

tape rather than paper. The use of artefacts, on the other hand, means that historians are using sources that are usually within the province of museums which, at very least, implies the need for close liaison between archives and museums. Most importantly, of course, these developments underline the need for continued communication between archivists and historians.

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I spent the first six months of 1988 at the Turnbull Library on a Fulbright research grant. My work was on the history of alternative spiritual movements, particularly Spiritualism and Theosophy, that originated in the nineteenth century. New Zealand has proven exceptionally receptive to movements of this sort. On a per capita basis, for example, New Zealand has some twenty-five times as many Theosophists as the United States. Spiritualism, though more difficult to define statistically, has also been influential, as have derivatives of both movements. This receptivity is found in other nineteenth century settler societies, including Australia and the west Coast of America. In such societies the provision of conventional religion was often inadequate, while the romantic and utopian mood with its exaltation of feeling, and implication that a new order with perhaps a new spiritual foundation could be built in a new land, was pervasive. No less important was the fact that both these movements gave women much greater opportunity for spiritual leadership than the conventional churches of the day; gender equality tends to be even more a significant issue in pioneer than established societies. It is certainly no accident it was in New Zealand, and certain western United States and Australian states, that women first received the franchise.

The experience of immigration itself often effects a 'sea-change', giving the immigrant a sense that, with the change of setting, new ways of living and believing can be essayed. Not a few New Zealand immigrants who became active in nineteenth century Spiritualism or Theosophy reported a 'strict' religious upbringing in the old country. This was often followed by a time of religious indifference or even atheism as the adventure of resettlement became the all-consuming event of their life, finally replaced by curiosity about the controversial Spiritualist seances or Theosophical lectures available in many New Zealand towns. In some immigrant situations, such as among the large 'nationality' groups — Italian, Greek, Jewish, Polish — who came to the United States, the importance of traditional religion as a centre of identity and mutual support in a strange land has counterbalanced the 'sea-change' effect, fostering staunch adherence to church or temple. Most early New Zealand settlers, however, were of British origin, and for them this new Britain in the Antipodes was not sufficiently 'different' to create tensions calling for American-style ethno-religious solidarity. The spiritually liberating-for-experimentation capacity of immigration was instead permitted full play.

The presence of indigenous religion, whether Maori or native American or other, also presents a challenge to a settler society often with interesting results. Early Spiritualism in North America and New Zealand alike had some interaction in both conceptual and personal respects with native shamanism, for example the importance of 'Indian Guides' in the seance room. Early reports tell us that Maori were impressed to find among Pakeha Spiritualists