Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange

Amiria Henare explores the role of material cultural research in anthropology and related disciplines from the late eighteenth century to the present. Grounded in a historical ethnography of museums in New Zealand and Scotland, the work traces the movement of artefacts now held in contemporary collections through space and time, demonstrating how and why things were bought, gifted, stolen and exchanged, and carried across oceans to arrive in present-day museums. The collecting of artefacts and their study both in museums and in the field are emphasised as key strategies in the development of anthropological thought. While much late twentieth-century writing in anthropology has employed analytic models and methodologies derived from the study of language, this work belongs to a growing body of research drawing on the epistemological potency of artefacts, the distinctive insights afforded by engagement with material things.

Amiria Henare is Assistant Curator for Anthropology in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology at the University of Cambridge. This is her first book.
Frontispiece  Double-page map showing key locations in Scotland and New Zealand and their relative geographical locations.
Museums, Anthropology and Imperial Exchange

AMIRIA J. M. HENARE
for Joyce Thorpe
## Contents

*List of figures*  
page  xii  

*Acknowledgments*  
xvii  

*List of abbreviations*  
xxix  

1  **String games**  
Thinking through things  
In the presence of the past  
Imperial baggage  

2  **Objects of exploration**  
The National Museums of Scotland  
The Hunterian Museum  
Following the thread  
  The Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook  
  Cook’s collecting in New Zealand  
Artificial curiosities: Maori artefacts in  
eighteenth-century Britain  
Loose threads: Cook artefacts in the nineteenth  
and twentieth centuries  

3  **Objects of knowledge**  
A Highland tour: Banks’ voyage of discovery to  
Scotland  
‘Singularity, chance and the shuffle of things’:  
eighteenth-century museums  
Artefacts and the ‘science of Man’  
Artefacts and the passions  

4  **Improvement and imperial exchange**  
Museums, Improvement and Scottish migration  
Exploitation and exchange: early collecting in  
New Zealand  
  European visits to New Zealand 1773–1800  

© Cambridge University Press  
www.cambridge.org
x  Contents

‘Gifts’ of civilisation: early settlement and Maori travel 88
Improving people: the arrival of the missionaries 95
   The first mission to New Zealand 97
   ‘Heathen idols’: artefacts and evangelism 104

5  Colonial baggage
   Museums and early ethnology 107
   Adam Smith, New Zealand and imperial exchange 109
   Trading networks and the entanglement of exchange 112
   Humanitarian movements and imperial paternalism 115
   The Treaty and ‘the gift’ 118
   Wakefield, Adam Smith and scientific colonisation 120
   Systematic colonisation: Wakefield and the science of Man 126
   The first Wakefield settlements in New Zealand 127
   ‘A new Britain in the South Seas’: the Scottish settlement of Otago 132

6  ‘Storehouses of science’
   Early museums and ethnology in New Zealand 142
   The Great Exhibition of 1851 143
   Tangible knowledge: museums and object-based epistemologies 148
   The Industrial Museum of Scotland 153
   Geological origins of the National Museum of Antiquities 156
   New Zealand museums and scientific exchanges with Europe 159
   James Hector and scientific exchange between Britain and New Zealand 164
   The Canterbury Museum and debates on Maori antiquity 167

7  Trophies and souvenirs
   Highlanders and Maori: war, collecting and the imposition of colonial rule 179
   The savage sublime: recreational travel and collecting 179
   The beginnings of Highland tourism 184
   Walter Scott and the ‘invention’ of Highland tradition 185
   Early tourism in New Zealand 186
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnology and cultural revival: tourism and the Dominion Museum</td>
<td>198</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highland romance, Maori and the ‘invention’ of tradition</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>8 Things and words</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The scheme of things: museums in the heyday of artefact-based research</td>
<td>210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The science of collecting: museums and anthropology in Britain</td>
<td>213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthropology, Arts and Crafts and the 1906–7 Christchurch Exhibition</td>
<td>214</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Dominion Museum expeditions 1919–22</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Places of memory: folklife, history and ethnology in historical museums</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Folklife to social history in Britain</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The noble pioneer: settler histories and Maori segregation</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From storehouses of science to places of memory</td>
<td>247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>9 Words and things</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structuralism and beyond: the second ‘linguistic turn’</td>
<td>257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After structuralism</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Material culture’ as text: museums and the linguistic turn</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘Te Papa – Our Place’: the Museum of New Zealand</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Museum of Scotland</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conclusion</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Appendix</strong>: Provenance of Cloaks in the National Museums of Scotland and the Hunterian Museum</td>
<td>291</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Index</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Figures

Frontispiece  Double-page map showing key locations in Scotland and New Zealand and their relative geographical locations.

1  Merimeri Penfold teaching the string game *Te Whare o Tawhaki*, New Zealand, 1996. Photo by Amiria Henare.

2  Mannequin wearing a *kahu kiwi* or kiwi feather cloak (L.411.8) loaned by Queen Elizabeth II, and a *paepaeroa*, a plain-bodied cloak (A.UC.492) from the Edinburgh University Museum Collection. © The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland, reproduced by permission.

3  *Kaitaka* cloak (A.UC.830) from the Edinburgh University Museum Collection. © The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland, reproduced by permission.

4  *Paepaeroa* cloak (E.614) in the collections of the Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow. © Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow; reproduced by permission.

5  *Ngore* cloak (E.308) in the collections of the Hunterian Museum at the University of Glasgow. © Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery, University of Glasgow; reproduced by permission.


8  Poverty Bay, New Zealand, engraved by R. B. Godfrey after lost sketches by Sydney Parkinson. By courtesy of the University of Auckland.

9  New Zealand war canoe, by Sydney Parkinson, Mar.–April 1770. © The British Library, reproduced by permission.

© Cambridge University Press  www.cambridge.org
List of figures  xiii

10  Joseph Banks. Engraving by J. R. Smith after Benjamin West. By permission of the National Library of Australia.  51
12  ‘Various kinds of Instruments, Utensils, &c., of the Inhabitants of New Zealand, with some Ornaments &c., of the People of Terra del Fuego and New Holland’. Engraving by T. Chambers after Sydney Parkinson (1773). By courtesy of the University of Auckland.  72
13  Strathnaver Museum, Bettyhill, Sutherlandshire, Scotland, July 1998. Photo by Amiria Henare.  75
14  Waipu House of Memories, Waipu, Northland, New Zealand, December 1998. Photo by Amiria Henare.  76
15  *Toki-pou-tangata* named Tutauru (AM 31904), forwarded to Evan Nepean by Philip Gidley King. By courtesy of the Auckland War Memorial Museum.  86
16  *Papahutu* or feather box (A.UC. 503), acquired by Sir Thomas Makdougall Brisbane and presented to the Museum of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1827. © The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland, reproduced by permission.  92
18  ‘There’s Nae Place Like Otago Yet’ exhibition, Otago Settlers’ Museum, Dunedin, February 1999. Photo by Amiria Henare, by courtesy of the Otago Settlers’ Museum.  108
19  *Korowai* cloak (A.518.13) collected by Peter Wilson. © The Trustees of the Otago Settlers’ Museum, reproduced by permission.  128
20  Sample of *taniko*-weaving made by Miss Maria King. © The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland, reproduced by permission.  129
21  Te Rangihaeata’s house on Mana Island, with a figure of Colonel William ‘Wide-awake’ Wakefield at the apex of the gable (Ref. PUBL-0014–04). By courtesy of the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.  135
xiv  List of figures


27 The North Armoury, Abbotsford House, Melrose, Scotland, with Maori weapons displayed on the wall to the right of the arch, 1998. By courtesy of the Trustees of Abbotsford House.

28 *Kete muka* (woven bag) ornamented with kiwi feathers (Abdua 4107), with the Thomas Cook itinerary found inside. Marischal Museum, University of Aberdeen.

29 Cold water basins, White Terrace, Rotomahana (incorrectly inscribed ‘Hot Water Basins’), photographed by the Burton Brothers, 1885 (C.010636). Museum of New Zealand and Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand.

30 Hinemihi meeting house, Te Wairoa, photographed by the Burton Brothers, 1885 (C.010297). Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, Wellington, New Zealand.


32 Pukaki returns home to Te Papa-i-uru marae, Ohinemutu, October 1997. Photo by Hamish Macdonald.
List of figures


34 Maori leaders at the Christchurch Exhibition, 1906 (G-7185–1/1). They are, left to right: Te Rangikatukua, Mita Taupopoki, Iharaira Hikairo, Gilbert Mair (seated), Maggie Papakura, Hekemaru Kaiawa and Tutanekai Haerehuka. Photographed by Samuel Heath Head. Samuel Head Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, New Zealand.


38 Model house interior made by Hugh Smith, the ‘Bard of Inangahua’. Photo by Amiria Henare, courtesy of Black’s Point Museum.


40 Interactive computer station at the Museum of Scotland, showing a girl examining a portrait of her ancestors in the Otago Settlers’ Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand. Photograph by Amiria Henare. By courtesy of the Otago Settlers’ Museum.


45 Artist’s impression of the Museum of Scotland, by Carl Laubin. © The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland, reproduced by permission.

47 The Early People Gallery with slate wall by Andy Goldsworthy, Museum of Scotland. © The Trustees of the National Museums of Scotland, reproduced by permission.
Acknowledgments

Many of the ideas presented here first emerged at the University of Auckland, New Zealand, encouraged by the insightful teachings of Maureen Lander. These were developed during doctoral fieldwork through participant-observation in and surveys of museums in New Zealand and Scotland, and at the University of Cambridge, where I was guided by my supervisors Stephen Hugh-Jones in the Social Anthropology department, and Anita Herle in the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology. Peter Gathercole has been a constant source of knowledge and support, and a dedicated reviewer of early chapters. Manuka Henare acted as mentor in Edinburgh, Cambridge and Auckland. Sari Wastell and other colleagues at Cambridge have provided stimulating discussion and incisive theoretical commentary as well as friendship. Perhaps the greatest debt, however, is to my mother Anne Salmond, without whose accomplished scholarship and tireless reviewing of innumerable drafts it would have been impossible to weave together all the strands that make up this book.

While 'in the field' I was welcomed by Dale Idiens, Briony Crozier, George Dalgleish and David Forsyth to the National Museums of Scotland. They made space and time for my research in the midst of bringing a major new museum project to completion. At the Auckland War Memorial Museum, Rose Young fed me information on historical exhibitions, while Katrina Stamp, Roger Neich and Paul Tapsell provided key insights into the contemporary practices of museum curation. Michael Findlay, Seán Brosnahan and others at Otago Settlers’ Museum offered warm hospitality and resources in Dunedin, while Dimitri Anson and Moira White at Otago Museum, along with curators and volunteers at many smaller institutions, provided access to rich collections. The Departments of Anthropology at the universities of Edinburgh, Auckland and Otago provided homes away from home, and forums for working through ideas. Arapata Hakiwai, Michael Fitzgerald, Cheryl Sotheran and Cliff Whiting Te Papa Tongarewa, the Museum of New Zealand, were generous with their time and knowledge, as was the late Irihapeti Walters (Auntie Bessie), who instructed me in the tikanga of looking after taonga or treasured ancestral possessions.
Jan Kelly and Merimeri Penfold shared personal insights into the importance of heirlooms and *taonga* in Scottish and Maori traditions respectively, while Paul Basu shared his research on genealogical tourism. James Belich, Fergus Clunie, Ben Dibley, Hazel Petrie, Jock Phillips and Richard Wolfe sent articles and loaned other invaluable resources, while Jane Legget has encouraged the trajectory of my research and subsequent career. In addition to my supervisors, many people set time aside to read and comment on various drafts and sections of the manuscript, including Dominic Alessio, Robin Boast, Hugh Cheape, Martin Holbraad, Adrienne Kaeppler, Bernie Kernot, Alan Macfarlane, Michael O’Hanlon, Sujit Sivasundaram, Nicholas Thomas and Eduardo Viveiros de Castro, as well as several anonymous reviewers. I am grateful to all for their insightful critique and suggestions, and particularly to Simon Schaffer for his cornucopia of bibliographic recommendations, of which I fear I have not been able to take sufficient account. Nancy Hynes’ professional editorial skills were also indispensable.

The research for this book was generously supported by the Wenner Gren Foundation, the Cambridge Commonwealth Trust, the Smuts Memorial Fund, Darwin College and the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. It would not have been possible to get it into published form without the love, patience and skills of my family: Jeremy Salmond, my father, who provided constant care and ease of living, my brothers Steve and Tim, whose graphic, IT and physiotherapy skills proved indispensable on more than one occasion, and Mark Henare, my husband, who holds everything together.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGMANZ</td>
<td>Art Galleries and Museums Association of New Zealand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AIMA</td>
<td>Auckland Institute and Museum Archives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJHR</td>
<td>Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARAIM</td>
<td>Annual Report of the Auckland Institute and Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARDM</td>
<td>Annual Report of the Dominion Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATL</td>
<td>Alexander Turnbull Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BAAS</td>
<td>British Association for the Advancement of Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CMS</td>
<td>Church Missionary Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DNZB</td>
<td>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JME</td>
<td>Journal of Museum Ethnography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNZL</td>
<td>Journal of New Zealand Literature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNZS</td>
<td>Journal of New Zealand Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JPS</td>
<td>Journal of the Polynesian Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HL</td>
<td>Hocken Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ML</td>
<td>Mitchell Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NLA</td>
<td>National Library of Australia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMS</td>
<td>National Museums of Scotland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZFA</td>
<td>New Zealand Film Archive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NZJH</td>
<td>New Zealand Journal of History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAAHPSSS</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Australasian Association for the History, Philosophy and Social Studies of Science</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAPS</td>
<td>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBSW</td>
<td>Proceedings of the Biological Society of Washington</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PDB</td>
<td>Project Development Board, Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TNZI</td>
<td>Transactions of the New Zealand Institute</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>