6 Discussion and Conclusion

The archeology and history of the Te Puna mission clearly demonstrates the nature of the early CMS missions in New Zealand. Te Puna was typical of mission stations in the Bay of Islands in the first half of the nineteenth century: a simple house lived in by the missionary, his wife, and their family, along with a small number of children from the nearby pa. In this way the missionary and his wife presented the model of the ideal monogamous Christian family, the foundation of civilization, to the "heathen," essential to the converting, civilizing, and eventually, colonizing processes. The "rituals of domesticity" (McClintock 1995: 35) of the mission station are shown in both the archeological assemblage and the archival material. The journals and reports that John King sent back to the CMS in London detail his battles against the "Prince of Darkness," who appeared in the various cultural practices and beliefs of Maori. Success was demonstrated when these practices changed and died out, alongside conversions to Christianity. The archeological assemblage demonstrates these rituals through artifacts associated with the daily practice of the cult of domesticity - the matching sets of ceramic tablewares and teawares, the irons used to produce smooth fabrics, thimbles and pins used to make lace trimmed caps and bonnets, worn to show the modesty of the married woman. At the same time it also shows the marginalization of the Kings within the wider framework of missionary society, which attempted to replicate the class structure of its home society. However, this attempt at replication occurred in a new situation that gave the likes of John and Hannah King the opportunity for choice and agency. It allowed them to purchase land and establish a greater degree of economic independence than they would have had in Britain. The presence of the mission also provided Maori with new opportunities that they pursued to their own advantages.

Te Puna demonstrates the "household" type of mission station, also found in the CMS and other evangelical missions throughout the Pacific and in parts of Protestant North America. This mission was a

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humble, austere affair, as contrasted with the "institutional" mission found in Spanish North America and Australia, often associated (in North America) with monumental architecture, highly institutionalized organization, and the incarceration of inmates.

As McClintock (1995) has noted, domestic rituals, encapsulating the cult of domesticity and practiced across the globe, brought women and indigenous people into a colonized state. Households are mirrors of the ways people saw their worlds, representing their values and culture (Deetz 1982), one of the most basic places for sharing and acquiring (or learning) culture. The Te Puna mission household was the place where CMS culture and values were replicated within the King family and passed on to other household members, such as the children of the pa who lived there. While the role of wives such as Hannah King was to maintain material standards of propriety within the private realm of the home, missionary wives also carried out public roles in the missionary world, teaching school and visiting villages, as John King's journals and the eulogy to his wife demonstrated.

The archeological assemblage represents a diverse range of activities, and the artifacts do not demonstrate that this was a specialist mission site. Primarily it represents a household economy in an isolated rural location, with tools associated with farming and pastoralism. While artifacts associated with the work of the mission - slate pencils and boards and glass trade beads - were also found, they do not present evidence of the mission on their own account. This is provided in association with the documentary material. The material culture has demonstrated the presence of women and men within the household; however, Maori and children remain barely visible. The Oihi mission and its later continuation at Te Puna were both established because of the proximity of the Maori population at the pa, but the artifact assemblage from Te Puna reveals little direct evidence of Maori themselves. Obsidian and other flaked tools in the assemblage suggest the presence of Maori at the mission house. However, Maori were living there within a European context; the lack of Maori artifacts speaks loudly about this changing cultural context into which they were incorporated. The Maori presence is also demonstrated through indirect evidence such as food remains like pig bones and shellfish, trade items in the daily accounts and the purchase of labor, as well as schooling. King's reports consistently record the numbers of Maori residents at the mission, with names also noted from time to time. John King's details of his regular visits to villages along the coastline are also a reminder of the presence of Maori in the wider landscape.

The documentary material also indicates that the mission functioned as a trading post, with quantities of goods stored to be used to pay

for food and labor from Maori, as well as extraordinary events such as the purchase of a slave. This was a frontier household, with an economy based on goods and exchange, largely controlled by the CMS, with goods supplied from Britain and Port Jackson, bringing New Zealand into the sphere of a global material culture and economy. At the same time, in the early years of the mission there was a "black" economy that functioned outside the CMS to some extent. This was originally demonstrated in the trade in muskets that the missionaries participated in, and possibly continued in the "alcohol" bottles in the Te Puna assemblage.

The artifacts in the Te Puna assemblage have a demonstrably British provenance, as the documentary evidence confirms, with Staffordshire ceramics displaying the patterns of idyllic pastoral scenes and a bottle assemblage manufactured in English glass factories. This is symbolized by the heavy, cumbersome George III penny, recovered from the Te Puna cellar, on the other side of the world from its British origins. This British provenance is also tempered with bottles of a European origin, as shown by the embossed seals, and one clay pipe stem with a Sydney maker.

While the mission house was built from local timber, with bricks and hearthstones possibly from Port Jackson, little of the assemblage reveals adaptation to the New Zealand environment. This is to be expected at a time well before any local manufacturing of goods. Faunal remains also suggest a dependence on traditional English meat sources, such as pork, beef, sheep, and rabbit. At the same time small amounts of locally sourced food such as fish, shellfish, and eel appear. These amounts are much smaller than one could expect to find from an equivalent Maori context of the same time period.

Missions throughout the new world have been held responsible for the beginnings of colonization and cultural change, as was the case in New Zealand. At Te Puna, the simple assemblage of the mission represents New Zealand's grand historical themes of colonization and the extraordinary times of first contact between Maori and Pakeha. The examination of the material culture and economy of the Te Puna mission household has revealed the actual processes of colonization in daily life and everyday events, reflected in items of material culture such as spades and other tools, ceramic tea wares, cast iron cooking pots and irons, buttons, thimbles, and pins, as well as in the processes of the mission - the schooling, church services, purchase of food and domestic labor, the purchase of land, building of houses, and the teaching of needlework. While history has glorified (and critiqued) the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in the Bay of Islands in February 1840 as the definitive moment of colonization and the seminal event of the Maori and Pakeha relationship, historical archeology reveals the

beginnings of these processes at least two decades earlier, in the household and daily life of the mission, established within the patronage of Rangihoua pa. These "grand narratives" took place in an austere, material manner, within the mission household and the broader landscape of the subsistence farm.

Dietler (1998) provides insight into the processes of colonization, the predicted and unpredicted outcomes of cultural contact. A focus on consumption in the initial phases of cross-cultural encounters leads to the "entanglement of indigenous and colonial societies" from which the conditions for other unanticipated kinds of colonial relationships develop (Dietler 1998: 298). Colonization was not a systematic, planned activity but a "congeries of activities and a conjunction of outcomes that, though related and at times coordinated, were usually diffuse, disorganized, and even contradictory," through which structures of colonial dependency and domination were gradually created (Dirks in Dietler 1998: 298). Dietler (1998: 299) describes colonization as

> an active process of creative transformation and manipulation played out by individuals and social groups with a variety of competing interests and strategies of action embedded in local political relations, cultural perceptions, and cosmologies. People use alien contacts for their own political agendas and they give new meanings to borrowed cultural elements according to their own cosmologies.

Te Pahi, Ruatara, Hongi Hika, and their like were agents in the Maori world. Their forays into the European arena were undertaken as leaders, in order to explore the benefits of new technologies and goods available. On the other side, Governor King, Samuel Marsden, and John King also acted as individuals, driven to their interaction with Maori by different social and political forces. Governor King was ordered to bring New Zealanders to Norfolk Island to teach flax weaving. Tuki and Huru, and later Te Pahi impressed him. His parting gifts to Tuki and Huru of potatoes and pigs, and subsequent gifts to Te Pahi of the same kind of goods, contributed to the growing Maori trade in provisioning ships, and the ascendancy of the place of Te Puna and Te Pahi as principal chief in the Bay of Islands.

Maori agency continued as Marsden and the first missionaries came to Rangihoua at the invitation of Ruatara, who planned to export wheat to Port Jackson and to build a European-style town on the slopes of Te Puna, under his own jurisdiction as chief. These ambitions were cut short by his death, from an illness likely to have been of western causes, an event Salmond (1997: 508) describes as a "cosmological collision," where ideas of Christianity and *tapu* competed in the ether. At the same time, a more earthed debate was also taking place. Missionaries were desirable to Maori of Rangihoua not for the catechisms, prayers,

and Bibles they brought with them, but for the metal axes and other tools their blacksmith forged at Oihi. As Marsden had realized, the ideas of Christianity would be unacceptable unless dressed in more attractive attire, that of material goods and the "spirit of trade" or commerce that accompanied "civilization." While Owens (1968: 37) considered that literacy was the Trojan Horse that carried the "otherwise unacceptable ideas" of Christianity into the Maori camp, Binney (1969: 152) retorted a year later that this Trojan Horse was trade. Binney (1969: 152) considered that "missionaries succeeded in making themselves indispensable to the Maoris through trade," skills and techniques which appeared to be ideologically neutral. Examination of missionary journals and accounts of the CMS store and the returns made to the committee meetings demonstrates that this was the case. Children were rewarded for attendance at school and church services with fishhooks and glass beads. Adults traded potatoes and pigs for iron tools, and Maori labor was also exchanged for these goods. However, the idea that this Trojan horse fooled or tricked Maori needs to be qualified. Marsden's idea that the mission might be able to control Maori through material goods was often ironically transposed. As this study has demonstrated, in the early days of the mission, missionaries were often at the mercy of their Maori patrons. Maori retained and still today do retain agency and control, taking advantage of economic opportunities. Maori trade grew under the influence of Hongi Hika, as did the ascendancy of the greater Ngapuhi *iwi* with Hongi as nominal leader (Hohepa 1999; Cloher 2003). Hongi's quest for *mana* and *utu* took him to Britain seeking muskets, and drew the missionary Kendall into his sphere. The Ngapuhi control of food supplies, such as pork and potatoes, and their quest for muskets, usually traded from visiting ships, led to missionaries at Oihi and Kerikeri being drawn into this exchange, and was a further cause of conflict among the mission brethren.

Mission literature identifies Henry Williams as a strong leader of the CMS, responsible for the ultimate success of the missions, and his arrival in the Bay of Islands with his wife Marianne in 1823 was one of the turning points in CMS policy. Henry Williams did away with Marsden's strategy of commerce before conversion to Christianity. He was clear that "Christianization" should take priority above commerce. This was all very well for Williams, but had he arrived in 1814 his terms may have proved quite unacceptable to Maori. Certain factors stood in Williams' favor. From about 1823, the trade in muskets in the Bay of Islands declined, possibly because warriors were all equipped with a gun by then (Binney 1969). As the committee minutes note, blankets were a more desirable trade item in the late 1820s than hardware or metal goods. This was better basis for mission trade, and contributed

to the economic independence of the missions, a crucial factor in their success or failure. Williams built a ship in order for the missions to obtain food supplies directly from Port Jackson as well as other parts of the country, contributing to mission economic independence. The *Herald* was launched in 1827, followed by two others, the *Karere* and *Columbine*, after the Herald's demise on the Hokianga bar. The death of Hongi in 1828, five years after Williams' arrival, also brought about a new dynamic. During Hongi's lifetime, missionaries were suffered only on Maori terms; Hongi considered that Christianity was irrelevant to a nation of warriors (Binney 1969; Hohepa 1999; Cloher 2003). After his death, the balance of power began to change as the number of conversions to Christianity grew, and missions could obtain food independently from Maori.

John King, a rather humble man from a small rural village in Britain, was driven to join the CMS by the social forces he was subject to, those of evangelical revivalism at the turn of the eighteenth century, as were many others of the time. Samuel Marsden was a more important link in the chain of revivalists. His networks encompassed NSW, Britain, the Pacific, and New Zealand as well as several missionary societies, the CMS, LMS, and WMS. Through the dynamics of his friendships with Te Pahi and Ruatara, through, in terms of Maori cosmology, the intermingling of the *hau*, Marsden was compelled to find the resources to establish an evangelical mission to New Zealand, under the patronage of Ruatara and subsequently Hongi Hika. Due to these "cultural entanglements" (Dietler 1998: 298) and first exchanges, the transformations and events that led to colonization were set in motion.

For missionaries trade was the means to gain access to the prime target of conversion of Maori to Christianity and to wage a war on Maori social customs. Practices such as *hahunga*, *hakari*, and *tangi* came under attack and by the mid 1830s appeared to be less commonly practiced, or perhaps had gone to ground. However, a decade later John King was complaining about the revival of "old customs," and as Oppenheim (1973) has demonstrated, traditional customs persist into the present in altered forms. As elsewhere in the newly Christian world, as had taken place in Hawaii and Tahiti, syncretic forms of Christianity appeared in the Bay of Islands, incorporating aspects of the new religion along with traditional Maori customs.

The Te Puna assemblage represents the arrival of the "global spirit of commerce," the arrival of the first days of the global "consumer society" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). As the Comaroffs (1991: 9) explain:

> The impact of Protestant evangelists as harbingers of industrial capitalism lay in the fact that their civilizing mission was simultaneously symbolic and practical, theological and temporal. …[These goods and techniques] were vehicles of a moral economy that celebrated the global spirit of commerce, the commodity, and the imperial marketplace. Indeed it is in the signifying role of evangelical practice - often very mundane, material practice - that we begin to find an answer to the most basic, most puzzling question about the historical agency of Christian missionaries: how is it that they, like other colonial functionaries, wrought such far-reaching political, social, and economic transformations in the absence of concrete resources of much consequence?

Settler society in New Zealand provides an example of a historicized study of a local context in the manner that Beaudry (2003: 294) has called for, leading to a more "nuanced understanding of the plurality of colonizing endeavors and their continuing effects" (Thomas in Beaudry 2003: 294). As Gibbons (2002: 7) points out,

> The New Zealand past since Europeans first appeared over the horizon is not *sui generis*, but a component of a much wider process, the expansion of European power into the global arena from the fifteenth century onwards.

The CMS settlers predated the post-1840 settler society Gibbons discusses, but anticipated and embodied significant aspects of it. John King's journals and reports clearly articulate his attachment to place, his connection to Te Puna, partly because of the family burials at Oihi but also for other more subtle reasons; his relationship to the people of Rangihoua Pa, his relationship with the place. King also expresses the same kind of connections for his children (although they have left no record of this themselves), through their association with the land and its people, as Richard Davis also did. Gibbons (2002: 8) considers that later generations born into or brought up within the settler society differ from the first generation of migrants, "very unsettled people" who have left behind much of what is meaningful and familiar in their lives, that is "kin, community, and accustomed landscape." While migrants make efforts to transform their surroundings into something similar to their homelands, the later generations have

> no direct experience of the old world, or very little, as an internalized, remembered frame of reference, so they cannot be shocked by the contrast between old and new to the extent the migrants once were. Nor, as a consequence, do they feel so obsessively impelled to transform the 'wilderness'. (Gibbons 2002: 8)

In this sense, King's children can be seen to "become 'native,' to belong to this place"; as John King claimed in 1842 (Chap. 3), the "Natives have always considered them as virtually belonging to the Tribe they were born among." They and later generations became Pakeha, the

light-skinned people Maori first acknowledged arriving on the shores in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Hall n.d.), and later as non-Maori partners in the Treaty of Waitangi (King 2003). This hybridization of the migrant from settler to Pakeha is created through the relationship with Maori and with place.

John and Hannah King and their family anticipated the later settler society in other ways, through their farming and subsistence practices, and the transformation of the Te Puna landscape that predicted the later land transformation on a nation-wide scale through fern and bush clearance in order to establish pastoral farming and the rural economy that the country came to depend upon. CMS missionaries, despite their claim of holding Maori land in trust for its original owners, also began the process of alienating Maori from their land (Walker 1990). Maori and settlers had incompatible ways of using the land, and competed for its possession (Sinclair 1969). Maori cultivated small areas, and relied on the interwoven network of rights to much larger areas for resources that the forest and coast offered, while settlers burnt the forest and fern land to plant grass seed. "To the settlers, land was money; but to the Maoris it was life itself and more" (Sinclair 1969: 113). The typical nineteenth century settler farm holding has echoes of the King family farm:

> The small farm of a few acres, worked by the owner, or lessee, and his family, became the characteristic unit of European agriculture, market gardening and dairying. Sometimes the family would live off their land; more often, perhaps, the men would supplement their income by casual labouring, and by other means, such as buying a team of bullocks and contracting to plough for neighbouring farmers. According to Sir George Grey the majority of the population consisted of these small landed proprietors. (Sinclair 1969: 95)

These settlers startled members of the English upper classes by their republican attitudes and their "delight in a forced equality" (Sinclair 1969: 96), anathema to the original intentions of the New Zealand Company. While there were rich and poor among the settlers, there was little that resembled the English class system. The reality of owning one's own piece of land was a strong incentive for migration and settlement for Britain's urban poor, and came to represent the ability to climb into the middle class of this new "classless" society. To the nineteenth century settler New Zealand represented the "ideal society," a country of Arcadian natural abundance where working class, laboring people could be independent and the middle class free from anxiety and the fear of economic failure (Alley and Hall 1941; Arnold 1981, 1994; Fairburn 1989; King 2003). The myth of this Arcadian society (Fairburn 1989) drove a quest for freehold ownership of land,

an aspiration of many English tenant farmers, and the espousal of the yeoman world and countryside (Arnold 1994).

Arnold (1994: 281) considers "the emerging triumph of the yeoman ideal" the most significant trend of the late nineteenth century settlers' world, where bush frontiers were being cleared for new domains and the "enterprising landless laborer" could work his way to owning a substantial mixed farm, focused on a practical family life and community conviviality. John King, born in the eighteenth century, a humble man from a small English village who reminded Richard Taylor (n.d.) of "an English yeoman" on his first visit to Te Puna in 1839, represents this later nineteenth century settler ideal.

This examination of New Zealand mission archeology provides a detailed description of the material culture and economy of a New Zealand settler household over the period from 1832 to about 1874. This time span frames the transition that took place from early European settlement to formal colonization, providing perhaps the first detailed example of the process of "becoming Pakeha" for the members of one missionary family.

However, the archival record of the detailed CMS store accounts provides an excellent source to expand and contextualize not only the material culture and trading economy of the Te Puna mission, but also of the wider CMS in the first decades of the mission. This is a rich source that has not yet been exploited to its full archeological potential.

The initial contact between Maori and European in the Bay of Islands and the role that the CMS mission played in the processes of colonization have also been examined. In this respect, the CMS mission in New Zealand embodied many of the contradictions that missions in other parts of the New World have demonstrated. Within the mission itself, the class distinctions of the home society were reproduced. The mission played an important role in bringing innovative skills to Maori society, such as literacy, along with new items of material culture. As part of this process, missionaries participated in the commodification of Maori land and watched the burgeoning settler population, leading to the eventual ceding of sovereignty by Maori. While missionaries had seen themselves as protectors of Maori, guarding them from the effects of colonization, they found themselves part of this process. Some of these contradictions are mirrored in the moves of the mission from Oihi to Te Puna, and Te Puna's transition from Maori land to mission station and then to pastoral landscape.

The study of Te Puna initially placed the mission within a Maori physical and cosmological landscape. Over time, this landscape changed to become a mission station and subsistence farm within a

surrounding Maori landscape, until by the beginning of the twentieth century this was a European pastoral landscape with relict features of Maori occupation. The history of occupation and change is registered in the archeological landscape as much as in the documents and archeological materials recovered. The site of the mission station and its environs was well preserved archeologically, as the pastoral farming activities that took place there up until the end of the twentieth century left subsurface remains intact. The landscape study contributes important insights. It has demonstrated the implicit contradictions the mission first faced at Oihi, with the injunction from Marsden and the CMS to become self-sufficient through agriculture in a location where it was nearly impossible to carry this out. For Maori, access to good horticultural land was facilitated by mobility, with access to a range of resources in different places, while the mission was restricted to Oihi only. Te Puna, with somewhat better agricultural land, offered the possibility of the self-sufficiency that Marsden and the CMS had earlier demanded, where the King family were able to develop a subsistence economy on their land. The landscape study also demonstrates the waxing and waning of the importance of place as larger political and social events are played out over time. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Te Puna and Rangihoua were the pre-eminent locations in the Bay of Islands, the home of paramount chiefs such as Te Pahi and Ruatara and the focus of European visitors such as Savage. This provided the rationale for the location of the mission at Oihi in 1814. By the mid 1820s, this focus had shifted. The importance of Rangihoua and Oihi waned as Hongi Hika came to prominence, with his central village at Kerikeri (Binney 2007). By 1830, this focus moved again to Kororareka, the preferred port of call for ships. With the arrival of Governor Hobson in 1840, the seat of government was established in the Bay of Islands at Okiato, but by February 1841 Hobson had moved his government to Auckland, the Bay of Islands itself losing its formerly prominent position in this shift. Hone Heke's response to British annexation and the resulting war in the north in 1845-1846 temporarily raised the centrality of the Bay again, but ultimately this waned in favor of the growing importance of Auckland and other later urban centers.

By 1850, Te Puna and Oihi had become a largely nostalgic landscape as the CMS went on to expand in other locations, eventually developing into the New Zealand Anglican church. Even in 1844 William Cotton (n.d.) considered Te Puna “quite mythic ground,” the place where John and Hannah King “held on steadily…during all the turbulent times.” Oihi remains a sacred place in New Zealand's past because of its religious connections, as the site of New Zealand's first mission station,

the site of first European settlement, the place where Samuel Marsden preached the first sermon on New Zealand soil, and the site of the burials of those associated with the mission, in particular members of the King family. It is also sacred for its proximity to Rangihoua pa, where the first close connections between Maori and European were forged. Te Puna, the place where the relationship with the people of Rangihoua was continued, shares this quality of "sacred site." This important aspect of the Te Puna mission was lost during the many decades that it was farmed. The site of the house was obliterated and its history gradually forgotten. However, the archeological investigation of this site has returned it to its place of significance in New Zealand's history, for its demonstration of a particular kind of mission station, operated by the humble missionary and his family living under sometimes difficult, straightened circumstances, and for the role that it played in the emergence of a new kind of society in New Zealand during the nineteenth century.