

TE KETE KŌRERO-A-WAHA O TE MOTU  
National Oral History Association of New Zealand

Oral  
HISTORY  
in New Zealand



2024



# Oral History in New Zealand

## 2024, volume 36

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We seek contributions from a wide range of disciplines and practices, for example, history, Māori studies, women's studies, sociology, cultural studies, anthropology, memory studies, politics, social policy, social administration, museum studies, archive work, health studies, education, library and information services, community publishing, folklore, media studies, photography, broadcasting, nursing, social work, psychology, psychiatry, and in fact any area where the significance of orality, personal testimony and remembering is understood and valued.

A Guide for Contributors is available on the NOHANZ website [www.oralhistory.org.nz](http://www.oralhistory.org.nz)

Send queries and contributions to the editors: [journalnohantz@oralhistory.org.nz](mailto:journalnohantz@oralhistory.org.nz)

Contributions are eligible for consideration for the biennial NOHANZ Prize in Oral History. Details of winning contributions are published in the journal.



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# Contents

Editorial PIP OLDHAM	ii
Awards	
LINDA EVANS LIFE MEMBERSHIP	1
NOHANZ PRIZE IN ORAL HISTORY 2024	3
Articles and Reports	
MEGAN HUTCHING	4
Talking Books: Writing Oral History	
CELINE KEARNEY	14
Southern Celts: Exploring experiences and memories of people of Irish and Scottish descent in Aotearoa	
Objects and Material Culture in Memory	
ANNA GREEN	27
LIANA MACDONALD	29
LOUISE TAPPER	31
Reviews	
RYAN BODMAN	33
<i>Rugby League in New Zealand: A People's History</i>	
Reviewed by Dean Broughton	
JEREMY HANSEN AND JADE KAKE	35
<i>Rewi : Āta haere, kia tere</i>	
Reviewed by Biddy Livesey	
ANNA GREEN AND MEGAN HUTCHING, EDS	37
<i>Remembering and Becoming: Oral History in Aotearoa New Zealand</i>	
Reviewed by Angela Wanhalla	
Books and Podcasts Noted	39
Tributes	
NICHOLAS BOYACK, 1961-2024	40
<i>Pip Oldham</i>	
ALISON LAURIE, 1941-2024	42
<i>Lesley Hall and Hilary Stace</i>	
NOHANZ	
NOHANZ ORIGINS	44
NOHANZ PRIZE IN ORAL HISTORY – CRITERIA	44
CODE OF ETHICAL AND TECHNICAL PRACTICE	45

# Editorial

This volume of *Oral History in New Zealand* comes at a time when the practice of oral history has never been more important for its capacity to place attitudes and experiences within their family, local, national, social and cultural context. In her article, 'Southern Celts: Exploring experiences and memories of people of Irish and Scottish descent', Celine Kearney revisits a single question she posed in the interviews she did for her PhD 10 years ago and later wrote up in *Southern Celts: Stories from people of Irish and Scottish descent in Aotearoa* (Reviewed in volume 35, 2023). Noting that Celtic settlers in New Zealand 'added to waves of people who dispossessed Māori of land and their cultural traditions' she analyses the ways interviewees thought the Irish and Scottish experience of colonisation influenced how they 'related to Māori in the process of colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand'. The responses vary, also covering intermarriage, suppression of language, racism and cultural similarities between Celts and Māori, and the analysis shows again the value of revisiting interviews with a different analytical lens, a topic that's been explored by others in past volumes of this journal.

Oral historians often prefer to listen but have long recognised the importance of text for distribution. The internet has complicated the dynamic but text is still vital. This volume contains several poignant examples. We have transcribed Megan Hutching's important 2023 World Book Day lecture 'Talking Books: Writing Oral History' in which she described the different ways she presented in written form 'the wild and woolly beasts' interviews can be, with their lack of chronology, discursive tendencies, hesitations and silences. *Rewi*, a rewarding book about the influential architect and teacher, Rewi Thompson, which is reviewed

by Biddy Livesey, is an example of successful presentation of interviews in text form while retaining and conveying the voice of the speaker and the subject. In contrast to presenting audio material in text format, the podcast series *Te Rauparaha: Kei Wareware* project, which we've noted alongside a small number of other podcasts, takes as its starting point a written text and uses interviews with descendants of Te Rauparaha and tribal historians to reach wider audiences for educational purposes while offering a useful insight into publication options.

Oral historians who have been interviewed themselves will be familiar with the insight they gain into their own work from being the subject of the interview rather than the person asking the questions. In the same vein, we have continued to ask oral historians to apply their oral history thinking and methodology to writing about an object of significance to them. We want to build up a body of contributions that show how objects can be used for personal narrative and connect with the senses and emotions. The physical objects continue to vary: in this issue we have fridge magnets – Anna Green; a mantelpiece clock – Louise Tapper, and James Cowan's *Pelorus Jack* – Liana MacDonald.

Sport is considered to be underrepresented in New Zealand oral history so Ryan Bodman's book, *Rugby League in New Zealand: A people's history*, which draws heavily on oral history, is an important contribution. It is reviewed by Dean Broughton who brings to it a lifetime of interest in the sport.

At the time of the first volume of *Remembering, Writing Oral History*, Anna Green – co-editor with Megan Hutching – wrote that while oral history in New Zealand paralleled some of the

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developments overseas it was much less visible in university history departments. The second volume of the book, *Remembering and Becoming: Oral History in Aotearoa New Zealand*, reviewed in this issue by Angela Wanhalla, set itself the goal of showcasing the value of oral history as a methodology for illuminating the past using substantial interview extracts. The reviewer identifies as a strength the variety of projects using oral history, and sees it providing exemplars for how to analyse and interpret oral narratives.

Finally in this issue we celebrate successes and losses. There are citations for the 2024 NOHANZ Prize in Oral History, awarded to Ruth Low and Natalie Marshall for their contributions to the journal, and Life Membership, awarded to Linda Evans. These were presented at the 2024 conference. We also remember the work of two important

oral historians, Alison Laurie and Nicholas Boyack, with tributes from colleagues. The inclusion of these in the journal contributes to the Association's history.

Megan, Perrine and I join in hoping that this volume of the journal is useful to members. As always we welcome contributions – please contact us at [journalnohanz@oralhistory.org.nz](mailto:journalnohanz@oralhistory.org.nz) with ideas or offers.

We would like to thank Jeff Hunt, Cheryl Ware and their team for completing the work of making available the entire archive of Oral History in New Zealand on the NOHANZ website where members will also find an index of the contents from 1988 to 2023. This volume of the journal will be available on the website six months after it is printed.

PIP OLDHAM

# Linda Evans

## Life Membership

Linda Evans has been a member of NOHANZ since the early 1990s. Her professional oral history work has been with the Oral History Collections of the Alexander Turnbull Library since 1994 (first as the Oral History Librarian and, from 1997-2010, as the Curator, Oral History Centre, then from 2010 on as Curator, Oral History and Sound), but she has contributed to the field of oral history in Aotearoa New Zealand in many ways – not least as president of NOHANZ from 2001-2003 and on the organisation's executive committee for many years.

Prior to her work at the Turnbull, Linda had reference and interloans experience at the National Library and, between 1983 and 1990, was the senior librarian at the then Broadcasting Corporation of New Zealand providing a print research service to journalists and programme makers working for all parts of the Corporation, including the *New Zealand Listener*. She has a BA Hons in Political Studies from Victoria University of Wellington.

She has contributed to the expertise of both staff who have worked with her in the Oral History Centre and aspiring oral historians by promoting both ethical standards and good quality archival sound and video recording to international technical standards, as well as advising on projects and interviewing. She worked on developing the Tapuhi database at the Alexander Turnbull Library to include the description of oral histories in the 1990s. Under her leadership, the role of Oral Historian, Māori was established and the role of Library Assistant responsible for training workshops and equipment was fostered. She participated in several reviews of the Oral History Recording Agreement.

By working closely with National Library conservators, Linda helped to develop the preservation programme there and to

ensure that high quality preservation advice is provided to oral historians and other individuals and organisations managing sound collections. Recently she has worked on the large digitisation project, Ūtaīana! which is digitising all analogue oral history recordings held by the Turnbull Library.

And speaking of things digital, Linda was at the forefront in planning and co-ordinating the implementation of the change from analogue to digital recording for the Library's recording programme, as well as supporting community oral historians to make the transition. She also contributed to the National Digital Heritage Archive project in the 2000s.

One of her responsibilities as Oral History Curator was to regularly review and revise, in consultation with the authors, the training manual by Judith Fyfe and Hugo Manson, 'Oral history and how to approach it', which is used for training workshops. Linda has taught many training workshops herself, and helped to organise several series of talks at the National Library on oral history, co-presented by the Oral History Centre and NOHANZ.

Linda co-edited *Oral History in New Zealand*, the annual journal of NOHANZ, for three years and has been a regular contributor to the NOHANZ newsletter. Between 1997 and 2009 she was part of the organising committee for NOHANZ conferences with a particular focus on the conference programmes and she has presented at most conferences since 1997 as well as at the International Oral History Association conference in Sydney in 2006 and oral history conferences in Alice Springs and Washington DC.

Linda had an integral role in the Political Diary Oral History Project, both as an interviewer for over 10 years and as the curator responsible for commissioning the





Linda Evans. Photo: Bronwyn Officer

project, providing liaison between the team and the Alexander Turnbull Library. Other commissioned projects that she has either planned or managed include the Canterbury Earthquake 2010 oral history project along with other contemporary projects.

Linda's publications include entries on SHE [Sisters for Homophile Equality] and Lesbian Community Radio in *Women Together: A history of women's organisations in New Zealand: Ngā Rōpu Wāhine o Motu* [1993] and, with Alison Laurie, *Twenty years on: histories of homosexual law reform in New Zealand* [2009] and *Outlines: lesbian & gay histories of Aotearoa* [2005].

She has also contributed to exhibitions at the Turnbull Library by selecting audio extracts and other material, and was curator of 'Outlines: Lesbian and gay liberation in Aotearoa' in the then National Library Gallery exhibition from December 2002 to March 2003; and the Alexander Turnbull Library exhibition and event in 2001, '“Tomorrow is too late” New Zealand Oral History Archive, 1981-1990', as well as an exhibition and event in 2000, 'Awards in Oral History, 1990-2000'.

She was the liaison between the Ministry for Culture & Heritage and the Turnbull Library for those Awards in Oral History<sup>1</sup> and served on the Awards advisory board and the grants committee for many years. Her knowledge of work in the oral history community and her advice on what is achievable greatly helped with the success of Awards projects.

Linda's contribution and commitment to oral history and for oral historians in Aotearoa New Zealand is considerable and has only been summarised here. Her knowledge of oral history methodology and theory, ethics, abstracting, transcribing and archiving oral history interviews is vast and her professionalism and dedication has benefited oral history hugely. She is a worthy recipient of life membership of NOHANZ.

MEGAN HUTCHING

## References

1. Now called [Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho, New Zealand Oral History Grants](#)

# NOHANZ Prize in Oral History 2024

We are delighted to announce the winners of the NOHANZ Prize in Oral History.<sup>1</sup> Yes, this year the prize has been won jointly, and will be shared. Awarded biennially, the prize is designed to recognize the best article or report published in the journal, *Oral History in New Zealand*, over the previous two years. The prize this year, therefore, includes the articles and reports published in the journal in 2022 and 2023.

A panel of three: the NOHANZ president, a member of the executive, and one of the journal editors, met on Zoom to consider which article or report best met the judging criteria.<sup>2</sup>

The decision was not an easy one and the panel would like to congratulate all the authors for their interesting and thoughtful research and reports. In the end we decided that the prize should be awarded jointly this time, to Ruth Low for the article 'Tools of His Trade – A portal into the life of drover Jack Curtis', and Natalie Marshall for the report 'All Assembled in Perfect Composition: Enriching photographers' archives with oral history', both published in the 2023 issue of the journal.<sup>3</sup> Both are very well written and effectively used photographs to illustrate the points being made in the text.

Ruth Low's article is an in-depth exploration of a vanished way of life in rural Aotearoa New Zealand. The article demonstrates the valuable contribution of oral history to our understanding of the past in several ways. The first is adding depth to our knowledge of a relatively neglected aspect of history, in this case rural history. And second, how including material objects in an interview can bring greater sensory and descriptive depth to oral history interviews. Finally, the reasons Jack decided to give up droving provide insight into both generational

change and family life. The article, therefore, illustrates the importance of both the emotions and the senses in memory and remembering. The transcribed excerpts from the recordings successfully convey to the reader Jack's colloquial oral expression.

Natalie Marshall's report discusses the decision to record an oral history interview with the photographer Max Oettli after he deposited in the Alexander Turnbull Library a series of photographic negatives of images taken between 1964 and 1975. The oral history interview was commissioned in 2018 and recorded by Megan Hutching. Natalie focuses upon the photographer's memories and reflections and draws upon one photograph in particular to reveal remarkable insight into a very specific moment in New Zealand history. The image captures a family at a parade for military personnel recently returned from Vietnam in 1971, but it is the exchange between the photographer and the family (recounted in the interview) that powerfully confirms Marshall's argument concerning the value of commissioned oral history interviews with photographers whose images have been deposited in collecting institutions.

ANNA GREEN

PRESIDENT, NOHANZ

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1. The prize was announced and awarded at the NOHANZ Biennial Conference 2024
2. Available on <https://www.oralhistory.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/The-NOHANZ-Prize-in-Oral-History-2023.pdf> and in *Oral History in New Zealand*
3. Oral History in New Zealand volume 35 <https://www.oralhistory.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/2024/10/NOHANZ-Book-A4-Volume-35-2023-Digital.pdf>



# Talking Books: Writing Oral History

MEGAN HUTCHING

*The Centre for the Book at Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka University of Otago hosts an annual lecture for World Book Day. This is the text of the 2023 lecture given by Megan Hutching on 2 March 2023.<sup>1</sup>*

Kia ora koutou. Thank you for inviting me, and for the introduction, and thank you for coming along today.

As a public historian and more recently a contract historian, I have worked on many different books, but this evening I'm going to talk about using recorded spoken material – my experience is with audio oral history interviews – in a printed form.

I've had some experience over the years in using oral history interviews – and using them differently, depending on what I was trying to do in the publication.

In Aotearoa, oral historians who are going to archive their recordings have tended to use a time-coded summary – what we call an abstract in the trade – as an access point for interviews, rather than a verbatim transcript.

There are a number of reasons for this, but primarily it is because it encourages researchers who want to use the material to listen to the sound recording. As you all know, there is a huge difference between hearing someone tell their story and reading a transcript – all nuance is lost in the transcript – it's almost impossible to note silences and it is impossible (without distracting the reader by making what you could call musical notations) to convey the emotions that might inflect the person's voice.

But if you want to use a recording in printed form, you have to transcribe it.

I don't know how many of you have experience recording oral history interviews but they tend to be wild and woolly beasts – discursive and non-chronological, and filled

with hesitations and silences as narrators work out what they will tell you, and how. When you listen to a recording, that doesn't matter so much, but when you try to wrangle it into coherent prose, it can be hard work.

The series of books I produced while working at the Ministry for Culture & Heritage Manatū Taonga in the early 2000s was based on interviews with people who had served in the armed forces during the Second World War – with a couple of exceptions. The books were based on the different campaigns that New Zealand took part in – North Africa, Italy, the Pacific – and there were a couple of thematic ones – prisoners of war and those who served at home in Aotearoa. Each book had an introduction which gave an overview of the subject and then there were chapters based on an individual's interview.

Before I began work on that project, I had written a book, *Long Journey for Sevenpence*, about the post-Second World War assisted immigration scheme from the UK to New Zealand which ran from the late 1940s to the mid-1970s. I recorded interviews for that book as well.

I used the recorded material differently in each project.

When you begin a research project with a publication as the end product, there are all sorts of things to think about. There are some extra considerations when you are using recorded interviews:

Have you recorded the interviews yourself or are you using archival recordings?

How will the interviews be used? – long extracts; sentences or parts of sentences; biographical format, analysis of how the narrator is telling their story, etc.

Are you presenting the person interviewed as an individual or as a typical

example of time and place?

It's also really useful to have an understanding of how memory works – the degree to which memories are censored (this may depend on why the interview is being recorded, and by whom), the effect of subsequent accounts of events on personal memory – Alistair Thomson's point which I will pick up on later – and how people combine the personal and political into individual memories.

### **Long Journey for Sevenpence**

The numbers involved here were very large – too large for an oral history project being recorded by one person. Tens of thousands of people. Yet I wanted to record some of those experiences and use them in the book. I began by asking people to get in touch and then sending them a lengthy questionnaire to fill in and return. The questionnaire included questions requiring brief yes/no type answers but also allowed people to give longer, more qualitative answers if they wanted to. I ended up using a lot of material from those questionnaires in the books – it is very rich. But who to interview? For this book I decided to interview people whose experiences were typical of certain experiences or time periods or who came from typical geographical areas or occupations.<sup>2</sup>

I was also constrained by a lack of budget which would have allowed me to travel outside Wellington.

So the 15 interviews are a not very representative, representative sample of the experiences of tens of thousands of people. But, as I said, I also had hundreds of questionnaires which I could use. In the text I used the interviews in the same way that I used the questionnaires – for anecdotes or particularly apt phrases to illustrate a point. They were merely one of the research sources that I used, and I used them in what we might consider a traditional way.

However, in *Long Journey* – at the recommendation of Jock Phillips who was Chief Historian and my boss at the time – I included edited biographies of some of the interviewees at the beginning of the book before the history proper. It was a way of engaging readers and of reminding them that

these were people and not just numbers, and was a way to introduce some themes, such as people's reasons for emigrating, which were picked up later in the book. It was also, as I wrote in the introduction, a way to reverse the lens through which we normally look at state activity and write using the viewpoint of the people who actually emigrated.

From feedback from those who were part of the scheme, I have the impression that most read those biographies and then skip to the chapters that reflect their own time period or experiences. And they look at the photos.

So that was my first experience of using recordings in a publication.

As time went on, as a result of my reading of the material produced by Alessandro Portelli, the History Workshop, Al Thomson, Joanna Bornat and Anna Green about using and interpreting oral history interviews, my thinking about how to do it changed.

### **War**

When the opportunity to be part of this project came up in 2000, I was keen to do it. I knew that I could make different books from a military historian. Those sorts of books are generally written from the viewpoint of those making the decisions – and, in fact, when the project was mooted, one of the comments was that it wouldn't be possible because all the officers were dead.

Standard accounts of war, intended as overviews of the military action, often give the impression that battle plans are followed, troops are moved up in order and either succeed or are defeated.

But when we interview people about their experiences, we are reminded what the experience is like for an individual. It is not straightforward; more often it is chaotic. There is danger, noise, death and injury. Those fighting must rely on their mates, their own sense of self-preservation, and their ability to adapt to circumstances beyond their control.

The books in the series are not books where you'll find a great deal of information about what millimetre shells were used on board the ships which shelled Japan at the end of the war or the types of armoured car

that were used in the desert, but they do give you a personalized – sometimes vivid – impression of what it was like to experience those long, dangerous, tragic years, as Prime Minister Peter Fraser called them, between 1939 and 1945.

When putting the books together, I had to keep in mind that each chapter (each chapter is one person's story) had to be self-contained and tell a story of that particular person's experiences, but also that the book as a whole must do this too—in other words, there should not be too much repetition between the stories, and the reader must get some idea of what went on regarding the particular theme of the book. In each book an introduction provides an overview which contextualises the interviews, and, taken together, the stories provide a faceted account of the experiences of war.

For each of the books, it was important that all of the significant parts of that particular experience were covered – so for *The Desert Road* (which is the North African book) we – I'm not using the royal 'we' here – these books were a team effort of the History Group and other researchers, and the interviewees, of course – we had to make sure that there was information about the Western Desert, Operation Crusader – Sidi Rezegh, etc., the time in Syria, the break out at Minqar Qa'im, Ruweisat Ridge, El Alamein, Takrouna, etc., etc., – so the people interviewed had to have been involved in at least one of those actions – and have something to say about it.

The books had to be interesting for people to read, so the individual's stories had to be strong – they had to have had interesting experiences and to be reflective about those experiences. We wanted people to read those books.

We also needed to ensure that the experiences of a range of units was included (not just those which provided frontline troops) – so we interviewed a dentist (oral history!), a chaplain, a railway engineer, drivers, all sorts of people – and included people from all around the motu. For me this was important for two reasons – it was a government-funded project and therefore had overtones of being official, so people

from all over New Zealand needed to feel that they were involved, and second because, in some ways, I think of these books as just as much a war memorial as the built ones that we have all around the country. To me, they are another way of acknowledging and remembering the efforts and activities of those men and women who served during the Second World War.

I was also determined to include interviews with women as much as I could – for the Crete book, I interviewed a nurse; in the Italian book there is a nurse and a Tui (Tuis were the young women who worked in the New Zealand Forces Club); in the North African book there is a Tui and a VAD; the POW book has an interview with a woman who worked for the YMCA in Geneva sending parcels to the men in prisoner of war camps around Europe, and for the home front book, I interviewed mainly women to redress the imbalance of the others in the series – although, of course, it's not really an imbalance because, comparatively, so few women served overseas. The Merchant Navy, which my colleague at the time, Neill Atkinson, wrote, and Pacific books have no interviews with women.

### Using other's recordings

In some of the books – for various reasons, such as shortage of time because of a very tight deadline for the manuscript – I used interviews which had been recorded by other people. For *A Fair Sort of Battering*, (a title which I have always disliked), which is about the Italian campaign, I used many interviews which Aaron Fox had recorded for a project being undertaken by Roberto Rabel who was then here at University of Otago. For the North African and Italian campaign books I used interviews which Liz Catherall had recorded with former Tuis, and my then colleague Alison Parr recorded interviews for the North African and Pacific books.

It's an interesting experience using someone else's interviews for a number of reasons.

When you've recorded the interview yourself, you've met the person so you know what they're like and you can try and reproduce that person on the page.



Listening to someone's voice gives you an idea of what they're like but it's not quite the same as meeting them. And for some of the interviews I used, I only had a transcript so never got to hear the person talking. I had to rely on the printed version of the way they spoke to try and give an impression of them.

Another reason is that when you've recorded an interview yourself, you know what stories are strong which helps you when you're thinking about the overall 'shape' of the book. By that I mean that one of these books had to cover all the main events in the particular campaign, as I mentioned earlier, but it would be tedious if everyone's chapter covered the same events, so some chapters might concentrate on only one part of the campaign if that person's involvement had been dramatic or interesting or funny, and only touch lightly on other parts of the action. When I was thinking about how the book would be structured – what order the chapters would go, what interviews would concentrate on particular events, etc. – it took longer with interviews recorded by other people because I was not as familiar with the material they contained.

## Process

I've spoken a bit about how I structured the books, and I'm now going to talk a bit more about the process of writing them.

After having recorded the interviews, I always made an 'abstract' – that time-coded summary I mentioned before. This meant that I didn't have to transcribe the whole interview because I could use the abstract and just transcribe the parts I wanted for the book.

But what do you leave out? What do you keep in?

Most of the chapters are around 4000 words, so when you have a three or four-hour interview, this means that a lot of what has been recorded isn't included in the final publication.

Once I'd done the transcripts, I then edited them heavily. I made them reasonably grammatical, but left in things like swear words and slang as I like to keep them as close as possible to the way the person spoke. I also had to think about changes in public perception – how to deal with what we would now consider

to be pejorative terms, such as 'Wog' or 'Jap'. And the one that took some thought – and is not perfect – how to transcribe 'fullas'. I ended up using f-e-l-l-a-s, which isn't quite right but I used it because I thought otherwise people might read it as 'fullers'.

I would write an introductory paragraph about the person and write bridging paragraphs throughout the chapter. This meant I could move people from place to place and from incident to incident more quickly, that's to say, in fewer words! I would also try and leave some of the questions in to remind the reader that what they were reading is the result of an interview, that is, that what's on the page is the response to a question that's been asked. I had to argue very strongly for that in the first book – the Battle of Crete one – but I managed to prevail.

I then sent each person their chapter to read and to make alterations and amendments. Sometimes I needed to ask them to clarify things as well – particularly the spelling of names if I'd forgotten to ask them that during the interview, but also if a sequence of events was not quite clear from the interview.

## What was I trying to achieve

As I said before, my approach to the books was very different from that of a military historian – in fact, one of my then colleagues said to me once, 'There's not very much war in your books, is there?', which I was happy about but which also reflected a very narrow understanding of what war is, especially considering the amount of time that is spent by troops out of action, and the number of people involved in war who are not in frontline units. As I said, I did my best to include such people.

The oral history approach is excellent for recording day to day life, emotions and the other things that are usually unrecorded because they are so ordinary that they are taken for granted. During the interviews – and for the books – I wanted to know not only about what events the people had been involved in, but what they thought about that involvement, what it felt like to be advancing under fire, whether they'd ever felt they'd had enough, what they felt about the people they were fighting against – and with – what they

felt about the people whose countries they were fighting in.

What food they ate, how they washed themselves and their clothes, what they did on leave – did the armed forces give them any advice about venereal disease and contraception – what it was like for a (very, comparatively) young man from New Zealand who'd never been overseas before to experience the noise and dirt and absolute difference of a place like Cairo, or the heat and humidity and unseen enemies in the jungles of Guadalcanal.

What did it feel like when you were a prisoner of war and had absolutely no control over your life and no idea of when the war was going to end.

Many of the things that the people in these books lived through have been covered in other publications, such as the huge official history of New Zealand in the Second World War which was produced by the War History Branch, the forerunner of the History Group where I worked at the time, or various works covering individual battles such as Crete or El Alamein or Cassino. But a lot of those publications leave out the experiences of the so-called 'ordinary' person – often referred to as 'other ranks' in the military.

I was interested in recording those experiences – the privates, or their equivalents – who were given orders and had little – usually, no – say in what those orders might be.

It seemed to me that what happened to these people – and they were the vast majority after all – was very important to record if we are to gain a rounded picture of what it was like to have taken part in that war so long ago. I quoted the biographer Richard Holmes in *Last Line of Defence* (the Home Front book) and I'd like to read that to you now because for me, it sums up why oral history is such a powerful means of restoring the 'ordinary' individual's experience to history. The past, he says is not simply 'out there' but lives 'most vividly in all of us, deep inside, and needs constantly to be given expression and interpretation'. He's talking about how memory works there.

He goes on to say that 'the lives of great artists and poets and writers are not,

after all, so extraordinary by comparison with everyone else. Once known in any detail or scope, every life is something extraordinary, full of particular drama and tensions and surprise, often containing unimagined degrees of suffering or heroism, and invariably touching extreme moments of triumph and despair, though frequently unexpressed. The difference lies in the extent to which one is eventually recorded, and the other is eventually forgotten'.<sup>3</sup>

### Typical or individual?

I mentioned at the beginning that one of the things I considered was whether I was going to present the experiences as typical of a time and place or as an individual experience.

It was a considered and deliberate decision of mine to concentrate on the richness and complexity of personal memory, its subjectivity and partiality, and record what the English novelist Elizabeth Bowen has memorably called the 'edifying cathedrals' and 'small boys' of history. She says: '[t]he charm, one might say the genius of memory, is that it is choosy, chancy and temperamental; it rejects the edifying cathedral and indelibly photographs the small boy outside, chewing a hunk of melon in the dust.' <sup>4</sup> I wanted to include the small boys – the day-to-day life of war – and the cathedrals – the danger, excitement and chaos of being in action.

Here's an excerpt from the Italian campaign book, *A Fair Sort of Battering*, from an interview with Tini Glover which, I think, encapsulates both the cathedrals and the small boys. Tautini Glover of Ngāti Porou was born and grew up in Tolaga Bay and served in C Company of 28 Māori Battalion in Italy. In this extract Tini is talking about being in action, after the battle of Monte Cassino, around a town called Tavarnelle.

We hopped on the truck. We didn't know where it was going to take [us] but, as it happened, we were confronted with a little castle town called Tavarnelle. It was Sunday, and rather than go in there in the dark they sent forward a reconnaissance patrol to probe the enemy, to see where they were. They went right up to this

castle and heard tanks inside, so they came back and told us. It was getting dark by the time they come back so we attacked straight away, along a company front. And we captured the town of Tavarnelle. We didn't capture the tank; that ran away.

Tavarnelle had a shop I remember well. They had those steel shutters that lift up on the stores, but what we used to do was get a landmine with a hand grenade. The landmine had TNT in it, high explosive, with a hand grenade attached to it. We'd go somewhere far away and, with a line, pull the pin out of the hand grenade, and that would explode and blow the shopfront out. That's how we got into the shops. This shop happened to be a music shop and everybody got a piano accordion. All the jokers, beside having their rifles, had a piano accordion each, until they got too heavy, then they threw them away.

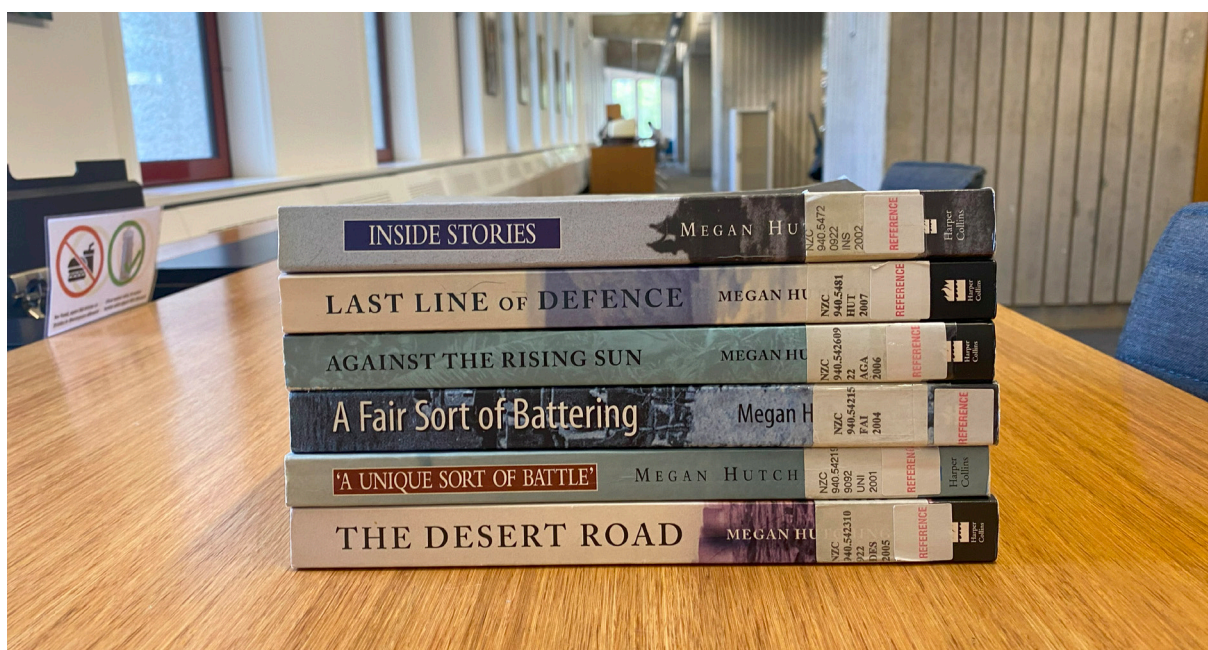
There were a lot of piano accordions in the Division, and that's how they got them. They never paid for them.

We went beyond there. Nepia Mahuika was our officer. We went into a grove of trees for the night, and in the morning he told us to go across this slope. We

were halfway across and he said, 'Get back! Get back into the copse of trees.' As soon as we got back, down came the screaming meemees, six-barrel mortars, and peppered the whole area. We would have all died except for Nepia. I said to him, 'Nep, why did you send us back?' He said, 'Well, I thought about getting the cows in, in Ruatoria. When I go to get the cows, early in the morning, the birds are singing, and they've got their wings down, drying themselves on the top of the trees in the sun. I didn't hear a bird!' Now, that's from the old people. That's an inheritance, in my opinion. Bushcraft is there, He was a good man. [They continued up the slope.]

There was a chap from Otago yelling out for us to help him. He was bringing a chap out. He had no legs. He'd stood on a landmine. He begged Boy Tomoana to shoot him. I don't know what happened, but he died. We took over D Company's house.

Next morning we shifted from there. We got a call that Tiger tanks were seen on the ridge and one of our platoons was in difficulty. They were pinned down and we had to go up and get them. I saw a lot of dead bodies on our way up. Our boys. Counted about six of them.





We went up a long, winding hill, and when we got up there our 13 Platoon was there. There were many casualties. The Germans let us through. Three or four of us. Then our platoon sergeant was bringing up our main force, and that's when the [Germans] attacked him with a machine gun. Smashed his arms. It was a bloody mess. He was lying on the ground, moaning and groaning, and his brother said to me, 'I'm going down to look at Charlie.' I said, 'He's all right. He's a bit over the ridge, He's lying down.' But he went down to pick him up. I thought, if it was my brother, I'd go. He went to pick Charlie up and the next minute, the machine gun opened up. I said to Whiro Tibble, 'I've got it in my sights, Red.' He said, 'What the hell are you waiting for?' And I peppered the [haystack] and got that joker. He threw his arms up, and then two jokers crawled out and went running up the hill. One was running as if he had a crook leg, and I shot them both. I'd wondered what it was like to shoot a man. You didn't get pleasure out of it, but satisfaction that you'd done a job.<sup>5</sup>

### Facts and truth

My own experience has not been with the analysis of how people tell their stories or reflecting on what they mean or on the significance of silences or misunderstandings in an oral testimony, but I do have some experience of dealing with facts vs truth.

History is a dialogue between an historian and her sources and nowhere is this more obviously so than in an oral history interview where you can actually and actively question the source. But all recollections are told from a standpoint in the present. We need to make sure that we don't fall into the 'trap' of thinking that oral sources are unmediated. People's attitudes and political and cultural beliefs change, and this will affect what they might tell you or how they tell you about it, what they leave in and what they don't mention.

As Alessandro Portelli says, oral history is not only a source of information regarding the events of history, but can be used to

discover the interviewee's attitude towards those events, in other words, how people rationalise and make sense of the past.<sup>6</sup> While you can scan a person's interview for 'facts', I would argue that the context of those facts is equally important, in other words, how a person tells their story can be as illuminating as what they are telling you.

Alistair Thomson has written about memory in his book, *Anzac Memories*.<sup>7</sup> He writes that memory is a process in which certain experiences are remembered in certain ways; that only a selection of an individual's experiences are recorded in memory, and that for each of these there is a myriad of ways in which they might be articulated.<sup>8</sup> Thomson then writes about the concept of 'composing' memories, by which he means that personal accounts of the past are not produced in isolation from commonly accepted public narratives about past events, but that individuals work and fit their memories into those available public narratives. He also feels that there is an aspect of construction in this composure, in the sense that we compose a past we can live with (by perhaps forgetting the unhappy or painful parts) and which gives us a sense of identity within our community and enables us to fit our experiences within those widely held attitudes towards, in this instance, the war.

After the publication of one of the books, I was contacted by a number of veterans who told me that it was impossible for the experiences recounted by one of the people interviewed to have occurred. Taking into account his unit and their own knowledge of the events, he simply could not have been where he said he was and experienced what he told us in the interview.

What to do? Is it every historian's nightmare, or does it provide us with an opportunity for some deeper understandings? At the time, I told the people who contacted me that we had recorded this person's memories of this particular time and that, for him, those memories were real. (I suspect that they were not convinced by this explanation but I stand by it.)

But while his memories were real, were they true, I began to wonder, and was

that a problem? To begin with, there is the issue of 'truth'. I know that one person's memories of an event can differ greatly from another who has experienced the same event, and that that has to do with personality, with emotions, with relationships with other people involved, and with age. Truth is a slippery notion when it comes to remembering the past, but as Paul Thompson has written, 'what the informant believes is indeed a *fact* ... just as much as what "really happened".'<sup>9</sup>

As Alistair Thompson noted, our memories are often shaped by subsequent events. I firmly believe that, for this man, he did remember that he had been there and had experienced those events. He had suffered terrible ongoing mental anguish from his war experiences, which I believe influenced his recounting of the story. Something along the lines of: I had to have done something worthwhile to make this subsequent anguish bearable.

In Alessandro Portelli's words, it is the meaning for the person interviewed that is significant: 'memory is not a passive depository of facts, but an active creation of meanings'.<sup>10</sup> In other words, people try to make sense of their experiences by placing them in story lines which make them meaningful to themselves. As Anna Green has written:

Remembering is a complex process. Our brains do not store literal snapshots of the past that we can call up upon demand. Memories are partial and fragmented, and in the process of reassembling them for others we decide what to include or exclude. We also seek to make meaningful connections between the present and the past.<sup>11</sup>

We learn not to confuse facts and truth. Every interview is truthful in the sense of being a true reflection of that person being interviewed by that interviewer at that particular time, in the context of the topic, engagement between the two, how both of you were feeling on that day, the physical surroundings, and the background events affecting both person's lives. Interviewees might exaggerate or they might be so modest that they do not tell you about their



Photo courtesy Megan Hutching

heroic exploits. I've had experiences of both, but never of deliberate lying.

In my experience, interviews are always a combination of facts and truth and when we use them when we're writing, we need to recognise that.

I mentioned the pushback I received from other veterans about that man's account of his experiences in North Africa. I think this is what he was doing – composing his memories in such a way to make a truth that made his subsequent mental anguish more bearable.

So – are oral history recordings easy to use in publications? Not really, once you start thinking about it. But do they add richness to more conventional sources? Do they help us to understand how people remember and what they remember, and how they think about the past? Hell, yes. Let me finish with this piece about how wars, while resolved collectively are experienced individually, and how something involving such violence and suffering can also transform a person's life in a positive way. This is from an interview with Gordon Johnston who grew up in Port Chalmers and who returned to Otago after the war. Gordon was in the 5 Field Regiment of Artillery and here he's talking about his experiences in Trieste at the end of the Italian Campaign.

I thought I'd go on an exploration, and I went all the way around to a private bathing establishment, called a *savoia*. It was out of bounds to troops, they had sentries on, and inside they had cabins and structures built out over the Adriatic. You could sunbathe on these wharf-like things and swim. I thought, Gee, I want to get in there. There were some New Zealand sentries, but they weren't on duty there. I went over to them and I said to these guys – because I had my identity discs on – I said, 'Could I strip off here?' 'Yes, OK,' they replied. So I stripped off. I had a bathing suit and I was as brown as a berry. I got my towel, left my gear there and I walked up to these Tommy sentries and straight through them, didn't take any notice of them. I looked like an Italian.

There were people everywhere. There were three girls sitting near one place, and one of them asked me for a match. These were three nurses from the hospital. I liked the look of one of them especially. I couldn't speak Italian – I'd picked up the odd words – but the three of them could speak French, so we yarned away in French. I wanted to know one of them a bit more.

I went there every day for a while and Luciana and I got very cobby. I had to take the three of them everywhere. I wanted one of them to be by herself, but these other two came. Eventually I wrote home and told my parents that I had met an Italian girl who I liked very much. My mum wrote back and pointed out all the problems with me marrying. You see, they were old-fashioned and my mother's brother had married a Catholic person and had had a terrible life. It used to happen, and they were worried about that. But by the time her reply came, we had already become engaged.

I went to ask her mother if I could marry her – her father was wounded in the First War and he died afterwards, in about 1923, I think. I had to ask the

mother, and of course the mother couldn't speak English. I couldn't speak Italian and she couldn't speak French. So here's Luciana and her mother and me and I asked her if I could marry Luciana. Luciana asked the mother, and I always maintain that the mother said no and Luciana said yes.

The war was over, and lots of New Zealanders had met Italian girls and the New Zealand Army thought it wasn't a very good idea. Guys had been away from female company for a long time and it'd be much better if they didn't get married. So they laid down a law that if any New Zealand soldier wanted to pair up with an Italian lady, they would give priority to go to New Zealand to engaged couples. [Gordon got back to New Zealand in September 1945.]

I bought a translation set, *How to Speak Italian*, and I studied that so by the time Luciana came we could forget our French and speak Italian. Luciana arrived in February 1946. They left Trieste and they zigzagged down Italy, picking up different war brides till they got to the ship. She had to wait in Bari for a long time. They had a married lady, Mrs Tanner, in charge of them, and she was very good to them. The people on the ship were also very good to them.

My sister came with me to bring Luciana down from Lyttelton. We were waiting on the wharf when the ship came in, and it was having trouble berthing because the waves were quite big. My sister and I were standing there, and there were these girls, waving. My sister said, 'There's one there. She's waving. That must be her.' I said, 'That's not her. She's not there!' Luciana had got cold feet and she was down in the cabin.

She said she didn't get homesick until they called in at Fremantle, and it was at Fremantle that she felt she wanted to go home. My parents were wonderful, and the rest of the family.



Luciana arrived and caused a great deal of interest in Port Chalmers and what was fascinating, lovely for Luciana, was that they all took her to heart. Although we had been fighting the Italians, there was no anti [feeling]. I sometimes say to her, 'It was a great thing to leave all your family and come here to a country where you couldn't even speak the language.' And customs and that. She cooked different food – not nowadays, because everyone eats Italian nowadays. So it was a wonderful thing, and I often think of that.<sup>12</sup>

I want to stop there on a positive experience of being at war.

## References

1. The lecture was recorded and is available on the NOHANZ website [www.oralhistory.org.nz](http://www.oralhistory.org.nz)
2. The original recording began after this point because of a technical oversight. Megan Hutching re-recorded the start of the lecture, using her written notes, to ensure the complete lecture could be preserved. The text to here is a transcript of the re-recording.
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4. *Vogue*, 15 September 1955, pp. 108-9.
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# Southern Celts: Exploring experiences and memories of people of Irish and Scottish descent in Aotearoa

CELINE KEARNEY

## Abstract

This article explores interviews with people of Irish and Scottish descent in Aotearoa New Zealand, focusing analysis on responses to a question as to whether colonisation in the northern hemisphere homelands of Ireland and Scotland affected how people from these cultural backgrounds have related to Māori in the colonisation of Aotearoa.

Interviewees did not find evidence in their own experiences or reading that people of Irish and Scottish descent were influenced by their histories of colonisation in their relationship to Māori in the colonisation of Aotearoa. There were, however, some positive individual counter narratives to the macro-context of colonisation where interviewees found cultural similarities between Irish, Scottish and Māori, including

understandings of the importance of family relationships and land.

The article also backgrounds the book from which the interviews are drawn (Kearney 2023) and explores literatures underpinning the use of narrative and autoethnography as method and text. It applies Holman Jones, Adams, and Ellis's (2013) characteristics of autoethnography to interviews: first, as a critique of culture and cultural practices; second, as a contribution to existing research, and thirdly how interviewees embrace vulnerability, so creating a relationship with audiences and compelling a response. It explores the contribution these interviews make to the wider scholarly conversation about the Irish and Scots in Aotearoa and asks what other effects the book of interviews may have.

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In autoethnographic methods the researcher is the epistemological and ontological nexus of the research process (Spry, 2001, p. 711)

Narratives take many forms – oral and written, visual, musical and physical performance. They include written texts of many genres, short and long stories, poetry, and song, photo essays and other visual arts, musical compositions, and dance. Single-voiced or multi-voiced, they share information and perspectives with listeners, readers and viewers across time and place. This article focuses on a multi-voiced written narrative, the product of a practice-led PhD which explored the discursive construction of Irish and Scottish cultures in Aotearoa (Kearney 2010–2015).

*Southern Celts: Stories from people of Irish and Scottish descent in Aotearoa* is a collection of 23 interviews (Kearney 2023). Twelve are women and 11 are men, three are Irish-born and three Scottish-born, others are born in New Zealand, with family members here up to five generations. Three of the spouses of interviewees also joined in the interview. Two of the interviewees have clear and long family connections with Māori iwi, while another has less developed connection to his iwi; six others have Māori whānau connections including a grandparent, a spouse, an aunty, an uncle, cousins, or grandchildren. The

interview narratives are bookended by my own story as the granddaughter of three Irish-born grandparents and one born to an immigrant Irish family in Central Otago, which positions me as researcher and writer, as Spry describes, as the epistemological and ontological nexus of the inquiry process (2001, p. 711).

This article will explore responses to the final question that each of the narrators was asked: 'The Irish and the Scots have been systematically colonised and suffered for this. Do you think this experience and understanding has influenced how they have related to Māori in the process of colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand?' This question was influenced by my experience of trying to make sense of the hard reality that my grandparents, who left Ireland independently, or with families, seeking a better life, added to waves of people who dispossessed Māori of land and their cultural traditions. This left Māori, like the Irish, struggling to gain sovereignty over their own land and culture.

Before turning to the narratives to explore responses to the issue of colonisation, I will explain some background to the book, position it in New Zealand scholarship about the Irish and the Scots, and then turn to three methodological choices: the use of narrative, autoethnography, and of writing as method in the construction of the text. I will briefly draw parallels with oral history theory and also review the underpinning literature about culture and cultural identity.

The title 'Southern Celts' references the southern hemisphere, where Aotearoa is positioned in the southwest Pacific Ocean, and the Celts who were northern hemisphere tribes who spread across Europe to the Atlantic coast of what is now Spain, France, England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland across millennia (Oppenheimer, 2006). The Gaels, from Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man are one grouping under the Celtic umbrella. My professional background as an applied linguist provided me with insight into the close historical relationship between the Irish and the Scots, given that they share a language, Gaelic, originally spoken in Ireland

(Markdale 1993, O'Neill 2005).

The Southern Celts inquiry is a contribution to scholarly academic historical research on the Irish and Scots in Aotearoa New Zealand (see Akenson 1990, 2000; Brooking & Coleman 2003; Patterson et al 2013; Buettlmann 2011, Fraser 2000; McCarthy 2005 2007, O'Shea- Miles 2002). McCarthy's *Irishness and Scottishness in New Zealand from 1840*, (2011) uses the lens of ethnicity, drawing on a range of sources that offer insider and outsider perspectives. Southern Celts, however, uses culture as the predominant lens, drawing on insider perspectives only, using interviews as a method of recording more current experiences, memories and reflections. McCarthy concludes that engagement with a multigenerational descent group is required (2011 p.211). The Southern Celts interviews provide this in detail across the generations.

Turning to methodological choices, and first, the use of narrative. There is no single definition of narrative as a research method. It carries many meanings, often used synonymously with 'story' (Reissman 2008, p.3). Narratology, which is the study of narrative as genre, approaches narrative as text-type and focuses on defining 'story' through analysing definitional criteria (De Fina & Georgakopoulou 2012, p.2). Accompanying this is a tradition of narrative as mode, in which theorist Ricoeur (1980) views narrative as fundamental to human cognition and understanding of the world. Narrative as method is used by a range of academic disciplines, applying different forms and theoretical bases. In social research, narrative refers to a varied range of methods of investigation, analysis and theoretical orientations (Andrews, Squire & Tamboukou 2013, p.3). For Salmon, a fundamental criterion of narrative is that of contingency (2013 p.197). Using the example of oral storytelling, a speaker connects events in a sequence that is consequential for later action and for the meanings the speaker wants listeners to take away from the story (Reissman 2008, p. 3). All narratives are, in a fundamental sense, co-constructed. In this context, for example, the personal accounts in research interviews



are co-constructed with the interviewer (Salmon in Andrews, Squire & Tamboukou 2013, p.199).

Southern Celts uses narrative as both method of research and the phenomenon of study. The narratives, mine and the interviewees', are viewed as 'both lived and told stories' re-storied by the teller at different times and for different reasons, with change inevitable over time for both the researcher and the researched (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. 62). My aim in representing the longer interview narratives was to enable the reader to focus and to read "with" rather than "about" the narrator (Bochner, 2012). The reader, too, can play a significant role in the co-construction of the story, bringing their own experience and understanding to their reading and, in doing so, perhaps extend the range of the narrative. Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou argue that by focusing on narrative we are able to investigate not just how stories are structured and the ways in which they work, but also who produces them, by what means, how narratives are silenced, contested or accepted, and what, if any, effects they have (2013, p. 2).

Oral historians have long reflected on the role of narrative. Anna Green (Potiki and Green 2024, p.21) draws on earlier work by Alessandro Portelli and highlights the centrality of *narrative form* [original italics] when narrators remember experiences during an interview. Green likewise emphasises the importance of the 'stories we tell about our lives' and their importance in shaping a sense of self and identity, quoting psychologist Oliver Sachs:

We have each of us, a life story, an inner narrative – whose continuity, whose sense, is our lives. It might be said that each of us constructs and lives 'a narrative' and that this narrative is our identities... (p.21)

This central idea of construction of identity through narrative leads me to autoethnography, another of the methods underpinning the Southern Celts interview narratives. Autoethnography is 'an autobiographical genre of writing and research

that displays multiple levels of consciousness, connecting the personal and the cultural' (Ellis and Bochner 2000, p.739). Ellis describes autoethnographic work as 'joining social sciences and humanities to make scholarship more human, useful, emotional, evocative' using autoethnography and narrative 'to contribute to the world in which we live' (Holman Jones Adams & Ellis 2013 p.18).

Some autoethnographic writing includes multiple subjects, through interviews and or fieldwork, as I have done. Autoethnography can be distinguished from autobiography's more personal focus through four characteristics: first, purposefully commenting on/critiquing culture and cultural practices; second, making contributions to existing research; third, embracing vulnerability with purpose and finally, creating a reciprocal relationship with audiences to compel a response. To achieve this, autoethnographers aim to write accessible prose for a general audience, and also to connect the work to scholarly conversations (Holman Jones, Adams and Ellis 2013).

With the use of autoethnography comes the issue of memory. O'Shea-Miles addresses this in her research entitled, *Irishtown Hamilton East 1864-1949*, which she acknowledges would have been impossible without the use of oral histories. She highlights the importance of collecting personal narratives while people are still able to remember past events, 'before the generation disappears forever' (2002, p. 149). Another issue is that of accuracy of recall, or 'truth.' Muncey (2010, p. 102) reminds us that sharing family memories does not necessarily uncover 'verifiable truth'. However, I argue that family stories and shared memories have value because they help create our lives through the framework of relations that they weave around our life. Understanding of these stories may change over our lives as we understand wider contexts. Bochner describes the kinds of truth that stories of family record or individual memories construct as 'emotional, dialogic and collaborative' (2012, p. 16).

Oral history and collecting these interview narratives share similar challenges.

Alessandro Portelli, for example, addresses the same issues of the nature of truth in oral narratives, describing oral history sources as being psychologically true, and that this is equally as important as being factually reliable. Individual memory is another aspect to be considered in oral history and narrative accounts. For Portelli, memory is 'not a passive depository of facts but an active process of creation of meanings' (2002 p.37) also noted by Bochner (2012).

### **Culture and cultural identity**

My choice of interviewees was influenced by Weedon whose work is underpinned by poststructuralist and feminist understandings (1997). Her definition of cultural identity holds that,

It is neither one thing nor static.... it is constantly produced and reproduced in practices of everyday life, education, the media, the museum and heritage sectors, the arts, history, and literature (2004, p. 155).

This is reflected in the range of people who I interviewed, who include business owners, speakers and teachers of Gaelic, musicians, singers, writers, visual artists including a documentary maker, a master carver, an educationalist and a museum archivist.

For Fong and Chuang cultural identity is 'dynamic, fluid, dialectical, relational, contextual and multifaceted' (2004, p. 65) while narrative theorist Mishler believes each individual has multiple identities, rooted in different sets of relationships 'that form the matrix of our lives' (2006, p. 41). This is a 'relational concept' of identity, one that,

locates the recurrent re-storying of our lives within the flux of contradictions and tensions of the several social worlds, in which we are simultaneously actors and respondents to others' actions (p. 43).

Thus, for each narrator, their Irish and Scottish backgrounds are only one aspect of their lives (as influential as it was in this inquiry) lived out amongst contradictions and tensions.

### **Writing as method**

Institutional ethics approval was gained and interviewees either gave oral or written permission for their interview responses to be used. The interviews were recorded from 2010-13. Mainly single interview events, they were transcribed, edited, and returned to the interviewee for further changes or responses, as recommended by Chase (2011, p.242) and Reissman (2008, p.198). Transcribing, editing and revisions was a time-consuming process, but satisfyingly so, when seeing the narratives develop. Oral historian Megan Hutching expresses another similarity between oral history and narrative inquiry:

We owe it to the narrator (and to the reader) to present the story so that it is told in the way the narrator and the oral historian feel remains faithful to the intent and tone of the interview. (2004, p.173)

I re-visited the interviewees by email or telephone about ten years later to again get their approval to publish. I used Richardson's *Writing as Method* to represent the interview narrative, and her metaphor of a crystal, through which each person's experience is viewed as a refraction of a crystal: 'What you see depends on your position of repose' (Richardson, 2000, p.925). In this metaphorical framework each interview is a refraction of the crystal, discrete in time and place, but part of the whole crystal representing the experience of having Irish or Scots backgrounds in Aotearoa, across decades and over a century.

### **The issue of colonisation**

Turning now to responses to the question about whether the experiences of colonisation influenced how people of Irish and Scottish background have related to Māori in the process of colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand. I draw on 13 of the interviewees – three Irish-born, two Scottish-born, the others New Zealand-born across different generations. Using Holman Jones, Adams, and Ellis's (2013) characteristics of autoethnography, I will analyse interviewee responses in

terms first of their critique of culture and cultural practices which in this context is interviewees' understandings of how people of Irish and Scots backgrounds have related to Māori, second by their contribution to existing research, and third, to explore how interviewees embrace vulnerability, so creating a relationship with audiences and compel a response.

I start with six responses to the question. The first two offer a counter narrative to more mainstream historical narratives of the time. First is the late writer Keri Hulme, born on the South Island's east coast, of Orkney Island Scottish background through her maternal grandmother, whose father came from Kirkwall, Mainland, the biggest island in the Orkney group. Keri also had tribal links to Kāi Tahu and Kāti Māmoe iwi through her maternal grandmother who married one of two Māori brothers, while a great aunt married the other brother.

Some of the Irish and the Scots were blatantly on the side of the colonisers, but among less ambitious or greedy people it was a matter of allying with Māori, particularly here in the south, because Kāi Tahu didn't have the same kind of history that the North Island had. ...the further you go south it's very difficult to find people who haven't got Kāi Tahu links, especially Scots....

... I think there was an empathy, particularly for people who maybe came from the Clearances areas in Scotland. This didn't happen in the Orkneys though. There wasn't the same laird system. There was an empathy simply for the fact that they understood what being dispossessed was and they understood what being invaded was. That's something that is residual...I know for Kāi Tahu here, we never forget our history but we also work to change what history has thrust on us.

Keri is candid in describing her family experience, putting it in the context of the times, sharing her mother's parents' wedding photo; a portrait which would have been sent back to family in Scotland.

My mother's father has been ever so slightly bleached. Look at his hand, he

has gloves in one hand, but the other hand, you can actually see his colour, he was not a white man. My nana was very happy and so was her sister who married his brother. I do know that the racism of magazines and particularly newspapers was stunning. But they were obstinate, wilful, stubborn people who follow their hearts and do what the spirit led them to do.

She explains that the photo had been touched up to make her grandfather's skin colour lighter, a consequence of the blatant racism of the times illustrated in magazines and newspapers. Yet in something of a counternarrative, she recalled that her people 'followed their heart' and were, by her report, happy in their marriage. Keri's narrative adds to Angela Wanhalla's, research for *Matters of the Heart* (2013) which explored interracial marriages and relationships from first contact through the colonial period and into more modern times. Keri continues:

New Zealand-born Celts were far and away more enlightened than a lot of their English compatriots. Have you heard of the Hicketty Pips, the Sixty-Fifth Regiment of Foot that fought in the Land Wars? One of their soldiers is recorded as saying, by a disinterested observer, an English person attached to the Hicketty Pips, "For sure why are we fighting them? They're just the same as us, with their babies, their pigs and their potatoes."

Here the similarities between the soldier and Māori were their care for their babies, their pigs and potatoes. This incident was also described by publisher and writer Michael O'Leary, of Irish and Māori backgrounds, now based in Paekākāriki, who wrote a song for the Dunedin Irish band, Blackthorn in the early 1990s. Changing pigs for fish, it is entitled *Potatoes, Fish and Children*, and tells the story of an Irish soldier, Paddy, who escaped his regiment:

His orders were clear to set up a fight  
So the crown could claim confiscation  
Of land to which they had no legal right  
By the treaty which founded the nation

As Paddy thought of it more and more  
He could see that this land grabbing was  
not need

[...] The tribe that found him took his  
body back  
From te wahi moemoea and restored  
him to life  
For they saw in his eyes when they  
opened  
Potatoes fish and children

Michael O’Leary offers his cultural critique by way of his song about the soldier, Paddy, who deserts his post because he sees the similarity between Māori and ‘the people at home in Ireland’ both sharing the importance of their ‘potatoes, fish and children’ and their fight to control their land. It uses te reo Māori ‘te wahi moemoea’, ‘the place of dreams’, and in doing so offers a Māori perspective.

Excerpts from the following three narrators clearly articulate a negative response to the question. Charlie Dunn is of Te Rarawa iwi from the Hokianga, Northland, and of Irish, Scottish, and English backgrounds, a former New Zealand heavy weight boxing champion, and now a beekeeper,

I don’t think any Irish or Scottish experience of colonisation influenced how people related to Māori: right up till the last 35 years when Dame Whina Cooper started fighting with the Crown to get land back. Through the Waitangi Tribunal, the Te Rarawa claim has all been signed off, it’s just a matter of when they get the money. A lot of land was given back and they were compensated for what can’t be given back if land has been sold on....

I think those early settlers believed they were trading, I don’t know about “fairly,” I think they took it as “fairly,” but it wasn’t till over the years that people realised these are rip offs. We found that the translations were wrong, so a lot of their land was lost through that. In those days, with no education there is no way they would have understood what was happening, especially in the English language. I find it hard to

understand legal jargon now, let alone without an education.

The area was confiscated by the Crown, ostensibly because they couldn’t pay the Dog Tax, two and six [two shillings and sixpence], for pig hunting dogs... [Charlie had got a file out and spread maps and documents across the kitchen table.] I’m tired now and don’t want this responsibility anymore. My oldest son understands all this.

He makes himself vulnerable by admitting he is tired of the struggle and has handed it on to his son, illustrating Mishler’s understanding of a life lived, ‘within the flux of contradictions and tensions of the several social worlds’ (2006, p. 43). This multi-generational struggle of Māori to gain back control of their own land echoes the Irish struggle to get access to their land from English or Anglo-Irish landlords, a narrative about my own Irish family that I learned early in life from my mother and her sister.

Michael Godfrey was born in Christchurch, is from a Scottish background and taught Scots Gaelic in Christchurch for nearly ten years. He learned about the language and culture from his Scots Gaelic teacher Donald, who was born in Harris in the Outer Hebrides.

I don’t think the Scottish and Irish experience of colonisation influenced how they related to Māori. That’s an historical question. McKenzie who broke up the big estates had witnessed the Clearances in Scotland. He was bitter about it so the first thing he tried to do when he came here was to get rid of the big English estates, which he did break up, but he quite happily stole land off the Māoris. So in my experience it doesn’t seem to translate to other cultures. And I’m sure there were a lot of Irish in Australia, or Scots who gave the Aborigines a pretty rough time, I’m quite cynical about that...

...Scots Gaelic speakers actively discouraged their children from speaking it. There were a lot of negative



educational forces disparaging their language. It's very like what happened with Māori, they got told they were retarded. Also, they saw it as an impediment to their children's future... Old Donald said he got beaten if he spoke Gaelic in the playground in the Islands, even though they used it once they got out of the school gates. That's the nature of cultures dominating other cultures...

But I think there are more cultural similarities between the Scots and the Māoris than probably between the English and the Māori, especially with regard to the extended family. I think this is why there were more Scots/Māori marriages, including in my own family, as evidenced by the number of Māori with Scots names, like Morrison, MacDonald, and Mair. But sadly, I don't think the Scots treatment of Māori has been any better than the English, in spite of The Clearances. It is a sad fact of history that yesterday's oppressed become today's oppressors. One only has to look to Israel. So, my answer would be "no."

Michael draws a parallel between the experience of Scots Gaelic speakers in the Islands and Māori experience in the suppression of their indigenous language here in Aotearoa. He acknowledges intermarriage between Scots and Māori, but clearly states that the experience of The Clearances did not affect how Māori have been through the process of colonisation. He quotes Brazilian educator Paulo Freire's (1996) belief that 'the oppressed become the oppressor,' which the following narrator also alludes to.

Robert Consedine, Christchurch-born, of Irish background, was a Treaty of Waitangi educator who ran Waitangi Associates with his wife for over 30 years. He remembered former Prime Minister Jim Bolger being asked on television in the 1990s why he supported the Treaty claims settlement process with Māori, and his answer: 'It was because he knew his Irish history.' Robert offers a sharp critique of colonisation.

Colonial societies are, by definition, racist. Racism against the Irish in Ireland was highly developed over the centuries... Although the time frames are different, some of the laws passed in New Zealand, particularly during the wars of sovereignty of the 1860s, mirrored laws passed in Ireland at an earlier period. These same laws which dispossessed Māori in turn benefited the Irish colonial settlers.

[...] Global literature tells us that the Irish tended to join the dominant class for a variety of reasons... Irish who went to America tended to support the slave owners... They often benefitted from colonisation wherever they went. I've never encountered anything in New Zealand that would change that broad idea. There are of course individual exceptions, but the broad idea is that people who have been oppressed tend to end up joining the oppressor. I don't think it's confined to the Irish. Paulo Freire, the famous Brazilian educator wrote that "the oppressed became the oppressors." I think, right through the empire, escaping from oppression meant joining the oppressors. I do not see a lot of evidence that it was any different in regard to Māori.

He frames the colonial process as inherently racist and draws a clear parallel between the colonisation in Ireland and in New Zealand. Unable to say personally whether the experience of colonisation affected how people of Irish or Scottish background have related to Māori, he points to global literature which records that Irish joined the dominant class, including possibly owning slaves in America. He also quotes Paulo Freire to illustrate a power dynamic which has played out around the world against indigenous peoples. He later describes cultural similarities between Irish, particularly Irish Catholic and Māori cultures.

... With the benefit of hindsight, I would have loved to have grown up with a range of languages, including Gaelic and Māori... The limitations of an English

education system became obvious to me as an adult: a colonial English-imposed curriculum was a bankrupt litany of ignorance.

From a cultural perspective many Irish Catholics have similar attitudes as Māori to extended family and the celebration of life. The connection shows itself, I think in the celebration of life and death, laughter: honour and family are all at work here. Usually when I am standing at a grave, I end up singing the Irish blessing, “May the road rise with you, May the wind be always at your back” ... I often get the task of leading it.

Robert’s comments about similarities between attitudes shared by people of Irish Catholic backgrounds and Māori is echoed by several narrators. His references to the limitations of ‘an English-imposed curriculum’ and to Gaelic and te reo Māori echo New Zealand scholar Stephen May’s research which shows that the laws used to suppress Irish Gaelic in Ireland were later used to suppress Māori language in New Zealand (2005).

The next two narrators, both born in the northern hemisphere, respond to the question with descriptions of the racism towards Māori that they experienced on arrival in New Zealand. Evey McAuliffe is Dublin born, an Irish-speaker and singer, living in Nelson:

I was taken aback when I came here and experienced the racism towards Māori and resistance to Māori culture.

I think the Irish have sympathised with Māori who were also colonised by the English. [...] I’ve had several attempts at learning te reo and I don’t have any problem understanding that Māori are the first people of the land.

Evey’s response is not initially focused on people of Irish and Scottish backgrounds but describes her general experience of a widespread social response of racism toward Māori when she first arrived in 1986. It is a comment which could make her vulnerable because it may be challenging for people to acknowledge the racism that she saw. She links colonisation in Ireland and New Zealand and believes the Irish have sympathised with

Māori, describing her own attempts to learn te reo Māori, and her own sense of Māori as ‘the first people of the land’, illustrating her empathy towards the experiences of Māori.

Scottish-born Laura Mills, a journalist from Greymouth, recalls her experience in Scotland, and how it was mirrored here in New Zealand when she arrived in the late 1990s:

It’s hard to tell whether there are still connections to Celtic or Gaelic traditions in New Zealand society. On the West Coast the Irish past is so mixed up with Catholicism and there are still a lot of Catholics on the coast. I’m from a strongly Protestant area in Scotland and I grew up seeing bigotry first hand, as well as the usual football violence, Rangers against Celtic... .

In Glasgow if you walked into a Celtic bar with a Rangers uniform on, you’d probably get beaten up. They’ve been doing a lot of work on that. At the school where my mum teaches, they’ll take the children to the Catholic schools to try and encourage them to engage... . I think people are lucky here, both sit side by side more comfortably. It’s hard to imagine the hatred sitting in New Zealand. The only similarity would be the way some people speak about Māori people here, brash generalisations.

Laura describes a parallel between the bigotry of religious groups, Catholic and Protestant, in Scotland, transposed into the sporting context of the Rangers and Celtic football teams, and the way some people spoke about Māori when she first arrived in this country, in ‘brash generalisations.’ As a more recent arrival, she can analyse the situation more clearly and challenges some Pakeha New Zealanders’ belief that New Zealand society was built upon fair relationships with Māori.

The crystal refracts again as seven narrators describe their understanding of similarities between Irish/Scottish/Gaelic cultures and Māori culture. First, two Christchurch-based narrators, one Scottish-born and the other New Zealand-born. Michael Fraser Milne, born and brought up in the Highlands of Scotland, now living in Christchurch, is proprietor of a whisky

importing business started in 1993, and the shop Whisky Galore started in 2003. He recalls his experience when he arrived in New Zealand, about the mid-1980s.

I certainly noticed when I came here the absolute parallels between the Scottish Highlands and Māori, tribal people, clan people. Land was everything, I understood that perfectly. I also found it slightly confusing to think that Scots came and colonised them, but also there were exceptions to that like John McKenzie, the Minister of Lands in the 1870s who broke up all the stations, to make sure that you couldn't have big landowners like they had in Scotland. Parallels, sadly so.

The first Māori chap I ever met in New Zealand was called Angus Macfarlane, Professor Angus Macfarlane, he is a lecturer in Te Reo. Last year my wife did a year at Canterbury University doing Te Reo studies. We went to a lot of relatively Māori occasions and part of the tradition is they recite their whakapapa. You'd often get a Scottish or Irish connection coming through; they'd relate back to County Kerry or Ballindalloch. So yes, I think there was a lot of intermarriage in earlier times and even now.

Michael sees clear parallels between his own Highland Scottish culture and Māori culture, in the importance of the clan or the tribe and the importance of land. He notes the Minister of Lands, John McKenzie, who broke up the big estates in the 1870s influenced by his memories of the Scottish Clearances. Michael has a less critical view of McKenzie's actions than Michael Godfrey who pointed out that Māori did not get access to that land, so that from a Māori point of view it did little to change their dispossession.

Christchurch-based Kathleen Gallagher, a poet, playwright and documentary maker of Irish Catholic background with Ngāi Tahu family links, also grew up with neighbours who had Ngāti Porou connections. She learned te reo and tikanga Māori at school.

In my earlier experience, for example travelling with the University Māori Club, when you went onto a marae, the biggest

groups of non-Māori people there were usually New Zealand Irish and New Zealand Scottish descent. They're Celtic, they're at home sleeping on a marae, staying on a marae, just being there, the whole thing makes sense, honouring the old people and caring for the young ones. Between Māoridom and the Celts, I think there's not a big distance there. When Dad's cousin, Father Austin, who was 70 years old, came from Donegal, we took him up to our cousins in Nelson, to Whakatū marae there to Ben and Tammy Hippolite and their family. He was welcomed onto the marae, had some kai and came away and he said to me and Dad, "The Māori are just the same as us Irish."

Kathleen's life experience leads her to see similarities between Māori and Celtic society. She believes 'Aotearoa New Zealand is profoundly affected by Māoridom: Māori language and Māori perception, Māoritanga.' She describes her understanding of similarities in spiritual beliefs,

[...]There is not a big leap for me in New Zealand from Celtic to Māori spirituality ... New Zealand Catholicism, in my experience of it, is creation-based spirituality, that's its strength. Creation-based spirituality is that everything has its own mauri, everything sort of breathes, you can listen to trees and birds and fish. It's not a people-centred way of looking at the world; the earth is breathing.

Her experience of spirituality within her New Zealand Catholic tradition is for her very close to Māori spirituality, sharing the centrality of nature, with all life sharing its own mauri, although other people of New Zealand Catholic background may feel more of a connection to Rome and its theological tradition. Belfast-born Ann Dooley arrived in New Zealand in 1970. From Ōamaru, she is a primary school Director of Religious Studies, who also articulates her sense of a spiritual connection:

I think there's a lot of Māori and Gaelic similarities [...] When people die, it's not just, "That's the funeral and it's all over," there's a lot of holiness and tapu there. It's all about family really, and there's something spiritual there. I think there's

a very close connection. Ann draws parallels with the rituals around funerals, in both the Gaelic and Māori traditions. She uses the word 'tapu' illustrating her understanding of a deep spirituality in both cultures' rituals around death, and she and Kathleen Gallagher highlight the importance of family as does Dublin-born Coral Atkinson, a writer raised in the Church of Ireland who came to New Zealand as a teenager in 1957. In her interview, Coral described her experience of friends of Irish Catholic background having stronger, more active relationships with their families than do other Pakeha:

I think Irish families and those New Zealanders of Irish origin tend to have a much more generous, kind, sort of tribal attitude towards family [...] So that tribal family connection may be one of the areas where people of an Irish Catholic background, and possibly the whole Celtic fringe is closer to a Māori tradition than to a Protestant Pakeha one.

Malcolm Adams, master carver, of Irish and Scottish backgrounds who grew up in the Hokianga where he learned to carve, later teaching carving there before shifting to Auckland, brings a wider historical perspective:

Māori and Scottish and Irish societies are very close...Both were tribal or clannish and a lot of their customs are very similar. When you look back at the ancient Celts and their religion, there are similarities with Māori traditions as both are based a lot on trees, and some of the legends run almost parallel [...] A lot of the designs come from nature, and it is very difficult to know sometimes when something is more Māori than Celtic.

Malcolm sees the tribal clan parallel along with similarities in spiritual traditions and myths and, as a carver, he is conscious that both cultures draw on nature for design, so their designs are often very similar. He directly addresses the consequences of colonisation:

A Māori lady [...] said one of the reasons the family didn't do well at school was her grandmother was bought up in a nīkau whare with a dirt floor. I told her that my grandmother came out of a black house in Scotland with a dirt floor,

a fireplace and one tiny little window. Because your grandmother grew up in a nīkau whare, it doesn't mean you can't be successful in life. Using past grievances as an excuse not to succeed is not acceptable. You see the same thing in Taiwan and in Canada where tribal people who had a stronger culture move in on them, they lost the bonds that hold them together, land and traditions, communities fractured.

Malcolm describes the same consequences of colonisation across Scots and Māori experiences: the hard reality of poverty and limited means and the closing down of horizons of opportunity and widens the frame to other indigenous peoples who suffered the same experiences.

The final narrator, Seán Brosnahan, born in South Canterbury of Irish background, is now a museum archivist in Dunedin. He earlier wrote a family history of the multi-generational chain of Irish migrants who made up Kerrytown, a vibrant settler community in South Canterbury only remembered now by a plaque on a paddock gate.

I went to my grandparents' wakes when I was about 10. They both died within a couple of months of each other. We had these huge day-long things after the requiem, lying in state in the convent in Timaru, a hugely impressive building which was demolished in 1983. They said the rosary there and the funeral, with all the school children lined up along the road. Family and friends were coming to our house all day, there was food and drink – it wasn't drunken, it was just very lively. There were stories too. Then I go to my wife's family: They have sausage rolls and tea and a quiet wee talk, and everyone goes off. Ours is more like a Māori tangi.

Seán describes his experience of the rituals around his grandparents' deaths as 'wakes' referencing the Irish tradition of a celebration of a life lived and remembered, drawing a parallel between Irish Catholic funeral traditions and the Māori tangi. He later describes family relationships,

We're very tribal too. I have cousins around New Zealand on all my



sides of my family and am happy to acknowledge them. I don't say they're my "third cousin once removed." They're related, we share the same blood lines, and that's whakapapa, it's the tribal link, it's the Galway people, or the Kerry people, where we connect back to.

He draws a parallel between relationships with his multi-generational Irish families and the Māori tradition of 'whakapapa'. He continues:

As far as I know my family at Kerrytown didn't ever have anything to do with the Māori people across the river. The early Irish people who came out here were quite racist, for instance, one of the family was nicknamed "the tan man" because he went up to the North Island and married a Māori woman. So, we have a whole family of Māori Brosnahans [...] They are quite a distinguished bunch.

He responded directly to the issue of colonisation:

Definitely the Irish cultural tradition does offer a way into an understanding of Māori experience of colonisation, because we have that tradition of oppression from the English. Ironically though we came out here and did the same thing under the English umbrella: we got the land from Māori dispossession.

Seán's final statement restates the irony of the impact of Irish settlers on Māori that Michael Godfrey described earlier in his critical response to John McKenzie who broke up the large estates for settler ownership, but not for Māori. This alienation of land has fuelled my own research in this inquiry, as I have reflected how my New Zealand Irish families have benefited over the generations because of access to land.

## Discussion

This article has offered excerpts from thirteen narrators and analysed them through Holman Jones, Adams, and Ellis's (2013) characteristics of autoethnography. Each one is viewed as a refraction of Richardson's crystal (2000) which refracts across time and place, generations, and hemispheres, and illustrates Fong and Chung's (2004) understanding of cultural

identity as multi-faceted. Their answers to the question about colonisation illustrate Mishler's understanding of a life lived, 'within the flux of contradictions and tensions of the several social worlds' (p. 43), within Aotearoa, in the North Island and the South Island, and in the northern hemisphere homelands of Ireland and Scotland.

These narratives are framed as 'lived and told stories,' (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) a frame which encompasses the passing of time that may bring change to how those stories are expressed. There has been significant change since the initial interviews for this inquiry. Keri Hulme, Robert Consedine and Malcolm Adams and other narrators have died, highlighting the importance of collecting stories before people go beyond the reach of recording their personal narratives.

Holman Jones, Adams & Ellis's (2013) third characteristic of autoethnography is that autoethnographers make themselves vulnerable, aiming to create a reciprocal relationship with audiences and to compel a response. The excerpts illustrate interviewees' vulnerability through revealing personal details about their own lives and those of family members to answer the question about colonisation. They offer experience of the racism against Māori, in macro contexts, such as the alienation of Māori from their own lands, and their inability to benefit as the earlier Irish settlers did from the breakup of the great estates in the South Island, and micro contexts like the photo of Keri Hulme's grandfather having whitened skin in the portrait that would have been sent to family in Scotland. Keri Hulme and Michael O'Leary offer counter narratives to this, in the happy marriages of Keri's grandmother and great-aunt to Māori brothers, and Michael's song in which an Irish soldier responds to the humanity he shares with the Māori he is ordered to fight by deserting his post, and later being cared for by Māori. Several narrators describe similarities between the Gaelic cultures of the Irish and the Scots and Māori culture, including in attitudes to land, clan, family or whānau, spirituality, and funeral rituals, in narratives that are relational, dialogic and collaborative (Bochner, 2012). Ann Dooley finds 'holiness'

in the tapu around funerals. Seán Brosnahan describes his experiences of family funerals both in terms of the traditional Irish wake and of Māori tangi. Readers' reactions will differ depending on their background and life experiences. With recent changes to the New Zealand school History syllabus that now requires a wider variety of accounts from different points of view, these Southern Celts narratives offer valuable insights into their lived experience over time, written in a style that is easily approachable for a general readership. It is hoped they will contribute to more scholarly conversations, about the Irish and the Scots in New Zealand, through methods and writing which displays multiple levels of consciousness, connecting the personal and the cultural.

## Conclusion

The article is prefaced by Spry's (2001) belief that the researcher is the epistemological and ontological nexus of the research process when using autoethnographic methods. This could be viewed as a limitation although I have argued that it is a strength. With the interviewees, I clearly positioned myself as 'an insider' from a rural, farming background, and made explicit my Roman Catholic religious upbringing, my professional background as an applied linguist. In the book I wove my own experience and reflections to enable readers to see the influences which shaped it. Another person would have chosen different people to interview and asked different questions, to highlight issues which concern them. These narratives are of people between 30 and 80 years old at the time of the first interview, so there is opportunity in the future to explore younger people's narratives of experiences and reflections about their Irish or Scottish cultural backgrounds. These are rich cultural narratives that I hope readers warm towards. My hope is also that through the use of narrative and autoethnographic methods, Southern Celts contributes to scholarship that is more human, useful, emotional, evocative, and contributes to the wider world (Holman Jones, Adams & Ellis, 2013), and which brings a more nuanced understanding of the experience of people of Irish and the Scots descent in Aotearoa.

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## Celine Kearney

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Celine Kearney, PhD teaches English as an Additional Language to adults and has done so in Aotearoa and abroad. A former journalist, she has also taught Journalism, and her broader research interests are language acquisition and cultural identity. *Southern Celts* is her second book of interviews. An earlier book, *Faces of the Goddess: New Zealand women talk about their spirituality*, was published in 1997 by Tandem Press.

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# Objects and Material Culture in Memory

## Fridge Magnets and Memories

ANNA GREEN

At a recent Thursday brown-bag lunch in the Stout Centre in Wellington we started to talk about ‘merch’ to raise funds for a heritage site. ‘How about fridge magnets’ I suggested. There was a short, slightly bemused silence, reinforcing my suspicion that fridge magnets are generally regarded as rather beneath one’s dignity. But they really are not – not for me. I have collected them for years as a memento of my travels, and they range from images of cats around the world – so there JD Vance! – to paintings, buildings and exhibitions. But each one triggers vivid memories that extend far beyond the image itself. Many of these fridge magnets are representations of material culture in various forms (please ignore the ones for tradies or how to check for macular degeneration) and the associated memories often relate in some way to oral history.

One of the magnets is the image of Pablo Picasso’s *Guernica*, painted in 1937 during the Spanish Civil War. I went to see the painting in the Reina Sofia museum in Madrid when I was at a memory studies conference at Complutense University in 2019. The magnet always reminds me of the story that David Beorlegui, a Spanish oral historian who is now president of the International Oral History Association, told us at lunch one day. During the Spanish Civil War, as the fascists surrounded Madrid, the university blocked the windows of the library with the thickest books they could find. These were the enormous PhD. tomes of the time and, riddled with bullet holes, they are still preserved in the library.

A round magnet (bottom left) is a bicycle with Utrecht written on it. This evokes a number of memories, particularly of my husband Jack being very nearly wiped

out by a bicycle hurtling past. We learned that it was not wise to wander off the pavement looking at your phone in Utrecht. And the nearby church bells which rang increasingly complicated carillon music at quarter-past, half-past, quarter-to and on the hour, right through the night. But I was there for a conference, and the best memory of Utrecht is meeting a Moroccan oral historian, Norah Karrouche, who gave a great paper on her research with Berber activists. After the session, which was on the theme of ‘searching for agency in memory’, Norah came over to talk to me and said, “Well, was that session what you expected?”, and no, it wasn’t. But meeting her was the highlight of the conference.

Then there’s the sardine. This reminds me of the fabulous meals at Harbour Lights Fish and Chips in Falmouth, Cornwall. I was commuting to the Penryn campus of Exeter University at the time, spending three days a week teaching in Cornwall and bingeing on grilled sardines (and chips). But the sardine also brings to mind the oral history research I did with colleague and friend, Tim Cooper, on the Cornish *Torrey Canyon* oil disaster of 1967. I remember recording the vivid oral descriptions of the devastating impact of the oil upon the inland fisheries and rock pools as it washed ashore, while almost paradoxically being plied with divine crab sandwiches.

The three examples above illustrate the ways in which my fridge magnets activate emotional and sensory memories that extend far beyond the material object itself. They constantly remind me that I belong to a rich and supportive global community of oral historians, and of the kindness of strangers who have shared with me their memories, life histories (and crab sandwiches).





# Objects and Material Culture in Memory

## The two lives of Kaikaiawaro/Pelorus Jack

LIANA MACDONALD

“Here. Your grandmum gave me this, and I’m giving it to you.”

A cousin hands me a small dog-eared book and it sits lightly across my palm. I turn the yellowed and browned cover over in my hand. The tape along the spine peels a little more, and I feel a pang of guilt. I notice that the title *Pelorus Jack* is written in the same style as *The Queen Primer* and think of book cards that sit snugly inside the back cover and scrawled signatures and inked dates.

Later that evening I hold the book to my nose and sink into the smell of a musky secondhand book store. I don’t open the book to read quite yet, and instead think about a previous owner.

Grandmum. I would visit her and Grandad during the school holidays and, if I’m honest, the prospect of hanging out with my cousins was more appealing. On Sundays we would go to the Mormon Church and I would stick close to my cousin Susan, feeling awkward in one of her borrowed floral dresses with oversized ruffles. Grandmum taught me to crochet during one visit and it stuck. Her whare was replete with doilies and thick, colourful slippers produced en masse for whānau, while I gravitated towards tablecloths and string bags. In the evenings, the cousins and I would lie on the lounge room floor and watch TV at our grandparents’ feet. Photos of aunties, uncles, cousins, kaumātua and kuia lined the walls so the room always felt crowded.

I break out of my reverie and read the preface. In 1911, James Cowan recorded that ‘Pelorus Jack’ was a ‘solitary white dolphin’ who had a ‘lonely life’.

From a young girl to well into my 30s, I associated the name Pelorus with the beautiful awa just past Canvastown and Havelock. I loved swimming there with

cousins, nieces, nephews, aunts and uncles once or twice a year around Christmas time. The Marlborough sun was usually hot by then and the chilly river water a welcome relief.

It wasn’t until my 40s that I committed Pelorus Jack’s first name to heart: Kaikaiāwaro. The white dolphin, Kaikaiāwaro, and another significant ancestor, Matua Hautere, brought the people of Ngāti Kuia to Te Hoiere/Pelorus River to settle. In 2017, a Ngāti Kuia couple wrote a children’s book about them that now sits on my daughter’s bookshelf.<sup>1</sup> I missed out on tribal stories growing up and love that my daughter’s first exposure to our histories is through the writing of our people.

I look at the book cover again. The cousin who had handed me the book had asked Grandmum questions that I never thought to ask, and had listened when I’d not been interested. She’s gone and my middle-aged bones are interested now. So I look for new – albeit borrowed – memories of my Grandmum, he wahine o Ngāti Kuia: through oral history recordings, through whanaunga, and even through the bygone writing of Pākehā men.

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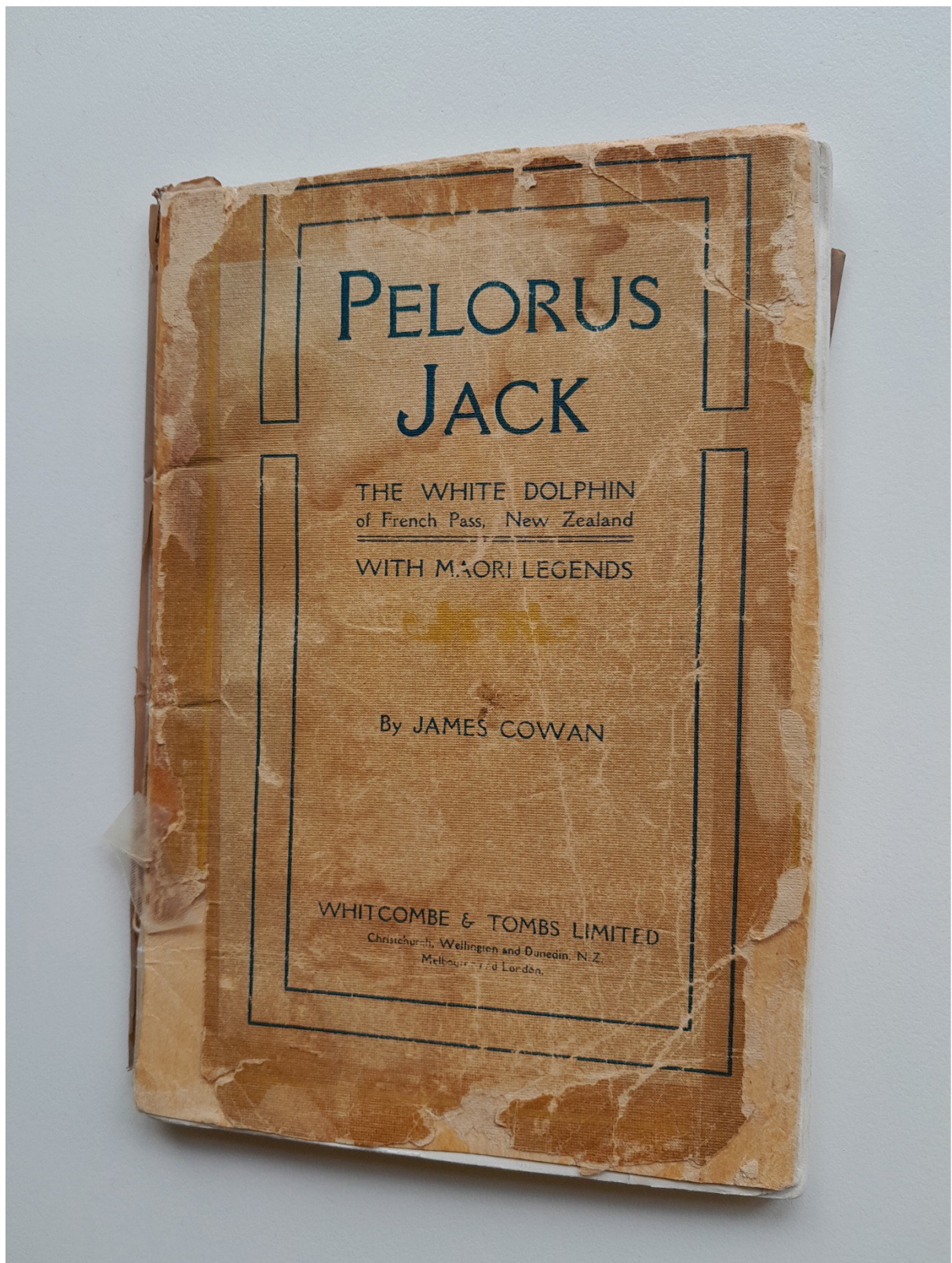
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Liana MacDonald

Liana MacDonald (Ngāti Kuia, Rangitāne o Wairau, Ngāti Koata) is an Indigenous sociologist, educationalist and interdisciplinary researcher and has recently taken up the position of Chair in Māori, Moriori and Indigenous Peace Studies at Otago University Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka.





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# Objects and Material Culture in Memory

## Clock

LOUISE TAPPER



Mantelpiece clock: Louise Tapper

My mother passed away last year at the glorious age of 97. We have finally got around to cleaning out her house so that we can put the property on the market and I am finding so many objects that create memories of my mother's life but also of my Nana's, whom I adored as a child and teenager.

I hate having to make decisions about what needs to be given away or worse still, taken to the landfill. Megan Hutching and Helen Frizzell spoke about how our emotional links to certain objects elicit a flood of associations and memories of people who have been important in our lives in their presentation to the NOHANZ conference, November, 2024. I am definitely feeling those emotional links as I look

through my mother's and my grandmother's things, but I am also feeling a rather crushing sense of responsibility about the decisions I have to make - what do I keep and what do I give away? Which objects are the most important for creating those connections? What do I hold on to, so that there will be a record that tells the story of someone's life?

Colleen Brown, in a recent article for *New Zealand Listener*, reminds me that 'these objects are a magnifying glass into the past, connecting people to their history through moments in time' ('Taonga Tales', *New Zealand Listener*, Issue 16, 27 April 2024, p.18). What a responsibility - am I about to consign important family history to the landfill? My daughter gives me sage advice;



“Take one last look, Mum, appreciate it, and then say ‘thank you for your service but now you have to go.’”

I have found Nana’s clock in the tidy up. As a child, I used to spend many hours in Nana’s sitting room, much of it curled up in the big, old armchair by the fireplace, reading. On the fireplace mantelpiece sat the clock.

It was not a quiet clock. The ticking disturbed my reading. The chiming on the hour, every hour, grew more irritating to me as I grew older. But it was always there, on the sitting room mantelpiece, that clock. It was there for all the years my Nana lived in the Foyle St, Ōamaru house, where my mother and her siblings grew up and then left, except my bachelor uncle who, like the clock, seemed to always be there.

Objects not only evoke happy memories, but they can also remind us of sadder times. My mother told the story of Nana sitting in the armchair in 1942, under the mantelpiece with the clock ticking away, waiting for the dreaded knock on the door. The telegram came, informing my grandparents and their family that their son and brother, Alister, was missing, presumed dead, having been shot down over Malta. My mother said that Nana got up, went into the bathroom, quietly shut the door and didn’t come out for a very long time.

Nana and I played Scrabble a lot, in that sitting room, with the clock ticking loudly in the background. Nana would pick her letters, look at them and say, “It’s pitiful, just pitiful”, but then go on to win anyway! She had lots of sayings that we children always remembered.

The clock has well and truly done its ‘service’, I know. It actually doesn’t even work anymore. But this sitting room constant, a

magnifying glass into our family past, holds so many memories of Nana, and of Mum, of stories told, of lives well lived. I am no closer to making final decisions about so many of the objects, but the clock has to stay.

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### Louise Tapper

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Dr Louise Tapper has worked as an independent oral historian and education and community researcher in Ōtautahi, Christchurch. She is semi-retired and is also co-President of The National Council of Women, Ōtautahi Christchurch Branch.

# Reviews

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Ryan Bodman

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*Rugby League in New Zealand:  
A People's History.*

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Bridget Williams Books, 2023. 364pp.

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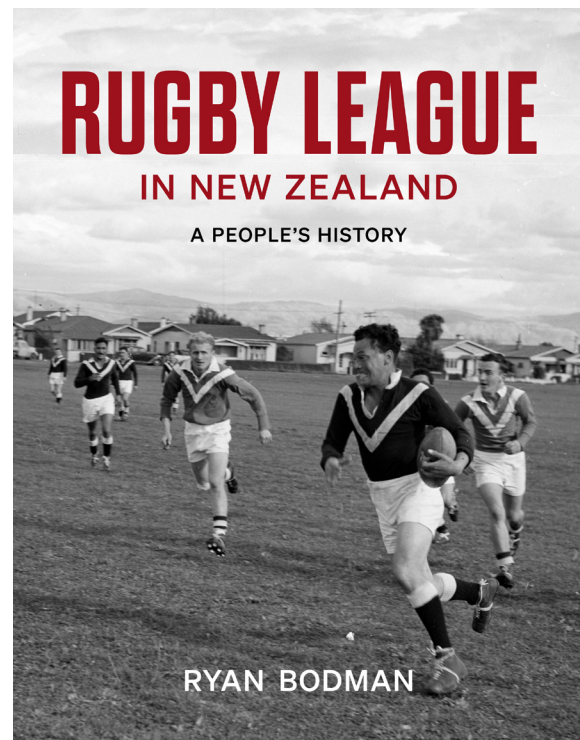
ISBN: 9781991033444

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Reviewed by Dean Broughton

With *Rugby League in New Zealand: A People's History*, Ryan Bodman has achieved a remarkable feat. The book provides a comprehensive and engaging analysis of rugby league's significance in this country. It explores the sport's influence on the nation's social landscape, highlighting its role in shaping New Zealand's society, culture, and communities. The book discusses themes of race, class, gender, culture, and community while examining the experiences of the working class, Indigenous, and immigrant communities. The book is well-researched, beautifully illustrated, and features compelling oral interviews with diverse voices connected to the game. I have never encountered a work that engages the sport of rugby league in New Zealand as this book does.

The book enriches the historical record of rugby league in New Zealand, a record which has never achieved the same depth and breadth as that of rugby union. Bodman's book is as easily as good as any histories of rugby union, such as acclaimed rugby historian Ron Palenski's *Rugby: A New Zealand History*. Tony Collins and Andrew Ferguson have written extensive histories of the game in Britain and Australia respectively, but Bodman's book is more comprehensive than their recent works. Several biographies from former New Zealand players are engaging but share a formulaic approach and lack analysis. This book is a step forward in addressing gaps



in the literature with its fresh perspectives and insightful analysis of rugby league's importance. A critical theme throughout the book is the long shadow of rugby union over rugby league and the ways rugby union attempted to control rugby league. A key example is in restrictions on rugby league's use of fields and facilities, which forced clubs to constantly search for places to play. Additionally, the rugby union campaign to exclude rugby league from schools demonstrated class prejudice and reinforced the perception of rugby league as a second-class sport. In bringing such things to light Bodman positions himself and this book as part of the legacy he writes about.

The book tracks the history of rugby league from 1907 to its present-day form. The early chapters explore the game's connections with various communities, including Māori, Kīngitanga, Pasifika, Irish Catholics, and left-wing socialists. Bodman analyses how rugby league became intertwined with the working class and how particular regions became strongholds for the sport, driven by class conflict, prejudice, demographic shifts, and social change. A minor concern arises in the regional analysis. While Bodman highlights successful expansions in regions with ports and freezing

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works, I asked myself why the sport did not gain traction in other areas, such as Southland, which seemed ripe for growth with a port and freezing works in Bluff. Analysis of exceptions to the trend could have strengthened the book and underscored the sport's cultural complexity. The book's second part charts the game's development, driven by money and glamour, into the one we recognise today. There is particular emphasis on the effects of the profession's development on the game at the grassroots level in New Zealand.

Throughout its pages the book is superbly researched and beautifully illustrated. The use of social media sources alongside historical research adds an extra dimension, however, the book's true strength lies in the compelling oral interviews with diverse voices connected to the game. From former players like Howie and Kevin Tamati to vibrant personalities such as lifetime Black Power member Denis O'Reilly and resolute club stalwarts like Brian Langdon from Hornby, these conversations reveal rugby league's foundational role in New Zealand communities. One poignant aspect of this book is Bodman's focus on women's contributions, through interviews with Jan Haggie from the Ngāruawāhia Rugby League Club and Auckland club stalwart Cathy

Friend. Their insights highlight the deep familial bonds within rugby league clubs, emphasising how women have shaped the culture and identity of these clubs, even when barred from playing. Their narratives illustrate how clubs serve as lifelines during challenging times, providing support and acting as havens for their communities. By highlighting this range of voices, Bodman humanises these experiences, allowing readers to appreciate clubs as social anchors and feel inspired by the women's contributions.

I thought I had a solid understanding of rugby league but this book has taught me significantly more about the game and its legacy. It is fascinating to learn about the influence of the rugby league on communities – the shadow of rugby union, the professionalism debate, how rugby league became New Zealand's working-class game, the pivotal role of women as the social glue that many clubs were built on, and why Pasifika and Māori people were drawn to rugby league. This book demonstrates how rugby league's influence in New Zealand goes well beyond the boundaries of just a game. I was left feeling connected to and engaged with New Zealand's national, regional, and local histories. It is a book not only for rugby league fans but for anyone interested in New Zealand history and this country's development as a nation.

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Dean Broughton

Dean Broughton is a PhD candidate in history at Victoria University of Wellington, specializing in maritime and oral history. He has been a Rugby League fan for forty years.

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Jeremy Hansen and Jade Kake

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*Rewi: Āta haere, kia tere*

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Massey University Press, 2023. 456pp.

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ISBN: 9781991016416

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Reviewed by Bidy Livesey

Rewi Thompson (Ngāti Porou, Ngāti Raukawa) was an architect who practised in Aotearoa New Zealand from the 1980s until his death in 2016. This book brings together 33 interviews with colleagues, students and friends of Thompson, as well as an interview with his daughter, Lucy Thompson. Complemented by articles published by Rewi Thompson and others, as well as three commissioned creative responses, these interviews provide context for drawings of his built and unbuilt projects to create a weighty record of his work.

Authors Jade Kake and Jeremy Hansen organise the book around the different kinds of buildings that Thompson designed or contributed to, including homes, civic and public realm projects, and health and corrections institutions. Each project is described and discussed through an interview with someone connected with the project – the client, a collaborator, or a contemporary. This is an eclectic approach to profiling a life's work – the interviews mix personal reminiscences, detailed descriptions of design processes and built form, and reflections on Thompson's philosophies and contribution to architecture in Aotearoa. Notable buildings are featured in the book – Capital Discovery Place and the City to Sea bridge; the Waikato-Tainui Research Centre at Hopuhopu; Te Pukenga Māori Studies building at Unitec – but some buildings are not included (for example, Ngāti Otara Marae), possibly because no-one could be found to speak for them. Access to Lucy Thompson's archives meant that the authors were also able to review and explore a number of speculative or unbuilt projects. The proposal developed by Thompson for a 'Ngāti Poneke marae' is mentioned



frequently by interviewees as evidence of his genius, and of his ability – in his own words – to 'interpret' mātauranga Māori into new architectural forms.

Two further sets of interviews relating to practice and pedagogy best explain the nature of this genius. Former students, who became collaborators, remember specific conversations with Rewi Thompson that continue to guide their practice as architects and as teachers. Karamia Muller speaks about his ability to facilitate a space where it is safe to explore, create and challenge. "The way he opened conversations up – his generosity was very much about making space" (p.273). She describes Rewi working with a student to design a mechanism to submerge parts of a city into the ocean – "...that memory still sticks with me: sitting down and watching this section being drawn of how to sink a city. And the intention was to prioritise the ocean over capitalism. It was this kind of wild idea that suddenly through this drawing had given that aspiration materiality in a way that makes it fly. For students, and for me as a fellow educator, that's incredible" (p.272).



Kevin O'Brien recalls that "Rewi and I were in Sydney after a Bledisloe [Cup rugby] game sitting in a bar somewhere and talking and drawing, as he did. And then he asked me, where do you come from? If you come from somewhere, doesn't that mean that the building's going to come from there as well?... We talked about that a lot as an idea: what the thing is that you belong to. The conversation was never really about the architectural object. Even when we spoke about buildings, it wasn't in the way I'd talk about buildings with other architects. It would be about what the feeling of the setting was, or what it belonged to, what it connected you to. They were very different kinds of conversations" (p.133).

Lama Tone also emphasises the importance of the language used by Rewi. "I love the way he spoke about the projects. It's almost like you can't have the building in front of you without the words to go with it. It's almost like his words became the aesthetics of

the building... I don't have any models or drawings of Rewi's, I only have his words. And those words are firmly implanted in my psyche and my thinking about architecture. And about life" (p.278).

As the book notes, Rewi Thompson completed only a small number of buildings, and wrote little about his work. His legacy is in his talking, in his teaching, and in his drawings. By collecting these conversations, the authors create a sourcebook for wānanga – a starting place for weaving together the stories shared by different people with varying perspectives. The collected conversations create layers of knowledge, sometimes repeating and reinforcing, sometimes contradicting. A 'book of conversations' is a fitting record for a person whose work existed in the oral realm. His loss echoes throughout the pages. "I find when I get stuck in certain things, I imagine the conversation with Rewi". (Kevin O'Brien, p.135)

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#### Biddy Livesey

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Biddy Livesey (Pākehā) is a researcher, policy advisor and planner. Through her work, she aims to amplify Māori voices in decision-making about housing policy and urban planning. She lives in Tāmaki Makaurau.

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Anna Green and Megan Hutching, eds

*Remembering and Becoming: Oral History in Aotearoa New Zealand*

Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2024.  
228pp.

ISBN: 9781990048838

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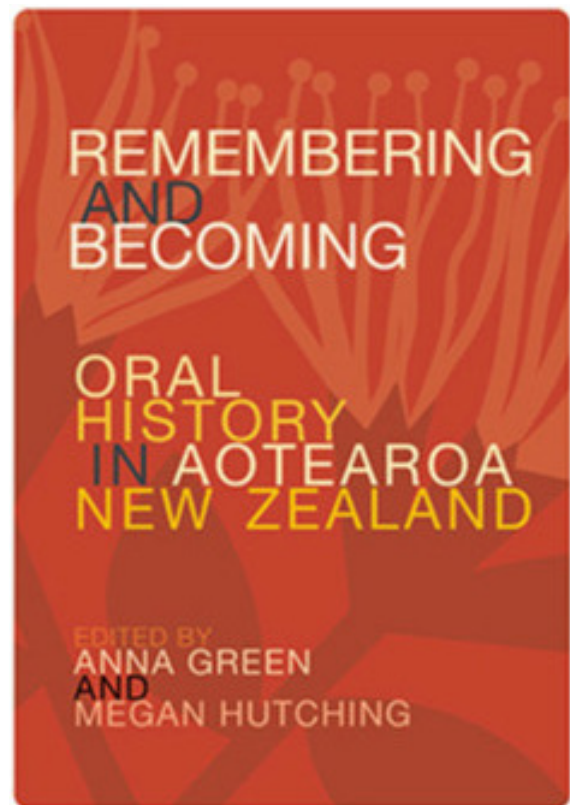
Reviewed by Angela Wanhalla

*Remembering and Becoming* is a valuable and welcome addition to oral history scholarship in New Zealand, much of which has been shaped by the two editors of this volume through a sequence of influential publications. As a doctoral student embarking on oral history for the first time in the early 2000s, I relied on Hutching's wonderful book, *Talking History*, to help me navigate practical and ethic requirements. Their co-edited volume, *Remembering* (2004), gave me exemplars to follow, while as an historian of the family I have found inspiration in Green's approach to history and memory.

Two decades after *Remembering* was published, Green and Hutching have collaborated again, bringing together emerging and established scholars and practitioners from a range of disciplinary backgrounds. Across thirteen essays contributors focus on one or two oral narratives generated from larger projects to explore aspects of social memory and belonging.

Anyone who teaches about oral history will find the opening essay, a collaboration between Kāi Tahu and Te Āti Awa historian Megan Pōtiki and Anna Green on 'What is oral history?', a valuable classroom tool. While the essay addresses 'two approaches to oral history and the remembered past' (p.9), both emphasise orality. For Pōtiki, oral history in a Māori context includes written texts because they are form of knowledge production produced out of oral contexts and involve 'the simple transmission of experience from one generation to another' (p.9). Green stresses the importance of attending to how oral worlds, and oral narratives, participate in shaping social memory across generations.

Pōtiki and Green also set out a useful



schematic for understanding some of the key approaches to oral history in New Zealand. They are: Māori oral history; community oral histories; commissioned oral histories; activist oral history, or memory activism; and academic oral history (p.15). The boundaries between these categories, as the contributions to this volume illustrate, are not neat, but often blurred. Academic oral history can, for instance, engage in memory activism, while Māori oral history can be included under the academic oral history framework. Margaret Kawharu's excellent contribution on Ngāti Whātua voices in the Treaty claim process, for instance, cuts across Māori oral history, community oral history and commissioned oral history.

As many contributors to this volume stress, oral history has value because it adds texture to archival sources, fills gaps where the archives cannot, and brings to the surface voices and experiences that are less likely to be documented in other forums. Each contributor is alert to the contexts that shape memory and the circumstances that shape the telling of history, from the legalistic environment of the Treaty claims

process, to particular institutional contexts, such as children's homes. It is critical to be attentive to these wider contexts because, as Margaret Kawharu points out, oral interviews can bring to light aspects that do not make it onto the record. This is particularly pertinent in the claims process where oral history is transformed into testimony and evidence, but orality takes place in other spaces. Prepared briefs and conversations among claimants that take place outside the context of formal proceedings are, argues Kawharu, 'forms of oral history making' (p.35).

A number of essays investigate the relationship between family history and memory. Jane Moodie's contribution uses oral histories undertaken with two male descendants of the Williams family to consider the idea of class as a form of family inheritance. In her close analysis of two family narratives, Moodie brings to light 'class-coded conversations'. Family history and identity form the subject of Robyn Andrews' contribution based on her longterm project interviewing Anglo-Indians who migrated to New Zealand, including their descendants. Anna Green's chapter uses one oral narrative to explore settler identity and belonging. In both these essays, migration is a key turning point in shaping a sense of connection to place.

Particular places and material objects often inform oral narratives. In her reflection on researching the life of University of

Canterbury classical scholar Marion Stevens, Natalie Looyer found Marion's home and collecting passions were recurring touchstones for how she is remembered. Helen Frizzell and Pip Oldham bring us into the 1950s kitchens, so-often unremarked upon in traditional archival sources, and Deborah Dunsford illuminates life on a small rural farm in the 1920s.

Sensitive matters are also canvassed, ranging from an adoption narrative (Dean Broughton) to that of a prisoner of war (Megan Hutching). Helena Cook's analysis of the Dawn Raids draws attention to how shame is woven into social memory in the past and present, while Elizabeth Ward brings to light childhood experiences of institutional care. Although interviewed as adults, the narratives illuminate sensory and emotional contexts of 'care' in a children's home. In an important contribution, Cheryl Ware's analysis of consent in sex work shows how oral history can subtly shift historical interpretation and challenge historical narratives about sexual liberation.

*Remembering and Becoming* certainly achieves its goal of showcasing the value of oral history as a methodology for illuminating the past. A strength of the volume lies in the variety of projects in which oral history is being utilised today, and its provision of exemplars for how to analyse and interpret oral narratives within the context of social memory.

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Angela Wanhalla

Angela Wanhalla is professor and Head of Programme in History at Ōtākou Whakaihu Waka the University of Otago.

# Books & Podcasts Noted

The editors have been listening to some fascinating podcasts this year. We love getting oral history – in the broadest sense – broadcast right into our ears as we listen to podcasts. Here are some recommendations:

## **Te Rauparahara: Kei Wareware<sup>1</sup>**

A podcast about the life and influence of Ngāti Toa Rangatira leader Te Rauparaha is hosted by Ross Calman, a historian and Te Rauparaha descendant. It is an aural feast told through narrative, actors portraying historical figures, karakia, waiata, haka, interviews with iwi historians/kaikōrero, and discussion of stories that are written into the whenua. An intriguing part of our history, creatively told.

## **Juggernaut: The Story of the Fourth Labour Government<sup>2</sup>**

tells the story of a fast and furious period of reforms that have shaped our society. The podcast makes great use of in-depth interviews with more than 20 people who observed and participated in this phenomenon, and Episode 1 contains extracts from diary oral history interviews recorded by Judith Fyfe and Hugo Manson as would-be leaders hit the 1984 campaign trail.

## **Tips to Elevate Your Reporting and Storytelling from Ira Glass<sup>3</sup>**

Last year Rob Rosenthal of Sound School played a recording of Ira Glass, the legendary producer of *This American Life*, speaking in 2001 at the National Federation of Community Broadcasters (US) about the craft and mechanics of good storytelling. Excellent and enduring advice for anyone aspiring to make audio stories and podcasts.

## **Deer Wars<sup>4</sup>**

A podcast series made by Paul Roy and first broadcast in late 2023 which has won several awards. It draws heavily on oral histories recorded with an award from Ngā Kōrero Tuku Iho, New Zealand Oral History Grants 2020.

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4. <https://www.rnz.co.nz/podcast/deer-wars>



# Nicholas Boyack, 1961-2024

*Historian, oral historian and journalist*

PIP OLDHAM



Nicholas Boyack and Jane Tolerton. Image: Boyack Family

In a twist of fate Nicholas Boyack was working on an obituary for Alison Laurie when he died suddenly in November 2024. The obituary was completed for publication after his death. So it is that this volume of *Oral History in New Zealand* contains tributes for both.

Nicholas Boyack is best known among oral historians for the work he did with Jane Tolerton recording the World War I Oral History Archive which comprises 84 interviews accompanied by abstracts and transcripts and is the definitive source for first person accounts of the Great War by New Zealanders who served in it. Perhaps because of his experience growing up with his grandfather, who was a veteran of the Boer War living with his family, Nicholas was much more interested in investigating what

war did to people than the mechanics of war itself. The World War I Archive contains full life history interviews focussing on social rather than military aspects of the war and the repercussions for people in following decades personally and nationally. The breadth of topics covered as a result may very well account for the perception that the Archive is one of the most used oral history projects in the Collection of Oral History & Sound at the Alexander Turnbull Library. Readers interested in more about the genesis of the project and how it was carried out can refer to Jane Tolerton's report, 'The World War One Oral History Archive,' in Volume Three of *Oral History in New Zealand, 1990-1991*.<sup>1</sup> A significant element of the project was the interviewers' decision to work together interviewing people

(ranging in age from 87 to 99). This relatively uncommon approach, as well as the extent of documentation supporting the interviews and the publications written by Nicholas Boyack, Jane Tolerton and others, bringing the work to a wider audience, set the project apart and add enormously to its long-term value.

Nicholas also contributed other oral history work to the Turnbull's collection including the YMCA oral history project documenting the history of the YMCA and the war service of its members in 37 interviews<sup>2</sup> and an interview for the Housing Corporation oral history project.<sup>3</sup> His contribution to journalism and the Wellington region via his in-depth local reporting and obituaries, as well as his other pursuits, has been recorded in several obituaries<sup>4</sup> and is best summed up in the words of Kara Puketapu-Dentice. Reflecting on Nicholas who had not long completed an obituary of his own father, Kara Puketapu, he said:

“You were not just a writer and a journalist but a guardian of stories, a thoughtful observer, and someone who deeply cared for our people, our city and our shared connection to this place we call home.”<sup>5</sup>

Vale Nicholas.

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# Alison Laurie, 1941-2024

*Activist, academic and oral historian*

LESLEY HALL AND HILARY STACE

Many of those active in oral history in Aotearoa over the last three decades would have known of the contribution to the discipline by Dr Alison Laurie. Alison, who died in August 2024 in Denmark at the age of 83, was a passionate advocate of the principles and ethics of oral history. She served on the executive of NOHANZ for many years as well as co-editing several issues of the journal between 2007 and 2011, and regularly gave papers at NOHANZ as well as at international conferences. She taught in the Gender and Women's Studies programme at Victoria University, becoming its last Director before the University closed the Department in 2011.

Alison's 303 paper teaching oral history was particularly popular with students. She taught biography, the 'autobiographical I', the ethics of respecting, recording and saving people's stories, including offering them back to the participants and not deleting them at the end of the research project. She could also explain the intricacies of post-modernism. The Women's Studies house at 20 Kelburn Parade was a vibrant, safe and stimulating feminist place.

Many of the oral histories completed under Alison's tutelage are now safely abstracted and preserved in the Alexander Turnbull Library Oral History Archive thanks to the work of Alison's former partner, Linda Evans.

In various publications, Alison described herself as an 'oral historian with special interests in feminist, lesbian and gay histories'. She wrote in a NOHANZ



Alison Laurie at Victoria University of Wellington (now Te Herenga Waka – Victoria University of Wellington) about 2002. Photo: Aase Andreassen

newsletter that she had 'initiated the first undergraduate and postgraduate oral history courses at Victoria University in the late '80s in addition to supervising theses based on the use of oral history'. She wrote that she had 'contributed articles on oral history to a range of publications,' as well as publishing 'nationally and internationally on oral history theory and practice'. She was also a participant in many oral history projects, particularly those related to lesbian and gay activism.

Many of her friends, family, colleagues and allies spoke at her well-attended memorial service in October at The Pines in Wellington about the many facets of her lively and often trail-blazing life. She was

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never afraid of taking on a challenge and persuading others to work with her, and was always a proud lesbian feminist.

Among her numerous publications were: *Lady Husbands and Kamp Ladies: Pre-1970 Lesbian Life in Aotearoa/New Zealand* (2003), which was her PhD thesis for which she undertook oral history interviews. *Māori and Oral History: A Collection*, Rachael Selby and Alison Laurie (eds) (2005). This contains a chapter by Alison: 'Manufacturing silences: not all interviews are an oral history'. 'Speaking the unspoken: lesbian oral histories in Aotearoa/New Zealand' in *Remembering: Writing Oral History*, Anna Green and Megan Hutching (eds) (2004).

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### Lesley Hall

Lesley Hall is a past President of NOHANZ. She was Alison Laurie's student, then colleague and friend. She and Alison worked together for twenty years in Gender and Women's Studies at Victoria University, both teaching oral history and attending related international conferences.

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### Hilary Stace

Hilary Stace was a student in Women's Studies in the 1990s. She was taught the craft of feminist oral history by both Alison Laurie and Lesley Hall.





## NOHANZ Origins

The National Oral History Association of New Zealand Te Kete Kōrero-a-Waha o Te Motu (NOHANZ) was established as result of the first national oral history seminar organised in April 1986 by the Centre for Continuing Education of Victoria University of Wellington and the New Zealand Oral History Archive, a professional organisation then based in the National Library that worked on major oral history projects.

### Objectives

To promote the practice and methods of oral history.

To promote standards in oral history interviewing techniques, and in recording and preservation methods.

To act as a resource of information and to advise on practical and technical problems involved in making oral history recordings.

To act as a coordinator of oral history activities throughout New Zealand.

To produce an annual oral history journal and regular newsletters.

To promote regular oral history meetings, talks, seminars, workshops and demonstrations.

To encourage the establishment of NOHANZ branches throughout New Zealand.

To compile a directory of oral history holdings to improve access to collections held in libraries, archives and museums.

## NOHANZ Prize in Oral History

The National Oral History Association of New Zealand | Te Kete Kōrero-a-Waha o Te Motu prize of \$1,000 is awarded biennially at the discretion of the Association for the best article or report published in the two preceding volumes of Oral History in New Zealand. The objective of the award is to encourage and support contributions to the journal.

The judging panel, convened by the President of NOHANZ, includes a journal editor and a member of the NOHANZ executive.

Judging criteria include:

- Quality of writing and reporting, including style and readability;
- Strength and clarity of the research process;
- Potential community or academic impact;
- Contribution to oral history practice, argument, or theory.

The Association also reserves the right not to award the prize.

# Code of ethical and technical practice

This Code exists to promote ethical, professional and technical standards in the collection, preservation and use of sound and video oral history material.

**Archives, sponsors and organisers of oral history projects have the following responsibilities:**

- To inform interviewers and people interviewed of the importance of this code for the successful creation and use of oral history material;
- To select interviewers on the basis of professional competence and interviewing skill, endeavouring to assign appropriate interviewers to people interviewed;
- To see that records of the creation and processing of each interview are kept;
- To ensure that each interview is properly indexed and catalogued;
- To ensure that preservation conditions for recordings and accompanying material are of the highest possible standard;
- To ensure that placement of and access to recordings and accompanying material comply with a signed or recorded agreement with the person interviewed;
- To ensure that people interviewed are informed of issues such as copyright, ownership, privacy legislation, and how the interview and accompanying material may be used;
- To make the existence of available interviews known through public information channels;
- To guard against possible social injury to, or exploitation of people interviewed.

**Interviewers have the following responsibilities:**

- to inform the person interviewed of the purposes and procedures of oral history in general and of the particular project in which they are involved;
- to inform the person interviewed of issues such as copyright, ownership, privacy legislation, and how the material and accompanying material may be used;
- to develop sufficient skills and knowledge in interviewing and equipment operation, e.g. through reading and training, to ensure a result of the highest possible standard;
- to use equipment that will produce recordings of the highest possible standard;
- to encourage informative dialogue based on thorough research;
- to conduct interviews with integrity;
- to conduct interviews with an awareness of cultural or individual sensibilities;
- to treat every interview as a confidential conversation, the contents of which are available only as determined by written or recorded agreement with the person interviewed;
- to place each recording and all accompanying material in an archive to be available for research, subject to any conditions placed on it by the person interviewed;
- to inform the person interviewed of where the material will be held;
- to respect all agreements made with the person interviewed.



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