ARCHIFACTS
2017 – No. 1-2

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FACTS

Journal of the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand

2017 – No. 1-2

Archifacts

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Objects of the Association

The objects of the Association shall be:

i To foster the care, preservation and proper use of archives and records, both public and private, and their effective administration.

ii To arouse public awareness of the importance of records and archives and in all matters affecting their preservation and use, and to co-operate or affiliate with any other bodies in New Zealand or elsewhere with like objects.

iii To promote the training of archivists, records keepers, curators, librarians and others by the dissemination of specialised knowledge and by encouraging the provision of adequate training in the administration and conservation of archives and records.

iv To encourage research into problems connected with the use, administration and conservation of archives and records and to promote the publication of the results of this research.

v To promote the standing of archives institutions.

vi To advise and support the establishment of archives services throughout New Zealand.

vii To publish a journal at least once a year and other publications in furtherance of these objects.

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Contents

Editorial

Kia ora koutou,

In this issue of *Archifacts* you will find work by authors who write from within, across, and adjacent to the recordkeeping and heritage community. A quick survey of our authors finds historians, academics, a research librarian, a conservator, archivists, and one Planning & Development Advisor. We hope that the questions they raise give every reader something to think and talk about – or even respond to.

Four authors speak to acutely relevant concerns for 2017, and demonstrate some of the ways archives and recordkeeping are inherently political acts. In her article on rights-centred recordkeeping, Belinda Battley addresses the traditional management of out-of-home care records and unpacks the consequences this has for individuals and communities. She describes this year's workshops in Auckland and Melbourne and includes the ARANZ submission to the Social Services Select Committee on the *Children, Young Persons, and Their Families (Oranga Tamariki) Legislation Bill*. Emma Kelly and Richard Hill also engage with powerful official records in their discussions of a recent release of twentieth-century security files by the National Archives UK in partnership with Taylor & Francis. They explore the value of this online database, the context of its publication, and its relevance for research into New Zealand security intelligence history.

Chris Gousmett's timely article analyses the accuracies of inscriptions on a Hutt City monument, and explores their relationship with the available documentary record over time. As a fine-tuned, literal interpretation, this article positions the monument, and the debate it has generated over nearly a century, in one small pocket within the contemporary debate around removing or altering statues. The editors see this as an important discussion, especially considering the very contemporary debate taking place internationally about the place of monuments in (mis)remembering history and welcome readers thoughts. How should we, the archival and recordkeeping community situate New Zealand in the broader discussion about monuments that reflect the values of white supremacist and colonial power, overlook indigenous history, and commemorate violence? As recently as September, the Auckland Council created a team to address suggested changes to the Marmaduke Nixon state.

Other writing was occasioned by the development of *He Tohu*, the

new permanent exhibition at the National Library of New Zealand; now home to He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni, Te Tiriti o Waitangi, and Te Petihana Whakamana Pōti Wahine. Lillie Le Dorré reflects on closing the Constitution Room at Archives New Zealand, and the overnight ceremony to transport these taonga to their new home. Anna Whitehead, meanwhile, discusses her work researching "non-flammable" celluloid while preparing the documents before going on display. These articles look at *He Tohu* from a wonderfully different scale, and so provide complementary insights into one of this year's most significant events for the recordkeeping community.

This issue too engages with the central, and every day, considerations of what it means to work with archives and records. Alistair Kwan's thoughtful piece examines different definitions of evidence and explores how institutional practices impact our interpretation of material not usually considered part of the documentary record. Similarly, Elizabeth Charlton's article on working with legacy media provides invaluable insight into digital preservation within a small organisation and the digital forensics skills that benefit archivists. These pieces neatly situate operational practices within some of central theoretical concerns of recordkeeping work.

This month's focus on collection items looks at maps and music. Sascha Nolden discusses a recently-described collection of speleological maps at the Alexander Turnbull Library. He highlights their value as a record of New Zealand's cave systems, of survey techniques and entertaining naming practices. Practitioners working with audiovisual material will be interested in William Daymond's article comparing the cassette mix and the CD/vinyl mix of The Cleans' Oddities album. Both of these pieces, too, deftly introduce the necessary vocabulary and practical considerations for working with these formats.

In the first of our three book reviews Vivenne Cuff reviews a recent contribution to the history of gold mining in the South Island: Hilary Low's *Pay Dirt: 'The Westland Goldfields' from the Diary of William Smart*. In our second review, Elizabeth Charlton looks at Alison Cullingford's *The Special Collections Handbook* and notes its value as a practical companion for sole archivists and students Finally, Belinda Battley recommends a recent collection of essays, *Engaging With Records and Archives: Histories and Theories*.

Last, but by no means least, our Getting To Know You conversation this month is with the multi-talented and busy Cellia Joe, the Heritage Advice Coordinator at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Tumuaki | President

of Te Rōpū Whakahau, and Secretary of the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) Indigenous Matters Section.

Enjoy this issue.

Jessica Moran, Katrina Tamaira and Flora Feltham

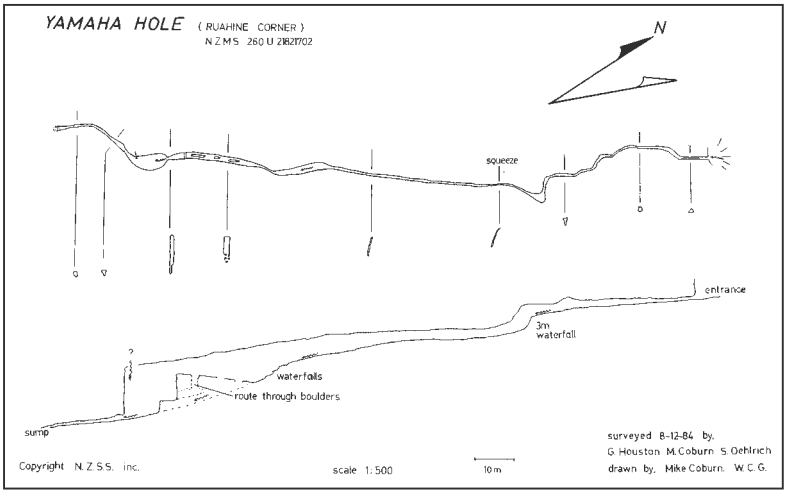
Alexander Turnbull Library
New Zealand Speleological Society: Cave Maps

Dr Sascha Nolden
Arrangement & Description, Alexander Turnbull Library

The New Zealand Speleological Society was founded on 1 October 1949 by Henry G Lambert who served as president to 1959. The collection comprises 237 maps documenting cave systems across New Zealand, many of which were produced by regional clubs and special interest groups under the auspices of the New Zealand Speleological Society.

Many of the maps were originally deposited in duplicate by Jonathan Ravens in the early 1990s, but under current policy only a single copy of each map has been accessioned to the collection.

The arrangement and description involved selecting the best copy of each map and assigning a unique identifier to each sheet (MapColl-NZSS-001 to MapColl-NZSS-237) which was then described in a descriptive record, linked to a collection record (MapColl-collection-NZ-speleological-society).



Printed map of cave system. Reference: MapColl-NZSS-162/Acc.56498, Alexander Turnbull Library. *Photo by Flora Feltham*.

Identification of the geographic location documented in the map was one of the many challenges, and once located maps were indexed using Geographic Name authority terms.

A new genre/form authority term was created for "Cave maps" (and non-preferred "Speleological maps"), terms which have joined the growing family of cartographic genre/form headings in the Alexander Turnbull Library collection management system (Tiaki), which have recently also been augmented by the addition of "mining maps" and "orienteering maps" for example.

Name authority records (created in accordance with the EAC-CPF standards) have also been linked as indexing terms and new ones created for selected contributors to the collection.

The maps provide a fascinating and valuable record of a large number of New Zealand cave systems, and this collection represents the results of numerous surveys. Many of the maps were joint efforts by a number of contributors, in some cases indicated as "draughted by" and "drawn by", but in other instances only discernible from small initials in a lower corner.

The name of the renowned New Zealand scholar and leading export on the moa, Trevor Worthy, appears on a large number of the maps. Other name authority terms have been created for some of the regional clubs, such as the Taranaki Caving Club.

Cave maps are an invaluable record of surveys of landforms which are in a state of constant change, and many of the maps in the collection are based on the initial survey post-discovery. Some record the date of discovery and the names of members of the party who first explored the caves systems, or extended existing surveys into ever less accessible parts.

Undoubtedly, as archival records the greatest value lies in the record of features named on the map. The named features of these subterranean geological formations do not appear anywhere else, and often show evidence of considerable creativity and even a sense of humour on the part of the speleological explorers and cartographers.

Physically, this map collection is interesting and challenging, as the maps range in size from sheets smaller than an A4 sheet of paper to large plans. Some of them are originals drawn on paper, but many are printed facsimile copies and diazotypes on paper.

The descriptive records aim to capture the metadata which is in the item, including a transcription of the title, date information, names of contributors, geographic locality; and a physical description, comprising the physical material (in this case all on paper), and the

Examples of different names and printing methods in the collection. Reference: MapColl-Collection-NZ-Speleological-Society, Alexander Turnbull Library. *Photo by Flora Feltham.*

dimensions. But there are also material specific data, in this case specific to maps: for example, the scale is represented in various ways, including Representative Fraction (RF), Verbal Scale, and bar or graph, depending on the object.

While some of the maps have previously already been available reproduced in reduced format in *The New Zealand Cave Atlas*, this collection represents the information in original size.

This collection of 237 New Zealand cave maps were first deposited with the Library in 1991-1995, and a quarter of a century later these have now been accessioned and described, making them discoverable and available to researchers.

The collection may be found on Tiaki at (MapColl-Collection-NZ-Speleological-Society).

Endnote

David V May, "Speleology in New Zealand", *Bulletin of the National Speleological Society*, vol. 23, part 2, July 1961, pages 31-38.

Side On: Cassette Mix vs. CD/Vinyl Mix of The Clean's Odditties Album

William Daymond

Editor's Note:
A version of this essay was first printed in November 2015 in Cheap Thrills, a music magazine published by Ilam Press, Christchurch. It is reprinted here because Archifacts *is interested in what makes material unique – and this piece explores the differences between iterations of the 'same' item held by the National Library of New Zealand. More specifically, this will be of interest to practitioners working with audiovisual material.*

The Clean, an indie rock band from Dunedin, formed in 1978 and released their first single, "Tally Ho!" on the Christchurch based record label Flying Nun Records in 1981. Since then, they have arguably become the most influential band to emerge from New Zealand. Primarily due to cost reasons, many bands on Flying Nun eschewed the traditional (and more expensive) method of recording in a professional multi-track recording studio, often preferring to record on more primitive equipment in lounges or hired halls. When some of the Flying Nun master tapes were

Cover of the 1994 CD version of Odditties. Reference: Phono CD 0972, Alexander Turnbull Library.

converted to digital during the late 1980s and early 1990s in order to be pressed onto CD, in some cases liberties were taken as a few songs were edited and/or remixed in the process. Of all of The Clean's material, this is most evident on their Oddities album.

Containing an assortment of powerful, definitive versions of some of their best songs ("Oddity"), acoustic demos of ultimately unrealised song ideas ("This Guy"), to fuzzy, almost avant-garde sound experiments ("In The Back"), The Cleans' first posthumous release Oddities (with the intentional misspelling) has always been a favourite among hard core Clean fans, for whom it was originally aimed at in the first place. As Hamish Kilgour's liner notes stated in the original release, "Made to last for those that liked us".

The album was recorded on a Revox B77 two-track tape machine between 1980 and 1982 in various locations around Dunedin, with the bulk of the recordings taking place in early 1981 at the billiard and practice rooms of Selwyn College at Otago University. Originally self-released on cassette in 1983 under the Cleano Productions moniker, it was given wider distribution when Flying Nun re-released it in the same format in 1985. It was remixed and remastered (with two bonus tracks) for CD release by Flying Nun in July 1994, and that mix was finally released by US label 540 records on double vinyl in 2012.

This writer recently listened to an original 1983 cassette copy (with hand painted labels by Hamish Kilgour, no less) and was startled to note the difference between the mixes on the cassette and the mixes on the more commonly available compact disk and vinyl copies.

Inspired by the many "mono vs stereo" comparisons of 60's albums that exist, this writer decided to listen, write down and compare the differences of the two mixes.

So, without further ado…

Sides 1 and 2 of 1983 cassette copy of Oddities. Reference: Author's Collection.

SIDE ONE

Odditty: David Kilgour's opening chatter of "Odditty, take a million (?)", preceded by some bassy hum and the unmistakable sound of a tape recorder being switched on is complete on the cassette version, whereas the digital version cuts in midway through the word "odditty". Furthermore, there are several mixes of the song in existence:

The cassette version appears to be in some kind of mock stereo mix (ie. bass frequencies in one channel, treble frequencies in another) whereas the digital mix is in glorious mono. A remix included on the 2003 Clean Anthology features the two tracks presented with better separation (this is particularly noticeable on the vocals), however this mix has some tape wobble/deterioration that the other mixes don't have.

There is also around half a second of tape rumble/flutter at the end, wisely edited off the digital/vinyl version.

Success Story: The cassette version is almost identical to the digital/vinyl version. The only major difference is that the cassette mix has an extra half a second of guitar noodling that has been edited off the very end of the latter mix.

Thumbs Off: Same as above. Note, on initial pressings of 2003 The Clean Anthology CD, the Odditties version of Thumbs Off was erroneously used in place of the Boodle Boodle Boodle version. However, unlike the song Odditty, both versions appear to be the same mix.

Getting Older: One can hear the sound of the tape machine being switched on and a very faint announcement of "rolling…" in the background, which is missing from the digital/vinyl remaster.

Yellow Man: The vinyl/digital mix has an extra 40 (!) seconds at the start of the song, immediately preceding David Kilgour instructing the rest of the band to "slow it down, boys". The cassette also fades out earlier than the vinyl/digital mix and lacks the "okay, boys! Hold it, hold it there. New song…" ending.

End of my Dream: Pretty much the two versions are identical (see "Success Story), but with half a second or so shaved of the end of digital/vinyl remaster.

Platypus: The digital/vinyl mix has a "one, two, three, four" count that

the cassette version has had shaved off. However, the cassette does have an extra second or two of guitar noodling that happens after the digital/vinyl version has faded out.

This Guy: The cassette mix has the sound of the tape recorder being switched on and a second or two of noodly lead guitar that is missing from the digital/vinyl remaster. There is also an extra second or so of acoustic guitar plucking that has been faded out on the cassette mix.

David Bowie: The digital/vinyl remaster has an earlier fadeout (around a second or two) than the cassette mix.

Mudchucker Blues: There are a few extra second of country style lead guitar noodlings that are missing from the digital/vinyl remaster.

SIDE TWO

At The Bottom: No major differences appear to exist between the digital/vinyl remaster and the original cassette mix.

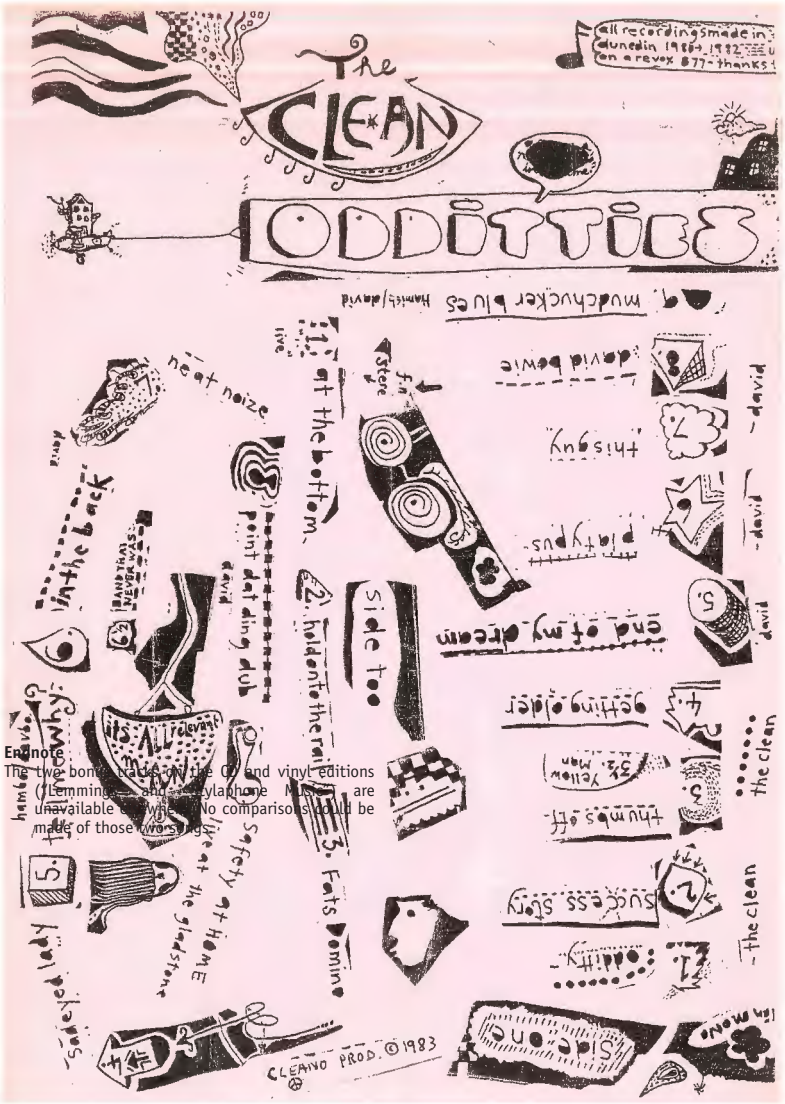
Hold Onto The Rail: Whereas the digital and vinyl versions fade out at 2:13, the cassette version has an extra eleven seconds where the song has a complete ending followed by some background chatter.

Inside Out: Pretty much the two versions are identical (see "Success Story), but with half a second or so shaved of end of the digital/vinyl remaster. Curiously the song title is missing from the original cassette track listing (see photo), but IS listed on the CD and vinyl releases.

Fats Domino: The cassette version has a "take three" introduction prior to the "one, two, three, four" count in that has been cut from the digital/vinyl version.

Sad Eyed Lady: Similar to Fats Domino, the cassette version has a spoken word introduction (with very heavy echo) of "Sad Eyed Lady, take two. One, two, three four…" that has been removed from the digital/vinyl version.

Tell Me Why: Pretty much the two versions are identical (see "Success Story), but with half a second or so shaved of the start digital/vinyl remaster.



Original cassette insert. Reference: Author's collection.

In The Back: No differences noticed between the digital/vinyl remaster and the cassette mix.

Band that Never Was: Features a "one, two, three, four…" introduction that has been removed from the digital/vinyl version. This song also has a slightly different position in the track order on the cassette version, where it falls between Point That Thing Dub and Safety at Home.

Wheels Of Industry: Listed under the title "Neat Noize" on the cassette, this is one of the primary songs where the stereo separation on the digital/vinyl mix is noticeably different to the mono mix featured on the cassette (see "Oddity").

Point That Thing Dub: The cassette mix has a distant sounding and heavily echoed "one, two three, four…" count-in that has been edited from the digital/vinyl mix.

Safety At Home: Although sounding the same in terms of length, the digital/vinyl version has been the most heavily re-mastered compared to the original cassette master, which is very bass heavy. The cassette liner notes state that this was recorded live at the Gladstone Hotel in Christchurch, which is missing from the CD and vinyl packaging.

Endnote

1. As the two bonus tracks on the CD and vinyl editions ("Lemmings" and "Stylaphon Music") arde unavailable elsewhere, no comparisons could be made of these two songs.

Rights in Records for Children in Out-of-Home Care

Belinda Battley

This year has seen the establishment in New Zealand of a Ministry for Vulnerable Children, Oranga Tamariki. It is a tenet often quoted that a society is judged by the way it treats its most vulnerable members. As archivists and recordkeepers, how will we be judged as the managers of records about those vulnerable members of our society who are now, or who have been in, out of home care?

Records have power to provide evidence for accountability and justice, but also have power to control those recorded as subjects.[1] There is a growing interest in archival communities in the social justice or human rights aspects of archives and recordkeeping,[2] leading to the International Council on Archives (ICA) publishing a *Universal Declaration on Archives* in 2011, which recognised, amongst other points, the vital necessity of archives for protecting the rights of citizens. This awareness of the power in records combined with revelations of a long history of appalling abuse of children who were in "care" has led to a call for a shift in the balance of control over records between the institutions who were responsible for the welfare of those children, and the children who suffered abuse at the hands of those meant to care for them, advocating for "archival autonomy" for the subjects of records.[3] The question of who owns records, and what this means for those recorded in them, has real and powerful consequences for identity and justice for those who were in care and are unable to gain access except by applying to the very institutions which were responsible for their care as children.

The Archives and the Rights of the Child research programme based in Melbourne, Australia, "aims to bring researchers across a range of disciplines together with community and practice advocates to re-imagine recordkeeping and archiving systems in support of responsive and accountable child-centred out-of-home care and as enablers of historical justice and reconciliation".[4] The impetus for this research included the Australian government's official apology to forgotten Australians and former child migrants, the *Bringing them Home* report on stolen generations of Aboriginal children and an ongoing Royal

Commission on child sexual abuse in State and other institutions. New Zealand has unfortunately also heard much testimony of abuse of children in institutions. A Confidential Listening and Assistance Service[5] was set up to at least provide a little help to individuals who had been in State care before 1992, but the terms of reference were very tight, and it could not carry out a broader investigation or make official recommendations. This service has now closed and so far there has been no promise of a called-for Royal Commission into systemic problem. Clearly there is a need for a coming-together of stakeholders here, as in Australia, to discuss what recordkeeping professionals could do to help protect the rights of vulnerable children.

Amongst the activities of the programme in Australia a national summit, *Setting the Record Straight for the Rights of the Child*, was held in Melbourne in May 2017. It brought together "participants from community, advocacy, government, and research organisations to discuss how to transform the way records of childhood out-of-home care are created, captured, managed, accessed and archived".[6] Although the Australian experience can provide much useful transferrable information about the needs and possibilities in this area, in New Zealand the different cultural context, including history, institutions, legislation, cultural understandings and expectations could lead to different issues and suggestions for future actions. My connection with this Australian initiative is that I am currently a PhD student at Monash University (though I am based in Auckland), and one of my supervisors, Dr Joanne Evans, was one of the main organisers of the Melbourne Summit. I decided to organise a similar workshop for New Zealand in the hopes of beginning a similar conversation in the New Zealand recordkeeping community.

This paper describes the background to the workshop, some of the outcomes and thoughts on what it has suggested about what we could consider doing next as an archival and recordkeeping community.

Background to the Workshop: Australia

In October 2016 I attended the Australian Society of Archivists conference in Parramatta. The conference included a session on "care-leavers", adults who had been in care as children. Frank Golding and Bonney Djuric of the Care Leavers Australasia Network (CLAN) provided first-hand testimony regarding the significance of recordkeeping decisions for their own experiences. Frank spoke about people being re-traumatised by the lack of information kept about their childhood: what remained was nearly all negative, often insulting, demeaning and hostile. Where

were the photographs, certificates of achievements, school reports and medical records kept from most childhoods? He spoke also of the CLAN Charter of Rights to Childhood Records, which included the right of a child to contribute to the making of the record (See Appendix 1 for the full Charter). All of the speakers in the session noted the power of records to not just create and record wrongs, but also as instruments for accountability, empowerment and redress. Records that had been created with no thought to their ever being seen by those about whom they were written could be reclaimed and repurposed for redress if agency in the records could be broadened to include those caught up in and harmed by the records and the regimes that created them. Summed up by Sue McKemmish of Monash University, who set out Principles for setting the record straight for the rights of the child, the session was inspiring and hopeful.

These principles were essentially those noted in the Summit website:[7]

"Children who experience out-of-home care need quality recordkeeping and archiving systems to

- develop and nurture their sense of identity and connectedness to family and community;
- account for their care experiences, and
- prevent, detect, report, investigate, and take action against child neglect and abuse."

In the discussion afterwards, which included plans for the national summit, Bonney noted the value of holding events at a local level, such as coffee mornings, so that people who were not focused on archives could gain awareness and access to the records they wanted and needed, and individuals could be empowered by sharing knowledge and skills.

Bonney Djuric took a group from the conference on a tour of the Parramatta Female Factory, a girls' home she had lived in as a teenager. The Home and its setting seemed almost a caricature of itself, with circling bats and cawing crows as twilight fell on the looming brick buildings. Bonney is chief instigator and manager of the Parramatta Female Factory Precinct Memory Project, a "social history and contemporary art project centered on the historic institutions of the Parramatta Female Factory Precinct connecting past to present by engaging those who once resided in these institutions to actively participate in how they are remembered and empowering them to determine how the site might be used in the future."[8] Visiting the former Home gave me a better understanding of the feeling of powerlessness and fear inspired by such institutions, as well

as the urge to create graffiti, as Bonney explained the scratches on the doors of the seclusion rooms were often the only record the girls had of their time at the Home that they had created themselves.

Planning for the New Zealand Workshop

In December 2016 I heard an interview on RNZ with Rosslyn Noonan, who said a Commission of Inquiry into abuse of children in care is essential, as the large number of people coming forward to the Confidential Listening and Assistance Service showed that clearly there were systemic issues that needed to be investigated. She noted that although there had been an earlier report on problems around children in care, the recommendations had largely not been taken up. As a member of ARANZ and an archivist working in an institution which held records of institutions responsible for the care of children I was aware we had been having and hearing conversations for some years about children's experiences with records and the many problems they face with regard to access and lack of documentation. I realised that the work being done in Australia on rights in records for children in out of home care, and adults who had been in care, was also needed in New Zealand, so I organised a one-day workshop for February 2017, which was hosted by Rosslyn Noonan at the Centre for Human Rights Research at the University of Auckland, with financial support from ARANZ, since many ARANZ members have records relating to children that have been in care in their holdings. Members of the Records Continuum Research Group based at Monash University, who were visiting New Zealand for a writing retreat at the time, assisted with the planning and helped run the workshop. Joanne Evans is part of that group and spoke at our workshop about the Australian experience, while Elizabeth Stanley, although not present, allowed us to use excerpts from her book detailing her research into childhood abuse in New Zealand state care.[9] These excerpts, sent to all participants before the workshop, helped those of us without direct experience begin to understand some of the issues involved.

The workshop brought together recordkeeping and archives professionals taking care of records of children in out-of-home care, archival researchers, experts in human rights law, advocates for people who have been in care as children and others with an interest in this area, and, most importantly, people who had been in care themselves. We agreed before the workshop that all could choose to speak without being identified, but that we would summarise our findings and make them more widely available. The aim of the workshop was to begin a national conversation regarding child-centred and rights-based recordkeeping

and archiving frameworks, policies, processes and systems. We did not expect to come up with quick solutions at the workshop, but to start the discussion and think about what the next steps might be.

My Experience of the Workshop

The care leavers who attended were very generous in sharing their stories, as revisiting past trauma can be a traumatic experience in itself. Their stories helped all of us without their experiences better understand the human impact of recordkeeping decisions about creating, sharing, destroying, denying access to, and redacting records. After the workshop, I emailed all of the participants with notes of the main points as I had understood them:

1. Care leavers may find that the only personal records that exist of their childhood are held by government departments, who often choose to redact much (or most) of the personal information about the people they were surrounded by in childhood - and these redactions are inconsistent. As one person said, care leavers are the only group in society who have to go to a government department to find records of their childhood. Withholding of records of a care leaver's childhood is experienced as abuse or torture: "a beating that leaves no marks".
2. The records may be complete in terms of legislative requirements, but not in terms of what the children need and want to know (for example, family history, educational achievements, photographs, medical history...)
3. Care leavers noted the impact of insensitive, disrespectful interactions when records were handed over. Many care leavers experience accessing the records of their time in care as a new trauma. Support needs to be in place.
4. Care leavers accessing records find that information is often misleading, inaccurate, and incomplete. Sometimes libellous statements are made about the child, birth parents or siblings. Often many or most records have disappeared.
5. Many care leavers' files contain little or nothing but negative comments
6. Care leavers need to be able to add retrospective statements to information held about them, to provide their point of view
7. Children in care should be allowed to make statements at the time about how they are feeling, with photographic / video / sound recordings in support, particularly in cases of abuse.

8. The average length of time before historic childhood abuse comes to light is more than 22 years, which means current retention and disposal schedules for records need to be revisited, particularly with regard to staff records and police complaints.
9. Lack of coordination between agencies is a big problem for care leavers and their advocates trying to find records.
10. When government agencies are developing retention and disposal schedules, most people are unaware of this so are unable to comment, although legally this is their right. Need a mechanism to ensure advocates for all interest groups, but particularly vulnerable groups, are consulted effectively.
11. People looking for records of their time in care need to know what to ask for and where to look. It is very difficult to get all of the information needed. If wanting to follow up regarding abuse suffered, it is very difficult to get staff records - may need to file a case in court. However, may not want to go through a court proceeding.
12. Legislation relating to records of children in care, as well as adopted children and those born with assisting technologies, needs to acknowledge, meet the needs of and address the rights of those most affected, the children themselves. Perhaps what is needed is an overarching standard relating to what records must be kept about all children in care.

A central issue that kept coming up was that of agency in records: The children the records are about and the agencies gathering the information both see the records as theirs. Some of these records relate to multiple children, so there are multiple potential holders of rights. However, only the agencies are asked permission if others wish to access, create, destroy or use these records.

The sense of lack of trust and respect often felt between the agencies and care leavers means that having control over the records kept by the agencies that managed their care is problematic, particularly but not only when abuse was involved.

I found it very helpful to hear the steps that people are already taking to address these issues, especially in the Australian examples, but also in the ways individual archivists can make it easier for people to access and make sense of the records they need, for example by making an effort to discover more about the institutions where the children lived, and about the other related institutions who might also have records, and by becoming aware of the potential issues regarding the records they hold.

Preliminary Outcomes

The most immediate outcome of the workshop was the beginning of a community of interest in this area in New Zealand. One of the attendees discussed the upcoming "Children, Young Persons and Their Families Legalisation Bill" which was calling for submissions, so several groups attending, including ARANZ, decided to make a submission to ensure the Bill covered child-centred recordkeeping requirements. (Our written and oral submissions are attached as appendices 2 and 3). We determined that ongoing work was needed to bring the recordkeeping needs of children in care to wider attention, and this work is just beginning. Changes in policy, legislation and professional and organisational culture will be needed to address the needs identified, so there is much work to be done in this area.[10]

One aspect of the needs for access to records that relates directly to our skills as recordkeeping professionals is the need to find out where the records are. In Australia, the "Find & Connect" initiative works to both help people find the records they need but also connects them with support networks. Although we so far have no funding for a similar initiative in New Zealand, I recently visited the University of Melbourne office of Find & Connect and they offered advice and support for us as we look into beginning a related service here.

In May 2017 I was able to attend the "Setting the Record Straight" summit in Melbourne, and was able to see first-hand both the steps that were beginning to be taken to ensure that children in care had their life-story recorded and accessible, and yet the long way that still needed to be travelled until the needs and rights around recordkeeping for all children in care and care-leavers were met: records were still being used as weapons against children and care-leavers, with babies taken from new mothers as they had a "history of being in care" and therefore by definition must be inadequate parents unless they could prove otherwise; a boy wrongly recorded as being of subnormal intelligence denied education until he was an adult able to organise it for himself (and successfully completed a University degree); people denied access to their records for reasons of third-party privacy only to discover that researchers had been granted full access, including personal details. Recordkeeping about children in care was seen as an issue of power and control, where private troubles had become a public issue, and public issues led to private troubles.

Some of the main themes that came out of that Summit were the need for collaboration in developing policies and processes; the need for all stakeholders to be involved in policy-setting rather than it being

an "elite sport" taken over by lawyers, politicians, government and other institutions; the central importance of rights in records – to be an agent, not just a subject – for identity and justice; a suggestion that an independent body should ensure and perhaps provide access; a note that "third party privacy" is often overused, misused and misunderstood, preventing access which should have been allowed; and the statement that the basic expectation should be access to all records about oneself. There was also a warning that although records managers should show "moral courage" in addressing injustices when they find them, it should not be left to relatively powerless records managers and archivists in large institutions to take on all the burden and risk of going against ingrained institutional policies, but rather we should work towards a societal expectation of agency in records for children in care, and for people who were in care as children.

At the Summit, Justice Jennifer Coate, Commissioner of the Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse (2016) talked about the 5 high level principles on recordkeeping for children in care developed as an outcome of the Commission:

1. Creating and keeping accurate records is in the best interest of children.
2. Accurate records must be created about all decisions and incidents affecting child protection.
3. Records relevant to child sexual abuse must be appropriately maintained.
4. Records relevant to child sexual abuse must only be disposed of subject to law or policy.
5. Individuals' rights to access and amend records about them can only be restricted in accordance with law.

Clearly there is still much work to be done on this in New Zealand. Specific recommendations ARANZ made on behalf of its members are set out in the Written Submission attached as Appendix 2. If we can work together to lobby for improvements to policy, legislation, regulation, organisational culture and professional understanding of rights in records, perhaps we as archivists and recordkeepers can feel more confident that the future will judge us as having done our part in looking after the most vulnerable in our society.

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10. As a consequence of our submission, the Bill was amended to include the subsection, "s.477(1)(fa)(iv) the creation and maintenance of records for a child or young person recording important matters in their life (including significant life events and significant achievements) occurring while they are in care, and the provision of access to those records for the child or young person", which passed into law on July 13, 2017.

APPENDIX 1
Care Leavers Australasia Network (CLAN)
A Charter of Rights to Childhood Records (2016)

PREAMBLE

Whereas:

Many Australian children, through no fault of their own, were placed in orphanages, children's Homes, foster 'care' and other forms of institutions that replaced their homes and families and isolated them from ordinary community life; and

Many children left such 'care' angry, ashamed, confused about their identity, often not understanding the reasons for their separation from family because no one explained their situation, wanting to re-connect with their families and communities wherever that was still possible, and carrying many unresolved burdens resulting from the physical, emotional and sexual abuse and neglect that were inflicted on them; and

Any records that were made and archived in those circumstances may represent the only documented account of the person's time in such institutions; and

The historic reasons for creating these childhood records are now, by the passage of time, redundant.

And recognising that the Australian government is a signatory to the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) which among other things:

Affirms that in all actions concerning children, whether undertaken by public or private social welfare institutions, the best interests of the child shall be a primary consideration; and

Requires governments to respect a child's right to know their parents and the right of the child to preserve his or her identity and family ties; and

Requires governments to respect the right of the child who is separated from one or both parents to maintain personal relations and direct contact with both parents on a regular basis; and

Affirms the right of any child temporarily or permanently deprived of his or her family environment to special protection and assistance provided by the State; and

Affirms that no child shall be subjected to arbitrary or unlawful interference with his or her privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to unlawful attacks on his or her honour and reputation.

CHARTER OF RIGHTS

Therefore, by ethical extension of the rights of the child to the adult the child has become, and in response to the contemporary needs of former institutionalised children, it is declared that:

1. The historic records now held in archives are there principally for the purpose of helping the 'subject' person make meaning of the circumstances of their childhood; and/or to connect, if still possible, with family and community; and/or to seek redress and other remedial action for abuse or neglect, where relevant.
2. Archivists, record-holders and support workers must expedite all requests for access to personal records. Special consideration should be given to the frail, elderly, and those involved in litigation or redress claims.
3. Under no circumstances should a request for records be influenced by consideration of any real or perceived conflict of interest in providing records. There should be no secret dossiers on children in 'care'.
4. In some cases, the records have been lost, others are incomplete, and many are found to be inadequate. Therefore, in addition to historic personal files and case notes, archivists and other support personnel have a duty to search for and identify other archived records that are relevant to the person's childhood experience to assist in providing a more complete narrative.
5. Many childhood records are partial; many contain statements that are inaccurate or misleading; and many include personal judgments or opinions and use language that is offensive. Archivists and records holders have a duty to inform the person of the right to challenge the records, and should encourage them to submit alternative relevant material for inclusion on the record.
6. Record holders have a duty to assist the 'subject' person interpret the record with issues like historical context and technical terminology.
7. The childhood records in archives are ultimately the property of the person who is the subject of the records. Originals should be provided and copies kept in archival collections.
8. The subject of the records (or, if deceased, that person's closest living blood relative or by agreement another blood relative) has the right to determine who should have access to those records and the terms of that access.
9. In acknowledgement of the importance of childhood records into the future, all agencies and organisations that take children into their custody from this time forward must create an official record comprising key documents including the child's birth certificate, the

names and last-known addresses of members of the child's family, any court orders or documents related to the reasons for the child's placement, all medical and educational histories, the names of all people who visit the child during their time in custody, all documents related to transfers to other institutions including foster families and any other official documents that relate to the child's time in 'care'.

10. All agencies and organisations that take children into their custody from this time forward should encourage such children to contribute to their official records, and as well, to help them to create a personal collection of items such as relevant photographs of people, events and places that are central to their time in 'care', objects of significance to their time in any 'care' facility and any personal or descriptive accounts written by the child.

APPENDIX 2
Written Submission

Belinda Battley and Elizabeth Charlton

[N.B. This submission has been abridged. The full submission can be viewed at https://www.aranz.org.nz/Site/publications/submissions/default.aspx]

TO THE SOCIAL SERVICES SELECT COMMITTEE
Submission on the Children, Young Persons, and Their Families (Oranga Tamariki) Legislation Bill

ARANZ Council is concerned that the rights of children in care and adults who have been in care as children to accurate, complete and accessible information about their time in care are not sufficiently protected by the provisions in this Bill.

The following comments relate to the current experience of adults who have been in care and are suffering continuing trauma due to issues regarding lack of access to information about their time in care. Note that a "care leaver" is defined as an adult who was in care as a child.

1. Care leavers may find that the only personal records that exist of their childhood are held by government departments, who often choose to redact much (or most) of the personal information about the people they were surrounded by in childhood - and these redactions are inconsistent.. Withholding of records of a care leaver's childhood is experienced as abuse or torture: "a beating that leaves no marks".
2. The records may be complete in terms of legislative requirements, but not in terms of what the children need and want to know (for example, family history, educational achievements, photographs, medical history...)
3. Care leavers accessing records find that information is often misleading, inaccurate, and incomplete. Sometimes libellous statements are made about the child, birth parents or siblings. Often many or most records have disappeared.
4. Many care leavers' files contain little or nothing but negative comments
5. Records are often distributed between several or many different agencies, making it difficult both for care leavers and for archivists or records managers to locate them when needed.
6. Care leavers are required to approach the agency that provided their care in order to obtain the records relating to their time in care. This can be problematic, particularly in cases where abuse was involved.

Recommendations from the Workshop

1. Care leavers and children in care need to be able to add retrospective statements to information held about them, to provide their point of view.
2. Children in care should be allowed to make and record statements about how they are feeling, with photographic / video / sound recordings in support, particularly in cases of abuse.
3. Current retention requirements for records relating to children in care need to be revisited, particularly with regard to staff records and police complaints, as individuals may not feel confident to act on abuse for many decades after it has happened.
4. Legislation relating to records of children in care, as well as adopted children and those born with assisting technologies, needs to acknowledge, meet the needs of and address the rights of those most affected, the children themselves. People who were in care as children have the right to records that support their identity, including records relating to their biological parents, siblings, education, medical history, information about the places they were in care, the identity of the people looking after them, and other life events of significance to the child. An overarching standard of what types of records should be created and kept by care providers, and who should have control over access, creation, management and destruction is needed. This standard needs to be based on the needs of the child.

Related Policy and Legislation

Australian examples

Australia is making considerable advances relating to rights in records for people who have been in care as children. For example, a model for managing the records of children in care can be seen in the New South Wales standards for statutory out of home care (http://connectingcarersnsw.com.au/wp-content/uploads/2015/03/Outofhomecare_standards_2013.pdf).

Details of Standard 16 "Documentation and Recordkeeping", reproduced from page 19 of the document:

Objective

Children and young people have a record of their time in care.

Standard
Children and young people have a permanent record of their histories which contains all relevant documentation

Legislation
Children and Young Persons (Care and Protection) Act 1998
Sections: 14, 142, 149B-K, 160, 162, 165, 167-170, 245,
Chapter 16A, 248
Children and Young Persons (Care and Protection) Regulation 2012
Clauses: 8, 13, 14, 37(a), 42, 65
Schedule 3 – Clause 4

Key messages
- An accurate record of their time in care can assist children and young people understand their history and develop a sense of identity
- Omissions and inaccuracies in record keeping contribute to flawed decision making
- Good record keeping is an integral component of casework practice

Assessment Criteria
1. All available information, documents and records about a child or young person are collected and maintained
2. Records pertaining to a child or young person and their family are maintained in a safe and secure manner for the time specified in the relevant legislation
3. Children and young people have access to their information when requested
4. Children and young people are provided with support when accessing information about their personal and family histories
5. When leaving care, young people are provided with the original of their identity documents and life story materials and copies of other documents.

The 1997 report on the National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from Their Families (https://www.humanrights.gov.au/sites/default/files/content/pdf/social_justice/bringing_them_home_report.pdf) listed the following recommendations regarding records and archives:

"First, all records which may be of assistance to Indigenous people seeking to re-establish family and community links or establish Indigenous identity must be preserved.

Second, access to records must be made easier and less hurtful. This involves improving access procedures, ensuring culturally appropriate access and involving the counselling and support assistance of Indigenous family tracing and reunion services.

Third, in the longer term Indigenous communities should have an opportunity to manage their own historical documentation".

In Australia, government funding has allowed for the development of a service called "Find and Connect" (https://www.findandconnect.gov.au/), a central point where information about orphanages, children's homes and other institutions throughout Australia is available for people wishing to find their own records and related support services. Developing a similar resource in New Zealand would support the rights of people who have been children in care to have access to information which preserves their identity, enables them to participate more fully in society and also allows them to seek justice for abuse they suffered as children. Although the development of this resource is not part of this legislation it is important that the need for this resource is taken into consideration when designing the aspects of this bill relating to records.

International Obligations

In further support of this submission, ARANZ wishes to draw the attention of the Select Committee to Article 8 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child:

1. States Parties undertake to respect the right of the child to preserve his or her identity, including nationality, name and family relations as recognized by law without unlawful interference.
2. Where a child is illegally deprived of some or all of the elements of his or her identity, States Parties shall provide appropriate assistance and protection, with a view to re-establishing speedily his or her identity.

Ensuring appropriate recordkeeping occurs will assist in fulfilling New Zealand's obligation to this Convention.

Conclusion

ARANZ Council recommends that new clauses are added to the Bill requiring that:

1. All available information, documents and records about a child or young person are collected and maintained, including but not limited to birth certificate, medical, educational, and other life events
2. Records pertaining to a child or young person and their family are

maintained in a safe and secure manner for the time specified in the relevant legislation

3. Records relating to the identity of staff caring for children and the institutions responsible for their care are maintained and are accessible to the child and the adult care leaver they become
4. Care leavers and children in care have the right to add retrospective statements to information held about them, to provide their point of view.
5. Children in care have the right to make and record statements about how they are feeling, with photographic / video / sound recordings in support if the child wishes, particularly in cases of abuse.
6. Children and young people and care leavers have access to their information when requested
7. Children and young people and care leavers are provided with support when accessing information about their personal and family histories
8. When leaving care, young people are provided with the original of their identity documents and life story materials and copies of other documents.

APPENDIX 3
Oral Submission

Elizabeth Charlton (presenter) and Belinda Battley

I am here to speak further to the written submission lodged by ARANZ regarding the lack of provisions in this Bill for child-centred recordkeeping.

The report of the Confidential Listening and Assistance Service (https://www.dia.govt.nz/diawebsite.nsf/Files/Confidential-Listening-and-Assistance/$file/Confidential-Listening-and-Assistance-Service-Final-Report-Some-Memories-Never-Fade.pdf) gave examples of how participants felt and why it is crucial that the collection of documentation is planned for the children whose care will be determined by this bill to avoid those children making the same comments in the future.

On p.30 is a comment that there were no records kept of attendance at Health Camps and that there was no way of finding out any information about their time there. This is also applicable to one of our members who is much younger than many of the participants who used this service. Although a few records of Health Camps do exist, these are very patchy and it is hard for people even to work out where to start looking for them, or whether after so much effort in searching they will find anything, or be given access to them.

The records may be complete in terms of legislative requirements, though it seems in many cases they are not, but not in terms of what the children need and want to know: for example, family history, educational achievements, photographs, medical history, and other records about their childhood that are so much more readily available to most of us who have grown up with our biological families.

The main comment which strengthens the need to have adequate documentation of a child's life in care is on page 31 where participants indicated that they are confused over their identity, and who they really are, especially when links with family were lost. In particular, knowing their whanau connections is of vital importance for Maori. These connections form the basis of their identity and standing in Te Ao Maori, the Maori world. Their needs are intensified instances of all children's needs.

At the workshop our Association held in February where care-leavers and archivists discussed issues relating to recordkeeping for people who have been in care, lack of access to records, or the apparent destruction

of records, was identified by care-leavers as being experienced as an assault on themselves and their right to their own identity. Their ability to reconnect with their childhood experiences, their biological family, foster siblings, places they had stayed, and cultural history was strongly compromised, and it was extremely difficult to seek justice for previous wrongs as names were redacted from the limited records provided, staff records had been destroyed or were heavily redacted and records about complaints they had made had also been destroyed. Archivists at the workshop described the frustration they felt through an inability to locate or discover what had happened to the records being sought by their clients, as well as the frustration of providing access to the records through the agency that created them, which then apparently made extensive redactions to the little information that was available before providing them to the person who had been in care.

As a country, we can learn from and adapt the sterling work which has come from the several Australian inquiries into out-of-home care. As part of this process, committee members may be interested in attending the Australian National Summit, "Setting the Record Straight for the Rights of the Child" to be held in Melbourne in early May.

Conclusion

We would like to see included a specific section in the Bill which addresses recordkeeping as it relates to the child in care:

- *Whose record:* The need to clarify who has control/agency to create, correct, annotate, grant access and destroy these records – if these are personal records relating to the child, the child will have a very strong personal interest in them, in their accuracy, in how long they are kept and in who gets to read them
- *Types of record:* That a portable personal record (e.g. a life story) be specifically included so that children who have been in care have the same access to information about their childhood that other children do, including information about positive life events, education, medical history, the places they lived and stayed and their companions in childhood. This should stay with the child, and be given to them when they are no longer in care.
- *Coordinating point for records:* The need for a "one point of contact", a central place to locate and manage records, preferably by an independent body from the agencies that managed the services for the children in care
- *Specific provisions for access to records:* The requirement that not

only should people who have been in care have access to records relating to that time, without redaction of information from those records unless for very strong reasons of risk to personal safety of others, but also that they should be given access in a sensitive manner, with support available such as counsellors when required.

Secret Files in the United Kingdom's National Archives

Richard Hill and Emma Kelly

"There is an inevitable tension between the needs of national security and the wishes of historians", wrote Professor Christopher Andrew in the preface to his "authorized" history of MI5, the British domestic spy agency.[1] More broadly, it might well be argued that the degree and methods of a state's surveillance over its citizens goes to the heart of the type of society we have or aspire to. Applying that to New Zealand, does the nature and extent of state surveillance in civil society, through time, call into question our widely shared assumption that New Zealand is an open society characterised by justice and fairness to all its inhabitants – a country of civil liberties? It is, however, difficult to measure our historical levels and modes of state surveillance, for our security intelligence agencies have a more restrictive approach to releasing information than those of any other member of the "Five Eyes" international security alliance. We have to get most of our information from outside these agencies, including from overseas archival releases. In 2016 a digital release of security-related files in Britain held out promise for adding value to our understanding of the security intelligence history of New Zealand.[2]

The *Secret Files from World Wars to Cold War: Intelligence, Strategy and Diplomacy* database is a joint project of the United Kingdom's National Archives and the publishing firm Routledge, part of the Taylor & Francis Group. It provides access to selected British government secret intelligence and foreign policy files from the later nineteenth century to 1953, the majority from the 1930s and 1940s.[3] This is the second product of the Digital Resources Programme at Taylor & Francis, and the firm's first collaboration with The National Archives. The programme's purpose is "to develop online primary source collections for use in Higher Education teaching and research…by partnering with leading archives and libraries to digitize unique primary source collections".[4]

Ideas for new projects for the programme are developed by a Routledge team (headed by its Editorial Director, Digital Resources) which seeks inputs from academics. The *Secret Files* database originated from a

conversation the team had with Professor Matthew Jones (London School of Economics and Political Science, University of London), who mentioned the value of Foreign Office files (FO 1093) released in 2013 to academic research. The Editorial Director notes: "We then undertook a review of the material at The National Archives and built upon this core Series, identifying other Series at The National Archives that complemented and enhanced FO 1093." Selections from these various materials were carried out by the publishers after in-house research, discussions on contents and selection methods with an academic Editorial Board, and input from academic and archival focus groups in the United States and the United Kingdom. When selections were made, these were reviewed by the Editorial Board.[5]

In the pre-digital age, it goes without saying, accessing archival and newspaper sources was a temporally and spatially constrained endeavour. As A. N. L. Munby noted in 1960, many manuscript sources were virtually untouched by readers. A long-time Librarian of King's College, Cambridge, Munby was not too worried about this.[6] Reflecting a more leisurely scholarly age, he felt that all that was needed was to ensure that the future expansion of manuscript collections proceeded "on sound and scholarly lines" – although this "cannot be achieved without a good deal of thought from us all."[7] While digitisation addresses the issue of physical access (at least to selected material) and, to a lesser degree, that of time input (more especially if there are well designed finding aids), a "good deal of thought" is still needed about what topics or fields should get priority for digitisation and the selection criteria for material within the relevant collections.

In the world of security intelligence history, such issues are made more complex by the paucity of archives released into the public arena in the first place. A number of questions might be asked: Why were specific documents declassified by the originating authorities and released to the general public? On occasions when we have been given an answer to this, is the answer true (a particularly pertinent question in the area of state covert surveillance)? In the world of state security, can any releases be "innocent" of state instrumentalist intentions? Should everything "relevant" that has been declassified and deposited in an archive be digitised, avoiding a second sifting process with different selection criteria to that of declassification and release? But how would the boundaries of "relevance" be defined in the first instance, and who would patrol them? And how would such a huge digital product be financed? Where there are public-private partnerships in online archival projects, what are their ramifications? Can the profit imperative, for

example, be compatible with academic protocols and public interest? We will sketch out some thoughts on such issues, using the *Secret Files* database as an example, making particular reference to its coverage of New Zealand connections with the British intelligence community.

First of all, how important are the *Secret Files* both per se and in relation to their considerable cost? (Even most institutional purchasers would need to think hard before they made a commitment to buy). The database is described as "[s]panning four key twentieth century conflicts, with a spotlight on the Second World War", enabling "rich research into intelligence, foreign policy, international relations, and military history in the period of Appeasement, through the Second World War, and into the early Cold War." It is especially focused on the FO 1093 files, which originated in the Permanent Under-Secretary's Department at the Foreign Office (PUSD), "the point of liaison between the Foreign Office and the British intelligence establishment". An overview of the database promises "new insights into key moments of twentieth-century history".[8]

Is this a valid claim? The involvement of expert intelligence historians might give us some comfort here. A member of the editorial board, Professor Denis Smyth (University of Toronto), confirms that the PUSD files "contain many startling revelations about secret intelligence and covert operations" and, among other things, demonstrate the Foreign Office's considerable degree of "supervision" over the Secret Intelligence Service (MI6), Britain's external spy organisation.[9] As well as their historical significance, moreover, material in these and other released "secret files" may well have contemporary resonance. As one of the academics involved in their selection noted, "we can only learn about the importance of secret activity today by examining its past".[10]

However, the *Secret Files* tell us only about those parts of the past that the originating agencies of state want us to know. They are therefore censored – and, given the nature of their subject, far more heavily so than most releases. By means of comparison, while some 4000 paper files were released by MI5 to The National Archives over a dozen years from 1997, this constituted only one per cent of those held by the intelligence agency – if it was, indeed, that much, the amount being hard to estimate since many files are multi-volumed.[11] The official historian of the UK's Joint Intelligence Committee (JIC), Professor Michael Goodman, notes that while the majority of the material he used for his first volume had already been released to The National Archives, "a great number" of JIC Secretariat files and all of their "Confidential Annex volumes" remained out of the public purview.[12] Sometimes the reader of the *Secret Files* can work out which files have been held back from release. For example, a key

British intelligence report in 1947 refers to a "short note prepared by the New Zealand authorities" on their security intelligence arrangements, and references this as "Annexure F"; but this is not available in the database (unlike annexures A-D).[13] But often – as with releases of "Personal File" information by the New Zealand Security Intelligence Service – we do not know the full extent and nature of much of what has been held back.

We have of course no choice but to accept that what we have access to in the *Secret Files* has been governed by the requirements of the security agencies, but what can we conclude about the next level of sifting before e-publication? While the database was selected in consultation with experts on the Editorial Board and elsewhere, we do not know the nature of the interactions, how the final decision on each file was reached, whether all parties consulted were in harmony over the end product, and so forth. We can, however, have hopes of rapid access to the fruits of this collective labour, in-house indexers at Routledge having created "detailed and bespoke metadata at both the file and document level", holding out the prospect of "powerful content discoverability".[14] Searching is also assisted by the selection of ten key themes by which documents were "categorized and described".[15]

The reader can learn when located material was first made accessible to the public by using a "download citation" button that provides the date for accession to The National Archives. We can readily see, for example, that while the 2013 Foreign Office releases hold prominence in the *Secret Files*, others were in the public domain long before.[16] Among other things, this helps the reader both to gauge the significance to current scholarship of material found in the *Secret Files* and to assess the state of archival-based knowledge at the time previous books and articles were published. Thus, while the database includes the original texts and/or summaries of Ultra decrypts of enemy signals traffic (including references to New Zealand troops) delivered to Prime Minister Winston Churchill during World War II, it is useful to know that these have been available to historians and other readers at The National Archives since 1993.[17]

More broadly, Editorial Board members have provided introductory essays aimed at "contextualizing the primary material" and also produced other secondary work. Dr. Stephen Twigge, Head of Modern Collections at The National Archives, for example, has written "a description of the content, themes and topics" for each of the nine Series included in the *Secret Files*.[18] Such material provides a broad backdrop for references to New Zealand, which was a minor player in the British intelligence world and so does not feature prominently in the *Secret Files* – a factor perhaps magnified by the publisher's and its advisers' interests lying primarily in

the UK and, to a lesser degree, the United States.

Among the 16,838 documents contained in the 4,500 files of the database, however, a search for "New Zealand" uncovers 336 documents contained within 211 files, ranging from the very short to upwards of 150 pages.[19] Many of them have designations such as "Secret", "Top Secret", "Most Secret" or "Top Secret & Personal". They provide some significant information on the history of New Zealand security intelligence and its regional and international connections. It can be difficult, however, to assess the importance of a single item disconnected from its surrounding documentation by selection decisions or other human interventions in the past. Sometimes, on the other hand, a trail can be followed within the *Secret Files* which assists contextualisation. In 1937, for example, New Zealand argued that "a common policy" on the strategic importance of Pacific Islands should be considered at the forthcoming Imperial Conference. When pressed for details, it advocated a focus on "Naval bases, Air bases, Commercial Airways, Meteorology, Communications, Population and Administration, Activities of Japanese fishing craft, Review of Trade and Shipping".[20] Follow-up action recorded in the database provides context, including a report analysing such matters as food, water and population in Pacific territories which were considered to be of potential importance for both peacetime and wartime imperial opportunities.

But on other occasions – such as in 1940 when the British Treasury was asked to provide £1000 from Secret Service funds so that "a military mission to Australia under Lt. Col. J.C. Mawhood" could make "peculiar contacts in the Pacific" – there is no trail to follow in the database.[21] In such cases, broader knowledge of the world of international security connections is required (although such information is often scarce because of the dearth of sources and, relatedly, of secondary works). Knowledge of the early role of the JIC, for example, born as it was "out of the anxieties over the military rise of Nazi Germany", can help us contextualise other intelligence events in the late 1930s.[22] Its post-war activities too throw light on cold-war intelligence, including New Zealand's role in intelligence gathering and analysis. The JIC's Far East section, for example, graded intelligence allies in order of importance and reliability. New Zealand came next in line to the key strategic partner, Australia (with which it "worked hand in glove"); considered more reliable than countries such as South Africa and India, it was hence "allowed access to British JIC assessments".[23]

New Zealand's post-war appearances in the *Secret Files* often feature, moreover, the Joint Intelligence Bureau (JIB), established in 1945 by Major General Kenneth Strong to take over "the responsibilities of several

wartime intelligence organs", its functions later expanding to incorporate such matters as "atomic intelligence" (in 1957). As well as being "an important stepping stone in the movement to centralize military and military-relevant intelligence in Britain", it was designed to be at "the centre of an international network" of counterpart organisations.[24] Thus the *Secret Files* trace JIB efforts to establish offices and personnel in Australia and New Zealand, and contain information on espionage activities in this part of the world. There was said to be, for example, "[s]trong circumstantial evidence" that in 1946 New Zealander Ian Milner, an official in the Australian Department of External Affairs, had passed two British War Cabinet papers to the principal Soviet agent in Canberra.[25]

The *Secret Files* invite us, however, to take a broad perspective on intelligence, including issues of central interest to the UK and its allies that appear mundane compared to the work of MI5 and MI6. The JIB's interests were seen to lie primarily in economic intelligence, political intelligence "of the long-range type", topographical intelligence ("necessary to planning"), communications, ports and airfields, defences, telecommunications and that "vital strategic subject", oil.[26] The database also reminds us of post-war hopes for the future of the Commonwealth as a leading international player, and for New Zealand's aspirations within it. In 1948, for example, the Commonwealth's Advisory Committee on Defence Science was considering "utilising New Zealand resources of shales, coals and lignites" in the wider interests of the member countries.[27]

It was acknowledged, however, that "New Zealand could not undertake defence researches comparable in magnitude and extent to those in progress elsewhere in the Commonwealth", partly because of a "shortage of trained New Zealand scientists".[28] Sometimes, accordingly, the British (who had a Scientific Liaison Officer in New Zealand) provided assistance. For example, the "Canterbury Project", a radio meteorological investigation in the South Island in 1946-7, was followed up by UK facilitation of data analysis at a British research centre.[29] But British policy was to decentralise costs as much as possible within the Commonwealth, and the UK placed pressure upon the New Zealand government to fund as many projects as possible. In addition to considerable cooperation by New Zealand government and academic scientists, in 1948 the New Zealand military planned to spend an estimated £125,000 for defence science training "of value to the Commonwealth".[30] There were, too, a number of other post-war security pressures upon the New Zealand politicians, including UK efforts to persuade New Zealand to transfer

"human intelligence" functions from its Police Force to a stand-alone service – something which eventually occurred in 1956 with the establishment of the New Zealand Security Service.[31]

Such matters are not yet well covered in New Zealand historical literature. Access to the *Secret Files* will help researchers to gain a clearer and more complete – or, perhaps, less fuzzy and less incomplete – picture of our country's past role in the international "security community", even if we find little information to help us address questions relating to the nature and extent of state penetration of civil society. While much of the database has been available to consult in physical form in London for a number of years, then, digital access will undoubtedly be of assistance to historians of security and related matters – although they will need to take into account the sifting processes involved. The huge numbers of gaps in the *Secret Files* and, more broadly, in The National Archives, will no doubt tantalise some researchers to probe further: "absent files create… traces that continue to have agency and effect".[32] We can be reasonably sure, however, that few (if any) "absent files" concerning our security relationships with the UK and its allies will be released in the foreseeable future by New Zealand security agencies, since these systemically consult with their overseas counterparts over the declassification of mutually relevant files.[33] Meanwhile, the *Secret Files* provide some pieces of the jigsaw of international security intelligence cooperation, including that between the UK and New Zealand – even if it is a very large jigsaw and most of the pieces are missing.

Endnotes

1. Andrew, Christopher, *The Defence of the Realm: The Authorized History of MI5*, London, 2009 (2010 ed.), p. xxi.
2. *Secret Files from World Wars to Cold War: Intelligence, Strategy and Diplomacy:* www.secretintelligencefiles.com. Archival references in this article are to this database.
3. http://www.secretintelligencefiles.com/Overview. The title of the database is somewhat misleading given that the collection dates back to 1873.
4. Personal communication, S. Phillips to E. Kelly, 28 February 2017.
5. This paragraph is based upon information in Phillips to Kelly, 28 February 2017.
6. Munby, A. N. L., *Essays and Papers*, London, 1977, p. 67.
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8. Quotes in this paragraph are from: http://www.secretintelligencefiles.com/Overview
9. Personal Communication, D. Smyth to E. Kelly, 13 October 2016.
10. Glees, Anthony, 'The Impact of Intelligence on Policy', p.3: http://www.secretintelligencefiles.com/Overview/Subject-Essays/Anthony-Glees
11. Andrew, *Defence of the Realm*, pp. xxi-xxii.
12. Goodman, Michael S., *The Official History of the Joint Intelligence Committee*, Volume 1, London, 2014, p. 3.
13. CAB 176/14: Visit to Singapore, Australia and New Zealand by the Director Joint Intelligence Bureau, 5 February 1947, p.9.
14. Phillips to Kelly, 28 February 2017.
15. http://www.secretintelligencefiles.com/Overview/Methodology/Metadata: Metadata Field: Themes.
16. One example is CAB 56/2: Strategic Importance of the Pacific Islands. Telegrams to and from the Government of New Zealand, 10 March 1937 [made available in 1992].
17. HW1/2342: Government Code and Cypher School: Signals Intelligence Passed to the Prime Minister, Messages and Correspondence. This was drawn to our attention by Professor Smyth: Smyth to E. Kelly, 13 October 2016.
18. http://www.secretintelligencefiles.com/Overview/Series-Descriptions
19. A search for the word "Zealand" produces references to a higher number of documents because some of the documents refer to the "Danish islands of Zealand" (eg CAB 158/15: The Employment of the Soviet Armed Forces in Land

Campaigns in the Event of General War 1953-56, 25 June 1953 p.21). A search for "New Zealand" in inverted commas maximises search efforts in the database.

20. CAB 56/2: Strategic Importance of the Pacific Islands. Telegrams to and from the Government of New Zealand, pp.324-327.
21. CAB 301/4: War Office to The Treasury, 27 September 1940, Secret Service Funding: Defence Departments, p. 87. In the case of the Mawhood mission, the Security and Surveillance Project at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies is investigating its ramifications for New Zealand security intelligence history.
22. Goodman, *Joint Intelligence Committee*, p. 419.
23. Goodman, *Joint Intelligence Committee*, p. 219.
24. Dylan, Huw, 'The Joint Intelligence Bureau: (Not So) Secret Intelligence for the Post-War World', *Intelligence and National Security*, 27:1, 2012, p. 27. The JIB was absorbed into the new Defence Intelligence Staff when the Ministry of Defence was established in 1964, and was at the heart of the new organisation, which was itself headed by the JIB founding director Kenneth Strong. See Dylan, Huw, *Defence Intelligence and the Cold War: Britain's Joint Intelligence Bureau* 1945-1964, Oxford, 2014, for a full history; and for its emergence from JIC discussions, Goodman, *Joint Intelligence Committee*, pp. 165-167.
25. FO 1093/516: Australian Security: Percy Sillitoe to W. G. Hayter, 21 September 1948, p.38. See too McNeish, James, *The Dance of the Peacocks: New Zealanders in Exile in the Time of Hitler and Mao Tse Tung*, Auckland, 2003.
26. CAB 176/14: Visit to Singapore, Australia and New Zealand by the Director Joint Intelligence Bureau, 5 February 1947: Annexure A (CLS/5306/JIC: Minutes, South East Asia Topographical Committee, 6 January 1947), p. 2.
27. FO 1093/515: Advisory Committee on Defence Science: Papers for 1948: Oil Research Problems: Potential Sources of Liquid Fuels in New Zealand, 31 December, 1948, p. 4
28. FO 1093/515: Advisory Committee on Defence Science: Papers for 1948: Progress Report on Defence Research in New Zealand, 21st December 1948, p.20.
29. FO 1093/515: Advisory Committee on Defence Science: Papers for 1948: Progress Report on Defence Research in New Zealand, 21st December 1948, p. 24.
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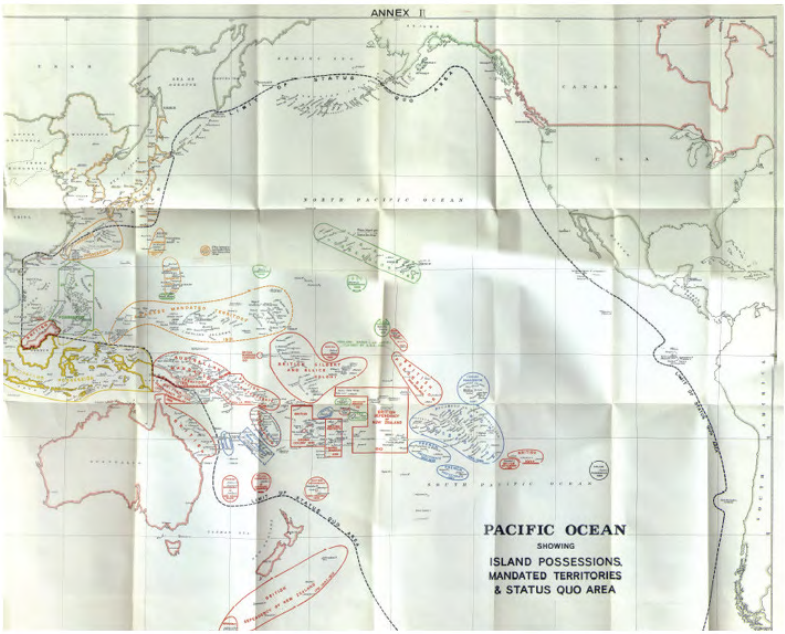
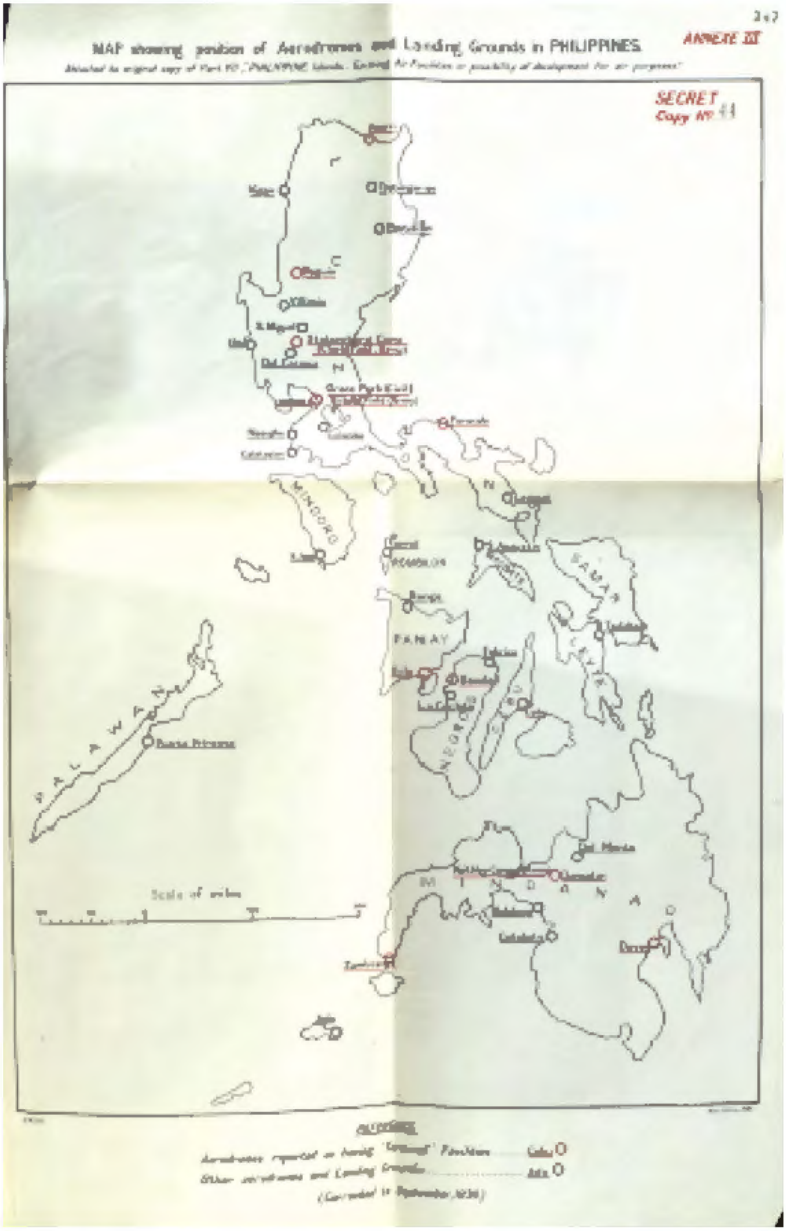


Map included in CAB 56/2, 7 May 1937: Strategic Importance of the Pacific Islands, Annex II.



Map included in CAB 56/2, 7 May 1937, Strategic Importance of the Pacific Islands, Annex III.

Monumental Inscriptions as Records

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Inscriptions on monuments form an important record in their own right.[2] They provide information of various kinds and reflect the concerns, interests and perspectives of the period in which an inscription was written. The question arises then, if an inscription on a monument is a record, how does that record function in terms of evidence? What is it evidence of? Inscriptions can be evidence in at least two ways. Firstly, with regard to the event, person or location which the inscription describes, it provides information which it was considered important enough to have captured in a permanent, public form, and presents that information for consideration, remembrance and guidance in understanding. Secondly, it provides evidence of the viewpoints, perspectives, priorities and convictions held by the creators of the monument. This raises a variety of questions such as: who decided to commemorate this person, place or event in this way? Were they seeking to promote a particular viewpoint in the form, the text and the placing of the monument? Why this particular commemoration and not others?[3]

When considering such questions, we also need to consider the perspective of the questioner: what leads someone to raise questions about the nature, text, siting, and selection of a monument? Is it curiosity, wanting to learn more stimulated by their encounter with the monument (surely a prime purpose of a monument)? Or is it scepticism about the motives of those who placed the monument? Is that scepticism justifiable or is it form of a post-modern suspicion towards all metanarratives? I take a position which could be described as a "hermeneutics of trust" rather than a post-modernist "hermeneutics of suspicion" so that a monumental inscription, for instance, is initially to be taken at face value while taking care to assess the quality of the evidence which it presents, and that of which it purports to provide evidence. It could perhaps be summarised as "trust and verify."

Sometimes it happens that issues are raised around monumental inscriptions, and at that point we then need to follow through and verify the perspective which the monument seeks to present to us. And

when the accuracy and appropriateness of inscriptions are challenged in later years, this raises issues around whether the inscriptions should be altered, updated or replaced, with a new inscription reflecting the concerns, interests and perspectives of a subsequent period.

One monument in Lower Hutt, erected in 1925, has met with its fair share of controversy over the years. This is the memorial to the British soldiers who died on 16 May 1846 in the "Battle of Boulcott's Farm."[4] This battle ensued when around 200 Māori of the Ngati-Haua-te-Rangi tribe from Whanganui attacked the stockade at Boulcott. Six British soldiers who died in the attack, and another who died from his injuries in the days following, are commemorated on this memorial, along with two other locals who died in other circumstances around the same time. Another soldier who died from injuries received in fighting (Pte. French) is also commemorated, but his death came as a result of separate action at a later date.

There are several files on the memorial at the Hutt City Archives,[5] and an extensive file on the memorial kept by the Department of Internal Affairs (which incorporated the War Graves Division), is now at Archives New Zealand.[6]

It is interesting to note the sequence of events which led to a monument being erected 79 years after the event which it commemorates. While it is not mentioned explicitly in the documents relating to this monument at the time, there were many memorials being erected commemorating the fallen of the Great War (First World War). This may have heightened interest in remembering those who had died in earlier conflicts. The main War Memorial in Lower Hutt was constructed during 1922 and was unveiled on ANZAC Day 1923, and the prevailing public mood may have sparked interest in a formal memorial for the battle at Boulcott's Farm.[7]

A stone had been erected in memory of the fallen shortly after the action. This is generally understood to have been placed on the grave of Sgt. Ingram, but according to one source it was placed in the Wellington church.[8] By the 1920s this stone had been removed from its original location (wherever that may have been) and was stored in the cemetery chapel. The inscription on this stone read:

> Sacred to the memory of Sergt. Ingram and the men of the 58th Regiment who fell on the morning of the 16th May 1846 whilst gallantly defending their post at the Hutt against a desperate attack made on it by the rebel natives.
> This stone is erected by Lieut. Page and their surviving comrades of the 58th Regiment.

Lieutenant Page was the commander of the troops of the 58th Regiment based in the Hutt, and author of the official report of the battle.

The Mayor of Lower Hutt, Mr William Thomas Shand, had discovered this stone in the chapel at the Bolton St cemetery and requested for it to be moved to Lower Hutt because of its local significance. At its meeting on 13 November 1922 the Lower Hutt Borough Council received a letter from Wellington City Council agreeing to the relocation of the memorial. It was agreed to store the stone pending a decision on a site where it would be re-erected. At their next meeting on 27 November 1922 the Council agreed to a proposal from a monumental mason to repair the lettering on the stone, providing that this was done in gold leaf. According to a report in the *Evening Post* of 29 December 1923 (Local and General, page 6) this work was carried out.

The relocation of the stone was then objected to by the Early Settlers and Historical Association. The Minister of Internal Affairs, the Hon. Richard Bollard, in a letter of 11 January 1924 raised with the Council their objections with the Council, and asked whether the Council would object to the original memorial stone being returned, to be replaced with a standard memorial stone as was then being used for all war graves.[9] In his letter to the Council the Minister refers to the proposal of the Council to erect the stone "on the spot where the last stand was made". The inscription would assist in "drawing attention to the site of Boulcott's farm, the rebellion of 1845-46, and the names of those who lost their lives during the fighting in the Hutt Valley."[10] The Minister also says that the forthcoming Budget would include funds for renovating war graves in Sydney Street Cemetery (and elsewhere), including the re-erection of any stones which have fallen down "and the stone to Sergt. Ingram and the men of the 58th Regiment is a case in point)."[11]

When this offer was accepted, the Minister offered a block of granite with a suitable inscription, with assistance from the Early Settlers and

Historical Association for costs. [12]

A motion to acquire the triangle of land on the corner of Old Military Road (now Military Road) and Main Street (now High Street) was passed by the Council on 26 February 1923, and the title was transferred to the Council.[13] Local residents had collected £60 for the purchase of the land,[14] which is still owned by Hutt City Council as a part of the road reserve. There is no clear date when the memorial was erected, but the contract was let in April 1925 with work to commence immediately,[15] and at the Council meeting of 18 May it was reported that it was to have been completed by the 14th of May. The memorial was funded by donations and funds from Lower Hutt Borough Council and the War Graves section of the Department of Internal Affairs. The Hutt Golf Club contributed £25,[16] the Council agreed to contribute up to £30,[17] while the Early Setters and Historical Association contributed £5-5-0.[18] The final cost was £84-13-6 divided between the Department of Internal Affairs (£49-13-6), Lower Hutt Borough Council (£25-0-0) and the Early Settlers and Historical Association (£10-0-0).[19]

The official opening of the memorial was initially proposed for ANZAC Day 1925, but the memorial could not be completed in time. The Department of Internal affairs enquired whether an unveiling could be scheduled for the 16th of May, the anniversary of the battle. The Governor-General, Sir Charles Fergusson, was invited to perform the ceremony. Unfortunately this letter was discussed at the Council meeting of the 18th of May, hence too late for the anniversary. However, the Council also requested that the unveiling be postponed until the Mayor returned[20] – he was absent in Sydney on family business. A letter from the Hutt Golf Club of 10 July 1925 offered the use of the club rooms for the afternoon tea following the unveiling "subject of course to the function taking place on some other day than Saturday or Sunday."[21] The Council wrote thanking them for their offer.[22] The Town Clerk wrote to the Under-Secretary of Internal Affairs on 12 August 1925 reporting that the Mayor had suggested delaying the unveiling in the hope of better weather for an outdoor gathering.[23] The unveiling was then scheduled for 20 January 1926, but again cancelled due to the illness of Mr Edwards, Secretary of the Early Settlers' and Historical Association (who worked with Mayor Shand and Mr L E Scott of the War Graves Division of the Department of Internal Affairs to oversee the setting up of the memorial). It was then proposed to hold the unveiling in early April, but in March Mr Edwards suggested a date towards the end of April as he was still unwell. On 15th March 1926 further correspondence from the DIA suggested "any

date after Easter" at a convenient time.[24] The *Evening Post* reported on 9 October 1926 that the unveiling was to be held "quite soon". There is no further correspondence on this matter in the DIA file, or in the newspapers of the period, and we may be justified in assuming in the absence of any indication to the contrary that no formal unveiling ever took place.

The guest list for the proposed unveiling included (in addition to the Governor-General, Sir Charles Fergusson), the Minister of Internal Affairs, Hon. R F Bollard, his wife and daughters, Sir Heaton Rhodes,[25] Minister of Defence, and Lady Rhodes, the General Officer Commanding NZ Military Forces, war veterans, Early Settlers and Historical Association executive members, the President of the South African Veterans' Association, President of the RSA, Executive of the Womens' National Reserve, Mr Scott of the War Graves Division of the DIA, and the Under-Secretary of the Department of Internal Affairs, the press, and the spouses of the various people invited.[26] Subsequently it was suggested that Mr Glover, the monumental mason responsible for erecting the memorial, should also be invited.[27]

Shortly after the memorial was finished Mr W B Hardy asked for an iron fence to be erected around the monument. The Council meeting of 6 June 1925 deferred a decision until costs could be determined and also sought an estimate for a suitable wrought iron fence around the War Memorial in the Recreation Ground.[28]

A Mr P J Huthnance (a resident in Old Military Road) wrote on behalf of himself and other residents to the Council suggesting that placing a railing or fence around the memorial "recently erected" would not improve it, enclosing a photograph.[29] He suggested that "if the railing is designed to keep the boys from sitting on the memorial it will need to be somewhat spikey and about 10 feet high to keep the boys from climbing over, that is Lower Hutt boys, who are so healthy and full of life." It was further suggested that boys would still see any fence as a challenge to climb "unless to do so is to trespass on private property" – remarkably law-abiding junior citizens! Council agreed in their meeting of 27 July 1925 not to erect a fence,[30] and also decided that the inside of the memorial enclosure should be concreted[31] – the contract specifications had required it to be filled with soil "free of weeds" and sown with "best lawn grass."[32] The photo provided by Mr Huthnance shows the original soil base (which it must be acknowledged would be difficult to keep neat), while the photo in the DIA file shows the base concreted in (see the photo on following page of the memorial as it is today).

A previously unknown photo of the memorial taken by Mr Huthnance in 1925 was discovered during search of the Hutt City Council Archives for information for this article. A very similar photo was found in the DIA file, which showed the ground around the plinth concreted in, while the photo above shows the memorial as per the original plan for the ground around the plinth to be filled with soil and grassed.

Over time the memorial suffered from vandalism, so in 1963 the Council commissioned a report on the monument, which stated that replacement plaques were necessary as the marble plaques had deteriorated. The report said that "a large number of letters are loose" referring to the original style where the inscription was made of letters of lead inset into the stone, and that repairs would be uncertain, hence the recommendation to replace the plaques with granite incorporating engraved wording.[33] These are the plaques still in place on the monument.

Recently there has been renewed objection to the wording on the plaques, with suggestions that changes are in order to correct names and other details.

But should inscriptions on old monuments (dating from 1925) be changed to reflect current sensibilities? Can this be done without destroying the historical integrity of the monument, let alone to correct mistakes? By "historical integrity" I mean here only that a monument should perhaps remain unaltered and intact as a product of its time, even if later sensibilities would prefer that inscriptions had been otherwise worded. But from the outset this monument incorporated errors of fact

The memorial as it is today. Compare the white marble plaques in the earlier photo with the granite plaques which replaced them in 1963. Plans in the DIA file indicate that the bottom of the stone is rounded, similar to the top, and it therefore sits in the base something like an egg in an egg-cup.

or ambiguous wording. Monuments should not simply be accepted at face value as there may well be bias or censorship (real or unconscious) involved in its construction – not just in text but in images or other portrayals – without closer scrutiny. "Trust but verify."

Investigating the history of this monument brought a number of interesting facts to life.

I will not go into the historical details of the battle itself, as these are more than adequately covered elsewhere.[34] Here I shall confine myself to discussing the wording on the plaques and what errors these may contain, and other matters relating to the history of the monument itself and how it came to be.

This is where archival research comes into play to ascertain how the monument came to have the inscriptions it did and what issues may arise as a result.

The wording on the plaques was drafted by the War Graves division of the Department of Internal Affairs and approved by the Minister at the time, Hon. Richard Francis Bollard.[35] The wording for the plaque as reported by the Evening Post[36] from a Council meeting of 28 August 1924 was:

> To the Glory of God and in memory of the men of the Imperial and Colonial Forces who fell in the Hutt Valley, 1846. Killed in action on Boulcott's farm on 16th May, and whose bodies rest near this stone: Lieut-Corporal James Dockrell, Privates William Allen, Robert Brett, Thomas Bolt, J McFadden, T Sonham. 25th May, 1846, died of wounds: Lieut. Sergeant E Ingram (all of 58th Regiment); Private French (99th Regiment). Accidentally killed: Sergeant Hicks, Armed Constabulary, Private J Swan, Hutt Militia.

The wording as recorded in the newspaper account of the meeting differs slightly from that now in place, with Sergeant E Ingram being given as S Ingram. Each of the men of the 58th Regiment mentioned on the memorial are noted in the Muster Roll as having been killed in action on 16th May, with the later date of death for Edward Ingram.

So then, who are the people commemorated on the monument and what errors might need correcting?

While a single plaque was approved, the memorial was eventually built with three separate plaques. Possibly this was due to the change from the original intention to have a single granite block to a boulder backed by a concrete wall.[37] According to the DIA file, the original plan was for the memorial to be constructed of a large block of rough Coromandel granite to be sourced from Auckland.[38] Subsequently the decision was made to use a stone from the property of a Mr William Cottle on the hills above Belmont (with no record found of the reason for the change – possibly since a local stone would be less expensive to move).[39]

The centre plaque mounted on the stone itself reads:

> To the Glory of God and in memory of men of the Imperial and Colonial Forces who fell in the Hutt Valley during the Maori War – 1846.

The initial draft of the text as documented in the DIA File had "men of the 58th and 99th Regt." This was crossed out and "men of the Imperial and Colonial Forces" substituted,[40] probably to recognise that those accidentally killed did not belong to either Regiment.

The inscription on the plaque mounted on the right-hand side of the rear wall reads:

Killed in Action at Boulcott's Farm
58th Regt.

L/Cpl Jas Dockrell	Pte Thos Bolt
Pte Wm Allen	Pte J McFadden
Pte Robt Brett	Pte T Sonham

Died of wounds and buried at Wellington

L/Sgt E Ingram	Pte Jas French
58th Regt.	99th Regt.

Accidentally Killed

Sgt Hicks	Pte J Swan
Armed Consty.	Hutt Militia

The latter two men were buried at the Bolton Street Cemetery in Wellington.[41]

The plaque mounted on the rear wall on the left hand side has an inscription as follows:

> This stone marks the site of Boulcott's Farm stockade, the most advanced post of the regular troops in 1846. Here 200 Natives on the 16th May under Rangihaeata's orders and led by Te Karamu of the Ngati-Haua-Te-Rangi Upper Wanganui were repulsed by a garrison of 50 men of the 58th Regiment. The bodies of six Imperial men who fell, rest nearby.

The draft text also included the ascription: "Erected by Hutt Borough Council, Early Settlers Assn, and NZ Government." This was ultimately omitted from the memorial.

Two differences between the inscriptions and the record of the proposed inscription as given above are worth noting. Firstly, the monument does not state that the "bodies rest near this stone" but that they rest "nearby." The actual location of the burial is unknown, but it is fairly certain that it is on the Golf Club grounds, at least some 400

metres away. A newspaper report at the time states that "The slain were buried on Sunday on the field of battle."[42] In 1924 it was reported that "From information obtained from time to time from old residents the graves are said to be beneath the Golf House."[43] Secondly, the centre plaque adds that the memorial commemorates those who fell "during the Maori War – 1846."[44]

More issues arise in connection with the accuracy of names and ranks as given on the monument. A number of the names can be considered correct in that every source consulted gives identical spellings.[45] These are:

L/Sgt. E Ingram: Lance Sergeant Edward Ingram, regimental number 1839. Born Weymouth, enlisted 1 August 1842. Died of wounds on 24 May 1846 and buried in the Bolton Street Cemetery,[46] although there is no record of the location of his grave. There have been suggestions that he did not hold the rank of Sergeant, as the Muster Roll for instance gives his rank as Corporal. However, newspaper reports at the time give his rank as either Sergeant or Lance Sergeant, while the New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian (27 May 1846) reports that he was buried with military honours, with his cap, sword and sash on the coffin borne by four soldiers, preceded by a firing party with arms reversed, and the pall supported by four sergeants. Also, the memorial commissioned by his commanding officer, Lieutenant Page, and subscribed to by the men of the 58th, gave his rank as Sergeant. It would be unlikely that a commanding officer would approve ceremonial honours or the erection of a memorial which inaccurately attributed this rank to him.

Pte Wm Allen: Private William Allen, regimental number 1222. Born Godshill, enlisted 17 December 1839. Private Allen achieved posthumous fame when reports of the battle claimed that he continued to blow the bugle to raise the alarm even while being cut down.[47] The bugle was subsequently recovered from an abandoned Ngati Toa camp although it has subsequently been lost.[48] There was a piece of poetry honouring Allen's memory: "The bush is gone from vale and mountain range / White men and brown clasp hands – their feuds are o'er / Old landmarks vanish, old conditions change / But Allen's name shall live for evermore."[49]

Pte Thos Bolt: Private Thomas Bolt, regimental number 1151. Born in Portsea, enlisted 21 October 1839.

Pte. Robt Brett: Private Robert Brett, regimental number 1153. Born Shalfleet, enlisted 21 October 1839.

The names and ranks of three of the men have been questioned. These are:

L/Cpl Jas Dockrell: Lance Corporal James Dockrell, regimental number 1893.

Pte J McFadden: Private James McFadden, regimental number 1061. Born possibly in Templemore, enlisted 2 February 1839.

Pte R Sonham: Regimental number 1479. Born Naas, enlisted 18 August 1841.

The different sources for the names of three of the men indicate considerable confusion.

Memorial Inscription	**L/Cpl Jas Dockrell**	**Pte J McFadden**	**Pte R Sonham**
Official Report by Lt. Page, 16 May 1846 marked (Copy)[50]	L. Corpl. James Dockerell	Pte J McFadden	Pte T Souham
New Zealander, 20 June 1846 reprinting the official report	Lance Corporal James Dockrell	Private J McFadden	Private T Southam
Wellington Independent 20 May 1846 Page 3 column 2	Corporal James Dockerell	Private James McFadden	Private T Sougham
Wellington Independent 20 May 1846 Page 3 column 4	Lance Corporal James Dockrell	Private James McFadden	Private T Southam
New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian 23 May 1846 reprinting Official Report	Lance Corporal James Dockrell	Private James McFadden	Private T Sonham
Regimental Muster Roll April-June 1846[51]	Private Joseph Dockrell	Private James McFadyen	Private Thomas Soughan
New Zealand Journal, Vol. 6, p. 267 Reprinting NZ Spectator	Lance Corporal James Dockrell	Private James McFadden	Private T Sonham
New Zealand Journal, Vol. 6, p. 282 Column 1 Reprinting Wellington Independent	Lance Corporal James Dockerell	Private James McFadden	Private T Southam
New Zealand Journal, Vol. 6, p. 282 Column 2 Reprinting Wellington Independent	Corporal James Dockrell	Private James McFadden	Private T Southam
War Medal Roll	Pte. Joseph Dockrill	Not mentioned	Not mentioned

As can be seen from the details above, the sources vary only slightly for Private McFadden, as the Muster Roll for April-June 1846, which records the names of all men currently paid as members of the regiment, gives the only variation in his surname.

J Dockrell has various spellings for his surname (Dockrell, Dockrill and Dockerell), his first name given mainly as James but as Joseph in the Muster Roll and the War Medal Roll, and his rank varies between Private, Lance Corporal and Corporal.

There are multiple versions of the name for T Sonham. About the only agreement between the sources is that he held the rank of Private and that his first name was Thomas; his initial on the monument (R) is thus erroneous. There is no way to be definite about the correct spelling of his name without further research in the military or other records in England. The variations in these sources, even ones close to the event concerned, indicate the risks of relying on newspapers for proof of information. I suggest that Lieutenant Page should be given the benefit of the doubt and until further evidence emerges, we could assume that the names and ranks in the official report should be considered correct, except probably for the name of Private Thomas Sonham.

Others commemorated on the memorial include:

Pte Jas. French: Private James French, a member of the 99th Regiment. He was born about 1820 in Paisley, Scotland, and joined the 99th Regiment in 1837. A casual observer of the monument might think that Pte. French was also a casualty of the battle at Boulcott, but in fact he was injured in a subsequent fight on 19 June at Taita.

> "During a skirmish between the troops, militia, friendly natives and the rebels on the Hutt Road, near to Taita on 16 June '46, one officer and four men were wounded. One Private French – 99th Regiment, died from wounds on June 25th, buried at Sydney Street Cemetery June 26th 1846."[50]

Apart from this note from the Early Settlers and Historical Association, there seems to be no recognition in the DIA records that Pte. French died after this later skirmish, leading to the mistaken impression that he died as a result of the fighting on 16th May 1846. However, in a Memorandum sent to the Minister of Defence by the Minister of Internal Affairs, inviting him to the unveiling, the memorial was said to be in honour of "those who fell in the attack on Boulcott's Farm on 16th May, 1846, and also those men serving during the Maori War who died in the Hutt Valley"[51] – presumably Hicks and Swan (and possibly inferring

French as well).

Pte. French was aged 27 years. There is no record of his burial in the Wellington City Council cemetery database. Private French is also commemorated on the memorial of the 99th Regiment in Hobart, Tasmania.[52]

Sgt. Hicks, Armed Consty: Sergeant Hicks of the Armed Police Force (the correct name of this organisation at the time of his death), died on 28 April 1846. There is no record of his burial. Newspaper articles give his affiliation as the Hutt Militia. He was killed while on a foray into the bush "to drive out any natives who might be lurking there." One of the other members of the party tripped over a stump and his musket discharged, injuring Sergeant Hicks who died the following day.[53]

Pte J Swan, Hutt Militia: Private John Swan, of the Hutt Militia. He was lying on the upper floor of the stockade at Taita when the musket of one of the men below discharged and killed Swan instantly (on 20 June 1846) aged 22 years. He was buried with military honours near the Hutt Bridge (the exact location is unknown).

So there appear to be some corrections required in the details of the men listed on the inscription. But is that the only issue?

There was also a civilian who was injured in the Battle of Boulcott who is not commemorated here or elsewhere. This man was **Thomas Hoseman**, from Essex, UK, who arrived in Wellington on 6 November 1841.[54] He died of his wounds several days later on 21 May 1846, aged approx. 25.[55]

In addition to the men who died, the report of the battle lists four men wounded. In addition to Sgt Ingram, there were three other members of the 58th Regiment, Private Thomas Taylor, regimental number 1988, Private Patrick Bevan, regimental number 1532, and Private John Ward, regimental number 1522.[56] They have notes against their names in the Medal Roll to indicate that they were wounded in "the action at the Hutt" in 1846.

Another name which could have appeared on the memorial is that of **Private James Connors**, regimental number 452 of the 58th Regiment. He drowned in the Hutt River on 20th August 1846 when attempting to cross the river in a canoe after a drinking session at the Aglionby Arms. "The parties present endeavoured to dissuade him from his purpose, but he persisted, and entered the canoe. He was shortly after seen to fall into the water, and though every effort was made by the parties

on shore to rescue him, he unfortunately met with a watery grave."[57] There is no record of a burial and it may be possible that the body was never recovered, and the statement about a "watery grave" was to be understood literally. It was suggested that his name should be added to the memorial, but unfortunately the tablets had already been completed. The monumental mason, Mr Glover, was instructed to add his name but he indicated that this would be impossible due to the lack of space on the stones, and an additional tablet would be required. He was instructed not to proceed in the meantime, but there is no further mention of Pte. Connors. It would have been possible to add his name when the plaques were replaced in 1963 but it appears he had been long forgotten by then.

If we are to address errors in the information provided on the monument, then Thomas Hoseman also need to be listed, as well as James Connors.

There were suggestions in some sources that a number of Māori were also killed in action on 16 May 1846. This is based on the claims of some eyewitnesses who saw several Māori fall in the fighting.[58] A contemporary source [within a week of the battle] states "The loss on the part of the rebels has not been correctly ascertained, as they carefully carried off every man who fell in the engagement. Two were known to have been killed, and several were wounded very badly. It is believed that the total number of their killed and wounded is thirteen."[59] Without conclusive evidence this cannot be confirmed one way or another. While various historical studies state that a number of Māori were killed, the evidential trail in each case comes back to this newspaper report and the report by Lieutenant Page on which it is possibly based, and thus provide no independent verification. We have only the report of Lieutenant Page to go on. The Waitangi Tribunal Report on the Wellington District states that Māori casualties were not confirmed.[60]

This point is important as there have been suggestions over the years of racial bias in that only European casualties of the conflict are commemorated, and the Māori who died were purposefully omitted.[61] However, as there is no conclusive evidence that any Māori died, or how many, or their names, it would seem that no deliberate omission has occurred. Nor could we expect that the names of those who at the time were seen as enemy warriors (also often referred to as "rebels") would be included on the monument, even if they were known when the inscription was drafted.[62]

There have been objections to the reference of the Māori War with current convention being to refer to the conflicts as the Land Wars. This was raised by a visitor to Lower Hutt in 1972 who wrote to the

Council stating that she found the tone of the memorial offensive, with reference to the Māori warriors as "natives" (as is the case with the Ingram memorial at St James Church), whom the writer assumed were locals fighting to regain land they had lost to colonists. The Council referred this to the Lower Hutt Historical Society for comment before consideration of the matter by a committee of Council. The Society replied pointing out that there had been no previous complaints about the wording, and stated that the Society "has no wish to disturb an ancient monument and as the inscription was in the idiom of that time makes it all the more interesting. If we were writing it today, possibly the wording might be different."[63] The Council agreed with the views of the Society and the Town Clerk replied to the complainant advising her of this decision, also pointing out that local Māori have never objected to the wording, and that the local Māori fought against the invading Māori and none of the local Māori were killed.[64]

A newspaper article in the Hutt News in 1977 at the time of the screening of the TV series The Governor mentioned that one scene depicted the killing of a bugler as he sounded the alarm, a reference to the events at Boulcott Farm. The caption to a photo of the monument then states "In the spirit of the times, the memorial commemorates only the white soldiers who were killed. More modern thinking might suggest that Māori too, should have their memorial."[65]

Again in 1983 a correspondent wrote to the Mayor objecting to the "audacious and biassed [sic] wording" on the monument. Again it was suggested that re-wording so that "Maori defenders get equivalent honour and acknowledgement." The Mayor, John Kennedy-Good [later Sir John], replied suggesting that this was an overreaction to the wording which "while typical attitudes of a past era are not representative of contemporary thinking." He also said that "In all my long association with the Te Atiawa people, there has never been any suggestion on their part that thought be given to re-wording the inscription." He concludes "I am unable to agree that history should be re-written by altering the inscription on the memorial stone."[66]

Another correspondent in 1977 advised that the name of the Māori chief should be Te Mamaku and not Te Karamu, citing the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, p.380. The Town Clerk replied that according to the Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Te Mamaku took other names, including Te Karamu, and so the inscription is correct.

In 1979 another article appeared in the Hutt News states bluntly on the caption to a photo of the memorial "The information on the plaque

is wrong."[67] This is in reference to the statement on the inscription that the memorial "marks the site of Boulcott's Farm stockade," which is now generally understood to have been some distance away.

Some interesting information relating to the stockade emerged unexpectedly from the DIA File.

Given the length of time since the battle occurred in 1846, it was a surprise to find correspondence in the DIA file from 1944, almost 100 years later, with claims that part of the Boulcott Farm stockade still existed. This was located on a property at 1 Fry Street (also known as 51 Boulcott St), some 390 metres from the Golf Club building, which was thought to be closer to the presumed location of the stockade. The owner, a Mrs M Driscoll, was using the structure as a washhouse. This was noted in a letter to the DIA of 3 February 1944 proposing that the structure be acquired and preserved, a move the letter writer noted was supported by the Prime Minister, Mr Fraser, in conversation with him, as a matter of urgency.[68] The DIA then discussed it with the Mayor, Mr J W Andrews, who advised that the matter had already been discussed by the Council, but had demurred as Mrs Driscoll wanted a new washhouse built at Council expense as compensation for losing the structure, and the council did not feel able to agree to this condition.[69] When the DIA advised that further discussions with Mrs Driscoll disclosed that it could be had for no cost of replacement, the Mayor advised that the Council could reconsider. The Mayor and several councillors then made an inspection of the structure with a view to removing it for preservation.[70] However, there the matter rests and there is no further documentation in the DIA file and no trace of any action by the council in this regard.

However, there may well have been doubt as to the correctness of the claim that this structure at 1 Fry Street was part of the original stockade. The descriptions of the battle indicate that the soldiers were based at the stockade at Boulcott's farm.

> Half the soldiers at Boulcott's Farm were quartered in Boulcott's barn which had been stockaded. The remaining soldiers were housed in small slab-built outhouses and tents located outside the stockade fence. Lieutenant Page was resident inside the stockade in Boulcott's cottage, with Boulcott himself occupying a smaller house adjoining this.[71]

The claim can fairly be treated with scepticism given the distance (approximately 400 metres) between the presumed location of Boulcott's farm house and the site at 1 Fry Street.

Boulcott's Farm and Memorial Sites

A – General location of Boulcott's Farmhouse and stockade in the vicinity of Golf Club rooms.
B – Mrs Driscoll's house and claimed remains of stockade.
C – Boulcott Farm Memorial, corner of High Street and Military Road.

The structure at 1 Fry Street could then have been an early farm building of some kind, which would be more consistent with its use in 1944 as a washhouse, but we can be fairly certain that it was not part of the stockade, or at most, it could have been part of the stockade but had been relocated at some point.

Why then was the memorial placed where it was? In the DIA File there is a memo from the "Inspector" (only initials are given over the position title) reporting on a meeting with the Mayor and Mr Edwards from the Early Settlers and Historical Association, seeking to resolve the dispute over the removal of the stone from Bolton St Cemetery. Mayor Strand was reported as saying that the land purchased at the corner of High St and Military Rd was "believed to be on what was Boulcott's farm."[72] That was also a stretch, as the nearest boundary of Boulcott's farm was at the south side of the Golf House, some 350 metres away

(if we discount the possibility of the location of the stockade on Mrs Driscoll's property). The draft inscription had initially the text: "This stone marks the site of Boulcott's Farm a military outpost in the defence of Wellington and the last resting place of those killed in action on 16th May 1846." This was amended to read "Boulcott's Farm Stockade" and the reference to the stone marking the "last resting place" was amended to read that the deceased rest "nearby" – although that is still confusing given the likelihood this is about 400 metres away. Another document held by Archives NZ states "The site of Boulcott's Farm Stockade was at what is now the corner of the Main Hutt Road and the Old Military Road… In 1925 a Memorial was erected at the corner of the Main Hutt and Military Roads to mark the site of the stockade …"[73] So around the time when the memorial was erected there was general agreement that it was on the site of the stockade. This appears not to be the case, but it helps us understand why the memorial was placed at that location and not near the Golf House which would have been more appropriate (but also less visible to the passing public).

Conclusion

The wording on the inscriptions has been criticised from a number of angles over the years, and I anticipate that this may continue. The details of the text also reflect the attitudes and perspectives of the period as much as it presents information for public display.

I do not believe that the inscriptions on the monument should be replaced; there is no virtue in trying to re-write history. Instead, interpretive boards could be erected to give more of the background and the significance of the battle and the monument itself, with corrected and expanded details as appropriate. These interpretive boards could point out how attitudes and sensitivities have changed since the monument was erected, although this should also take into account that there were no changes suggested to the text in 1963 when the plaques were redone in granite. Perspectives and attitude changes are more recent, and in considering that, we need to be aware also of how our perspectives will be viewed in the future. Whatever we say now about the events of 1846 and 1925 will not be the last word: further information may come to light putting a different perspective on the monument and its texts, and perspectival changes in the future may well be critical of our current views. This is yet another reason why we should not change the monument itself, otherwise we invite perpetual tampering and to what avail?

The plaques as they now stand are themselves part of the history of the area. There is ample material available in archival sources to enable a better understanding of the people and events commemorated. The monumental inscriptions are now themselves a part of that record and should remain untouched, but interpretive boards should be provided to aid in understanding.

Sources

Minutes and other archival sources in the Hutt City Council Archives. Identified by the code ARCH.

Department of Internal Affairs file "Boulcotts Farm & Māori War Memorial in the Hutt Valley," now held at Archives NZ. R12333694. Original file reference: 32/1/75.

Various records held at Archives NZ. Identified with a number commencing with R.

Newspaper reports from PapersPast, National Library of New Zealand website.

Other sources from websites as given in the endnotes.

Endnotes

1. My thanks to Wendy Adlam, Archivist for Hutt City Council, for her assistance in accessing material for this article.
2. The Public Records Act s.4 defines a record to include text "in written form on any material" which would include text engraved on stone tablets.
3. This is relevant for instance in archaeological research where monumental inscriptions may be the only textual evidence surviving from a particular period or culture, or which provide essential significance and context for other documents or artefacts.
4. Now the site of the Boulcott's Farm Heritage Golf Club.
5. Civic Centre – General. ARCH65418. General Correspondence – DIA. ARCH24871. Military Road War Memorial. ARCH55522. This file for the Military Road memorial is now available online at http://iportal.huttcity.govt.nz/Record/ReadOnly?Tab=30&Uri=4412156
6. Archives NZ. R12333694. Original file reference: 32/1/75. Referred to subsequently as "DIA File."
7. Ewan Morris discusses this in his article "The Boulder and the Bugler: The battle of Boulcott's farm in public memory." *Journal of New Zealand Studies* NS 20 (2015) 57-58. See also the discussion in Chris Maclean and Jock Phillips. *The Sorrow and the Pride: New Zealand War Memorials*. Wellington: GP Books, 1990.
8. New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, 9 December 1846, page 3. Wellington City Archives holds a map of the Church of England portion of the cemetery dating from the 1860s but there is no indication of graves for Sgt. Ingram, Pte. French or Thomas Hoseman. These may lie outside the area mapped or were unmarked and thus the location was lost. This would indicate that if the grave for Sgt. Ingram was in this area that the stone had already been moved.
9. Lower Hutt Borough Council Minutes, 21/1/1924. ARCH63157.
10. Letter of 20 March 1924. HCC Archives, ARCH24871.
11. HCC Archives, ARCH24871. This seems to confirm that the stone was originally on the grave but may not be conclusive. The stone stayed in the Lower Hutt Borough Council store, rather than being returned to the Bolton St cemetery as requested. Eventually in 1933 it was moved to St James' Church at Lower Hutt and erected there, being formally dedicated at a service on the 13th of August 1933. Hutt News, 18 August 1933, page 4. Memorial services were held for some years on the Sunday closest to the date of the battle, with scouts and others parading at the church and then gathering at the memorial outside after the service. See Evening Post 21 May 1934, page 14 (which erroneously states that Sunday May 20th was the anniversary of the dedication of the memorial, rather than of the battle), Evening Post 20 May 1935, page 10, Hutt News 20 May 1936, page 5. I have not found records of services in subsequent years. Unfortunately the church service registers were lost in the fire which destroyed the church. Wreaths were also laid on the Boulcott memorial in later years on the anniversary of the battle, at least until 1937 – there is a photo of this wreath laying in Archives NZ with the Mayor, J W Andrews, his wife laying the wreath, former Mayor W T Shand, and Walter Nash in attendance. R23696720. AEFZ 22625, 3103/0329-0330. The stone was damaged during work around the rebuilding of the church after it was destroyed in a fire in 1946. A new stone was created with identical wording and this is now in the churchyard of St James' Church. There is a photo of the original stone in Ewan Morris, The boulder and the bugler: The battle of Boulcott's farm in public memory. Journal of New Zealand Studies NS 20 (2015) 61. Note the reference to "a desperate attack" by "rebel natives."
12. Lower Hutt Borough Council Minutes, 23/4/1924. ARCH63157.
13. Lower Hutt Borough Council Minutes, 10/12/1923. ARCH63157.
14. DIA File, Memo of 14 February 1924.
15. DIA File, Letter of 28th April 1924.
16. Lower Hutt Borough Council Minutes, 10/12/1923. ARCH63157.
17. Lower Hutt Borough Council Minutes, 11/8/1924. ARCH63158. It was subsequently asked to contribute £25 by the Department of Internal Affairs. Lower Hutt Borough Council Minutes, 10/8/1925. ARCH63158. This was in addition to the purchase of the land.
18. DIA File, Letter of 22 April 1924. The Committee agreed to contribute £5-5-0 and any further

amount the members of the Association should more be required.
19. DIA File, letter of 31st July 1925, which erroneously referred to the contribution from "Hutt County Council" which had no involvement in the memorial.
20. Lower Hutt Borough Council Minutes, 18/5/1925. ARCH63158.
21. Miscellaneous Correspondence HU-HZ, 1923-1927. ARCH28364.
22. Hutt Borough Council Minutes 23 July 1925. ARCH62158.
23. HCC Archives, ARCH24871.
24. HCC Archives, ARCH24871.
25. As a result of the repeated postponement of the unveiling, Sir Heaton Rhodes responded to a memo confirming the date of 20th January 1926 with a hand-written note to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Richard Bollard, saying "I gather that my resignation will be accepted on Monday next in which case I shall at once make tracks for home [Canterbury]. I suggest my successor in office be substituted for me on the date named." His resignation took effect on the 18th of January 1926. DIA File, Memo 4th January 1926.
26. DIA File, Invitation List. Not Dated.
27. DIA File, Letter to Mr Strand, 23rd December 1925.
28. Lower Hutt Borough Council Minutes, 8/6/1925. ARCH63158.
29. Letter of 6 July 1925. Miscellaneous Correspondence HU-HZ, 1923-1927. ARCH28364.
30. The photo of the memorial from ca. 1925 was attached to this correspondence in the HCC Archives. Miscellaneous Correspondence HU-HZ, 1923-1927. ARCH28364.
31. Lower Hutt Borough Council Minutes, 13/7/1925. ARCH63158.
32. DIA File. Not dated.
33. Letter from H Glover and Sons, Monumental Sculptors, dated 24 December 1963. ARCH55522.
34. Ewan Morris, The boulder and the bugler: The battle of Boulcott's farm in public memory. *Journal of New Zealand Studies* NS 20 (2015) 51-71. See also the Archaeological Assessment Report for District Plan Change 35, Hutt City Council, relating to a proposal to build a rest home on the site. http://iportal.huttcity.govt.nz/Record/ReadOnly?Tab=3&Uri=4188822
35. DIA File, letter dated 28 April 1925. It is uncertain what sources were used when the initial wording was compiled. No mention of this was found in the DIA file. It is probably that it was based on a letter from Mr W A Edwards, Secretary of the Early Settlers and Historical Association, giving the names of those who died, commenting "I do not think the full list is on record in the War Graves section of your department." DIA File. Letter dated 8 January 1924.
36. Local and General, *Evening Post* 26 August 1924. The text was not included in the Council minutes.
37. DIA File, Letter from Under-Secretary to District Engineer, Public Works Dept., 3rd October 1924. "It was originally intended to have but one marble tablet, that being on the stone as shown in your plan, but it has now been decided to place two marble tablets on the wall behind the stone…"
38. DIA File, letter of 28/3/1924.
39. DIA File, letter of 1/8/1924. This file also includes the blueprint for the memorial as constructed, using the large boulder.
40. DIA File. Not dated.
41. Both died from the accidental discharge of the guns of their fellow soldiers, which raised questions about the age and condition of the firearms issued to troops.
42. New Zealand *Spectator* and Cook's Strait *Guardian*, 9 December 1846, page 3. The bodies were disinterred and reburied further from the river when the graves were threatened by erosion. Both the original and the new burial locations are unknown.
43. DIA File, Memo to the Under-Secretary, dated 14 February 1924.
44. In the DIA file there are a number of references to the "Rebellion of 1845-46."
45. Newspaper sources are available through Papers Past, National Library website.
46. In the 1920s some claimed that he was buried in the Sydney Street Cemetery although records of burial in either location are lacking.
47. See Ewan Morris, *The boulder and the bugler*, for details of his posthumous career as a boy hero (even though he may have been as old as 23 years).
48. Ian Wards. *The shadow of the land*. A study of British policy and racial conflict in New Zealand 1832-1852. Department of Internal Affairs Historical Publications Branch, 1968, p. 267 n. 1.
49. Cited in *Evening Post* 5 March 1927 in an advertisement for sight-seeing tours of the Hutt Valley which included the "site of Boulcott's Farm." I have not been able to locate a source for this poetry and it is unclear whether that is the whole poem or just a selection from it.
50. DIA File. Information provided by the Secretary of the Early Settlers and Historical Association, Mr W A Edwards, with a letter dated 8 January 1924. The other men wounded were Lieut. Herbert, Lance Corporal William Negas, Private John McHall and Private Henry Pollicott. New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian, 24 June 1846, page 2. He was buried with full military honours, the service being conducted by Rev. Robert Cole. Wellington Independent 27 June 1846, page 2.
51. DIA File, Memo of 4th January 1925.
52. Lyndall Ryan and Jeff Hopkins-Weise. Memorializing Britain's Imperial Wars in New Zealand in the 1840s. *New Zealand Journal of History* 49 (2015) 2:160-175. The authors suggest that this memorial holds a special place in military history as it is the first memorial to list by name those other than officers who died in battle (compare the inscription for the original stone in Bolton Street Cemetery which list "Sgt Ingram and men.")
53. Wellington Independent 29 April 1846 p. 3.
54. Two possible candidates are listed by this name in the English records: one born 26 July 1818 in Wanstead, Essex, England; the second around February 1819 in West Ham, Essex, England. See http://search.findmypast.co.uk/record?id=r_21197559800 and http://search.

findmypast.co.uk/record?id=gbprs%2fb%2f962032401%2fl.

55. Thomas Hoseman also appears in contemporary records as Thomas Houseman or Thomas Osman, but his will, signed by himself, gives Hoseman, which I suggest is most likely correct. Archives New Zealand. Wellington Probate files [first sequence]. R22206854. AAOM 6029 7.
56. Neither Patrick Bevan or John Ward are listed on the Roll of men who served in New Zealand 1845-1847.
57. *Wellington Independent,* 22 August 1846, page 2.
58. This claim seems to be based on the report by Lt. Page on the day of the battle that "Several of the Enemy were killed but carried away by others directly they fell." Archives NZ R24445715. ACFP 8217 NM8/9 1846/260. New Zealander, 20 June 1846. James Cowan in The New Zealand Wars, Vol. 1, p. 109 states: "The losses of the Māoris were not accurately known, for all who fell were carried off, but two were seen shot dead, and ten or more were wounded, some of them severely." This seems to be based on the report in the New Zealander. https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/new-zealander/1846/6/20/3. However, Cowan's comment goes considerably beyond the evidence in the report by Lt. Page.
59. New Zealand *Spectator* and Cook's Strait *Guardian*, 9 December 1846, page 3.
60. Te Whanganui a Tara me Ona Takiwa. Report on the Wellington District. Waitangi Tribunal Report 2003 (WAI 145). Wellington: Legislation Direct, 2003, p. 215. This report cites Ian Wards, The shadow of the Land, pp. 266-267, and Joy Hippolite. Ngati Rangatahi Report commissioned by WAI 366 Claimants, Jan 1967, p. 39. This report cites Cowan, pp. 104-109, who in turn cites the report by Lieutenant Page. This then remains the only source for the claim thatsome Māori were killed or injured.
61. Letter from Ava Hounsell, Frederic Wallis House, 12 Military Road, dated 6 October 1987. ARCH55522.
62. The European soldiers injured in the attack are not named on the memorial.
63. J T Williams, Secretary, Lower Hutt Historical Society, 10 Sept. 1972. ARCH55522.
64.
65. Hutt News 18/10/1977. Copy in ARCH55522.
66. John Kennedy-Good. 25/1/1984. ARCH55522.
67. *Hutt News* 22/5/1979. Copy in ARCH55522.
68. Mr W Toomath, 3 February 1944. DIA File. There is an Index card for Council correspondence recording that Mrs Driscoll had written to the Council about the "blockade" (presumably a misreading of "stockade") on 17 and 24 June and 8 July 1943, but these letters appear to have been destroyed some years ago.
69. The letter from Mr Toomath of 3 February 1944 says "I quite thought the local authorities would take the necessary steps but apparently they are quite apathetic." This could be an indication that there was some doubt about the veracity of the claims that this was a part of the stockade, or reluctance to proceed on the basis of funding a replacement structure for Mrs Driscoll to use as a washhouse.
70. DIA File. Memorandum to the Under-Secretary. 9/2/1944
71. Victoria Grouden. Archeological Assessment Report. Summerset Retirement Village Development, Boulcott, Hutt City, Wellington (Lot 1 DP471677). August 2014, p. 14. Available at: http://iportal.huttcity.govt.nz/Record/ReadOnly?Tab=3&Uri=4188822
72. DIA File. Memo to the Under-Secretary. 14 February 1924.
73. DIA file. "Folder of notes and papers relating to Māori War and Historical Cemeteries, Graves and Memorials." R22250338. ACGO 8398 1/1. Section 120 – Boulcott's Farm, Lower Hutt.

He Tohu

Lillie Le Dorré
Archives New Zealand

He Whakapapa Kōrero, He Whenua Kura
Talking about our past to create a better future

Friday 19 May 2017 saw the culmination of many years' hard work when the Governor-General of New Zealand, Her Excellency the Rt Hon Dame Patsy Reddy, officially opened *He Tohu*, the new permanent exhibition at the National Library of New Zealand (National Library) in Wellington. At the centre of *He Tohu* are three taonga that shape New Zealand: 1835 He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni – Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand; 1840 Te Tiriti o Waitangi – Treaty of Waitangi; and the 1893 Women's Suffrage Petition – Te Petihana Whakamana Pōti Wahine.

He Tohu includes a stunning, state-of-the-art conservation space that will see our fragile and irreplaceable documentary heritage preserved for future generations. This is supported by an interpretive exhibition that provides onsite and online learning experiences and resources, particularly for New Zealanders aged 10-15 years old. With a focus on the history of the documents and their ongoing significance to our national life, *He Tohu* improves public access to these important taonga, with a larger display space and extended opening hours. The exhibition will be in place for at least the next 25 years.

For Archives New Zealand (Archives) and its staff, the new exhibition has been a presence for a number of years, with Archivists Stefanie Lash and Jared Davidson working as Lead Curator and Curator respectively since 2014. Conservators Anna Whitehead, David Adams and others played a key role in preparing the documents for the next chapter of their journeys and will continue this role going forward. While the taonga are now housed in the National Library building, they remain under the care of the Chief Archivist.

Two key events for Archives staff took place in the build-up to the opening on 19 May 2017: the closure of the Constitution Room on 11 April 2017; and the move of the taonga on 21 April 2017.

Closure of the Constitution Room

Prior to *He Tohu*, the three taonga, along with other constitutional documents, were housed in the Constitution Room, opened at Archives House in 1990. The closure of the Constitution Room was required some weeks ahead of the taonga move to allow the conservators to prepare the documents for the move to their new home. The room closed to the public on 7 April 2017, and shortly after, a staff event was held to formally close the room.

Organising this event involved input from staff across Archives, and required careful consideration of the appropriate tikanga for the occasion and location. Located on the shores of Whanganui-a-Tara, Archives' Wellington office functions under the maru (shelter/authority/safeguard) of Te Atiawa and Taranaki Whānui. The tikanga or customary values and practices of Te Atiawa and Taranaki Whānui therefore guide the organisation.

The morning of 11 April 2017 began with a karakia, led by kaumātua Kura Moeahu. Staff filled the Constitution Room, tracing their hands over the document cases, before singing the Archives waiata *Te Manaaki Taonga*. After kai, a kawe mate process commenced. Kawe mate is a type of memorial service that sees the memory of the deceased taken home. This was considered the most appropriate process for bidding farewell to the taonga, and the tīpuna whose signatures and marks line the pages, as it is usually used in places where the deceased was well-known and loved, but was not buried.

Throughout the kawe mate, a range of emotions were expressed, from laughter as Jeremy Cauchi reminded us of the years before the taonga came to Archives, to tears as we remembered the loss felt at learning that the taonga were to be relocated, and for some, the difficult few years that followed. We also acknowledged the connections to the taonga for those who were not with us – our late kaumātua Sam Jackson, and former staff members who have since left Archives.

During the afternoon, we looked to the future of the taonga. Stefanie Lash and Jared Davidson delivered a presentation on their in-depth research into the many signatories of the documents, highlighting the challenges and triumphs of archival research. We were treated to a sneak peek of the interactive map table and document tables that make up part of the interpretive display that wraps around the document room. *He Tohu* Project Manager Rob Stevens then provided an update on the build and development of the exhibition generally.

A final karakia was said before long-serving Archivist Tony Connell

closed the door to the Constitution Room symbolically for the last time. Māori tikanga always concludes with an hākari or feast to lift tapu from the day and to ensure everyone leaves well-nourished, both in body and soul; the meal enjoyed that evening topped off what was for many a very emotional day.

Taonga Move

The three *He Tohu* taonga were moved between the Archives and National Library buildings in the early hours of 22 April 2017. While this journey was only two-hundred metres, preparations for the taonga move on 22 April 2017 began months in advance, and involved staff from across Archives, the National Library and the wider Department of Internal Affairs. This event included a pōwhiri at Waiwhetu Marae, the move procession itself, the ceremony inside the National Library, followed by kai at the Pipitea Marae. Around 560 people participated in the event. Again, we were led by the constant guidance of kaumātua Kura Moeahu.

The taonga needed to be moved in a way that ensured the security and preservation of the documents, the health and safety of the staff and guests, and incorporated appropriate and meaningful tikanga. Several options for how the move would be carried out were considered. The chosen option saw the taonga transported in a specially-adapted vehicle between the front entrances of the two buildings. This option addressed preservation and security concerns, while allowing for some visual and physical proximity to the taonga, which was a key tikanga consideration.

Technical Considerations

Due to the fragile nature of the taonga, care needed to be taken to ensure the taonga did not suffer any damage. Parchment is prone to shrink and flex outside of a controlled environment; any movement or vibration can cause the iron gall ink that carries the signatures to crack and flake. Three large, weather-resistant wooden crates with internal cushioning were used to transport the taonga. Each crate was carried by a team of twenty-two Archives staff, trained and experienced in manual handling. The Crate Crew dedicated hours to practicing for this event and their reverence set the tone for this historic occasion, acknowledging the documents' mana.

A number of options for the vehicle to move the taonga were investigated. While it is best practice to move high value or fragile archives in a specialised vehicle that has air-ride suspension to minimise the potential impact during long journeys, a thorough

test of the available vehicle options found that the best option had no air-ride suspension and an automatic transmission. The chosen vehicle was then adapted by placing pieces of closed-cell foam beneath each of the crates before they were fastened in place. The foam absorbed shock, further mitigating the risk of damage to the taonga.

Tikanga

Kaumātua Kura Moeahu, Te Ati Awa tohunga (expert spiritual leaders) and the kaikaranga (woman with role of ceremonial calling), met inside Archives House with Archives staff ahead of the 4:00am start to lead the procession. A pūtātara (conch shell) heralded the start of the journey – the kaikaranga began her call, the crate crew lifted the purpose-built crates housing the taonga, and slowly proceeded out the front door of Archives House to the specially adapted vehicle that awaited them. Kaihoe (waka paddlers) enclosed the procession, led by iwi kaumātua and tohunga reciting karakia, while Archives staff walked alongside with their hands on the panels of the vehicle to guide it.

The Royal New Zealand Navy, who has a long history of association with the Treaty of Waitangi, was also in procession, with their Colour Guard tipping their flag to the taonga as they departed Archives and again as they were unloaded at the National Library.

Once outside the National Library building, the karanga echoed out. The crate carriers entered first with the taonga, behind the tohunga. A poi manu recitation was heard – this Parihaka customary practice is a way of imparting tribal narratives and recalling significant events – as the taonga were carried down the centre aisle of the main hall and placed on a wide plinth at the front of the room. Members of the paepae (speakers bench) hongied and took their seats. Wāhine sat either side of the taonga, as in a tangihanga (funeral ceremony).

An ecumenical service of thanksgiving was then held, followed by whakatau (greeting speech) and whaikōrero (formal speech) from kaumātua of manawhenua and iwi Māori. The speakers at the ceremony thanked Archives staff for the care they gave to the three taonga. They also recognised the importance of including the Suffrage Petition in *He Tohu*.

Cultural Competence

With Te Tiriti o Waitangi at the heart of our holdings the values and responsibilities of this founding document are central to the work

Archives' undertakes, whether this is providing access to records, issuing a new recordkeeping standard, or opening a new exhibition. The drive to work within the spirit of Te Tiriti goes beyond lip service, to an organisational culture where positive working relationships with Māori, promoting the principles of consultation, cooperation and partnership, are becoming a way of life.

This spirit has been at the core of Archives' *He Tohu* activities – and in the development of He Tohu itself – for the past three years. A key example of this is the building up of tikanga knowledge so that all Archives staff can confidently participate in events with a cultural element. Having a workforce that is knowledgeable and confident in te ao Māori helps to break down the institutional anxieties that can be present in our Māori users. Working with our kaumātua, Kura Moeahu, staff have grown in their understanding of local tikanga, and this has empowered them to feel confident, ask questions and build stronger relationships with the people who use our services.

This spirit can be seen again in the Archives waiata rōpū, Ngā Manu Iere, who joined forces with the National Library waiata rōpū to support many of the speakers at the *He Tohu* taonga move and opening events. This commitment continues as various official parties make the pilgrimage to *He Tohu*.

The commitment to working within the spirit of Te Tiriti o Waitangi continues for Archives, despite the distance between our office and the taonga. Our role continues, just in a different whare. The taonga have been given life in new and exciting ways through extensive research into the stories of each document's signatories.

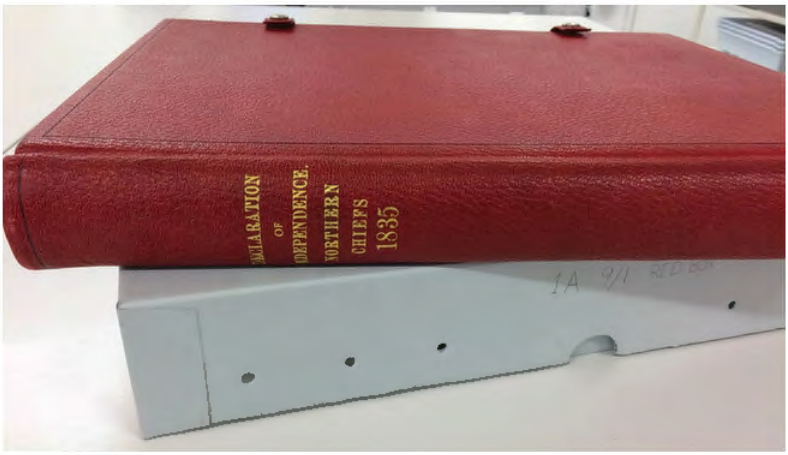
The first half of 2017 has been a challenging but ultimately rewarding period for Archives. Team Archives performs its duties with the greatest professionalism and care and this has enhanced the mana of Archives New Zealand, bonding us together and to the taonga. With the National Library as our partners, we are looking forward to presenting these documents to new generations of New Zealanders for at least the next 25 years.

Plastic Fantastic in the Archives!

An investigation into the plastic used in 1930s leather-bound enclosures

Anna Whitehead
Conservator, Archives New Zealand

This article is adapted from a lightning talk presented on 16 December, 2016 at the New Zealand Conservators of Cultural Materials Conference, Wellington 17-19 October, 2016.



Published in 2009, Eugenie Samuel Reich's *Plastic Fantastic: How the Biggest Fraud in Physics Shook the Scientific World* exposes a physicist who wilfully deceived the science community. Jan Hendrik Schön fabricated scientific results, duping many of the world's top scientific journals and experts, including Nobel Prize-Winners.

What is the somewhat tenuous connection of this book with my research? You will see that I have been dealing with a similar dearth of substantiated facts, starting with some misleading information in the innocuous-sounding Department of Internal Affairs file 'IA1 158/67' [ACGO 8333 W896 IA1 Box 3001/ 158/67](see Figure 1).[1]

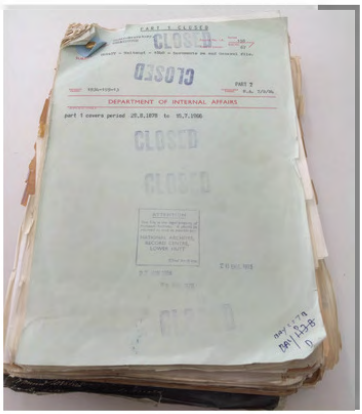


Figure 1: Miscellaneous – Treaty Waitangi documents and general file ACGO 8333 W896 IA1 Box 3001/ 158/67.

Some background first. Throughout 2015 and 2016, in preparation for the He Tohu exhibition, Peter Whitehead, Vicki-Anne Heikell and myself collected information to develop conservation and preservation management plans for the constitutional documents going on display:

- Te Tiriti o Waitangi /Treaty of Waitangi[2]
- He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni (1835 Declaration of Independence)[3]
- 1893 Women's Suffrage Petition (Te Petihana Whakamana Pōti Wāhine)[4]

Historical data about previous storage conditions and treatments is important to inform our understanding of what happened in the past, and what we can do in the future. The file 'IA1 158/67' had information about the storage and conservation of He Whakaputanga. It mentioned the planned use of "non-inflammable celluloid" or "non-inflammable cellophane" loose-leaf sleeves held within leather storage boxes.

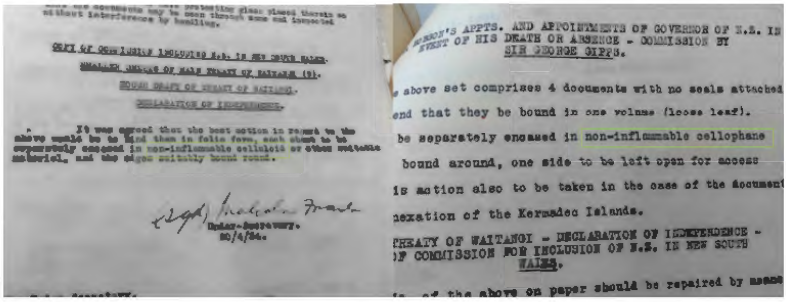


Figure 2: He Whakaputanga storage information from IA1 158/67.
[Ref. ACGO 8333 W896 IA1 Box 3001/ 158/67]

In March 2016, I coincidentally discovered three red leather-bound boxes in the Lab store room. These contained sleeves; two were empty of records and only held sleeves, the third had documents stored in it. Of the two empty boxes, one had sleeves so seriously degraded that they were barely recognisable as sleeves (Figures 1 and 2). This was the box for IA9/10, the Draft of the Treaty of Waitangi [ref: ACGO 8341 IA9 Box 9/10 Sep 617] (see Appendix A).[5]

Figure 3: Scorched box and degraded sleeves found in the former 'Draft of the Treaty of Waitangi' enclosure.

The IA9/10 box looked scorched and blackened around the edges and on the inside of the lid, which was a cause for alarm. I thought it prudent to check around the Archives to see if there were any more, and if they were in a similar state.

We found many more similar leather-bound boxes in the Object store room (below), including one entitled "Declaration of Independence" [He Whakaputanga][6] (AAAC 6248 W292 Sep 618). This container included two empty sleeves of the same thick, yellowing plastic as the others, but intact.

Figure 4: Leather-bound boxes found in an Archives New Zealand Object Room.

Figure 5: The leather-bound box and sleeves that once contained He Whakaputanga.

Figure 6: Yellowing plastic sleeves from the He Whakaputanga box.

Ah-ha, so is this the box referred to in file 'IA1 158/67', supposedly made with non-flammable celluloid or cellophane? But what about the identical box which had scorch marks? It didn't seem to make sense. We therefore embarked rather hurriedly on a programme of risk management, in regards to there being potentially flammable plastic sleeves in the storage areas.

Figure 7: Degraded plastic sleeves.

First, we removed all the sleeves from the boxes in the Object Store. The sleeves of all boxes were intact, except one. This one (shown above) had degraded like the contents of our scorched box. However unlike that one, there was no scorching to be seen on the box edges and lid.

Once removed from the store, we retained the sleeves in a portfolio for appropriate disposal. With wanting to retain the He Whakaputanga box complete, with including its, as yet intact sleeves, for documentation and historic reasons, it became important to know exactly what we were dealing with.

We had a few options. We could carry out a float test, a burn test, and Fourier Transform Infrared (FTIR analysis). With help from our conservator colleagues at the Alexander Turnbull Library, we tried the float test. This can help to distinguish between the three plastics commonly found in archives; cellulose acetate, cellulose nitrate and biaxially-oriented polyethylene terephthalate, otherwise known as polyester!

Samples of sleeve from the scorched box were placed in trichloroethylene, and they floated, which indicated that it was cellulose acetate. At the same time the test was carried out with a sample known to be cellulose nitrate film. This was tested, and sank. So, from this we may deduce that our sample was indeed cellulose acetate.

I had already tried a burn test, (in my fireplace at home as I didn't want to burn the archives down...). I found the sleeve plastic burned extremely brightly and fiercely, even burning downwards, but readily extinguished when I placed it in a cup of water. I also burnt a known acetate film sample and this was much more reluctant to burn and would not burn downwards.

From the inconclusive results of the float and burn tests, I decided we needed a definitive answer through FTIR testing. FTIR, or Fourier

transform infrared, the preferred method of infrared spectroscopy. When infrared radiation is passed through a sample, some radiation is absorbed by the sample and some passes through, is transmitted. The resulting signal at the detector is a spectrum representing a molecular 'fingerprint' of the sample. The usefulness of infrared spectroscopy arises because different chemical structures (molecules) produce different spectral fingerprints.

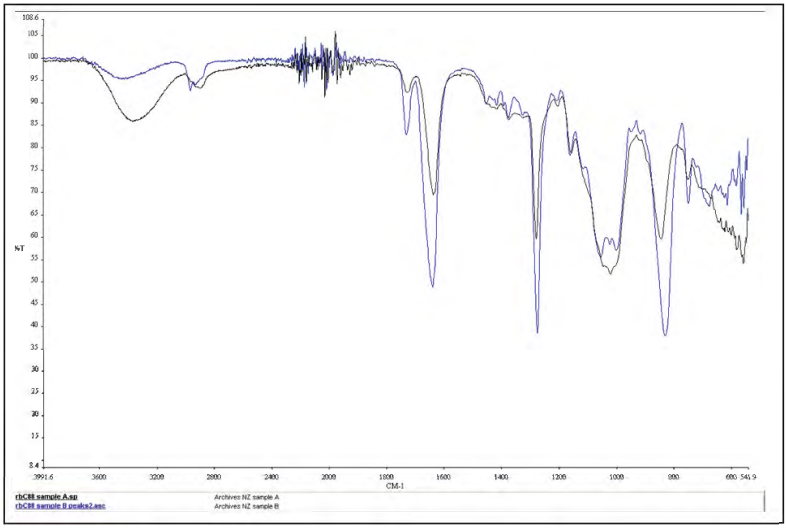


Table 1: FTIR spectra of samples A and B overlayed

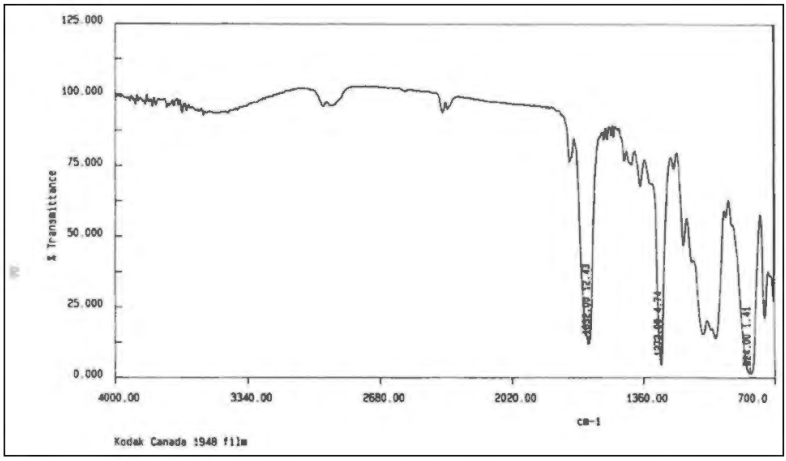


Table 2: Example of cellulose nitrate FTIR spectrum from the literature

The FTIR testing was done off-site by Callaghan Innovation, and the results were surprisingly straightforward. They tested two samples of the sleeve material, one from the Rough Draft of the Treaty of Waitangi box, the scorched box, (Sample A), and the other from the intact He Whakaputanga box (Sample B). The test can identify peaks corresponding to the chemical composition of a material and in this case, even with slight differences between the two samples, both spectra showed characteristic nitrate peaks.

The difference between the two was explained by the fact that the burnt sample had exhibited a loss of nitrate on degradation, so its spectra was less intense. Cellulose nitrate degrades to produce acidic and oxidizing nitrogen oxide gases (including nitrous oxide, nitric oxide, and nitrogen dioxide). It was the release of these acidic gases that had caused the scorching on the box.

In the literature we have clear guidelines how to store cellulose nitrate material, and knowledge of what temperatures it can auto-ignite at. Research from the Canadian Conservation Institute (CCI), titled 'Display and Storage of Museum Objects containing Cellulose Nitrate', gives an explanation why our degraded sleeves are in their current state. The report states:

> "high concentrations of these gases build up that can embrittle and accelerate degradation of objects. In photographic film and objects in thin cross-section, the problem is less acute because the gases diffuse out of the object quickly and can be vented away. For objects of thick cross-section, diffusion is much slower. The gases are trapped for longer periods and have a greater chance to catalyse degradation. A vicious circle forms: faster decomposition increases the concentrations of nitrogen oxide gases, which in turn increases the rate of decomposition. The accompanying heating of the object can cause spontaneous ignition."[7]

The sleeves were around 500microns thick, much thicker than photographic film which is about 150 microns.

The CCI also noted that "foul odours come from the nitrogen oxide gases."[8] There was an unpleasant smell coming from our sleeves in question.

Our investigation results were supported by the science, so all in all I am happy that we have our diagnosis and cause for the current degraded state.

Finally, a note on future storage of the sleeves, back to the CCI report:

Figure 8: Detail of the degraded Cellulose Nitrate sleeves.

> "the changes mentioned are accompanied by progressive decreases in auto-ignition temperatures". Fresh, undegraded cellulose nitrate auto-ignites (or self-combusts) at 150°C, whereas the powdery or foamy mass of cellulose nitrate in the last stages of decomposition can auto-ignite at temperatures as low as 50°C. This temperature can easily be reached near light bulbs, radiators, attics in summer, etc."

In our case, we are now storing the remaining box containing intact sleeves, the He Whakapūtanga box, safely in our cold stores. And the disposal of the cleared-out sleeves languishing in the portfolio? – well, we tasked our friendly neighbourhood Army guys to take them away for "disposal", that is, maybe for setting fire to them or blowing them up!

So to conclude, it was a happy chance that we found the reference to the "non-inflammable celluloid" in file 'IA/9 158/67' when we did, and that the first three boxes presented themselves to us when they did. As a conservator you do question what you are told, and investigation is an exciting part of the job. We were able to extricate ourselves from the misleading statements of the past, and the misleading initial test results.

I will never be a Nobel Prize winner, but I am happy that our plastic fantastic story has a transparent ending!

Acknowledgements
Past and present staff of Archives New Zealand and Alexander Turnbull Library.
Images courtesy of Anna Whitehead

PostScript
New information added in Dec 2016:
A photograph of archivist Ken Scadden holding the Rough Draft of the Treaty of Waitangi box came to light in November 2016. This was either taken or published in the Evening Post on 9/7/1988.

Figure 8: Ken Scadden with Drafts of the Treaty of Waitangi (Te Tiriti o Waitangi), Evening Post Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library. Ref. EP/1988/27443.[9]

This means this badly deteriorated box was still intact in 1988. One can only wonder at the circumstances that have led to the accelerated degradation to the degree we now see today.

In email correspondence with Jonathan London [former preservation manager, Archives New Zealand], he commented: "the Declaration of Independence – this may have been one of a suite of documents that were, until about 1989/1990 housed in leather-covered boxes made by the Govt printing Office back in the 50s/60s?, with post binding holding clear PVC pages in which were housed the smaller documents. I remember documents being removed from these as the PVC had become brittle and

discoloured. I don't remember any repairs being undertaken".[10]

This is useful information, especially about the dates of removing documents from the sleeves, as well as the reference to repairs.

Endnotes

1. Archives New Zealand (1967). *Miscellaneous – Treaty Waitangi documents and general file*. ACGO 8333 W896 IA1 Box 3001/ 158/67.
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3. Archives New Zealand (1835). *He Whakaputanga o te Rangatiratanga o Nu Tireni* [The Declaration of Independence of the United Tribes of New Zealand, Made to the British Resident in New Zealand on 28 October 1835 – Signed Manuscript]. AAAC 6248 W292 IA9/1
4. Archives New Zealand (1893). *1893 Women's Suffrage Petition [Te Petihana Whakamana Pōti Wāhine]*. ABKH 7366 W4437 NF431, Sheets 1 – 549.
5. Archives New Zealand (1804? – 1845?). *Drafts of the Treaty of Waitangi, most of it in Busby's hand – Registered as 45/522 in the Protector of Aborigines Department*. ACGO 8341 IA9 Box 9/10 SEP 617.
6. AAAC 6248 W292 SEP 618
7. Williams, R. S. (1994) Display and Storage of Museum Objects containing Cellulose Nitrate. *CCI Notes*. Canadian Conservation Institute.
8. Ibid
9. Alexander Turnbull Library (1988). *Evening Post Collection*. EP/1988/2744.
10. London, Jonathan (7 October, 1916) Email correspondence with Anna Whitehouse.

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Re-defining 'evidence':
Appraising for historical value as historians turn to media and materiality

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Evidence has always been a slippery concept, and historians have been changing their minds about it at what seems to be an ever-increasing rate. There was once a time when 'texts' generally meant respectable, official (or at least authenticated) handwritten or printed documents, and they had a well-defined home in archives and libraries. Material sources like coins, tombstones, and archaeological spolia tended to be separated off into museums, along with many of the curators who researched them. Old documents, necessitating knowledge of things like diplomatics, heraldry and palaeography, overlapped the institutional divide somewhat. Herbert Putnam, faced with organising the Minneapolis Public Library and the Library of Congress, relegated all of those source-establishment problems to a single subject class for "the auxiliary sciences of history," with the classes for history immediately following. Where antiquarians had tackled source establishment themselves, the new modern historian tended to be a high-minded synthetic thinker who left auxiliary studies to specialists in their own right.[1]

Over the past century or so, historians have gradually claimed those auxiliary disciplines back. Through much of the twentieth century, for example, historians drew close with bibliography: Donald Wing's catalogue of early English books is perhaps the best-known of projects that challenged what counts as an authoritative text. Now that bibliography is falling back into fashion, many historians are re-discovering that printed books come in variant copies (even today), and that typist, editor, censor, compositor, impositor and even the bookbinder, librarian and owner all exercise authorial agency whether they mean to or not. We have learnt, for example, that when a typist missed a comma and hit the key alongside, 'resembled' became into 'rese,bled'. Working from the typescript, an editor or compositor corrected it wrongly, inadvertently styling one of William Faulkner's nicer passages: "the valley rose, bled a river choked with down timber and drowned livestock until not even a

horse could have crossed it in darkness to reach a telephone and fetch the doctor back."[2] Once, we asked, what did Faulkner write? Practically anyone in search of Faulkner's intent would have to correct the text back to 'resembled'. But the line is beautiful and the text has taken on a life of its own: in addition to thinking about Faulkner as sole author of the manuscript, we must think also of Faulkner as one link in a production chain, Faulkner as an author-branded syndicate, and Faulkner as a readers' and critics' construction.

Literary collectors have long treasured and preserved many manuscripts and typescripts, often in multiple drafts, that precede the published work. Evidence thereby survives for textual scholarship, at least for literature, even though that kind of research and that kind of evidence were not necessarily the collectors' initial intentions.

The printer's hand is evidenced in other ways, too. Damaged type, for example, is recorded by using it. Working through books to count up identical deformities has allowed us to estimate how much type a printer had, and sometimes who an un-named printer was.[3] Done predominantly in English Departments, such work has naturally emphasised literary output. In principle, similar work could be done on numerical tables in mathematical texts: printers whose businesses focussed on literature and broadsides might have had enough numeric type to print a price list or a newspaper, but it requires a hundred times as much to print even a single page of logarithms for a much thinner market. But who among us collects documents for their deformed print? This evidence survived because it inheres in documents collected for other reasons.

In the same way, we can identify woodcuts by grain, cracks and insect damage. Their impressions show how stock image pieces got circulated and adapted: windows in the wood let printers fill empty speech bubbles for specific needs, and partial modifications to the image itself show how woodcuts were adapted to denominational difference as they crossed between Catholic and Protestant lands. As for conducting research on the tens of thousands of extant woodcuts, plates, lithographic stones and type galleys, that is difficult: we still have no good way to catalogue it, not even a consistent vocabulary.

Marginalia is also deemed damage but, being due to readers, was actively regretted. Even now, it often reduces a dealer's price, and many will clean marginalia away when they can, as an act of restoration. Yet marginalia has its uses. Marginalia proved that Copernicus's great cosmological treatise was not, as had long been supposed, "the book nobody read." Many copies are heavily annotated in all sorts of ways that demonstrate not just correction to fulfil censorship demands, but

serious intellectual engagement.[4] Marginalia have often fallen victim to trimming as libraries rebound and trimmed their books but enough survives, along with underlining and insertions and wear, to nourish a new branch of history that recognises readers as agents in the process of making meaning: the history of reading.

Conservators have long known of another kind of evidence: the waste that lines covers and spines, and the cartonnage that covers mummies. Spine linings are now an important source of rare texts but, when smashed bindings are repaired, such evidence sometimes along with evidence of rearrangements, insertions and removals becomes secret once more. Library practice has swung heavily towards boxing in order not to destroy evidence through repair.[5]

Recycling also sometimes preserves evidence. Our earliest attestation of Archimedes' work was scraped off its parchment to make space for work judged more important. The ink sinks more deeply than scribes scrape, and, in the right light, the old words still shine gently from behind the prayers written on top.[6]

Even fading has proven its worth. Benford's Law, which describes a peculiar distribution of digits in naturally occurring quantities, arose from noticing "how much faster the first pages [of logarithm tables] wear out than the last ones".[7] Like many mathematical curiosities, Benford's Law finds extensive practical application. But what of the evidence — who archives obsolete logarithm tables? Who keeps a book of tables in circulation to further build its meaning through the readers' continued touch, or transfers the worn old volumes to special collections when a clean, new edition comes along? The text here is not the numerical values but the physical traces of use.

A new generation of historians is making the problem more complicated still. They call themselves 'eclectic', to distinguish themselves from a generation somewhat factionalised by method. Eclectic historians pick and choose whatever methods match the sources. I do not think of myself as one: my methodological identity is attached to old-fashioned bibliography. Perhaps I am worse than an eclectic: I also studied material culture and architectural history, so I treat buildings and scientific instruments as primary texts alongside what's written.

I take particular interest in the scratches, stretches and repairs on laboratory apparatus that attest to their use. Curators and collectors have long preferred to restore those away; their interest is in manufacturers and designers rather than the scientific process.[8] I hence echo the bibliographers in saying that there is no such thing as a duplicate. If you find two common undergraduate voltmeters the same in every way, that's

evidence that the class had at least some uniform equipment. Having worked for a while in a physics teaching laboratory, and conducted research in many historical instrumentation collections, I have seen that apparatus is more usually not that consistent. One of the technician's roles is to ensure that every group of students has a combination of apparatus – which may be different between groups – that coheres to permit the work. Keeping only one voltmeter erases those realities of the laboratory, and erases the technician from the laboratory's history.

Could there be such a thing as an 'archive' of scientific apparatus, recording a laboratory's state? It is tricky to imagine one because apparatus gets re-used and progressively accumulates meaning in collocated layers a chronotope whereas logbooks and diaries are more open to being treated as conveniently sequential.[9] Apparatus is often disposable, like the scrap paper and blotters that archives usually don't receive, and used apparatus can be dangerous so must be disposed of. Strong solvents, toxic substances, and materials that will decay into volatile, corrosive or otherwise difficult products pose problems to be addressed in the laboratory even before they get appraised for museum-grade storage. But at least one such archive does exist: the Archivio Scientifico e Tecnologico at the University di Torino. When a major project ends, the laboratory is cleaned up and its apparatus added to this sprawling complex in the city's former tobacco factory. Nothing much is cleaned or fixed, and this is what I like to read.

Buildings prove challenging, too. Without restorations and adaptations, obsolete venues are condemned to decay, and some were not built to last anyway. A key astronomical observatory in Denmark, for instance, the Observatorium Tusculanum, was designed with only one kind of observation in mind and is famed for observations taken in a mere three-day window. All that survives now is its post-holes. Their survival is unusual. The costs of maintaining an historic site generally necessitate reconfiguration as a museum, apartment block or reception centre.

Reconfiguration and repurposing makes buildings tricky to read. There was once a time when horticulturalists looked forwards to establishing a pineapple industry in seventeenth-century London. I tracked down one of their heated growing-beds; it looked exactly as I had imagined from written attestations, except for one thing: the owners, puzzled by its design, had added a low roof and were using the heating cavity as a working space to stand in. My searches for Enlightenment greenhouse heaters have always been stymied by the metals being long ago recycled, so I look for the pipe-niches remaining in the brickwork. Original glass

greenhouse panes, and their precursor, oiled paper, generally do not survive. Worn steps get replaced to allay a safety hazard, or simply because they look bad. Returning to observatories, windows broken apart to accommodate a telescope three hundred years ago get repaired if the building survives at all; no one puts up with a draft for that long.

There is another kind of bias, too, well known to historians of women and children: official records tend to exclude unimportant people. In many cases, this is because women's and children's voices never made it into an archivist's hands; they were filtered out at earlier stages, or never manifested in tangible media. Sometimes they are represented in someone else's voice, reduced to residence counts, maintenance costs or labour units. Often, however, exclusion is the archivist's decision. Sometimes this is what institutional policy or business needs demand: records generated by patients, students, teachers and technicians are not germane to an institution's administrative processes, or must be destroyed to meet confidentiality or privacy commitments. Working in the history of education, I encounter such loss often. The student laboratory apparatus is all thrown out, though a few attractive lecture demonstrations or classroom models might survive. I'm often enthusiastically told that there are extensive records of what was taught, but it usually turns out to be mostly the brief synopses in course catalogues and perhaps some administrative registers that include class sizes and grade distributions. Some institutions also have the exams, and very rarely lecture notes, but no one kept assignments or syllabuses, the lecture slides (though there are generic lantern slide collections), nor specimens of student work.

We often lack records of what was in the libraries, too. Few institutional libraries are in a position to provide records of withdrawn material, and may not have good records for internal use either. I once travelled for a day to see a book that a particular student had borrowed four times in one year (he had kept his library slips). I received the book in the special collections reading room and saw a different owner's bookplate dated too late for this to be the right copy. The catalogue entry showed me no hint of this, and showed nothing more when the librarian looked at the raw data fields that modern user interface design protects me from: only the bare minimum had been transcribed. I asked whether the card catalogue might have clues. The librarian was too new to know of one, and I told her that I'd been browsing through it in a stairwell, looking at the handwriting and notational changes in how periodicals had been recorded over the years. Suddenly excited, she bounded off and soon returned triumphant from her first-ever use of a card catalogue. We examined the card together. It recorded the donation and also the

first copy's withdrawal in a year when a space-saving effort sought to remove duplicates. But this was no duplicate: it was the historic object associated with an individual whose collected personal papers survived in the same university's archives. The chances of discovering that provenance by accident are minimal; we cannot blame the archivists or librarians for missing it. But bravo for keeping the old card catalogue! It records not only metadata that did not make it into the on-line database, but rich data like handwriting shifts and notational conventions that cannot be transcribed in any case. Accession registers prove wonderful for the same reason.

Why would this particular copy matter? It is a matter of evidence: I had hoped that a student, whose borrowing slips show that he'd taken that book out four times in a single year, might have left some trace of his reading process in it – annotations that I could match with his handwriting, or notes that matched the courses he was enrolled in when he monopolised that book. Those borrowing slips, like most of the records I use, are one-off oddities that survive in personal papers. I find lecture and laboratory notes, assignments, exams, and very occasionally, mathematical homework problems. Some notebooks contain blueprints and machine-drawn charts that a student actually produced. Some include fossils and pressed plants. Some have coloured pencil, but most are written with stiff-nibbed fountain pens and, in spite of the cheap exercise book paper, ink that does not run. As well as exercise books, I find loose sheets gathered with split pins and bootlaces and spring-backed folders, sometimes with improvised force-spreaders to ease the stress. At other times, a preservationist has removed many of those traces of note-keeping practice, replacing them with pH-neutral folders and paperclips, and I try to surmise the original arrangement and handling by looking at holes, tears, stretches and differential fading in the paper. These documents survived not as fine primary sources on learning and teaching, but for mere association with a great surgeon or politician. Scientific learning artefacts are hard to come by. Doggerel, on the other hand, endures well, regardless of literary worth.

Student work has never attracted much interest, and the features I describe do not lend themselves to 'traditional' historical methods. A key distinction is that, being material, such information cannot be transcribed. Some of it resists photographic representation. It does not always have a name. It may not be amenable to a well-defined order for storage and searching. I do not work on the digital age but, if I did, I would be just as interested in the tape reels and punch cards and the apparatus for reading them, much more than in the data encoded

within transfer to a new, more durable medium does not serve the kind of research that I do. One could go further: current discussions of archive-appropriate encoding format generally miss the historical significance of the encoding that was actually in use.

Returning to the evidence shortage for women and children offers us another perspective on why such evidence matters. Without records by women and children, historians struggle to recover their experiences. Women and children were obviously never absent – they contributed and participated in many ways but only rarely is their contribution recorded as a decisive, substantial action. Even when they are praised by others, the voice in the records is often not their own. We can surmise values and life practicalities, for example, from children's literature and etiquette guides written by people who knew better. In the history of science, the apparent absence of women and children has practical consequences today: explaining the origins of science and the reasons behind our current beliefs commonly conveys messages that we do not want. Learners surmise that science is advanced by older, white men, usually singular geniuses. In other words, learners surmise that science is not for them.[10]

Historians, and educators more generally, accept the ethical duty to address such messages. We craft our class reading lists and published stories to show that, while being born wealthy might obviously helps, it isn't a necessary pre-requisite to doing worthwhile work. We also work to avoid depicting group membership (e.g. ethnicity) as the cause of being always sick, always victims, always criminal, always needing to be managed by someone superior. In the history of science, making that shift has involved reconstruing what science is and who does it: no longer a chain of great triumphs by occasional champions, but lots of work, most of it ordinary, by lots of ordinary individuals who include un-named collaborators, assistants, family members, students, cleaners.

My approach is to focus on the learners and teachers, by far the largest populations in science and in education, yet largely omitted from the history of education. I include technicians, too. By telling classroom-scale stories about learning and teaching, I can show what learning and knowledge really entail. I can hence inform curricular debate in a way that has not previously been possible, by bringing coal-face realities to the fore without the baggage of present-day practicalities. There are rich layers of knowledge recorded in things like scratches on old apparatus and worn-out pages in log tables.

The research that I do is supported by two articles in the International Council of Museum's code of ethics:[11]

> Article 3.1: The museum collections policy should indicate clearly the significance of collections as primary evidence. The policy should not be governed only by current intellectual trends or present museum usage.
> Article 8.4: Members of the museum profession should promote the investigation, preservation, and use of information inherent in the collections. They should, therefore, refrain from any activity or circumstance that might result in the loss of such academic and scientific data.

The International Council on Archives maintains comparable principles, expanding further on how to interpret them.[12] Interpreting is fraught: how is an appraiser look ahead to historical value that even historians have not yet seen? How is an archivist to preserve historical integrity without making a choice about which layers of authorship, and hence which authors, do and do not matter?

In summary, my dilemma has two parts. First, there is a broadening of "text" to include spatiality, materiality and process. The practices and amenities of archives, libraries and museums are of course tied to materiality: the specialised needs of media like magnetic tape, nitrocellulose cine film and even early woodpulp paper illustrate the impracticability of every institution keeping everything; the design of shelving and boxes presumes the materiality of what is to be stored. We are biased towards flat print media. Decades after Marshal McLuhan argued that "the medium is the message", our re-encoding, re-mastering and digitisation practices still privilege encoded data (i.e. language and image) in favour of material data. It is of course good to preserve what we can, and to make it replicable. But we need to ask ourselves how authenticity is changed by re-encoding, re-formatting and re-presenting. Many ask what is lost; we must also ask what's added.

Second, there is a broadening of whose history matters. Invisible people like technicians and women, whose records are usually not kept in ways that go naturally into archives. It is not necessarily through lack of contribution: it may be a matter of media choices rather than active exclusion. We need to ask whose history we are preserving evidence for, and who gets to decide. Sometimes, we get to decide, and we should embrace the ethical complexities of doing so.

As an historian outside the appraisal process, I am mostly limited to observing what I do and do not find, and writing new histories that, by demonstrating new kinds of historicity and new kinds of authorship, may inform future practice. I am lucky: I get to venture a short distance

into the archive, library and museum, often much more than many of my historian peers. As for archivists, librarians and curators, on the other hand, I have seen even over my short years that job descriptions rarely include opportunities to spend time doing the history that I remember being part of my most helpful librarians', archivists' and curators' duties, and job contracts are often only a year or two long – nowhere near long enough to know a collection well. Are we perhaps reviving Putnam's

Endnotes

1. For a case study of early modern antiquarianism framed around the nature of evidence and collection, see Vittoria Feola, *Elias Ashmole and the Uses of Antiquity*, (Blanchard: Paris, 2012).
2. Marita Mathijsen, "The Concept of Authorisation," Text 14 (2002): 90.
3. G. Thomas Tanselle, "The Use of Type Damage as Evidence in Bibliographical Description", The Library 5 (1968): 328–351. Intact type is also studied; see an application in e.g. Jos Bouman and Paul Vriesma, "Harmen Janszoon Muller, Printer and Publisher in Amsterdam, c. 1538–1617," *Quaerendo* 8 (1978): 243.
4. Owen Gingerich, *The Book Nobody Read: Chasing the Revolutions of Nicolaus Copernicus* (New York: Walker & Company, 2004).
5. For a compact but usefully illustrative study of printer's waste that accounts for font, collation, binding and paper, see Oliver Pickering, "Two Pynson Editions of the Life of St Katherine of Alexandria," *The Library* 9 (2008): 471–478.
6. Abigail Quant, "The Archimedes Palimpsest: Conservation Treatment, Digital Imaging and the Transcription of a Rare Mediaeval Manuscript," *Studies in Conservation* 47 (2002): 165–170.
7. Simon Newcomb, "Note on the Frequency of Use of the Different Digits in Natural Numbers," *American Journal of Mathematics* 4 (1881): 39.
8. See an application in Alistair Kwan, "'Do Not Kill Guinea Pig Before Setting Up Apparatus': the Kymograph's Lost Educational Context," *Teorie Vedy* 38 (2016): 301–335.
9. Non-sequential notebook entries abound. Identifying the inks in Galileo's notebooks, for example, has shown how he often went back to re-engage with earlier entries, and how far back he went. Such information is normally not represented in photographic scans. See L. Giuntini et al., "Galileo's Writings: Chronology by PIXE," *Nuclear Instruments and Methods in Physics Research B* 95 (1995), 389–392.
10. For a broad view on how historical perspective impinges upon education and policy, see e.g. Lindy Orthia, "What's Wrong with Talking about the Scientific Revolution? Applying Lessons from History of Science to Applied Fields of Science Studies," *Minerva* 54 (2016), 353–373.
11. International Council of Museums, "Code of Ethics," ICOM.museum, http://icom. museum/the-vision/code-of-ethics/ (accessed June 8, 2016).
12. International Council on Archives, "Code of Ethics", ICA.org, http://www.ica.org/en/ica-code-ethics.

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Working with Legacy Media: A lone arranger's first steps

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Background

In 2013, a naked hard drive from Fiji arriving in my small religious archives (an equivalent full-time staff of 2.5 – one archivist and two archives' assistants) started me off on the path of digital preservation and, in particular, the digital forensics practices that are beneficial for archivists. With such a small staff, outsourced IT services, and no digital preservation policy in sight, it was time to start exploring how institutions of my size could manage legacy media and start planning for the born-digital archives that will continue to arrive. Since I hold a part-time position, I was able to undertake this exploration in my own time through the support provided by a scholarship from the Ian McLean Wards Memorial Trust in 2015.

Introduction

Due to this context, and the limited level of my own knowledge, I started an incremental process, taking small steps, to get on the board for digital preservation. One of them was attending DigCCurr Professional Institute where during the first session, Nancy McGovern posed the question, "What is good enough practice in your situation?"[1] Keeping this question in mind framed, contextualised, and directed my subsequent enquiry.

For the scholarship application, I determined the following targets: learning how to get material off legacy media, monitoring whatever is retained for fixity, instituting a technology watch and putting policy in place. The quantity of material in my institution currently requiring management is relatively small – a small box of mostly unidentified floppies, CDs, a naked hard-drive, and two laptops. Furthermore, the standalone archives' computer had died before my employment, so I removed the hard drive to ensure that any necessary business records for the running of the archives were retained. It is congregation policy that the Archives receive the personal papers and effects of deceased

members for appraisal and disposal. Looking toward the future, with an ever-aging congregation I expect to receive on average one laptop or naked hard drive a year. It is also possible that the administration's shared drive may end up coming my way.

Collaboration is an important factor in digital curation.[2] An additional output from my scholarship research was to create a workflow and self-service instructions for disk imaging with the equipment selected for the project. Guidance to undertake some very basic processing tasks in order to gain enough information to appraise the contents and prepare the material selected for retention was outlined. The motivation was to share the equipment with archivists of similar-scale institutions with whom I have regular contact.[3]

My institution is a member of a long-standing informal group of lone arrangers, a group which meets regularly for site visits and sharing. Members include archivists and volunteers in schools, business, community and religious groups. I sent out a survey with the monthly newsletter to ascertain the types of physical media found in their collections. Their media encompass an external hard drive, CDs, flash drives and unidentified 3.5" floppy disks. Some colleagues are running oral history programmes. They started recording on cassette tapes and currently use SD cards, so they will need to know how to appropriately manage this born-digital material. Some colleagues identified that they do not have strong computer literacy skills. It was imperative to provide them with guidance so that they too could start managing their legacy media independently and improve their management of born-digital content.[4] In order to create this material, I needed to go through the process of disk imaging and the subsequent pre-ingest processing myself so that I would be in a position to provide clear, explicit instructions.

Some American digital archivists maintain it may be better for small institutions to outsource these processes.[5] Erway, Goldman & McKinley produced a paper detailing the requirements for outsourcing legacy media processing.[6] At this stage in the New Zealand context, it is unlikely that the audience that I have targeted would have the financial support to contract someone to complete this work – my own institution certainly does not – one reason to share equipment and knowledge with them. Furthermore, given the size of the cultural heritage sector, it would be unlikely that this type of service would be financially viable unless it was a unit of a bigger organisation; staff with the requisite knowledge would need to be found and most probably would not initially have a fulltime workload. To date, there are only two cultural heritage institutions that

have staff dedicated to working with legacy digital material, the National Library of New Zealand and Archives New Zealand; they do not offer user-pays services. There are a number of companies who offer digital forensic services, though they focus on current media, not the legacy media found in archives; only one specifically mentions imaging floppy disks.[7] Given that most of the floppies in my colleagues' and my institutions have no recorded provenance, it would not be viewed as an appropriate use of our very limited budgets to outsource the processing since the key aim of this stage is to appraise the material. Apart from this issue, carrying out at least some form of legacy media processing would provide a fantastic learning opportunity to archivists in small institutions, to upskill and to stimulate awareness and conservation about digital preservation and curation.

Initial Scope and First Steps

One of the principles in digital preservation is not to create any irreversible changes to the data and if any were to occur to document them.[8] If I were to make any changes while learning, I wanted data that was not of any long-term value.

I selected to start by practicing imaging 3.5" floppy disks as this was the most numerous media indicated by my colleagues as well as in my own institution. As I had 31 3.5" floppies retained from my teaching days in Australia, the disks fulfilled my criterion of not being of long-term value. From what I could remember, these floppies were in use around 1997-2002. I expected that they contained end-of-unit tests and grammar notes for classes I taught at the time. I also expected that these were just transfer media and that I would find copies of most, if not all the data on an external hard drive copied from my Australian desktop computer.

Besides, the size of a floppy means it images quickly and the number I had to hand offered the repetition conducive to embedding new learning. As I describe below, disk images were invaluable when the floppies themselves would not mount.

Establishing a workflow for appraising material found on legacy media was one of the goals of imaging my floppies. The collecting scope of a congregation archive is relatively narrow, with the added dimension of its being subject to Canon Law. This brings with it the requirement to retain whatever documents the temporal and spiritual affairs of the congregation. If the material does not record the congregation's story in New Zealand or of the overseas ministry of New Zealand members, then it

is out of scope, so it is important that material is appraised.

The workflows presented in Marty Gengenbach's thesis appear to indicate a known provenance for the material being processed.[9] In the case of the floppies at work, they have been separated from their original collections without this being recorded, hence my emphasis on processing for appraisal. Since I did not know how they have been stored, I worked from the assumption that it would be possible to access them only once – another motivation to make an image to capture whatever it contains. Following a standardised process assists in building confidence and provides a structure to follow whatever the type of media to be processed. While my backlog of material may be small, the longer it is left the greater the challenge will be to source suitable equipment and have readable media in order to appraise it.

Wilsey, Skirvin, Chan, & Edwards use the phrase "imaging philosophy" as a section heading for the following:

> Before imaging, we needed to think carefully about our approach. Should we attempt to capture every bit of every removable storage media? Would we be satisfied with imaging most of the media? In the end we decided to attempt to capture media that was readable by Mac or PC computers with the hardware (such as external floppy disk and Zip drives) that we already had in place. We chose to attempt reading each disk, but did not attempt to diagnose why a particular disk wasn't readable. Under a tight deadline, we chose to follow this philosophy so that we could image as many readable disks as possible without spending too much time on troubleshooting.[10]

I found this concept to be a pertinent consideration and one that is not unique to digital material. For example, in our collection there are notebooks written over a hundred years ago in shorthand by a Frenchman. At first glance it is unclear whether it is an English-based, a French-based or a personalized shorthand, then the language will also need identifying. How much time should be spent on identifying the shorthand and decoding it?

So when does spending too much time on troubleshooting start? What springs to mind immediately is the cost consideration if the disk does not image on the first go. How many different drives are required to be able to say that we attempted to read the disk? Literature and face-to-face discussions point out that a drive that works for one disk may not for another; that it can be a case of trial and error.[11] How much time do you spend before giving up? If you are unsuccessful what do you do

with that media – deaccession, keep?

What happens when you have successfully imaged the media, but in order to evaluate the value of the contents and to prepare it for ingest into a digital repository, even more detective work is required? In a general policy, how specific should one be about one's imaging philosophy? Or should the imaging philosophy change according to the provenance of the media being worked on? In fact, should this concept be taken even further to encompass the processing that needs to occur post-imaging, so that question becomes, "What is your processing philosophy"? As I worked through my test corpus I hoped this exercise would assist me in resolving some if not all of these questions.

Preparing for Imaging

I followed the guidelines in the OCLC report, *You've got to walk before you can run: First steps for managing born-digital content received on physical media*, to set up a spreadsheet in order to create an inventory of the floppies in my possession and to record the results of the imaging process.[12] As seen in Figures 1 and 2 below, very few of the floppies had useful labelling.

An early topic of discussion for archivists was the choice of image format, as an image itself is a file. I selected to image in the proprietary Encase format, E01, as Simson Garfinkel has stopped maintaining the AFF format since Encase was reverse-engineered.[13] Other institutions have selected to retain their images in the raw format.[14]

In order to image, that is, to create an exact replica of the contents of the source medium – data and structure contained in a single file, I used an off-network 17.3" Toshiba laptop with an i7 processor, 16GB RAM, 1TB hard drive, running Windows 8.1, loaded with the tools introduced at the Society of American Archivists Digital Forensics: Advanced course, which are open-source and freely accessible from the Internet. The two programs used in particular for this exercise were FTK Imager and BitCurator 1.5.7. Since BitCurator is built in Ubuntu, it was accessed through VMWare. Laptops no longer come equipped with internal floppy drives so two USB drives were used, branded TEAC and Mitsumi.

It is usual practice to use a write blocker to protect data from any changes. A write blocker is a mechanism that does not allow anything to be written to the media. I had read that USB-driven disk drives do not usually work when attached to a USB write blocker and it was preferable to use a Digital Intelligence floppy drive, which had an inbuilt write-blocking mode.[15] However, by the time I found out about them,

My collection of floppy disks numbered from left to right (Disks 1-24).

Disks 25-31.

I could no longer source one. Unlike other media, floppies came with their own built-in write blocker, the read-only tab so I ensured that the tabs were correctly positioned before inserting any floppies into the drive. BitCurator includes a software write blocker as a standard feature, providing an extra level of security.

Disk images of the floppies were created three times – twice using Guymager in BitCurator with both drives and once with FTK Imager with the TEAC drive. Waugh's study on floppies had been conducted with FTK Imager, prior to the formal release of BitCurator, and I wanted to see if I had the same issues with the former software.[16]

Once all the images had been made, they were run through ClamTK, the virus checker included in BitCurator, before passing the BitCurator Reporting Tool over them. The contents of the images were viewed through BitCurator Disk Image Access and GHex in BitCurator or FTK Imager in Windows to make appraisal decisions.

While I would not do this with media being evaluated for long-term preservation as it may modify data, for curiosity sake, I also tried mounting the physical disks to see if I could access them. Mounting is the process that allows a computer's operating system to access external storage media.

Imaging Results

Waugh had a number of Macintosh/Apple format disks that had not been able to be read by the drives and software she had access to.[17] Because of this, I expected that the three disks (Disks 1, 25, 26) that had Macintosh/Apple format labels would not read on my set-up since I was imaging using a Windows-operated machine and that I would need recourse to a Kryoflux, a floppy drive controller and additional floppy drives; however, to my surprise, I was able to image all disks with both drives. Disk 1 labelled as an Apple diskette had in fact been reformatted to Windows.

Upon mounting the images, eight were found to be empty – there were no files under root when the file directory was expanded, the unallocated space measured 1.42MB and the empty image files were all sized 12KB; this was recorded in the spreadsheet and the images were discarded.

Exploring Processing Tools

With the successful imaging of all the disks, I was able to move on to the analysis of the images, using tools provided in FTK Imager and in

the BitCurator environment. Even though I thought I had reasonable knowledge of the disk contents, I wanted to go through the processes I would undertake were I confronted with unknown disks, as I will be at work. Colleagues will be in similar situations so I wanted to be able to advise them as well.

Extracting files

As an image is an exact replica of the source medium, there may be times when some of the files need to be accessed. In this case, it is possible to extract files from the disk image.

In FTK Imager, I was able to view the images' file trees, which provided me with enough information about their contents. I was able to export files directly from the image. In particular, this direct export was handy with the three disks of the Mac HFS file system (Disks 17, 25, 26). HFS was in use from 1985 and was finally superseded in 1998.

Within the BitCurator environment, HFS Explorer has been included as the Sleuth Kit upon which the reporting tools rely, does not process Mac file systems prior to HFS+ (i.e. MFS and HFS). However, HFS Explorer requires an image in raw format so an extra step of exporting the Encase format to raw is required.[18] Once accomplished, I was able to view and extract files. Windows and later Mac images are viewed using BitCurator Disk Image Access.

Individual Mac files extracted by both programs keep the original modified date, whereas Windows files extracted by BitCurator indicate the date of extraction. It is possible to extract the whole file structure in FTK Imager, while the folders created show the date of extraction, the files keep the original modified date. Retaining original timestamps assists, of course, with documenting a file's authenticity and integrity. Jarrett Drake mounts the image and writes a script that allows for transfer without changing the metadata.[19] When this is not possible, a work-around could be to use the snipping tool or take a screenshot of the timestamp shown within the image and save this.

Format identification

Five disk images were found to contain files requiring further investigation in order to verify their format. Format identification is one aspect of characterization, the process of collating information about the structure and content of a file. This needs to occur before ingesting the data into storage. Since preservation is for use, it is important to ensure that a minimum of information required for preservation actions and to

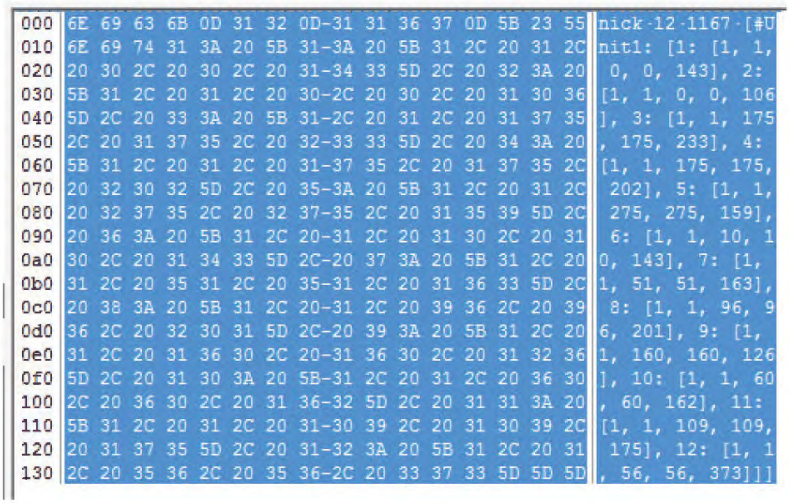
maintain meaningful access over time is present. The greater the time from the date of creation, the more complicated becomes the collection of information. Characterization can also include format validation and metadata extraction.[20] Many of the more advanced processes of characterization are automated and integrated into digital preservation software. The use of such software was out of the scope of the first steps I set out to achieve.

One disk image (Disk 20) had an unidentified file structure, though it was clear from its properties that it was not blank. This disk was imaged with 201 bad sectors, including a corrupted boot sector, which led to the unidentified file structure. Viewing the image in a hex editor, I was able to find the signature for a Word document.

Three disk images (Disks 25, 26, 31) contained files with no file extensions. I used these files to practice format identification. Two were the HFS images (Disks 25, 26). Judging by the file names, I expected them to be all Word documents. Viewing the file signature in a hex editor confirmed that this was the case for most of them; the remainder were in rich text format. For one file extracted from Disk 26, I also added the .doc extension by using the file rename feature before attempting to open it, ran the file through Droid, the National Archives file format identification tool, as well as the hex editor check.[21] All three methods were successful in their format identification.

Disk 31 contained two files (logo, logo2) with no extension. These files were found within resource.frk, indicating that the items had been copied from a Mac. Again using the hex editor, JFIF was seen in the text viewer. By checking the Pronom file format registry, the start and end strings for a JFIF were identified.[22] They were found within the file, and the data between them copied into a new hex editor window. This was then saved. Adding the .jpg extension brought up the actual logo, that of the French Teachers' Association of Victoria.

The unexpected HFS disk (Disk 17) contained three files with the extension .tlm. This extension is identified as Timeline Maker.[23] I had never heard of that software. The date and name of the files (boys' first names), and viewing as text in a hex viewer, confirmed that the contents were to do with marks from a unit test. No headers were visible at the start of each file (Figure 3). Scrolling through the whole image did not bring any header to light. I extracted one of the files and added .doc, .rtf and .xls extensions; only the first word rendered in LibreOffice word-processing (Figure 4) and spreadsheet programs. The marks had been processed statistically using SSPS in Windows in 1999 to analyse the



000	6E	69	63	6B	0D	31	32	0D	31	31	36	37	0D	5B	23	55
010	6E	69	74	31	3A	20	5B	31	3A	20	5B	31	2C	20	31	2C
020	20	30	2C	20	30	2C	20	31	34	33	5D	2C	20	32	3A	20
030	5B	31	2C	20	31	2C	20	30	2C	20	30	2C	20	31	30	36
040	5D	2C	20	33	3A	20	5B	31	2C	20	31	2C	20	31	37	35
050	2C	20	31	37	35	2C	20	32	33	33	5D	2C	20	34	3A	20
060	5B	31	2C	20	31	2C	20	31	37	35	2C	20	31	37	35	2C
070	20	32	30	32	5D	2C	20	35	3A	20	5B	31	2C	20	31	2C
080	20	32	37	35	2C	20	32	37	35	2C	20	31	35	39	5D	2C
090	20	36	3A	20	5B	31	2C	20	31	2C	20	31	30	2C	20	31
0a0	30	2C	20	31	34	33	5D	2C	20	37	3A	20	5B	31	2C	20
0b0	31	2C	20	35	31	2C	20	35	31	2C	20	31	36	33	5D	2C
0c0	20	38	3A	20	5B	31	2C	20	31	2C	20	39	36	2C	20	39
0d0	36	2C	20	32	30	31	5D	2C	20	39	3A	20	5B	31	2C	20
0e0	31	2C	20	31	36	30	2C	20	31	36	30	2C	20	31	32	36
0f0	5D	2C	20	31	30	3A	20	5B	31	2C	20	31	2C	20	36	30
100	2C	20	36	30	2C	20	31	36	32	5D	2C	20	31	31	3A	20
110	5B	31	2C	20	31	2C	20	31	30	39	2C	20	31	30	39	2C
120	20	31	37	35	5D	2C	20	31	32	3A	20	5B	31	2C	20	31
130	2C	20	35	36	2C	20	35	36	2C	20	33	37	33	5D	5D	5D

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Figure 3: hex editor view of .tlm content.

Figure 4: .tlm file rendered as .rtf

construction of multiple choice questions in a post-graduate paper on assessment. In fact, Disk 27 contained the data generated in SPSS in an Excel spreadsheet.

At DigCCurr's winter session, it was suggested that the numbers between the square brackets could indicate coordinates in a graph. Since I still had all the working files for the university paper on my external hard drive, I viewed the Excel files in the hex editor in FTK Imager to determine whether they presented in a similar fashion. They did not. Though doing this did inform me that at some stage I had used a Mac with this material as a resource.frk folder was present.

This exercise in file format identification was very useful, though the most time-consuming of all the tasks trialled. For initial appraisal, the hex editor was most beneficial. For files requiring further work, such as the logos, which had uninformative file names, being able to render them meant that I could make an informed appraisal decision.

Repairing disk images

A bad sector is one that cannot be accessed or written on, so I was also surprised that the number of bad sectors sometimes changed according to the floppy drive I used. This can be caused by the different types of design of floppy drive heads.[24] It was also suggested that I try running a disk repair tool over the image such as fsck in Linux, a command line tool.[25]

I acknowledge that many of the processes involved with pre-ingest require command line knowledge. I have personally found it challenging to decipher the instruction guides for some of the tools; it appears that they have been written with the assumption that the people using them have a reasonable level of proficiency. While I understand the concept behind command line, I struggle to enter the commands correctly. With my target audience in mind, I looked for tools with a graphic user interface. Once I have finished this project I will put command line proficiency on to my goal list as I continue to incrementally develop my skills.

I found Photorec, an open-source application with a graphical user interface, which will repair files in a raw disk image.[26] I extracted a raw image using FTK Imager from Disks 2, 5, 17, 20, 22, 25 and 26, which I then used. These disks were selected because they had either imaged with bad sectors or the physical disks themselves would not mount (see below). Some of the files, which I had initially identified through the hex editor, were recovered. The majority of the files could be opened and on the whole rendered well, excepting Disks 20 and 25. For Disk 20 the image showed an unrecognised file system as well as unallocated space. Photorec recovered four files of report comments, though there were some sections of text unable to be recovered. Most of the files on Disk 25 – a Mac formatted disk – were recovered and rendered without issue. The exceptions were a couple of files, written in French and German, languages employing diacritics.

As mentioned earlier, I attempted to mount the physical disks. More questions arose when finding that eleven of them would not mount – three were the Mac formatted disks (Disks 17, 25, 26), one had the unrecognised file system (Disk 20), but there still remained seven Windows disks. Since "most disk imaging tools ignore file system data (they capture it, but don't require it to be intact)", this is a possible reason why I was able to image disks but not mount them.[27] This experiment further strengthens the practice to image floppies straight away. Had I just relied on mounting the physical disks, material that I was able to access through the images would have remained inaccessible.

Discussion

These floppies were a "known" collection in that they belonged to me and I had created them. As the photographs show (Figures 1 and 2), most of the disks did not have labels and those that did were not helpful, e.g. "Please return to E. Charlton". That phrase, at least, bore out my contention that I had used them for transfer and not for storage.

I checked the hard drive containing files from the same time period. I found the contents of five disks (2, 3, 12, 17, 25) were not replicated on the drive. Using archival appraisal principles, I then considered whether any of the files found only on the disk images were worthy of long-term retention and preservation. Disk 17 has already been discussed for its unusual file format. Some of the contents of disks 2 and 3 were at one stage on my desktop computer. However, as my involvement with the organisations had ended, I had deleted those files before ultimately transferring the desktop's content to the external hard drive. My opinion of the contents was not changed upon review. Disk 25 was another Mac formatted disk; the content once again was of a transitory nature.

The only items which caught my attention from an appraisal perspective were the photos (Disk 12) of my Year 8 homeroom class from 2000. They were informal shots of the group. The size of the images (117kB, 120kb) meant that I decided that it would not be worth the resources to retain them into the long-term. Furthermore, I do have the official class photo, the school yearbook and the school has an archives, which contains photos of much better quality than these.

A comment that has come up regularly regarding disk images is that they capture EVERYTHING in the bit-stream.[28] Files that have been deleted become accessible through imaging. Is this what the creator wants researchers to have access to? Seeing this occur with my own information brought this message home very strongly. For example, I was rather startled to see a list of email addresses appear in Bulk Extractor. Upon looking at the directory tree, I found Eudora mailboxes (.mbox and .toc) and realised that I had used that floppy to copy the mailboxes from one computer to another. After transfer, I had deleted the files and reused the disk. I still have copies of the same mailboxes on the external hard drive. In this situation, it is clear that the disk was used purely for transfer. The deletion occurred not because I no longer wanted the information; I just wanted the disk space for other files. If it can be ascertained that it was a creator's regular practice to use media such as floppies primarily as a transfer device, I assert that it may be possible to assess this deleted information with less sensitivity and thus provide

access to it more freely than in other circumstances.

Another viewpoint for retaining disk images is to provide technological-focussed researchers an opportunity to "get under the hood" of the system in which the data was created.[29] Furthermore, we do not know what may take the attention of future researchers and how research may change.

How much time did I spend?

I spent two days attending the SAA Digital forensics: Advanced training course. Coupled with the reading I had already done, I felt confident to start imaging, which I did mid-September and completed my analysis and the first draft of this article by the end of November, a total of 2.5 months. I must emphasise that I did not work on this fulltime; in fact most of it was done in 2-3 hour bursts in evenings and on weekends.

Breakdown of time taken on tasks

Imaging all floppies – 1 hour, imaged 3 times - 3 hours in total
Report generation – 2 hours as BitCurator gave me an error and I had to reboot the VM twice
Meeting re using Droid for file identification – 2 hours
Analysing tricky files, identifying file extensions – 3 hours
Disk repair for bad sectors, generation and analysis – 2 hours
"Fiddling" (eg mounting disks and images for comparison) – 4 hours
Instruction sheet creation – 2 hours

I would expect that some of these times would decrease with more proficiency in manipulating the software used, looking up file signatures, and so on.

The time taken on this applied exercise not only gave me confidence to start imaging the legacy media at work, but also assisted me in estimating how much time it would take to image and complete an initial processing of the floppies (3-4 hours). In effect my estimation was pretty accurate in it taking four hours to image and appraise the work floppies. Due to the size of the hard drives the imaging of them will take longer; however, I can work on other tasks while it is underway. With the quantity of digital material I have awaiting processing, I believe that this volume is manageable and can be integrated in my workload without compromising other tasks. It would also mean that I could clear the backlog of digital material and start managing appropriately whatever is selected for retention.

Lessons Learned

What is of import is not so much the type of media discussed in this article, but the opportunities afforded to work through issues that arose and options to resolve them. Since I worked on this without any immediate support, I have demonstrated that it is possible for very small institutions to embark on managing digital archives in a sustainable manner both in terms of staff time and resourcing. The greatest benefit from this exercise was the transferable skills gained.

Imaging disks and creating copies of them to appraise the contents was an efficient and satisfactory process to be able to make decisions. For those files without file extensions, viewing them through a hex editor was sufficient to gather enough information regarding the content of the files to ascertain their long-term value. The challenge comes with the file characterisation that needs to occur if the file is found to be worthy of retention, in particular completing the file validation process. Without this information, selecting appropriate preservation actions become almost impossible.

FTK Imager is more user-friendly with the hex editor included within the program. For the HFS images this meant I did not need to extract a .raw image to view them as is required in the BitCurator suite.

The strength of BitCurator is in its report generation, the contents of which assist with identifying personal information and consequently working out redaction and access conditions.

While automating processes works for those with sophisticated digital preservation systems and flush budgets, those of us who fall into the 'boutique' category will still need to depend on manual processes in the short to medium term. Ensuring that there is documentation on the processes and procedures that can be managed manually will be of invaluable assistance to small archives.

My journey through defining what is achievable for me and my institution has highlighted challenges for lone arrangers in their management of born-digital archives:

- Acquisition of technical knowledge
- Isolation
- Budgetary constraints
- Time constraints

While some of these challenges are not unique to lone arranger environments, they become more salient within this context.

The benefits of appraisal in managing my institution's legacy material make the cost of learning advanced skills worthwhile. This newfound

knowledge will assist with clearing the backlog and has prepared me to work with modern acquisitions. Since the digital environment is here to stay, lone arrangers cannot be left as ostriches with their heads in the sand. If lone arranger institutions include born-digital material within their collecting scope, then these skills are just as necessary as all the other facets of an archivist's knowledge base. On the one hand, it could appear that this is an unfair expectation for lone arrangers; however, we are still in a transition period where tools and techniques for the processing and management of born-digital collections are being explored and defined. As the archival community increasingly works with the tools and techniques applicable to the born-digital sphere and they are covered in archival beginning and continuing education programs, and as more examples of implementation are shared, the current challenges will decrease.

Due to the nature of their positions, lone arrangers work mainly in isolation unless they are part of a wider community of practice.[30] Overcoming this isolation requires management support for professional development opportunities and time to apply what has been learnt. Furthermore, management also needs to be made aware of the complexities of digital preservation and make provision for its implementation. Acquiring requisite technical knowledge is a barrier to taking action in the born-digital sphere. Lone arrangers are confronted by all the aspects of archival administration, so it can be challenging to prioritise the learning of new skills especially when those skills are applicable to only a small proportion of the work load. In larger institutions, the tasks are divided amongst many positions (e.g. reference archivist, processing archivist, digital archivist, etc.). These institutions are now looking at ways to spread the load of digital processing to non-"digital" positions, with the digital archivists taking the lead in upskilling colleagues.[31] This method of knowledge dissemination is unavailable to lone arrangers.

Digital information requires active management to ensure its longevity. If all the data held currently on legacy media in my institution were imaged and retained, there would be an extra 500GB to store on the archives' server (which is only 232GB and 75% full). This would mean that larger on- and off-site servers would be required, as well as an increase in bandwidth available for replication to the off-site server. With limited resources at my disposal, it would be imprudent and irresponsible to keep all the images without appraising. What I learnt from my own test corpus was that material I believed I knew well still presented format identification challenges. If appraisal does not occur, then even with

monitoring for fixity, the same situation will be encountered down the line with it becoming a mission to identify and access older formats, something already evidenced for files in legacy formats from the 1980s and 1990s.[32] Another issue that would appear from retaining the entirety of images from hard drives, at least in my context, is the ever-increasing volume of material to manage and how that can impact on the efficient storage and retrieval of the information.[33] Espousing the retention of all images without appraising the contents replicates the issue confronting records managers where no retention and disposal schedules are applied.

A Processing Philosophy

Returning to Wilsey, Skirvin, Chan, & Edwards, where they articulated their position on whether to capture every bit, I was successful.[34] The challenge for the small archives is the specialized knowledge to work through file format issues. Becoming familiar with the hex editor is the first step to take. This should hopefully provide enough information for an appraisal decision to be made in the first instance. If more information is required, then recourse to one of the other methods outlined above would be the next step. While my own test collection had no content to preserve, I am unsure what my next step would be to resolve the format issue of Disk 17 if it were the 'gem' find, apart from making a call to the digital preservation community.

Deciding that too much time has been spent on troubleshooting cannot be applied wholesale. The provenance, context, and extent of the material to be imaged and processed are factors in making that decision. When more specialized or extra equipment is required for small amount of media, it may be decided that imaging will not occur.[35] In fact, this statement could be broadened to include cases such as my Disk 17 either when more specialized diagnosis is required for format identification or when the provenance of the material does not justify the expended effort.

In a general policy, it is recommended to indicate that the processing philosophy will change according to the provenance of the media being worked on. This is the method preferred by some digital archivists.[36] Again, it will be at the institution's prerogative to decide whether to deaccession or to keep successfully and unsuccessfully imaged media.[37]

This initial foray has made my provincial administration more aware of the extent of digital material currently held by and expected to arrive in the archives and what will be required to manage this material in terms of technology. Conversations to date with them indicate that

our processing philosophy will change according to the importance of the contributions made by congregation members. Focussing on this philosophy will be key to ensuring the long-term preservation and access to the congregation's digital heritage within sustainable resourcing. This exercise has also finally caused my administration to consider the management of active digital records with the development of a provincial retention and disposal schedule, a much-welcomed unanticipated gain from my scholarship research.

Postscript

As mentioned in the article, I was able to image all the floppies I found in the archives. There were two floppies with content that may have been worthy of retention – one of photographs and another of a report. However, on closer examination, the photographs did not document a significant occasion and we hold better photographs of the people and locations included. As for the report, I approached its writer; he still had a copy of this work on his current computer. With a clear mind, I could thus recommend the floppies for disposal.

I had also identified a next step to learn command line. I was fortunate to attend the "Command Line Interface" class at the Society of American Archivists' Annual Meeting last year. While I have not done anything with this material as yet, knowing I have worked through practical exercises and that I have these resources to hand will allow me to attempt it with confidence when I will need to.

The biggest stumbling block remaining on this project is the server upgrade. Not only have more hard drives arrived in the archives, I have also identified analogue AV material that will require digitisation and consequent digital curation. This material is still under appraisal so I have not yet been able to ascertain how much storage space will be required on the new server and its back-up, at least for the first couple of years.

What this has really been brought home to me is Luciana Duranti's statement "Records preservation starts from the moment of creation".

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Getting to know you...

Regular feature profiling New Zealand's archive community

Cellia Joe

Waiho i te toipoto, kaua i te toiroa

Who are you and where are you based?
Kia ora. I work in the Alexander Turnbull Library in Wellington. The title of my role is Heritage Advice Coordinator for the Outreach Services team. Within the sector, I am the Tumuaki | President of Te Rōpū Whakahau https://trw.org.nz/ and also Secretary of the International Federation of Library Associations(IFLA) Indigenous Matters Section https://www.ifla.org/indigenous-matters

Can you tell us about how you found yourself in this/these roles?
I didn't enter the Information profession intentionally. In the early 2000's my iwi, Ngāti Kahungunu, co-managed a large exhibition called Kahungunu, ka moe … ka puta … that was shown in the National Library Gallery. After working in Wellington for the iwi, a job opportunity came up in the National Library. I applied, got the job, and I'm still here.

As for Te Rōpū Whakahau, after enjoying the professional, collegial and cultural support of the rōpū over the years, I decided to give back through Ngā Kaiwhakahau the associations' National Council. Through a twist of fate, I volunteered for a supporting position on council, and found myself voted as incoming Tumuaki. That is also what happened for the IFLA Indigenous Matters section.

What is your biggest challenge right now?
For Te Rōpū Whakahau, our biggest challenge is nurturing our members, 'he tangata'. All work within Te Rōpū Whakahau are voluntary, so finding a work, life, cultural obligation balance is also a big challenge for Ngā Kaiwhakahau. I think there is a large community of Māori people out there who because of who they are (genealogically / whakapapa) their education and skill base (e.g. Māori language speakers) find their cultural obligations and expectation that come with being Māori affect this balance.

What is your biggest opportunity?
One of two big positives I see is the opportunity for Te Rōpū Whakahau to be more inclusive and resilient. Just recently we changed our adage from 'Te Rōpū Whakahau, Māori in libraries and information management' to 'Te Rōpū Whakahau is the leading national body that represents Māori engaged in Libraries, Culture, Knowledge, Information, Communication and Systems Technology in Aotearoa New Zealand.'[1] This allows us to gather in Māori practitioners and their organisations to empower whānau, hapū and iwi by providing development opportunities, indigenous and multicultural partnerships, and championing best practice around services, cultural responsiveness and accountability within the profession.

The other big opportunity is within IFLA. Te Rōpū Whakahau is an active member of the IFLA Indigenous Matters section, and has been a member of IFLA since 2012. The section began as a Special Interest Group and became a section in January 2016 under the Chairpersonship of past Tumuaki Te Paea Taiuru.

What is your highest priority for Te Rōpū Whakahau during your term as Tumuaki?
At this moment, my highest priority can be summarized in the following whakataukī "He aha te mea nui o te ao? He tangata, he tangata, he tangata" What is the most important thing in the world? It is people, it is people, it is people. As an association we need to ensure that we provide Whanaungatanga, Manaakitanga, Kaitiakitanga and Te Reo Māori, in line with our values. When the focus is on membership, we are embodying our vision, which is 'waiho i te toipoto, kaua i te toiroa' which roughly translates as let us keep close together, not far apart.

Can you tell us about a recent notable event or experience you'd like to highlight to ARANZ members?

Earlier this year, I attended the International Indigenous Librarians Forum (IILF) in Sydney Australia. IILF arose from a network of indigenous library professionals from Māori, First Nations, Aboriginals, Saami, and Native Americans that recognised and acknowledged the indigenous viewpoints within the profession. The first forum was held in Auckland, hosted by Te Rōpū Whakahau in 1999, with successive fora in Sweden, North America, Canada, Australia and Aotearoa.

IILF is held every two years for the purpose of providing a "focused exploration of the significant issues facing libraries and institutions that care for indigenous and cultural information".[2] It allows a meeting place for indigenous librarians and information management workers to discuss, debate and describe their experience of working within the industry and their visions, hopes and expectations for the future.

Planning is underway for 20 years of IILF. It will be hosted in Auckland at Waipapa Marae 7 – 10 February 2019.

How can *Archifacts* readers get involved or support the work of Te Rōpū Whakahau?

Te Rōpū Whakahau is a Māori association here to support Māori working in the sector. As an association we are keen to bring on-board new members interested in actively influencing and making a positive change in the sector. For those who work in public archives and those who are Archivists for their iwi, Te Rōpū Whakahau offers a network of support based on Whanaungatanga, Manaakitanga, and Kaitiakitanga. Joining Te Rōpū Whakahau is a simple as going online to our website https://trw.org.nz/contact/join/ Waiho i te toipoto, kaua i te toiroa.

Endnotes

1. https://trw.org.nz/about-us/
2. International Indigenous Librarians' Forum Proceedings, Te Rōpū Whakahau, 2001.

Book Reviews

Pay Dirt: 'The Westland Goldfields' from the Diary of William Smart
HILARY LOW
Canterbury University Press, 2016
160pp | ISBN 978-1-927145-75-3
RRP $39.99

Containing the edited transcript of William Smart's Diary and his other writings, *Pay Dirt: The Westland Goldfields' from The Diary Of William Smart* documents his gold prospecting adventures and the history of the Westland goldfields. Low places these writings within the historical context of gold discovery in New Zealand and provides a brief biography of Smart, who died in 1900. Smart prospected for gold, motivated by rewards offered by the Canterbury Provincial Government for finding a payable gold field on the West Coast. The reward was actually given to another prospector, but Low makes a convincing case that this should have gone to Smart and fellow prospector, Michael French.

The transcripts record his prospecting at Greenstone Creek, and his early interactions with Māori. They are illustrated with Smart's drawings of the landscapes and people he encountered. All 18 of the illustrations in the original Diary are reproduced in this book.

Pay Dirt is an important addition to the history of gold mining in Canterbury and Westland. Low's publication is especially valuable as William Smart's memoir exists only on microfilm at the Macmillan Brown Library, University of Canterbury.

Low writes: p. 135 – "Smart's writing reveals many of his admirable qualities, including that he was energetic, hard-working and versatile. This small, remote colony was a place where a restless young man could reinvent himself and forge a number of careers out of very little. Smart certainly tried many different roles: builder, architect, sheep farmer, soldier, racehorse owner and breeder, prospector and miner, explorer, storekeeper, amateur medic, gold buyer, entrepreneur, company director, geologist, mine manager, writer and artist.

"But as we have seen, he had his frailties. After the freedom and success he had enjoyed on the West Coast, the more formal regulated society of Victorian Christchurch seemed not to suit him. Many of his business ventures ended in failure. And although he had suffered at the hands of a fraudster, some of own dealings came very close to being

fraudulent."

Pay Dirt is recommended for any heritage institution with collections relating to gold mining in the Canterbury and Westland provinces. It would also be useful for anyone studying Māori history, particularly 19th Century interactions with Europeans. The book is well indexed and referenced, using both published and archival sources. Many of Smart's writings and illustrations could be added to projects like the Ngai Tāhu Mapping Project or be included in exhibitions.

Vivienne Cuff

The Special Collections Handbook, Second Edition
ALISON CULLINGFORD
London, UK: Facet Publishing, 2016
336p. | ISBN 9781783301263 (Paperback)
ISBN: 9781783301287 (PDF) | £59.95

With nearly 20 years' experience in a special collections environment, Alison Cullingford is well qualified to have authored and revised the handbook for this second edition. Furthermore, she is also a peer reviewer for the National Archives' archive accreditation scheme, of which the University of Bradford, where Cullingford works, was the first university to achieve accreditation in 2014.

Special collections is a term I had encountered, yet I may not have been quite clear as to what it encompassed. For the purposes of the handbook Cullingford provides a definition from the Association of College & Research Libraries (2003). The introduction defines special collections materials as "the entire range of textual, graphic and artefact primary source materials in analog and digital formats, including printed books, manuscripts, photographs, maps, artworks, audiovisual materials, and realia."[1] Thinking of the Marist Archives, I definitely have special collections materials on my hands. With this in mind, I looked for things that could assist me.

The book maps to the UK Archive Accreditation Standard, which covers organisational health, collections and stakeholders and their experiences. Once accredited, archives can receive public records. At the end of each of the 12 chapters are examples of further reading, case studies and useful links. There is also an accompanying website, which unfortunately has not yet been updated, due to an injury to the author. Cullingford also provides more definitions as required throughout the book.

As I delved into the first chapters, I started creating a list of things I need to check at work. While the first chapter is on the care of special collections, what struck me the most was that it made me think more of health and safety than about the materials. Air pollution, red rot and mould affect people as well as materials. I appreciated clear guidance in the section on glove wearing.

Cullingford dedicates a chapter to emergency planning. She notes developing networks for disaster management. This made me reflect that while I have a disaster management plan, apart from the Fire Service I have made no contact with the external suppliers I listed at least to introduce myself and to find out the extent of services available.

Chapter 3 presents the range of objects found in special collections.

Cullingford mentions inherent vice with regard to audiovisual media. I have recently been checking the extent of any acetate degradation in film-based materials, but I had not realised that records were also at risk from degradation to the polyvinyl chloride.

Another indication of the comprehensiveness of this book was the note on 'permanent loan', where Cullingford recommends renegotiating such agreements when possible. Yet another thing to add to my to-do list.

Transferring materials which require more specialised care is also presented. This is something I have been dealing with recently with films. Again due to New Zealand's small size, I have had to look overseas since many of the films are not within Ngā Taonga's collecting scope.

In the chapter dedicated to digitisation and digital libraries, Cullingford treats the question of retaining originals that have been digitised. My one criticism of the book comes in here; the use of cloud services such as Dropbox or Google Docs is mentioned without the caveat of checking the terms and conditions of such providers.

The handbook highlights our disadvantage of being a small sector in a small country when it comes to the section on copyright, since it presents information pertinent to UK legislation, though it was pleasing to see that the LIANZA copyright resource is referenced. Cullingford recommends joining campaigns for copyright reforms.

Three chapters are dedicated to access to special collections, including user services, marketing and building new audiences. I have a display to prepare and from this section, I have tips and links to other resources to follow.

Requirements for space and staff are also covered. From this I took note of the advice that standardising box sizes as much as possible will assist with calculating space requirements. In fact, combined with moving shelf clips, this will help me maximise the space I have.

Other aspects included in the handbook for which I do not have an immediate need are cataloguing, description and metadata and influencing and fund-raising.

For students and sole archivists in particular, this is a very useful, comprehensive all-round guide, and one which I will keep close to hand.

One aside, it is curious and ironic that Facet Publishing selected an image of fresh pomegranates and citrus fruit for the cover considering food is such an anathema to material held in special collections!

Elizabeth Charlton

Endnote

1. p. xiv.

Engaging with Records and Archives: Histories and Theories
FIORELLA FOSCARINI, HEATHER MACNEIL,
BONNIE MAK and GILLIAN OLIVER (Eds)
London, UK: Facet Publishing, 2016
236pp. | ISBN 9781783301584 (Paperback)
ISBN: 9781783301591 (Hardback)
9781783301607 eBook | £59.95

When you turn to the contents page of this small and unassuming-looking volume, it is immediately clear that the essays inside are much more bold, imaginative and creative than its grey cover might suggest. The editors, all respected scholars now based in Canada (and formerly Europe), the US and Australia (formerly NZ), have gathered a thought-provoking and timely selection of papers. The book describes itself as "a multifaceted response to today's growing fascination with the idea of the archive", and the contributing authors provide a very wide range of well-informed perspectives on records and archives, from a range of communities, countries and disciplines. The source of the papers was the Seventh International Conference on the History of Records and Archives (I-CHORA 7), and the papers encompass reflections on records and archives theories and practice from the contemporary to the 19th century and earlier, from the perspectives of creators, custodians and users. Before I go on to review the book, I should provide a "Conflict of Interest" statement: one of the editors is one of my PhD supervisors. In our small field it is relatively common for reviewers to be familiar with some of the authors of the books they review, and the comments below are my genuine responses to the volume, but now you are at least aware of my possible bias.

The book considers the histories and theories of records and archives in terms of their relationship with broader culture. The editors assert that "*everyone*, not only archival specialists, would benefit from a deeper and better informed engagement with archival objects and practices as they become increasingly engrained in our daily lives, from the pervasiveness of archival materials on the web, to the use of archive-based knowledge in all sciences, to the uncertainty about the preservation of our digital memories that we may all experience sooner or later."

Divided into two sections, the first, named "Rethinking Histories and Theories", comprises five papers, challenging traditional concepts of the archival discourse by looking at their cultural and historical context and that of other disciplinary approaches. Jeannette Bastian discusses the

"archival turn" and suggests it is time archivists consider the broader view of archives discussed across the humanities. Juan Ilerberg compares 19th century archival science with other disciplines developing at the time such as geology, paleontology, linguistics and architecture, and finds connections which shed light on the source of foundational archival theories such as original order. Jonathan Furner then steps forward to the 1980s to look at the origins of data modelling practices in archival description, while Marlene Manoff considers archival silences, and calls for a broadening of the concept and engagement with other disciplines including scientists, artists, digital humanists, media studies scholars and historians to address these silences and bring the "interlocking social and material aspects of obscured systems" (p.77) into public consciousness. Finally in this section, Elizabeth Shepherd discusses the hidden voice of women in the archives: pioneering women archivists in early 20th-century England.

The second section, "Engaging Records and Archives", looks at specific situated examples to illustrate the intersections between archival and recordkeeping practices and culture. Stefano Gardini's paper, "The use and reuse of documents by chancellors, archivists and government members in an early modern state: Genoa's *Giunta dei confini* and its archives" highlights the influence of the different communities interested in those archives over two centuries, particularly their influence on the structure of the finding aids. Next, Charles Juergens writes on access and secrecy in 19th century records in the Dutch East Indies, considering archives as instruments of power and examining the "dilemmas and inner debates of democracy" revealed by a study records management practices. Melanie Delva and Melissa Adams address some of the issues raised by the idea of "decolonising" the archives as an institution reflecting western world views, in their discussion of their own professional experiences negotiating agreements on access to records between the Anglican Church and an Indigenous community on Canada's west coast. They call for the archival and recordkeeping communities to critically examine our theories, "in favour of actions which respect Indigenous ways of knowing and perspectives of recordkeeping" (p.148). Paul Lihoma, in his paper "History and development of information and recordkeeping in Malawi", discusses the way different cultures, media and technologies have shaped one another, and their interaction with successive administrations, noting the damage that can be caused to recordkeeping by administrative changes. He also observes that archives can change in nature from instruments for oppression to instruments for

accountability, depending on their contexts. Next, Magdalena Wisnniewska looks at community engagement with archives in Poland in terms of Pierre Nora's theory of decolonisation and democratisation of history, tracing the development of archival activism in Poland to the country's 20th century history of Nazi occupation followed by repression under the communist regime. Finally, Sian Vaughan reflects on artists' experience in the archives, looking at the way contemporary artists reframe archives through their practice, and suggesting their perspectives can challenge archivists to think about our practice and theories in new ways.

I found reading *Engaging with Records and Archives* itself an engaging experience, with its multiple voices and viewpoints providing many interesting and thought-provoking perspectives on our theories and practices. By placing these theories and practices into context, the multiple and diverse authors provided a useful basis for re-examining my own perspective from alternative points of view. The book is aimed at "scholars and practitioners, including archivists, records managers and other media and information professionals". I found the papers readable, and it is well-referenced, providing plenty of sources for further reading in any areas that you might find of particular interest. There is also a useful index. I would recommend this book both to practitioners and students.

Belinda Battley

Notes on Contributors

Belinda Battley is a doctoral candidate in the Faculty of IT at Monash University. Her research interests relate to participation and rights in recordkeeping and archival processes, the significance of place in recordkeeping, and participatory and grounded research methodologies. Belinda has a Master's degree in Information Studies and Library Studies from Victoria University of Wellington. She works as an archivist and an archives and recordkeeping educator, and is a Council member for the Archives and Records Association of New Zealand.

Elizabeth Charlton is the Province Archivist for the Society of Mary in New Zealand. As a sole archivist, all archival management functions are incumbent upon her and it is in this position that her interest in digital archives was awakened. She was the 2014 recipient of the Ian McLean Wards Scholarship to research digital preservation practices for very small archives. Elizabeth currently serves on the National Council of ARANZ as Vice President.

Vivienne Cuff has worked at the Archives New Zealand Dunedin Regional Office since 2003. Her role is varied: doing arrangement and description, appraisal, reference work, and outreach activities (tours, talks and exhibitions). She is also responsible for the temporary loan of archives from the Dunedin collections back to agencies. She particularly enjoys working with government agencies and academic historians from the University of Otago History Department. Recently she has been reading the writings of Verne Harris and Dr Victoria L Lemieux, and is particularly interested in exploring new ways of representing archival records.

William Daymond is a musician (a member of Axemen, The Flying Sorcerers, The Winebox Inquiry and Terror of the Deep, to name a few), music historian, and collector. He has just completed his Postgraduate Diploma in Museum and Heritage Studies and works as a low level public servant at the Ministry of Justice as a day job. He lives in Wellington with his wife Catherine, his eight-month-old daughter Astrid, and a cat called Fanny.

Chris Gousmett has worked in archives and records for 20 years in a variety of central and local government bodies. He is the Corporate

Information Manager for Hutt City Council, where he is involved in a major project to document all the cemetery records for Lower Hutt, a total of over 25 locations. This information is now available online at http://www.huttcity.govt.nz/

Richard Hill is Professor of New Zealand Studies at the Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies at Victoria University of Wellington, where he is also Director of the Treaty of Waitangi Research Unit. He has written books on the history of Crown-Maori relations and policing in New Zealand. Among other things, he is currently working on the history of covert state surveillance in New Zealand and carrying out international comparative research on colonial policing.

Dr Emma Kelly has worked as an image archivist at the New Zealand Herald which sparked her interest in the philosophy of archives. She completed her PhD on bicultural archive philosophy and practice on Jonathan Dennis, founder of Ngā Taonga Sound and Vision. She has just completed a very happy year as a resident at the Stout Centre for Research in NZ Studies. She is now working as a Researcher/Analyst at the Waitangi Tribunal.

Alistair Kwan is an historian of science and a material culturalist. He studies scientific knowledge-production practices, focussing on the roles played by space, body, tools and sensation. Though grounded in early modern European science and its architecture and instrumentation, he now works on nineteenth and twentieth century science education, especially on undergraduate teaching and learning.

Lillie Le Dorré is an Advisor Planning & Development at Archives New Zealand, where she provides strategic, planning and reporting advice and support to the Chief Archivist and Archives' Leadership Team. Working as part of a small team to plan and implement the taonga move event component for He Tohu was a career highlight for Lillie, where tikanga, manaakitanga, whanaungatanga came together to deliver a highly successful and deeply moving occasion. Lillie obtained a Bachelors in History and Classics in 2012, and is currently working towards a Masters in Information Studies at Victoria University of Wellington.

Dr Sascha Nolden is a Research Librarian with the Arrangement & Description team at the Alexander Turnbull Library, National Library of New

Zealand. Scholar, translator, and editor, with a special research interest in manuscript material and archival documentary heritage collections across all formats as historical, biographical, and cartographic primary sources.

Anna Whitehead trained in Paper Conservation and Craft Bookbinding at Camberwell School of Art and Crafts and the London College of Printing in the 1980s, at the latter under binder and author Arthur Johnson. Her first archives job was in Gloucestershire, after which Anna spent many years running her own conservation and binding business in East Sussex. Then followed a period as Conservation Manager at Canterbury Cathedral Archives and Kent Archives. Since arriving in New Zealand, Anna has worked on contract at Archives New Zealand since 2013 and full time since 2015.