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THE NZAA—A SHORT HISTORY

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Early in 1954 Cambridge graduate Jack Golson arrived at Auckland University to take up this country's first teaching position in archaeology. As he organised his courses he also set about making contacts throughout New Zealand among amateur archaeologists, museum people and others with an archaeological interest. In August 1954 he convened the meeting which set up the New Zealand Archaeological Association; he later organised our first conference. As a newcomer it may have been easier for him to jump in where others feared to tread and bring our disparate archaeological community together. The turnout at the 1956 Auckland conference and the rapid growth of NZAA show that it was an idea whose time had come; it needed only the spark and energy that Jack provided. Les Groube has written on the wider contribution of Golson to New Zealand archaeology (Groube 1993).

In his biography of Leslie Adkin, farmer, naturalist and author of the classic regional study *Horowhenua* (Adkin 1948), Anthony Dreaver tells of the foundation meeting of the NZAA:

On 27 August 1954, Adkin attended a meeting at the Dominion Museum. It was proposed to form jointly a New Zealand branch of the Far-Eastern Pre-History Association and a New Zealand Archaeological Association (NZAA). Sixteen people were present. In the chair was Dr H.D. Skinner... The museums were well represented: Lockerbie from Otago; Duff from Canterbury; Phillips [sic], Yaldwyn and Barrow from Wellington. Most of the rest were amateur enthusiasts such as Adkin and his Havelock North friend, J.D.H. Buchanan. (Dreaver 1997: 220–221)

Dreaver writes that “all were enthusiastic for the proposal”, and that, “Skinner was appointed president, with Golson secretary–treasurer – a judicious blend of New World conservatism with Old World radicalism.”

Among Association records held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (ATL mss), are minutes of the meeting, hand-written by Golson on pages ripped from a notebook, and signed off by Skinner a year later. Those present are listed as: Adkin, Terry Barrow (Ethnologist, Dominion Museum),

R.E. (Dick) Barwick (a zoologist, subsequently in Australia), Buchanan, Roger Duff (Director, Canterbury Museum), Squadron-Leader G.S. (Gerry) Evatt (who I recall regularly at conferences in the 1970s), Jim Eyles (discoverer of the Wairau Bar site, in 1954 employed at Canterbury Museum), Vic Fisher (Ethnologist, Auckland Museum), Golson, Les Lockerbie, Bill Phillipps (Ethnologist, Dominion Museum), Skinner (Director, Otago Museum), David Stenhouse, Pat Watters and John Yaldwyn (Zoologist, Dominion Museum, who excavated at Long Beach near Dunedin in 1950). In October 1954 Lawrie Birks (Auckland) and Tony Batley (Moawhango) were the first who did not attend the meeting to join the fledgling NZAA (ATL mss).

Stenhouse and Watters were Otago University students in Wellington at a philosophy conference, on Saturday morning taking time out to visit the museum. Wandering about before it opened they came to an open door, followed others inside and found themselves in a room where they were shown to chairs. Stenhouse has told me that, as it happened, both were “very interested” in archaeology. He was studying philosophy and zoology and was to contribute to several disciplines before retiring from Massey University, Palmerston North. Watters was a zoology student who later worked at the University of New England, Armidale.

In the March 1955 *Journal of the Polynesian Society* Golson announced the birth: “membership is based on sponsorship by an existing member so that its numbers are still small. The subscription is reasonable, a 10/- entrance fee and 10/- annually” (Golson 1955a: 155). In addition to the President and Secretary-Treasurer referred to above, a committee consisted of Duff, Lockerbie and Fisher (museums were important in our early history). The announcement was careful in its reassurances to amateurs, but firm on the importance of research and the development of general knowledge, where

the onus is on the professional member of the Association... to take the lead in research into the prehistory of New Zealand... It is the aim of the Archaeological Association to provide a common meeting ground for professional and amateur digger (Golson 1955a: 155).

The Association began energetically with fieldwork on Great Mercury Island and at Hawksburn in January 1955 (Figures 2 and 3), and the drafting of a constitution which was put to a committee meeting in Wellington in August (Golson 1955b). In those days such meetings could extend over two days, there was so much to talk about. A decision taken at this meeting was to have a big effect on the work of NZAA to the present day:

The Committee felt that... Annual General Meetings should be made the occasion for conferences where papers on archaeological topics could



Figure 2. A picture in The Evening Star, 11 January 1955, headed 'Anthropologists leave for Central Otago', shows the NZAA expedition leaving Dunedin for Hawksburn. From left: H.D. Skinner (seeing them off), Michael Trotter; W. Robb (photographer), Les Lockerbie (leader), J. Beeby and Jim Eyles.



Figure 3. Some members of the Association expedition to Great Mercury, 1955–56. From left: Lawrie Birks, Lyn King, Jack Golson, Susan Davis and Diana Knight. Photo Wal Ambrose.

be read and discussions held between members from all parts of New Zealand. Arrangements are therefore being made for the first New Zealand Archaeological Conference. (Golson 1955b: 349)

Conferences have ever since been one of three major on-going activities of NZAA. Golson's report on Auckland, 14–16 May 1956, shows just how well these annual events were kicked off (Golson 1956). Attended by 57 members and 12 invited speakers, the theme was "Archaeology and the Natural Sciences." Speakers included Atholl Rafter of the Dominion Physical Laboratory, Lower Hutt, Dr Robert Bell on tree-ring dating, David Kear (Geological techniques in dating New Zealand prehistory), W.F. Harris (Pollen analysis and archaeology), Peter McKelvey (Forest history), N.H. Taylor, Director of the Soil Bureau, Dr J.A. Rattenbury (Cytology in ethnographic research) and D.E. Yen, Crop Research Division, DSIR, Otahuhu, who spoke on "Kumara research."

Golson refers to a "business meeting" rather than an AGM since a constitution was not yet ratified. The new council consisted of: President, Fisher; Vice-Presidents, Duff and Phillipps; Secretary-Treasurer, Golson; and Council members, Adkin, P. Beckett (Paraparaumu), Lockerbie, Bruce Palmer (Wellington), and Selwyn Wikiriwhi (Auckland). A photograph of conference-goers by Wal Ambrose (Figure 4) shows the women in long coats and men in suits or jackets and ties. There was nothing here to predict the long hair, jeans and jerseys, and hardly a tie to be seen, at my first conference at Wellington only 16 years later (see Figure 8).

The second major long-lasting activity of the Association began in March 1957 when the *Newsletter* appeared, signalling a commitment to publication that has continued to the present day. The editor was Ron Scarlett, Osteologist at Canterbury Museum, who wrote all of the first five issues himself. He was followed by a period of regional editors, from Dunedin, Christchurch, Wellington and Auckland, who produced some excellent issues full of reports on fieldwork. In 1962 Alastair Buist began his 17 years in the editorial chair. I have written elsewhere on the history of the *Newsletter* (Prickett 1988). Post-Buist the job of editor has been held by: myself (1979–1987), Tony Walton (1988–1990), Sarah Macready (1991–1992), Joan Lawrence (1993–2002) and the present editor Matthew Campbell (2003–).

The *Newsletter* has now reached volume 47, for the last 17 years coming out under the name *Archaeology in New Zealand*. It has also changed considerably in content as amateur archaeologists have generally ceased contributing. This happened in the 1960s and is part of a general change in the control and direction of New Zealand archaeology, to which I will return. Meanwhile, the *Newsletter* continues to play a big role in keeping us informed about recent and upcoming activities of the Association, and generally in New



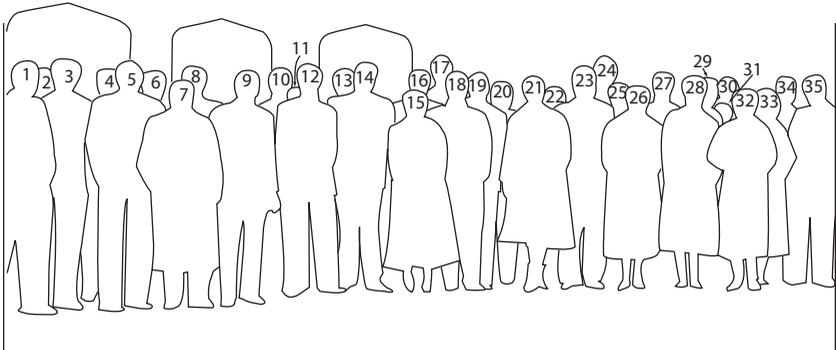


Figure 4 (opposite). Auckland conference group, 1956. 1. D. Kear? 2. John Parry. 3. Phil Paynter. 4. Tony Batley. 5. Pat Murdock. 6. Peter Gordon. 7. ? 8. ? 9. Bill Phillipps. 10. Leslie Adkin. 11. Bob Jolly. 12. Vic Fisher. 13. Jack Grant-Mackie. 14. Brian Hanken or Warwick Bradshaw. 15. Eileen Johnson. 16. ? 17. Bill Hartree. 18. John Booth. 19. Keith Sorrenson. 20. Selwyn Wikiriwhi. 21. Yvonne Zacharias. 22. Ron Scarlett. 23. Bob Jack? 24. Tony Hooper. 25. ? 26. Diana Knight. 27. ? 28. Janet Beard. 29. Jack Golson. 30. Bruce Palmer. 31. Jean Geary? 32. Sue Davis. 33. Pam Griffiths. 34. Bob Brown. 35. Geoff Fairfield? Photo Wal Ambrose.

Zealand archaeology, as well as publishing interim reports of work and brief items for which it has always been the best outlet.

Our first *Newsletter* announced a conference to be held in Dunedin in 21–24 May 1957, focussed on the topic “Moas and Man” (Figures 5 and 6). This was described by Scarlett (1957) in the next issue. He commented that “body-blows were given and returned with great gusto” in discussion after a paper by Adkin claiming evidence for people being in New Zealand in 300 BC. This signals a battle joined between the new professional discipline of archaeology and an older New Zealand methodology which incorporated tradition in its narrative of the past (see Groube 1993). It also showed that the Association had quickly become a forum for the passionate argument which has always added to the fun of our archaeology. At Dunedin we were made official by adoption of a constitution. The incoming council was: President, Fisher; Vice-presidents, Lockerbie and Duff; Secretary, Golson; Treasurer, Ambrose; and Council members, Sue Davis, Frank Davis, Eyles, Adkin, Palmer and Scarlett.

The third important activity of the Association which has continued to the present day is the site recording scheme, the early history of which is outlined by Win Mumford in the *Newsletter* in 1959. In 1951 the Historical Section of



Figure 5. At the 1957 Dunedin conference Roger Duff, Jack Golson, Les Lockerbie and Vic Fisher and adze. Photo Otago Daily Times, 24 May 1957.



Figure 6. A cup of tea at the 1957 Dunedin conference: H.D. Skinner, Les Lockerbie, Sue Davis, Wal Ambrose and J. Parry. Photo Otago Daily Times, 24 May 1957.

the Hawke's Bay Branch of the Royal Society of New Zealand developed a simple form for recording sites (see ATL mss; also David Butts' letter to the *Newsletter* 28: 259–260 for records held in Hawke's Bay Museum). The convenor of the group was J.D.H. Buchanan, for many years headmaster at Hereworth School, Havelock North, where he carried out field recording, his outstanding maps and plans standing the test of time (Buchanan 1973). At the August 1954 Wellington meeting he proposed a national site recording scheme to the infant NZAA, and at the same time Adkin urged the mapping of pa sites rapidly being destroyed, especially in the Auckland and Taranaki regions (Dreaver 1997: 221).

Further consideration of a site recording scheme was put off until the 1958 conference held at Wanganui, where Buchanan now taught at Wanganui Collegiate School. The conference report shows just how far-sighted was Buchanan's proposal (Scarlett 1958). He suggested 22 to 24 file districts (in 2004 there are 20) with sites located on the inch-to-the-mile map sheets: "what we want is a system that will give reasonable results. The scheme is intended to integrate the work of skilled field workers. Its primary function is to put on record what has been found in the field. The records should be used as the basis for further study" (Scarlett 1958: 3). Buchanan raised several issues for discussion, among them the number of local files, district boundaries, selection of filekeepers, the definition of an archaeological site, details of the record form, sources of archaeological information, etc. The conference spent a morning on the proposal, approving the scheme in principle, with details to be worked out by the incoming Council.

The same year saw publication of a site recording handbook to give direction and standards to the new site recording scheme, prepared by the Auckland team of Golson and Roger Green, in New Zealand for a year as a Fulbright Scholar (Golson and Green 1958). Although labelled Handbook No. 1, the handbook was the first of the monograph series, now (in 2004) up to number 25, and so is important in two of the Association's chief activities. The handbook names seven local filekeepers already appointed: Peter Gathercole (Otago, Southland and Stewart Island), Tony Fomison (Canterbury, Westland, Chatham Islands), Jim Eyles (Blenheim, Nelson), Max Smart (Wanganui, Inland Patea), Allan Pullar (Poverty Bay, East Cape), Don Stafford (Rotorua, Bay of Plenty) and Lawrie Birks (Auckland). The central file was based at the Dominion Museum, Win Mumford in charge.

At the 1962 AGM Central Filekeeper John Daniels, at the beginning of his long service in the job, reported a total of 573 site records, two thirds of them in the Auckland and Taranaki districts, up considerably from the July 1960 total of 111 (ATL mss). In 1966 there were 3086 records, more than half in Auckland, Taranaki and Canterbury. Based at the Historic Places Trust, Daniels

was Central Filekeeper until May 1977 when Garry Law was appointed Site Recording Co-ordinator, the changed title reflecting a very different job. In 1976 the Trust took up new responsibilities towards archaeological sites in the Historic Places Amendment Act 1975 for which the central file was now a necessary resource. Daniels and Aidan Challis, also of the Trust, managed the file (essentially the job of the old Central Filekeeper), while the Site Recording Co-ordinator acted as a liaison between the Association and its district filekeepers and the central file in the Trust. The Department of Conservation later took over management of the central file.

The management job of central filekeeper was in 1979 taken up by Tony Walton of the HPT, who in 2004 still holds the position—a remarkable record. Since 1986 Walton and file have been based in the Department of Conservation. An agreement between the Association and DOC formalises the central filekeeper's role. The file's growth is shown by the latest (June 2004) annual report (*Archaeology in New Zealand* 47: 84–85) giving a total of 56,444 records throughout New Zealand; the big district files now are Northland (10,686 sites), Auckland (8953) and Bay of Plenty (8195), which reflects the distribution of Maori sites.

The 1959 conference at Rotorua, 19–21 May, included a two day excavation of Pakotore Pa, Paengaroa, by 60 members, undertaken as a training exercise. The objective, following a decision at the Wanganui conference, was to instruct members in archaeological methods, techniques and ethics (Golson and Stafford 1959: 29). Thus the Association went about changing the rules and conduct of New Zealand archaeology, having already given focus to our archaeological conversation by the topics of the first two conferences. It also had approved the constitution, established the site recording scheme and commenced the newsletter and monograph series. Newsletters of the time convey a spirit of new beginnings and of shared endeavour.

It was, however, too hectic for some; while the Rotorua conference approved the continuation of annual conferences in May, the new council at its July meeting revisited the matter. May was seen as a good time for “school-teachers, students and farmers”, but for university and museum professionals it was a “very important field period” (Anon 1959: 17). Was this the last time the Association included farmers among those whose interests might be considered? Council resolved to put to the next AGM a resolution in favour of biennial May conferences, alternating with two day “extended AGMs” over Queen’s Birthday Weekend. This was duly passed and the sequence of long conferences and extended AGMs continued until 1986, when the Cromwell conference which should have been a Queen’s Birthday Weekend extended AGM was held over a week in May to fit in lots of fieldtrips. Since then there has been a general

reversion to long conferences, but with perennial difficulties in finding a time that suits everyone.

It is not the intention here to tell the Association's story solely by way of its annual conferences, but one more year deserves mention as part of a sequence which played a big part in the transformation of New Zealand archaeology. The 12–17 May 1960 gathering in Wellington was to “continue the theme of the Rotorua Conference by discussing the recording, interpretation and care of excavated material” (Anon 1959: 18, and see Gathercole 1960 and Scarlett 1960). Thus the first five conferences systematically addressed the subject matter and practice of New Zealand archaeology, with the aim of having the membership of widely differing backgrounds all singing from the same hymnbook—more or less.

At the 1960 AGM it was agreed to increase to annual subscription to £1 and drop the entrance fee. The Treasurer, J.D. Lockett, asked if members who had already paid their 10/- would please send another 10/- to raise their sub to the new rate. Ten shillings equals \$1 in today's play money. A Council meeting later in the year established a new student rate at 10/-, which was the first subscription variation, now running to several categories (ATL mss). In 1961 institutional subs were set at 15/-. On the subject of money, among the secretary's correspondence of 1962 is a letter requesting sixpence (5c) in subscription arrears (ATL mss).

Membership increased steadily from 65 prior to the 1957 conference, to 88 the following year and 123 in 1959. At the end of 1962 it stood at 213 (ATL mss). A 1967 report by immediate past-president Wilfred Shawcross put the membership at 230, so that there was little increase in the previous five years (ATL mss). Shawcross wondered if amalgamation with the Royal Society might have advantages. He drew attention to the combined membership of local archaeological societies which he put at 860, and wondered why was this number was not reflected in the Association.

The static membership may have had something to do with differences within NZAA which emerged after Golson departed for Australia in May 1961. Golson was succeeded as President by Otago Museum's Les Lockerbie, but clearly all was not well since in 1962 Lockerbie was challenged by Roger Green who won the vote of 50 or so members at the AGM held that year in Christchurch. This was the only time an incumbent president was unseated. Secretary and Treasurer were L.O. Simpson and Lockett, both of Garton Downs, near Clinton, South Otago, Lockerbie's home territory (he was born in Clinton), so were unlikely to be pleased at the turn of events. At the same AGM, Englishman and Auckland University lecturer Wilfred Shawcross failed in a challenge for the treasurer's job, which suggests a combined assault on the southern fortress.

Simpson obtained a copy of the constitution and expressed concern at irregularities in the Association's conduct. The President called a Special General Meeting to be held in Auckland to resolve the issues. Simpson wrote to members stating that "Dr Green himself was elected to the Council before he was even proposed for membership of the Association"; and that Rigby Allan was unfinancial, therefore his "election to Council was "ultra vires" the Constitution."

This circular is merely to make it clear that Dr. Green's decision to proceed [in calling an SGM] by direct notice, was not due to my failure to comply with his instructions. (ATL mss)

The SGM was held on 30 October 1962. Simpson was not present for reasons, he said, of time, distance and finance. Allan (who was Director of Taranaki Museum) resigned from the Council, whereupon it was moved and carried that he fill the resulting vacancy. A week later a mail-out to members included minutes of the meeting, and separate but very different reports by the President and Secretary describing events (ATL mss). It was Auckland 1: Clinton nil.

This battle reflected a wider divide—or divides—in New Zealand archaeology at the time, not simply between North and South or even amateur and professional, but more fundamentally concerning the operation and objectives of the Association and the ways we carried out our archaeology. In its early years the NZAA was driven from Auckland, by Golson especially, and later by other members of Auckland's strong local society. But the direction and focus of the subject they inherited had for long been fixed in the South Island, in the work especially of Skinner, Lockerbie and David Teviotdale at Otago Museum and Duff at Canterbury, also, further north, by Adkin, Fisher and others. These men—they were all men—played a role in the early Association according to their kaumatua status. As university departments, especially Auckland, developed in numbers and increasingly defined the objectives of archaeological research, there was a shift in the balance of power from the south, from museums and from amateurs, to the north, and to universities and professional archaeologists of various stripes.

The largest and most effective local society in NZAA politics was undoubtedly the University of Auckland Archaeological Society, not at all made up only of staff and students, but with a wide membership, including barely reformed fossickers and other amateurs. As Groube (1993: 11) points out, the Society "became the political base from which [Golson's] twin assaults upon the establishment in New Zealand archaeology, improved field methods and harmonisation of conflicting regional and institutional interests, was launched." Groube (1993: 15) describes the appointment of Golson's old Cambridge friend Peter Gathercole to a joint museum and university position at Otago as an

“encirclement” to isolate the old guard between the two university departments and shatter the traditional north/south divide. A footnote in all this was the formation at Otago University ca 1970 of a short-lived Archaeological Graduates’ Association—couched that way specifically to exclude the old guard.

Some older members of the Association found very difficult the discounting of their methods and understanding of the past. A good account of the strife this caused is in Dreaver’s (1997) biography of Leslie Adkin. Soon after the NZAA was set up the author of *Horowhenua* found himself fighting a rearguard action in defence of his historical scheme for the pre-European history of New Zealand, in particular the Waitaha, Ngatimamoe, Fleet Maori sequence, and indeed a whole approach to doing archaeology. Adkin’s paper at the 1957 Dunedin conference, proposing settlement as early as 300 BC, according to the oldest (that is, furthest inland) line of middens on the Horowhenua dunes, also provoked a critical response. His allies included Masterton’s Keith Cairns, Brydon Speedy of Palmerston North and geologist Ian Keyes (Dreaver 1997: 222–224). But new ideas and methodologies were in the ascendant and the annual conference exposed to searching criticism any conclusions which married field observation and Maori tradition. Golson was a strong opponent of Adkin’s ideas (Dreaver 1977: 223), and produced a 20 page critique in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* (Golson 1960).

In a 1978 letter to the *NZAA Newsletter* Allan Pullar regrets the “demise of the amateur archaeologist” (Pullar 1978). “Archaeology in New Zealand has become professional and I am getting out of the amateur fringe.” He refers back to an era prior to the rules and regulations introduced by the Historic Places Amendment Act 1975, “to the halcyon days of that charismatic feller, Jack Golson, who seemed to be able to draw out of the amateur abundant streams of energy and enthusiasm he or she thought they never possessed.” Charisma notwithstanding, Golson was also highly subversive, and there is a direct link between his founding of the NZAA and the 1975 legislation, which Pullar chooses to overlook.

The Association has never pleased everyone. In 1963 Les Groube was reported “seriously in arrears” with his subscription. At the June Council meeting it was moved (Duff/ Simpson) “that the incoming president communicate with him, seeking an assurance that he now has confidence in the Council” (ATL mss). A year later Ham Parker telegraphed the secretary the day before a council meeting to resign from NZAA, which was “accepted with regret.” Exactly what was going on here is not clear, but there has been a tendency over the years for at least some academics to be easily disenchanting by the Association—or perhaps by those doing its work.

Writing to *Newsletter* Editor Alastair Buist in 1969, Secretary Janet Davidson comments that university people at the time could not care less about the Association (ATL mss). Thus the leadership role of university staff in NZAA which was so strong in early years already had begun to wane. It seems that with the battle won to bring New Zealand archaeology into line with overseas methods and thinking, university archaeologists turned to their own research. In recent years only a few university staff have regularly made the effort to be at our conferences, where the wide variety of topics presumably does not appeal to those whose subject and audience lie elsewhere. Students too may be absent when fieldwork requirements clash with conference dates; and there is the perennial difficulty finding a time to suit two universities which must fit research and student fieldwork into an increasingly tight university year.

Another group not well represented at conferences is the consultants. While there are practical reasons of cost and time for this to be so, it must be regretted that most fieldwork now being carried out in New Zealand is hardly ever talked about by the wider archaeological community—or even comes to its attention. This contrasts strongly with the early years of NZAA when it was made clear that any and all research carried out was the Association's business.

But there continues to be a good attendance at annual conferences by those who enjoy the variety of subject matter in formal presentations and the chance to catch up with friends (Figures 7–9). It could be argued that the NZAA has been reclaimed by the old coalition of those whose first passion is New Zealand archaeology, rather than in other places or in methodological and theoretical preoccupations. The overturning of the old order in the early years of the Association was essential for our archaeology; students especially saw themselves very definitely as part of a break with the past. What has developed since is a new tradition, quick to adopt the best new ideas and techniques from elsewhere in developing our own subject and style. Among our ways of doing things is the annual conference. A place where workers in DNA, palynology and radiocarbon, or settlement pattern, culture history and historical archaeology, can interest each other in very different perspectives depends on a shared identification with our own particular place.

In his report on the inaugural August 1954 meeting Golson (1955a) observed that membership of NZAA conferred responsibilities as well as benefits. From the beginning new members had to be nominated by an existing member, a process that was strengthened in 1960 by a new application form. “The nominator is now requested to supply a written statement concerning the applicant, as well as signing the application form” (Anon 1960). With the form were the principles of the Association to which members were expected to adhere (published in *NZAA Newsletter* 3(3): 27).



Figure 7. The 1981 Christchurch conference field trip at Okain's Bay. From left (on the bridge): ?, ?, Audrey Williams, Michael Trotter, Sandra Lamont, Beverly McCulloch; (in front of bridge and to right): ?, Roger Fyfe, Kevin Jones, Jim McKinlay, ?, Brian Sheppard, ?, Anne Leahy, Steve Bagley, Debbie Foster, Davina Hodgkinson (with camera), Ray Hammond, ?. Photo Nigel Prickett.

Among other matters the principles stated that “archaeological sites are to be regarded as belonging to the national heritage”, and “that excavation is not for the recovery of artefacts alone, but for the full investigation of the circumstances of prehistoric activity on any site.” Where “private investigations are in hand or intended”, members were to keep the Association Council informed with regular reports on progress, observe high standards of work, “bring in the Association officially where a site of importance is in question”, ask the landowner, and “obtain the goodwill of any local Maori community that may exist.” “Council will exercise the right to expel any member guilty of flagrant disregard of the above commitments.”

The Association’s principles were put to the test in the early 1960s in regard to activities of the New Zealand Youth Historic Scientific Research and Recording Society. This was a vehicle of fossicker and collector Selwyn (Sonny)



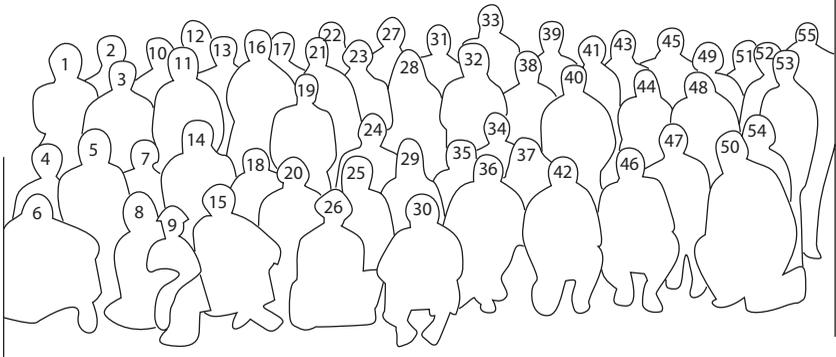


Figure 8 (opposite). Oamaru conference group 1984. 1. Kevin Jones. 2. Garry Law. 3. Lin Phelan. 4. Wendy Harsant. 5. Lynn Williams. 6. Tony Dunn. 7. Louise Furey. 8. John Coster, 9. Tim Coster. 10. Ray Hooker. 11. Alison Witter. 12. Michael Trotter. 13. Stan Bartlett. 14. Dan Witter. 15. Nigel Prickett. 16. Karl Gillies. 17. Brian Sheppard. 18. John Palmer. 19. Janet Davidson. 20. Helen Leach. 21. Brian Allingham. 22. Tony Walton. 23. Rick McGovern-Wilson. 24. Sheridan Easdale. 25. Christine Barnett. 26. Gabrielle Johnston. 27. Neville Ritchie. 28. Caroline Phillips. 29. Mary O’Keeffe. 30. Bruce McCulloch. 31. Richard Cassels. 32. Warren Gumbley. 33. Peter Bristow. 34. Ray Gilbert. 35. Jan Coates. 36. Steve Wood. 37. Viv Rickard. 38. Anne Leahy. 39. Chris Jacomb. 40. ? 41. Mike Hurst. 42. Simon Holdaway. 43. Roger Green. 44. ? 45. Dimitri Anson. 46. Ian Lawlor. 47. Stuart Bedford. 48. Richard Pope. 49. Adrienne Slocombe. 50. Andrew Piper. 51. Anne Geelen. 52. Brenda Sewell. 53. ? 54. Bruce McFadgen. 55. Ray Hammond. Photographer unknown.

Hovell who had not long before moved from the Coromandel region to Christchurch (see Furey 1996: 196–199). In 1962 NZAA Secretary Peter Gathercole expressed concern at work of “inadequate standard” carried out at Te Karaka Pa, near Cape Campbell in August 1961 (ATL mss). Hovell had already ransacked Moa Bone Point Cave and had fallen out with Roger Duff and the Canterbury Museum with whom he was once on good terms. The final straw was his learning of a site at Purau on Lyttleton Harbour from the site recording scheme, and buying a section in the middle of it which was then dug over by the NZYHSRRS. Hovell’s resignation a year after he joined saved the Association from any prolonged strife.

The proper practice of New Zealand archaeology is often under discussion. In 1993 a new Code of Ethics was adopted at the Kaikoura conference



Figure 9. The 1992 Whitianga conference field trip at Sarah's Gully. Left to right: Helen McCracken, Helen Leach, Brenda Sewell (back to camera), Pam Bain, Lynda Bowers, Tore Kronquist, Louise Furey, Josephine Lane, Anne Leahy and Ray Hooker. Photo Nigel Prickett.

(AINZ 36: 183–184), in which the main change concerns relations with those whose past is being studied. In the 1963 code, relations with Maori are subject to one brief mention, most of the clauses instead are concerned with members' obligations to the Association, to the archaeological resource and to the proper practice of research. Consideration of the rights of "indigenous people" takes up the most of the 1993 document.

A development in 1984 relating very much to the matter of archaeological ethics was the founding of the Institute of New Zealand Archaeologists in Auckland, for professional archaeologists. This group conducted workshops on methodology and carried on a strong discussion regarding ethics and what was becoming known as "best practice." While INZA was not just for the increasing numbers of consultant or contract archaeologists, it failed to attract other professionals and suffered from a small membership, in 1991 this being reported at 20–30. When INZA was wound up in 1997 it bequeathed to the NZAA its work in developing a code of ethics and standards for the practice of professional

archaeology. This was published in *AINZ* two years later (McGovern-Wilson and Walton 1999).

In its early years the NZAA took on a major role in fieldwork, not only because fieldwork is what archaeologists do but importantly to give direction to research and assist in raising standards. The Hawksburn and Great Mercury field programmes in 1955 were NZAA projects. Responsibilities to the Association of anyone carrying out fieldwork were considerable, were spelled out in the Code of Ethics, and were agreed to by all nominated and approved members. But there were always some who went their own way, and this became more so in the 1960s when university projects in particular began to depend increasingly on staff and students—some were even by invitation only. In 1971 Secretary Davidson reported that the universities had largely taken over from the Association in directing and organising research (ATL mss).

An early reflection of a more inclusive archaeology is the number of members who were not professional archaeologists, who took part in expeditions to Tonga, Fiji, Samoa, the Cook Islands and Pitcairn by way of contacts developed through the NZAA, with outstanding results such as the work of Lawrie and Helen Birks at the Sigatoka Dunes (Birks 1973). In this period many reports on Pacific archaeology appear in the *Newsletter*, with Volume 8, Number 2, actually titled “Archaeology in South Pacific”, being devoted largely to Pacific papers. Nor did our interest in the world stop at the Pacific: the threatened flooding of what were referred to as the “Nubian” monuments by the Aswan high dam provoked considerable discussion, with a proposal that Auckland Ham Parker be despatched to Egypt to assist international salvage efforts (ATL mss).

Another part of the Association’s role in research at this time was an active interest taken in radiocarbon dating. This seems to have been prompted by a problem in regard to access to the DSIR laboratory, with some archaeologists apparently enjoying favoured treatment. When the lab offered free dating of samples they not unnaturally wanted some vetting of these to ensure that they would indeed date what they were said to date. At the October 1961 Council meeting a sub-committee of President Les Lockerbie, Secretary Peter Gathercole, and Roger Green was set up to investigate the situation concerning radiocarbon samples and report back to Council (ATL mss). A radiocarbon committee subsequently operated for many years, but an effective role in creating a level playing-field for sample submission was difficult to achieve. In the late 1960s Council queried Canterbury Museum’s direct approach to the laboratory, pointing to continued aggravation over issues of access (ATL mss).

In the late 1960s Foss Leach of Otago University took over from Lockerbie the role of evaluating samples forwarded to DSIR, and improved the process by engaging Brian Molloy to identify charcoal species. Through all this

Lockerbie retained a unique relationship with the DSIR lab, based originally on his chairing the Association's C14 committee, almost until he died. In 1988 Ian Smith, also of Otago University, took over the role of sample screening, while Anne Leahy was responsible for North Island submissions. When Crown Research Institutes were set up in place of the old DSIR the relationship of the radiocarbon laboratory and NZAA was no longer relevant in the new user-pays regime. In today's world the service of sample screening and charcoal identification followed by free or subsidised radiocarbon processing seems hard to believe.

Site recording and conservation issues to surface in the 1960s include one which has long vexed the Association and another which was relatively quickly resolved, but not to everyone's satisfaction since I recall continued objections in the 1970s. The 13 August 1966 Council Meeting included a "lively debate" on the recording of historic sites. The minutes record that:

Mr Batley and Mr McFadgen felt that field monuments susceptible to investigation by archaeological techniques were the province of the Association, whether of Polynesian or European origin. Mr Daniels, supported by Mr Keyes said that the Association had been formed primarily to investigate Polynesian culture history. European sites were not our concern and could swamp our files. (ATL ms)

After a lot of further discussion a motion to accept records of European sites was withdrawn and the decision postponed to the next meeting. Before the December meeting several written arguments were circulated (ATL mss). The outcome was a successful motion put by Groube, seconded by Davidson:

THAT ALL sites, prehistoric OR historic be filed in the N.Z.A.A. Site Recording Scheme IF they are capable of being described discovered and examined only by standard archaeological techniques. (ATL mss)

Today's members do not need to be told of the significance of this change in the Association's focus.

The second and more time-consuming issue was signalled by the 1963 adoption of the principle of classifying sites for protection and preservation (ATL mss). In 1965 the Scheduled Sites Sub-Committee chaired by Roger Green reported back proposing Category I sites for "permanent preservation" and Category II for "interim protection", plus three other categories for "sites which are recorded but for which no additional protection is sought" (Green 1963). Filekeepers from several districts submitted lists of proposed Category I and II sites. These did not go further than proposals. In a 1970 Newsletter article McFadgen and Daniels review efforts to that date to secure site protection.

The 1966 extended AGM in Wellington was focussed on Salvage Archaeology and Site Protection in New Zealand, with Green and McFadgen giving keynote talks in the two areas. Five years later, in her annual report to the 1971 AGM, Secretary Davidson wrote that the Council's main activities in the previous year were in the area of conservation: "At times it seems that everything takes so long that there may be nothing left to conserve by the time suitable machinery for protecting sites is finalised" (ATL mss).

While the general issues were being fought there were also particular battles over development projects such as the proposed beech forests scheme and the Manapouri and Kapuni projects. At the 1973 AGM in Christchurch a resolution urged "the Government to introduce effective legislation. . . as a matter of urgency." In discussion that followed, Doug Sutton described site protection as "the central issue concerning the Association" (ATL mss). The next year Dunedin members Sutton and Stuart Park put out a pamphlet, *Is There a Future for New Zealand's Past?* (see Park, this volume).

The agitation in which NZAA played an important part at last had results in 1974 when the Historic Places Amendment Bill was introduced by the third Labour government. Roger Green presented our submission to the Maori Affairs Select Committee on 6 November that year (ATL mss). The Act giving protection to all archaeological sites was passed in 1975, coming into force on 1 April 1976. Only four years later Park presented NZAA submissions to the Lands and Agriculture Select Committee on the Historic Places Bill 1979, which it was feared might water down the 1975 Act, and in particular the provisions for blanket protection. In 1989 another revision and consolidation of the Historic Places Act again had the Association in action, with submissions on the importance of retaining protection for archaeological sites and on changes in the mechanisms involved (Horwood 1989). At the 1990 AGM President Neville Ritchie expressed concern at the outcome of proposed or ongoing reviews of the Historic Places Act, Resource Management Act and Antiquities Act.

While the campaign to secure legislative protection for sites consumed NZAA's energy for many years, issues of site loss and protection have not gone away. After the 1975 legislation gave protection to all sites, disagreements surfaced concerning site classification, a strong lobby arguing that to identify significant sites meant writing off the remainder, and that the archaeological value of any site could be known only after proper research. This view has generally prevailed, and for many years has left our effectiveness in archaeological conservation a long way behind the reality of site loss. The 1963 NZAA view was remarkably far-sighted.

In 1979 the first issue of the annual *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* made its appearance, which has ever since provided a major refereed outlet for

New Zealand and Pacific archaeology. The Association had considered proposals for such a journal before, notably in 1967 when a committee headed by Peter Gathercole reported back that the time was not yet right (ATL mss). In 1977 English archaeologist Aileen Fox, who spent ten years here from 1973, resurrected the idea and this time gained the Association's backing, as well as grant money to fund the first issue. The editor of Volume 1 was Jill Hamel who continued in the job for three issues and in conjunction with Janet Davidson for a further three. Since then Davidson has been sole editor. Foss Leach has been Business Manager for the Journal's whole life.

It is extraordinary that quite a small organisation, with few professional members who can call on resources required to carry out many of the tasks involved, can produce year after year three publication series. The *Newsletter* (now *Archaeology in New Zealand*), the monograph series and *NZJA* each has a different role, but all maintain the flow of information and are vital in developing our subject. They also maintain the profile of New Zealand archaeological research in the wider world. The last thing I did before going on study leave in 1988 was put out the Volumes 1 to 30 *Newsletter* index with Louise Furey (Furey and Prickett 1988). A few weeks later in Cambridge, England, I found it displayed on the new acquisitions shelf of the archaeology department library.

The NZAA is a hard taskmaster for office-holders. Looking through correspondence and other papers of the 1950s, 60s and 70s, now in the Turnbull Library, one is struck by the huge amount of work that has been carried out by a few stalwarts. The President, Secretary and Treasurer have always carried big loads, as have the various Editors, Central Filekeeper/Site Recording Co-ordinator, Sales Manager, Journal Business Manager, district Filekeepers and people co-opted from time to time to undertake particular tasks or serve on sub-committees. Many office-holders will at times have felt that the work load was too great, nonetheless all have understood that the Association's work is important for our community of archaeologists and for advocacy to government and the wider public. Our effectiveness in the wider sphere depends on our strength as a group. In its 50 year history there have been many differences in approach, and any number of upsets, disagreements, feuds and disputes. Through them all the Association has provided a meeting place and a forum at the heart of New Zealand archaeology.

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Two major groups of Association papers are held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, referenced here as ‘ATL mss’. These are ‘New Zealand Archaeological Association Papers 1951–1983’, ms no. 84–059 (7 boxes), and ‘New Zealand Archaeological Association Records 1958–1985’, ms no. 89–316 (8 boxes). The first group includes material from the Hawke’s Bay Branch of the Royal Society of New Zealand dating back to 1951. One file box (ms no. 96–113) presented by Michael Hitchings has correspondence, minutes, etc. from the years 1962–65. There are references to NZAA material in 21 other manuscript items in the Turnbull Library.

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