortunately, however, New Zealand's museums have also been guilty of this practice, as evidenced in an exhibition mounted some years ago by Te Papa of the Chatham Islands and their indigenous inhabitants that made no mention of the 1835 massacre by Māori invaders. When this was brought to the museum's attention, the omission was justified on the dubious grounds that a revelation of the truth was not only racist, but also incompatible with Māori *mataauranga*. However, as Peter Munz subsequently warned, if museums allow any people to present themselves in ways that suit their political ambitions, then it is a game that others (including European rednecks) may also play.<sup>1</sup> And as Alan Ward had earlier observed, whilst many modern reifications of the past can serve important goals for ethnic groups as a whole, the recent postcolonial era has seen particular views of history and heritage used not only to liberate peoples from imperialism, but also to legitimate tyranny from within their own ranks.<sup>2</sup> To be sure, museums in New Zealand are still a long way from doing this, but there is nevertheless an on-going need for such institutions to examine more carefully and critically the influence of politically powerful ethnic, class or genderised groupings that may or may not represent the interests of all. Herein lies the direct relevance of Elizabeth Rata's extensive research on neo-tribal capitalism for museum professionals, confirmed perhaps in on-going attempts from the mid-1990s at Te Papa and elsewhere, to merge neoliberal management structures with traditional Māori concepts of governance.

Finally, as far as the Treaty of Waitangi is concerned, museum professionals will need to be more aware of the extended Treaty debate and its influence on historical interpretation. In 2009, Pacific historian Kerry Howe critiqued the tendency in New Zealand from the 1980s on to portray past events in binary categories with Māori commonly depicted as rural, caring, spiritual, non-materialistic, whilst the colonisers were portrayed as urban, selfish, individualistic, aggressive.<sup>3</sup> More recently still, D.J. Round, questioning the whole movement towards partnership based on the two peoples ideology, maintains the importance of distinguishing between the terms of the Treaty and the principles.<sup>4</sup> This is because the 'principles' are a modern invention, emerging only after such statutes as

the Treaty of Waitangi Act 1975. Thus what some Māori propose for themselves may not necessarily be good for us all, including other Māori. Given this context, museum professionals will surely wish to carefully consider just what they want their particular institution to endorse and, equally, what they want it not to endorse. *Museums and Māori* certainly goes some way towards answering the first half of this proposition, but it falls somewhat short on adequately addressing the second half.

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#### NOTES

- 1 Peter Munz, 'Te Papa and the problem of historical truth', *History Now*, 6, 1 (2000), pp.13–16.
- 2 Alan Ward, 'Historical methods and Waitangi Tribunal claims', in Miles Fairburn & W.H. Oliver, eds, *The Certainty of Doubt: Tributes to Peter Munz*, Wellington, 1996, pp.140–56.
- 3 Kerry Howe, 'The politics of culture: a personal history of history in New Zealand', in Roger Openshaw and Elizabeth Rata, eds, *The Politics of Conformity in New Zealand*, Auckland, 2009, pp.13–24.
- 4 D.J. Round, 'Two futures: a reverie on constitutional review', *Otago Law Review*, 12, 3 (2011), pp.525–56.

*Letters from Gallipoli: New Zealand Soldiers Write Home*. Edited by Glyn Harper. Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2011. Xiv + 320pp. NZ price: \$45.00. 9781869404772.

THE GALLIPOLI CAMPAIGN OF 1915, in which French and British imperial forces unsuccessfully attempted to seize the Gallipoli peninsula, open up the Dardanelles Straits and facilitate the seizure of the Ottoman capital, Constantinople, has fascinated historians and students of the First World War for nearly a century. One of several 'sideshowes' concocted by strategists in response to the stalemate on the Western Front, it has retained as prominent a place in the popular memory of First World War 'futility' as far bloodier campaigns on the Somme and around Ypres. It has, as Glyn Harper notes, been particularly prominent in both New Zealand and Australian understandings of the war. Although New Zealand's bloodiest day of the war occurred later, at Passchendaele, it was at Gallipoli that New Zealanders made their 'first significant military engagement on the world stage' (p.1) and the losses suffered (2779 deaths, according to Harper, following Richard Stowers's *Bloody Gallipoli*) were 'catastrophic' compared to previous military ventures in South Africa, Samoa and elsewhere (pp.26, 297). Anzac Day is thus the crucial day of commemoration for New Zealanders, acknowledging Gallipoli's special place in New Zealand's war, despite the larger casualties of other campaigns, and notwithstanding Harper's suggestion that the ideal date to commemorate the nation's contribution would be 8 August, when New Zealand soldiers played their most substantial part in the campaign, in the assault on Chunuk Bair (p.227).

*Letters from Gallipoli* is the product of Harper's efforts in collecting over 600 letters concerning New Zealanders' roles in the campaign. The book features 190 of these letters, gathered from archives, private collections and the pages of the metropolitan press, as well as a handful from previously published collections. His appendix contains details of the 125 authors cited, of whom 119 were New Zealand men and women serving on the Gallipoli peninsula, or in support of the campaign. These letter writers ranged from already prominent figures like Colonel William Malone, killed in command at Chunuk