## **MHST 515**

# **EXHIBITING MĀORI**

# **COURSE OUTLINE**



East & West Missionary Exhibition, Wellington Town Hall 1923

**Museum & Heritage Studies programme** 

School of Art History, Classics & Religious Studies Victoria University of Wellington

2008



Maui Pomare at opening of Te Maori, National Museum Wellington, 1986

### **COURSE ORGANISATION**

**Course Coordinator** Dr Conal McCarthy

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Class Times Tuesdays 1-3pm

(full year course trimester 1 & 2)

Venue OK301



Māori guides and photographers at Whakarewarewa 1920s

'Exhibitions made today may seem obviously appropriate to some viewers precisely because those viewers share the same attitudes as the exhibition makers, and the exhibitions are cloaked in familiar presentational styles. We discover the artifice when we look at older installations or those made in other cultural contexts. The very nature of exhibiting, then, makes it a contested terrain.'

'The carved meeting house is, then, a traditionalised object with a genealogy in both Foucauldian and Māori senses. Foucauldian, because its genealogy traces links between new forms of power/knowledge associated with cultural commodification and colonial state-formation; Māori, because, in symbolizing ancestral connections, it embodies a history of kin-based engagement with these new forms of power.' 2

'This action of yours has to our mind revived the waning science of our ancestors, who have passed away to nothingness, even as the snow on the mountain-tops is melted away by the warmth of the summer sun. Therefore proceed with your work, preserve it in your preserving-chamber, fashion it with the earth of Kurawaka, so that another Hineahuone may arise ... in the new building-up and collecting-together of our ancient lore, our history, our treasures ... and everything that can be preserved of us as a people.'3



The repatriation of Pukaki from Auckland Museum to Rotorua by Ngati Whakaue, 1997

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Ivan Karp and Steven D Lavine, eds., 1991, *Exhibiting cultures: The poetics and politics of museum display* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press) 1. Karp and Lavine cite the 'Te Maori' exhibition as an example of how Māori people contested the presentation of their culture in museums. See also: Ivan Karp, Christine Mullen Kreamer and Steven D Lavine, eds., 1992, *Museums and communities: The politics of public culture* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jeffrey Sissons, 1998, 46.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> 'Extracts from a letter from Tamahau Mahupuku to the Hon. Mr Carroll, presenting carved house,' *AJHR* G8: 3-4.

### Exhibiting Māori: Museums, exhibitions, tourism 1850 – 2000

From curio to artifact to taonga, this course examines the different ways in which Māori things have been put on display. How have the style of exhibitions been shaped by the changing relationship between museums and Māori people from the colonial period to the present? Through a series of case studies explored in seminar based discussion ranging from museum collections, international exhibitions, tourist sites and visual art - the relationship between objects, cultures of display and audience is explored. There is a particular focus on Te Papa and its predecessors, but a range of other museums are also investigated. The course culminates in a research project and presentation on specific museums/exhibitions.

### **OBJECTIVES:**

- 1.To gain an historical and theoretical understanding of the history of museums, exhibitions, tourism and heritage in relation to Māori people and culture
- 2.To develop a sophisticated critical framework with which to to think about the relationship between Māori and museum collection and display, culture, representation, identity, politics and knowledge.
- 3.To appreciate Māori perspectives on issues related to art, history, culture, taonga tuku iho, and cultural and natural heritage
- 4. To examine aspects of museum and heritage audiences in their social context.



Artist Saffron Te Ratana, Tuhoe

#### **COURSE CONTENT**

One 2 hour seminar per week focuses on discussion of readings, images and archival material. Apart from the set text, readings and archival material will be handed out in class in advance.

#### 1. COLONISATION'S CULTURE

### 1) Feb 26 Introduction: Māori and museums

Images of Māori exhibitions 1860s – 1990s

Conal McCarthy, 'Introduction: The culture of display,' (excerpt) *Exhibiting Māori: A history of colonial cultures of display* (Oxford & NY: Berg) 2007.

### 2) Mar 4 History and theory: Culture, discourse, representation

Mason, Rhiannon, 2006, 'Cultural studies and museum studies,' in S.Macdonald (ed). *A companion to museum studies*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006, pp17-32.

Henrietta Lidchi, 1997, 'The poetics and the politics of exhibiting other cultures', in Stuart Hall *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices.* London: Sage/ Open University, pp153-208.

McCarthy 2007 introduction.

#### 3) Mar 11 Taonga tuku iho: Māori cultures of display

Images of Māori visual culture and excerpts from Māori newspapers in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Paul Tapsell, 1997, 'The flight of Pareraututu,' *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 106.4: 223-374.

McCarthy 2007 chap one.

#### 4) Mar 18 Going to the fair: International exhibitions

James Cowan, 1910, Official record of the New Zealand international exhibition of arts and industries held at Christchurch, 1906-07: A descriptive and historical account. Wellington: Government Printer. (excerpt)

Margaret Orbell, 1998, 'Maori writing about the exhibition,' Farewell colonialism: The New Zealand International

Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-7. Ed. John Mansfield Thomson, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press. (excerpts)

Further reading:

McCarthy 2007 chap one.

### 5) Apr 1 Preserving the past: Māori antiquities c1900

Excerpts from:

'Extracts from a letter from Tamahau Mahupuku to the Hon. Mr Carroll, presenting carved house,' and Augustus Hamilton and S Percy Smith, 'Suggestions for the establishment of a National Māori museum,' Mar. 12, 1902, *AJHR* G8: 1-3.

Hamilton, Augustus. 'Notes for the information of Members of both Houses of Parliament, in the matter of the National Maori Museum proposed to be erected in Wellington to carry out the provisions of the Maori Antiquities Act of 1901, and to be a permanent memorial to the past history of the Maori People.' Dunedin: Fergusson & Mitchell, 1902.

Further reading:

McCarthy 2007 chap one.

### 6) Apr 8 Coloniser and colonised: The Canterbury Museum

Images of the Canterbury Museum 1870 – 1910.

Excerpts from:

Guide to the collections in the Canterbury Museum, New Zealand, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Christchurch: Canterbury Museum, 1906)

Further reading:

Paul Walker, 1991, 'The 'Maori house' at the Canterbury Museum,' *Interstices* 4.

### 2. NATION AND NATIVE

### 7) Apr 29 Culture for sale: Art, tourism and heritage

A selection of painting, tourist images and publications.

Excerpts from:

Bell, L. (1992). Colonial constructs: European images of Maori 1840-1914. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Further reading:

Margaret McClure, 2004, *The wonder country: Making New Zealand tourism*, Auckland: Auckland University Press.

### May 6 Building a nation: New museums 1920s – 1930s

CB Bledisloe, 1934, 'The proper function and scope of a National Art Gallery and Museum.' Auckland: Wilson & Horton.

AWB Powell, ed. (1967). *The centennial history of the Auckland Institute and Museum, 1867-67.* Auckland: Auckland Institute and Museum.

### Further reading:

McCarthy 2007 chap two.

### 8) May 13 100 crowded years: Centennial exhibition 1940

### Excerpts from:

New Zealand centennial exhibition: The Maori court. Souvenir (Wellington: Native Department, 1940)

Bernie Kernot, 'Māori buidings for the Centennial,' in Bill Renwick (ed), *Creating a national spirit: Celebrating New Zealand's Centennial*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2004, pp65-76.

# Further reading:

McCarthy 2007 chap two.

### 9) May 20 The regions: Whanganui and Gisborne 1950s & 60s

'Maori court at Wanganui Museum,' *Te Ao Hou* Sept-Nov. 1968, 64: 32. 'Museum extensions officially open,' undated newspaper clipping, 'Museum general 1968-75,' TPA MU 2, 21/1-3.

Leo Fowler, 'East coast tribes have a modern whare wananga,' *Te Ao Hou* 1959, 26: 24-27.

### Further reading:

David Butts, excerpts from 'Māori and museums: The politics of indigenous recognition,' PhD thesis in Museum Studies, Massey University, 2003.

#### 3. DECOLONISATION

### 10) May 27 Museums, heritage, identity: Māori Hall 1950s – 70s,

Plans and images of the Māori Hall, National Museum.

McCarthy 2007 chap three.

Henare, A. (2005). *Museums, anthropology and imperial exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### 11) July 8 Māori modernism: Contemporary Māori art 1960s-70s

Art works and reviews of exhibitions 1966, 1969, 1978 etc

Frank Davis, Introduction to *Contemporary Maori art*. Hamilton: Waikato Art Museum exhibition catalogue, 1976.

Excerpts from: Damian Skinner (2005). *Another modernism: Maoritanga and Maori modernism in the twentieth century.* PhD thesis, Art History, Victoria University.

Further reading:

McCarthy 2007 chap three.

### 12) July 15 Before *Te Māori*

Images of Māori art exhibitions at the National Museum 1978

'Concerning Te Kooti Rikirangi Te Turuki: An exhibition handbook' (Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1972).

Neich, Roger (1980). 'A survey of visitor attitudes to a Maori Art Exhibition.' *AGMANZ News.* 11.2: 6-9.

Further reading:

McCarthy 2007 chap three.

### 13) July 22 Photographing Māori

A selection of photographs by Brian Brake, Ans Westra, Marti Friedlander, John White and other photographers.

James Ritchie (1967). Maori (Wellington: Reed).

Excerpts from: Luit Bieringa & Cushla Parekowhai (2004). Handboek: Ans Westra photographs (Wellington: BWX).

Further reading:

Damien Skinner (2004). 'Accidental tourists' from L. Wever & A. Smith (Eds). *On display: New esssays in cultural studies*. (Wellington: Victoria University Press) 80-99.

### 14) July 29 Art/artifact: The international scene

Anthony Alan Shelton, 'Museums and anthropologies: Practices and narratives,' in S.Macdonald (ed). *A companion to museum studies*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006, pp64-80.

Phillips, Ruth B. "Exhibiting Africa after Globalisation, Pluralism and the Persistent Paradigms of Art and Artifact." In *Museums after Modernism: Strategies of Engagement*, edited by Griselda Pollock and Joyce Zemans, 80-103. Malden MA Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.

### 15) Aug 5 *Te Māori*: The longer view

Video footage from Kaleidoscope documentary 1984.

Mead, S. M. (Ed.). (1984). *Te Maori: Maori art from New Zealand collections*. New York: Abrams: American Federation of Arts.

Gathercole, P. (2002). Te Maori in the longer view. In A. Herle et al (Eds.), *Pacific art: Persistance, change and meaning* (pp. 272-273). Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i.

Further reading:

McCarthy 2007 chap four.

### 16) Aug 12 After Te Māori

Nga taonga o te motu: Treasures of the nation (1985). Department of Internal Affairs: Wellington.

Thomas, Nicholas (1996). 'From exhibit to exhibitionism: Recent Polynesian presentations of 'Otherness.'' *The Contemporary Pacific* 8.2: 319-348.

#### Further reading:

Brunt, P. (2004). Since 'Choice!' Exhibiting the new Maori art. In A. Smith, & Wevers, Lydia (Ed.), *On display: New essays in cultural studies* (pp. 215-242). Wellington: Victoria University Press.

#### 4. MANA TAONGA

### 17) Sept 2 Mana taonga: Te Papa & Mana Whenua

Tamarapa, A. (1996). 'Museum kaitiaki: Maori perspectives on the presentation and management of Maori treasures and relationships with museums.' In Ames and McKenzie (eds).

Curatorship: Indigenous perspectives in postcolonial societies, Canadian Museum of Civilisation, Ottawa. 160-69.

Tapsell, P. (2001). *Taonga, marae, whenua - Negotiating custodianship: A Maori tribal response to the Museum of New Zealand.* Paper presented at the Negotiating National Museums conference, Canberra: National Museum of Australia.

Further reading:

McCarthy 2007 chap five.

### 18) Sept 9 Visitor research: A new Māori audience

Selected data from visitors surveys 1980s-1990s.

McCarthy, C. (2001). *Mana whenua: Summative evaluation report*. Wellington: Te Papa Visitor & Market Research/Victoria University.

Greg McManus (1988). 'Nga whare taonga me te tangata whenua o Aotearoa: Museums and the Māori people of New Zealand.' MA thesis, Museum Studies, Leicester University.

Further reading:

McCarthy 2007 chap five.

### 19) Sept 16 Old stories in new bottles: Past, present and future

A discussion of museum history, current developments and new directions in governance, contemporary art, new exhibitions and marae museums.

Butts, David. "Maori, Museums, and the Treaty of Waitangi: The Changing Politics of Representation and Control." In *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed*, edited by Simon J. Knell, Sheila Watson and Suzanne MacLeod, 215-27. London New York: Routledge, 2007.

### Excerpts from:

Tapsell, P. (2006). *Ko Tawa: Maori treasures of New Zealand*. Auckland: David Bateman: Auckland Museum.

#### 20) Sept 23 Research/preparation of seminar

### 21) Sept 30 Research/preparation of seminar

### 22) Oct 7 Seminar

#### **ASSESSMENT**

The course is internally assessed on the basis of two written assignments, a seminar and a project:

- 1. Review 1,500 words of Lidchi article (seminar 2) 20% due Mon April 7
- 2. Essay 3,000 words 30% Fri May 30
- 3. Seminar 20mins 20% Oct 7
- 4. Research project 5,000 words 30% due Fri Oct 10.

Topics for essays, research seminars and projects are agreed in advance after consultation with the course coodinator.

### **Relationship of Assignments to Course Objectives**

These assignments should assist students to

- develop a historical and theoretical understanding of the display of Māori culture in museums, exhibitions and tourism
- develop an understanding of knowledge sources for museum history and theory in New Zealand
- investigate aspects of museum and heritage audiences in their social context
- complete an original piece of research in museum studies which balances academic history and theory with an understanding of professional practice



Waka regatta as part of Waitangi Day celebrations, 1990

### WORKLOAD AND MANDATORY COURSE REQUIREMENTS

#### **Workload Guidelines**

As a general rule, each paper requires a time commitment equivalent to a full working day (inclusive of teaching or seminar time) for every week of the academic year.

### **Mandatory course requirements**

The minimum course requirements which must be satisfied in order for students to be eligible for assessment for a final grade are:

- completion of all three assignments and seminar
- attendance at 90% of seminars (i.e. 21 out of 24 seminars).

#### GENERAL UNIVERSITY STATUTES AND POLICIES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* available in hardcopy or under "about Victoria" on the Victoria homepage at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about victoria/calendar intro.html

Information on the following topics is available electronically under "Course Outline General Information" at:

http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/newspubs/universitypubs.aspx#general

- Student and Staff Conduct
- Academic Grievances
- Academic Integrity and Plagiarism
- Meeting the Needs of Students with Impairments
- Student Support



Māori welcome to the Duke of York Rotorua 1901

#### READINGS

Ames, M. & Mina McKenzie (1996). *Curatorship: Indigenous perspectives in postcolonial societies*. Proceedings of the conference held at the Canadian Museum of Civilisation, Ottawa, May, 1994.

Appiah, Kwame Anthony. 2006. Whose culture is it? *New York Review of Books*, February 9, 38-41.

Balme, Christopher B. (2006). *Pacific performances: Theatricality and cross-cultural encounter in the South Seas.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Barlow, C. (1994). *Tikanga whakaaro : key concepts in Maori culture*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Barr, M. (Ed.). (2002). *Headlands: Thinking through New Zealand art*. Sydney: Museum of Contemporary Art.

Barrie, L. (1986). 'Eurocentrism in a glass box'. *Art Gallery and Museums Association of New Zealand Journal*, 17(1), 20-22.

Barringer, T. J., & Flynn, T. (1998). *Colonialism and the object: Empire, material culture, and the museum.* London & New York: Routledge.

Belich, James (1996). Making peoples: A history of the New Zealanders from Polynesian settlement to the end of the nineteeth century. Auckland: Allen Lane, Penguin.

Belich, James (2001). Paradise reforged: A history of New Zealand from the 1880s to the year 2000. Auckland: Penguin.

Bell, L. (1992). *Colonial constructs: European images of Maori 1840-1914*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Brown, Deidre 2006, 'Museums as cultural guardians,' in Healy and Witcomb (eds.) *South Pacific museums: Experiments in culture*, Monash ePress, Melbourne, 09.01-10.

Brown, Deidre *Northland Maori Wood Carving: Tai Tokerau Whakairo Rakau* Auckland: Reed, 2003.

Brown, Deidre, and Ngarino Ellis, eds. *Te Puna: Maori Art from Te Tai Tokerau Northland*. Auckland: Reed, 2007.

Bishop, C. (199). 'Kei mura [sic] a mua - the past determines the future: The relationship between museums and Maori people in New Zealand.' Paper presented at the Museology and globalisation conference: International Committee for Museology, Melbourne, Australia.

Brown, M. F. (2003). Who owns native culture? Cambridge, Mass.: Havard University Press.

Brown, Maria (2002). 'Representing the body of a nation: The art exhibitions of New Zealand's national museum.' *Third Text.* 16.3: 285-94.

Butler, P. (1996). 'Te Maori past and present: Stories of Te Maori'. MA thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North.

Butts, D. (1984). 'Co-operative redevelopment planning: First steps.' *AGMANZ Journal.*, 15(4), 23-24.

Byrnes, Giselle (1990). 'Savages and scholars: Some Pakeha perceptions of the Maori 1890s-1920s.' MA thesis, History, University of Waikato.

Cameron, Fiona (2000). 'Shaping Maori identities and histories: Collecting and exhibiting Maori material culture at the Auckland and Canterbury museums from the 1850s to the 1920s.' PhD thesis, Social Anthropology, Massey University.

Clarke, Chanel Victoire (1998). 'Mai te po ki te ao marama: Maori and museums: Past, present and future aspirations.' MA thesis, History, University of Waikato.

Cassells, Richard (1985). 'Maori 'Taonga' and the art gallery/museum dichotomy.' *AGMANZ Journal*. Mar. 16.1: 25-7.

Cassells, Richard (1994). 'Otago Museum: The wharenui Mataatua and the Waitangi Tribunal.' *New Zealand Museums Journal.* 24.2: 31.

Clifford, James (1987). 'Of other peoples: beyond the salvage paradigm.' *DIA art foundation: Discussions in contemporary culture, No. 1.* Ed. Hal Foster. Seattle: Bay Press. 121-29, 142-50.

Clifford, James (1985). 'Histories of the tribal and modern.' Art in America. Apr. 164-77.

Corbey, Raymond (1995). 'Ethnic showcases, 1870-1930.' *The decolonization of imagination: Culture, knowledge and power*. Eds. Jan Nederveen Pieterse and Bhikhu Parekh. London and New Jersey: Zed Books. 57-80.

Crelinston, Rohana (1999). 'Maori stereotypes, government policies, and Maori art in museums today: A case study of the The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa,' MA thesis, Art Education, Concordia University, Montreal.

Craw, Robin and George Hubbard (1990). 'Beyond Kia Ora: The paraesthetics of "Choice!" Antic. Dec. 8: 28.

Curnow, Wystan (1988). 'Te Maori and the politics of taonga.' *Australian Art Monthly*. Mar. 5-7.

Coombes, Annie, ed. 2006. Rethinking settler colonialism: History and memory in Australia, Canada, Aotearoa New Zealand and South Africa. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Daunton, Martin, & Halpern, Nick (1999). *Empire and others: British encounters with indigenous peoples, 1600-1850*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Dell, Richard. "Museums." In *An encyclopedia of New Zealand*, edited by A.H. McLintok, 602-5. Wellington: Government printer, 1966.

Dibley, Paul (1997). 'Telling times: Narrating nation at the New Zealand International Exhibition, 1906-7.' *Sites.* Autumn 34: 1-18.

Durie, M. (1998). *Te mana, te kawanatanga: The politics of Maori self-determination*. Auckland: Oxford University Press.

Docking, G., (1990). Two hundred years of New Zealand painting, Auckland: David Bateman.

Dunn, M. (2003). *New Zealand painting: A concise history*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.

Edmond, R. (1997). *Representing the South Pacific: Colonial discourse from Cook to Gauguin*. Cambridge: New York: Cambridge University Press.

Ellis, Ngarino (1998). 'Sir Apirana Ngata and the School of Maori Arts.' *Art New Zealand*. Summer, 89: 58-61, 87.

Ellis, Ngarino, and Witi Ihimaera. *Te Ata: Maori Art from the East Coast, New Zealand*. Auckland Reed, 2002.

Fowler, L. (1974). *Te Mana o Turanga: The story of the carved house Te Mana o Turanga on the Whakato Marae at Manutuke Gisborne*. Auckland: N.Z. Historic Places Trust.

Gathercole, Peter (2002). 'Te Maori in the longer view.' *Pacific art: Persistance, change and meaning.* Eds. Anita Herle et al. Honolulu: University Press of Hawai'i. 272-3.

Graham, Bella Te Aku (1995). 'Trafficking authenticity: Aspects of non-Maori use of Maori cultural and intellectual property.' *New Zealand Museum Journal*. 25.1: 31-34.

Grove, Neil and Hirini Moko Mead (2001). *Ngā pepeha a ngā Tipuna: The sayings of the ancestors*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

Gibbons, Peter (1992). 'Going native: A case study of cultural appropriation in a settler society, with particular reference to the activities of Johannes Anderson in New Zealand during the first half of the twentieth century.' PhD thesis, History, University of Waikato.

Gore, James (2002). 'Representations of history and nation in museums in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand: The National Museum of Australia and The Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.' PhD thesis, History, University of Melbourne.

Griffiths, Andrea. 2002. Wondrous difference: Cinema, anthropology, and turn of the century visual culture. New York: Columbia University Press.

Hanham, Stacey (2000). 'The Te Maori exhibition: An examination of its organisation and impacts as seen by those closely involved with it.' MA thesis, Museum & Heritage Studies, Victoria University.

Hanson, Alan and Louise, eds. (1990). Art and identity in Oceania. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i.

Hakiwai, A. (1999). Kaitiakitanga - looking after culture: Insights from 'within' - two curatorial perspectives. *ICOM Ethnographic Conservation Newsletter*(19), 10-12.

Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural representations and signifying practices*. London: Sage/The Open University.

Harple, Todd S (1996). 'Considering the Maori in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: The negotiation of social identity in exhibitory cultures.' *The Journal of Arts Management, Law and Society* 25.4: 292-305.

Haskell, Francis. 2000. *The ephemeral museum: Old master painings and the rise of the art exhibition*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press.

Henare, A. (2005). *Museums, anthropology and imperial exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hooper-Greenhill, E. (2000). *Museums and the interpretation of visual culture*. London & New York: Routledge.

Ihaka, Kingi (1989). 'Biculturalism and museums from a Maori point of view.' *AGMANZ Journal*. 20.2: 12-13.

Ihimaera, W., Ellis, N., & Mataira, K. (2002). *Te ata: Maori art from the East Coast, New Zealand*. Auckland: Reed.

Kaeppler, A. (1978). 'Artificial curiosities': An exposition of native manufactures collected on the three Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook, R.N. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.

Karp, I., Lavine, S., (Eds.). (1991). *Exhibiting cultures: The poetics and politics of museum display*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press.

Kelly, Julia (2007). Art, ethnography and the life of objects: Paris, c. 1925-35. Manchester University Press.

Kernot, Bernie and Sidney M Mead, eds. (1983). *Art and artists of Oceania*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, Ethnographic Arts Publications.

ter Keurs, Pieter, ed. 2007. Colonial collections revisited. Leiden: CNWS Publications.

King, Michael (1983). Maori: A photographic and social history. Auckland: Heinemann.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B. (1998). *Destination culture: Tourism, museums, and heritage*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Kirkby, Georgina (1978). 'The need for a creative arts centre in New Zealand.' *The second international symposium on the art of Oceania*. Proc. conf. Pacfic Arts Association, Victoria University, Wellington, Feb. 1-8, 1978.

Kreps, C. F. (2003). *Liberating culture: Cross-cultural perspectives on museums, curation and heritage preservation*. London: Routledge.

Liu, James et al (eds). (2005). *New Zealand identities : Departures and destinations*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.

McLintock, A.H. (ed), (1966), *An encyclopedia of New Zealand*, vol 1-2, Wellington: Government Printer.

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McCarthy, C. (2004). From curio to taonga: A genealogy of display at New Zealand's national museum, 1865 - 2001. PhD thesis, Victoria University of Wellington.

McCarthy, C. (2005). Objects of empire? Displaying Maori at international exhibitions, 1873-1924. *Journal of New Zealand Literature: Special Issue*, 23(1), 52-70.

McCarthy, Conal. "Before 'Te Maori': A Revolution Deconstructed." In *Museum Revolutions: How Museums Change and Are Changed*, edited by Simon J. Knell, Sheila Watson and Suzanne MacLeod, 117-33. London & New York: Routledge, 2007.

McCarthy, Conal. "'New Zealand Exhibition, Dunedin 1865,' 'New Zealand and South Seas Exhibition, Dunedin, 1889-90', 'New Zealand International Exhibition, Christchurch, 1906-7', 'New Zealand Centennial Exhibition, Wellington, 1940'." In *Encyclopedia of Worlds Fairs and Expositions*, edited by John Findling and Kimberly Pelle. North Carolina: McFarlane Press, 2008.

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Mason, N. M., Ellis, N., Kisler, M., (2001). *Purangiaho: seeing clearly: casting light on the legacy of tradition in contemporary Maori art*. Auckland: Auckland Art Gallery Toi o Tamaki.

Mané-Wheoki, Jonathan (1996). 'Korurangi/Toihoukura: Brown art in white spaces.' *Art New Zealand*. Autumn, 78: 43-47.

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Mead, Hirini Moko (1997). *Landmarks, bridges and visions: Essays on Māori art* Wellington: Victoria University Press.

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Murphy, R. (1983). 'The politics of Maori art', *Insight documentary*: Radio New Zealand.

Murchie, MM (1995). 'The Whanganui Regional Museum and Maori 1895-1995: A study of the relationship between a Museum with a notable Maori collection and regional iwi.' BA Hons research essay, History, Massey University.

Myers, Fred R. 2002. *Painting culture: The making of an Aboriginal high art*. Durham & London: Duke University Press.

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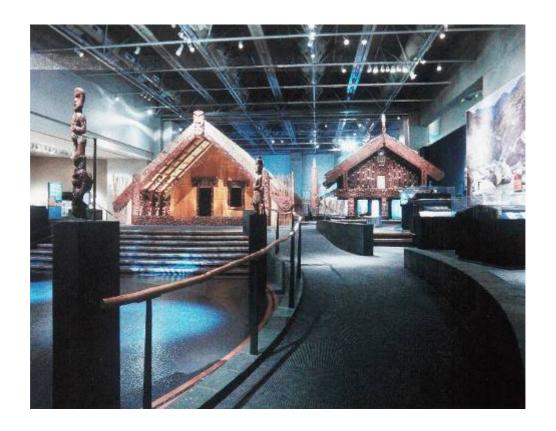
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