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– ARTICLE –

Finding Meaning and Identity in New Zealand Buildings Archaeology: The Example of 'Parihaka' House, Dunedin

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ABSTRACT

In 2015 a wooden two-storey 1880 villa in Dunedin, New Zealand, was examined and recorded prior to demolition. While unremarkable from the street, due to its very visible location on a steep hillside it was effectively built with two frontages, as the rear wall repeated the architectural features of the front wall. This 'double-fronted villa' design was a notable adaptation to ensure public respectability. However, further investigation of the building revealed a fanlight above the front door that had been covered over in the 1940s, and this was signwritten with the original name of the house: 'Parihaka.' Parihaka is a small settlement in Taranaki, and is nationally significant as the location of Maori passive resistance to the land confiscation policies of the Colonial Authorities in the late nineteenth century. The original Irish owners of the house were showing their solidarity with the Maori land protestors in a very public way. The buildings archaeology of this small villa has therefore exposed evidence of apparently contradictory efforts to both achieve respectability and to oppose the establishment. This example is used to explore the potential for both buildings archaeology and the archaeology of identity in New Zealand, and the tensions and contradictions that can arise from the this combined study.

Keywords: Buildings archaeology, Parihaka, archaeology of identity.

INTRODUCTION

The practice of 'buildings archaeology' has been formalised in New Zealand for the past decade, but to date there have been relatively few publications, despite the production of numerous cultural resource management (CRM) archaeological reports. As a result there are limited examples as to how the discipline should develop here: whether it should follow overseas examples or create its own approaches. As a relatively new country with a young archaeology in international terms, New Zealand's building stock is not of great antiquity, and most buildings CRM work has considered structures from the last four decades of the nineteenth century. Many of the construction methods and styles of this period are already well documented, and so buildings archaeology needs to be more than simple architectural history recording if it is to make a significant contribution. This paper takes the example of one 1880s villa in Dunedin, and considers the multiple layers of meaning it encapsulates.

'Parihaka' House stood at 29 Queen Street, Dunedin, until its demolition in 2015 (Figures 1 and 2). It had been built in 1880 by Johanna and William Wilkinson, and from Queen Street it appeared to be a small bay villa that had been modernised in the 1940s with casement windows and a stucco finish. Other than its contribution to the overall heritage townscape of this part of Dunedin it had little architectural significance, and even its name had been forgotten; covered by the 1940s stucco finish. The house was latterly used as student rental accommodation, was in poor structural condition, and new owners proposed to demolish the building and replace it with a new house. Because the building pre-dated 1900 its demolition required an archaeological authority under the *Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014*, which was issued

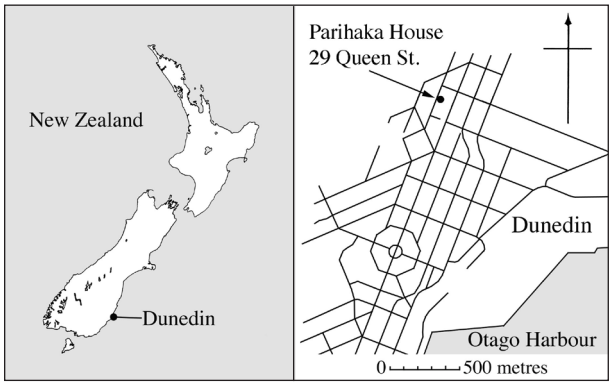

Figure 1. The location of 'Parihaka House' at 29 Queen Street, Dunedin.

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Figure 2. 'Parihaka' at 29 Queen Street on the left, and its neighbour 'Kahanga' on the right at 27 in early 2015.

by Heritage New Zealand (No. 2015/562), and one of the conditions of this authority was that the house be recorded prior to its demolition. This recording work found that the house had been designed to present a typically respectable Victorian façade to not only its street frontage, but also to its rear elevation, which was very visible on this hillside site. The work also revealed that the house was named 'Parihaka,' after the Taranaki village where Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi had employed passive resistance to oppose the Colonial Authority's confiscation of Maori land in the late 1870s. The house was therefore imbibed with several meanings over and above its simple bay villa street respectability.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF STANDING STRUCTURES IN NEW ZEALAND

In New Zealand the formalised practice of 'buildings archaeology' is a relatively recent phenomenon, but has had a halting semi-existence for 40 years. There were some early forays into the archaeology of buildings (eg Knight & Coutts 1975; Coutts 1977), and Thornton (1982) raised the subject of industrial archaeology and standing buildings. While the first edition of the New Zealand Archaeological Association's (NZAA) *Site Recording Handbook (*Daniels 1970) did not even mention historical archaeology, the second edition (1979) included a chapter on this subject by Nigel Prickett, who specifically discussed standing structures that 'strictly speaking, are not archaeological sites, [but] if a structure is part of or linked to an archaeological site it should be recorded along with the site' (Prickett in Daniels 1979: 46). However, these early examples had only limited influence on the slowly growing practice of CRM archaeology (sometimes called 'rescue archaeology' as it often preceded the bulldozers) that would come to dominate New Zealand archaeological practice by the turn of the century. Prior to about 2000 the generally accepted rule of thumb was that a building that had lost its roof was a ruin, and therefore an archaeological site, while a building with a roof was not a site. For example, in his archaeological survey of the Hauraki Goldfield Neville Ritchie (1990: 26) commented that in-use historic buildings were the domain of the Buildings Division of the New Zealand Historic Places Trust (NZHPT, now Heritage New Zealand), and not normally documented during an archaeological survey. Jill Hamel (2001: x) made the same observation about general practice in New Zealand, although both Hamel and Ritchie did both include numerous buildings in their work (Hamel 2001: 116–132; Ritchie 1990: 247, 289–290; 1993).

In 1993 the new *Historic Places Act 1993* lost the provisions that specifically discussed the classification and protection of buildings in the earlier 1980 Act, to be replaced with a broader coverage of historic places and a registration process that passed the protection mechanism for registered sites (which could include buildings, archaeological sites, or even important cultural places) over to territorial local authorities and the processes of the *Resource Management Act 1991*. Archaeological site protection mechanisms stayed with the NZHPT, with a slight change in the

definition of an archaeological site that replaced a rolling 100 year-old age with a fixed pre-1900 definition. This still left the door open for the adoption of buildings archaeology in New Zealand, as the definition of a site was based on its age and ability to be investigated by archaeological methods, and did not specifically exclude buildings.

The practice of recording historic standing buildings by archaeologists rather than architects or architectural historians had been growing overseas, particularly in Britain, Australia and America (Blackman 1988; Davis: 1987; Hunter & Ralston 1993; Institute of Field Archaeologists 1996). By the beginning of the 21st century the NZHPT was contemplating a similar approach, as this would keep pace with international practice and would also regain some degree of control over historic building management. By 2001 the approach being considered was to define pre-1900 structures that had been abandoned and had little prospect of economic use as archaeological sites (Janet Stephenson NZHPT, quoted in Hamel 2001: x1), but this rapidly evolved to consider all pre-1900 structures as archaeological sites irrespective of their current use. In 2006 the NZHPT released its Archaeological Guidelines Series 01 *Investigation and Recording of Buildings and Standing Structures*, and this document made no reference to the earlier approaches of roofless ruins or abandoned buildings. Importantly it enshrined the moment when NZHPT archaeological policy publicly declared that buildings could be archaeological sites in their own right.

The archaeological authority process as set out in the *Historic Places Act 1993* (section 11) was applied to numerous standing structures, resulting in equally numerous reports to the NZHPT (eg Bickler *et al.* 2011; Foster & Felgate 2011; Jacomb & Williams 2008, and many others). At the same time there were a growing number of conference papers that considered both CRM and research-driven buildings archaeology (eg Cawte & McPherson 2013; Furey 2005; Jones 2011; Harsveldt 2015; Prickett 2011; Tremlett 2015). The Christchurch earthquakes of 2010 and 2011 were key events in the evolution of buildings archaeology in New Zealand as they either destroyed or damaged beyond economic repair a very large number of heritage buildings, including the iconic Christ Church Cathedral (although as of 2015 its ultimate fate is still being debated). These events drew national attention to the mass loss of heritage buildings, and archaeologists undertook the work of recording many of them prior to demolition. Once again, unpublished reports and conference papers have presented some of the work on these structures to date (Farminer 2014; Watson *et al.* 2013; Watson & Webb 2014; Watson 2015).

However, relatively little of this research has been published in the formal New Zealand archaeological literature (or New Zealand subjects in the Australasian literature), some examples being Kevin Jones' (2006) investigation of Katherine Mansfield's house in Wellington, Campbell and Furey's (Campbell & Furey 2007, 2013; Furey 2011) examination of the Westney and Scott Farmsteads, Martin Jones' (2012) examination of the Devcich Farm buildings, and Boswijk and Jones' (2012) use of dendrochronological dating of colonial-era buildings. Other applications of modern technology have been the use of laser scanning to record standing buildings (Gibb *et al.* 2011; Gibb & McCurdy 2013), and the use of computer-generated 3D models (Bickler *et al.* 2011). A publication that incorporated elements of buildings archaeology into a wider discourse was Helen Leach's *Kitchens* (Leach 2014) in which she cast an archaeologist's eye over the 20th century domestic kitchen, and made use of building design and artefact analysis (which included both the kitchen items and the recipes that were used) to consider the evolving role of this single room.

At a more hands-on level, and in order to give archaeologists the opportunity to improve their buildings recording skills, the New Zealand Archaeological Association Professional Development Cell (PDC) held two workshops on buildings archaeology, in Oamaru in 2012 and Auckland in 2013. The second of these resulted in a paper by Caroline Phillips (2013) that is notable because it discussed approaches, concepts, and the potential of buildings archaeology, rather than simply the empirical recording of bricks and mortar.

The nature of buildings archaeology in New Zealand is currently undergoing another change. In 2014 the *Historic Places Act 1993* was superseded by the *Heritage New Zealand Pouhere Taonga Act 2014* (HNZPTA 2014), which for the first time specifically acknowledged that buildings could be considered archaeological sites (Section 6 (a)), but also specifically exempted them from the archaeological provisions of the Act unless complete demolition was proposed (Section 42 (3)). This means that demolition of substantial portions of historic buildings can occur without any archaeological recording, or even the need for an initial assessment. This has had the immediate effect of slashing the number of archaeological authorities required for historic building work, and thus the loss of potentially significant information. As the vast majority of archaeological research (of all varieties) is driven by CRM work, this will reduce future opportunities for buildings archaeology research. Work in Christchurch is presently continuing under the provisions of the old 1993 Act as enshrined in the *Canterbury Earthquake Recovery Act 2011* (CERA), but once this expires in 2016 the archaeological provisions of the HNZPTA 2014 will come into play.

As a result of buildings archaeology in New Zealand being almost entirely driven by CRM work, with limited interest from academic quarters, the choice of subject matter to date has largely been determined by the archaeological provisions of the old *Historic Places Act 1993*, meaning that mainly pre-1900 buildings have been studied. As most surviving nineteenth century building stock in the main centres post-dates the relevant periods of rapid growth (the mid-1860s in the case of Dunedin, as a result of the Otago gold rushes), it can be seen that most buildings

archaeology work has focussed on a narrow chronological period in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. Villas and cottages feature strongly, but significant elements of New Zealand's architectural history remain archaeologically untouched, such as the important Arts & Crafts movement buildings designed by Basil Hooper who set up practice in Dunedin in 1904 (Allen 2000:14).

FINDING MEANING IN BUILDINGS ARCHAEOLOGY

The nature of CRM recording, be it in conventional archaeological excavation or in the practice of buildings archaeology, tends to be of necessity very empirical (see NZHPT *Archaeological Guidelines Series, 1* (2014)). The essence of CRM archaeology is to mitigate the loss of archaeological values by the 'rescue' of information, and this record needs to be as detailed and objective as possible. Several good reference works exist to guide this description, although they are notably written by conservation architects rather than archaeologists and therefore address architectural and construction details rather than forensic archaeological methods of interpreting those details (Arden & Bowman 2004; Salmond 1986). The subsequent collation and synthesis of this information is one of the issues facing the archaeological profession, and the 'grey literature' of unpublished reports contains a vast wealth of information. In 2009 the NZHPT created a digital library that contains scanned copies of all past archaeological reports held by that body, which helped enormously, but any comprehensive synthesis of the information it contains would be a formidable task as the collection includes 5545 volumes as at March 2016, which are largely unsearchable scans stored in Portable Document Format (PDF) files.

If New Zealand buildings archaeology is to avoid being simply an exercise in architectural history (which arguably would be better carried out by architects than archaeologists), some meaning needs to be found in the practice. Martin Jones (2012) has demonstrated one approach, by considering how the physical composition of the Devcich farmstead near Thames reflects the Dalmatian identity of the occupants and their assimilation in to New Zealand society, citing Smith's (2004) call for historical archaeology to address questions of identity in New Zealand. Campbell and Furey (2013) also picked up this challenge in their study of the Scott and Westney houses in rural Mangere. In her initial 2011 paper on the Scott house Louise Furey did not dwell on building style, but instead considered evidence for the relocation to the site of the original cottage and subsequent phases of building addition, and how these were related to the life phases of the occupants. Campbell & Furey's 2013 paper considerably expanded this approach, and considered issues of identity, respectability and community through several generations of the respective families. However, while buildings archaeology played a role in the overall conversation, their conclusions relied heavily on the analysis of ceramics and glass assemblages recovered through conventional archaeological methods (Campbell & Furey 2011:140).

Identity is an obvious concept for buildings archaeology to address. Whereas conventional in-ground archaeological assemblages are usually created by discard (Campbell & Furey 2013:140; Smith 2004:260), as Caroline Phillips (2013:102) has pointed out 'buildings are manifestations of behaviour, not merely reflections.' Their appearances and functions are the direct result of past decisions by individuals. While the interplay of in-ground and buildings archaeology can be productive, as Campbell & Furey (2013) have demonstrated, there is still room for a great deal more to be teased out of standing structures than is often done. In this paper 29 Queen Street, 'Parihaka' House, is used as an example of how multiple layers of meaning can be encapsulated in a single structure, and how an archaeological approach (one that uses the physical evidence as the primary source of data) can be used to consider these meanings.

THE HISTORY OF 'PARIHAKA' HOUSE: 29 QUEEN STREET, DUNEDIN

The Otago settlement was a joint venture between the New Zealand Company and the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland. The intention was to establish a Wakefield class settlement, where the community would have two main classes, a land-owning capitalist class, and a wage-earning working class (Hocken 1898:3; Olssen 1984:31–35). The first two ships carrying settlers, the *John Wickliffe* and the *Philip Laing*, arrived in the Otago Harbour in early 1848 carrying 344 emigrants between them (Hocken 1898:94; Olssen 1984:33). The site of the town of Dunedin had been surveyed in 1846, and the first ballots for sections were drawn on 21 April 1848, although very few settlers chose ground north of Stuart Street, as the bulk of Bell Hill and the swampy ground beyond did not encourage expansion in that direction (Hocken 1898:82; 99; McDonald 1965:13). However, the discovery of gold in Central Otago in 1861 created a boom for Dunedin, and the population rose from 2262 in 1859 to 5850 in December 1861, and by 1864 it had reached 15,790 (McDonald 1965:44, 51). The North Dunedin Flat and surrounding hillsides were soon covered by the resultant spread of houses and commercial premises.

In the context of this paper, another series of significant events occurred in the North Island, in the aftermath of the Taranaki wars between local Maori and the Colonial Authorities. The core issue was land ownership, and a number of influential Maori leaders promoted a policy of passive resistance to land confiscation. A series of confrontations from the 1860s to the 1880s culminated in the storming of the village of Parihaka (Figure 3) by government troops and settler volunteers in November 1881 (King 2004:220–221). Many of those arrested in these confrontations were imprisoned at various times in the

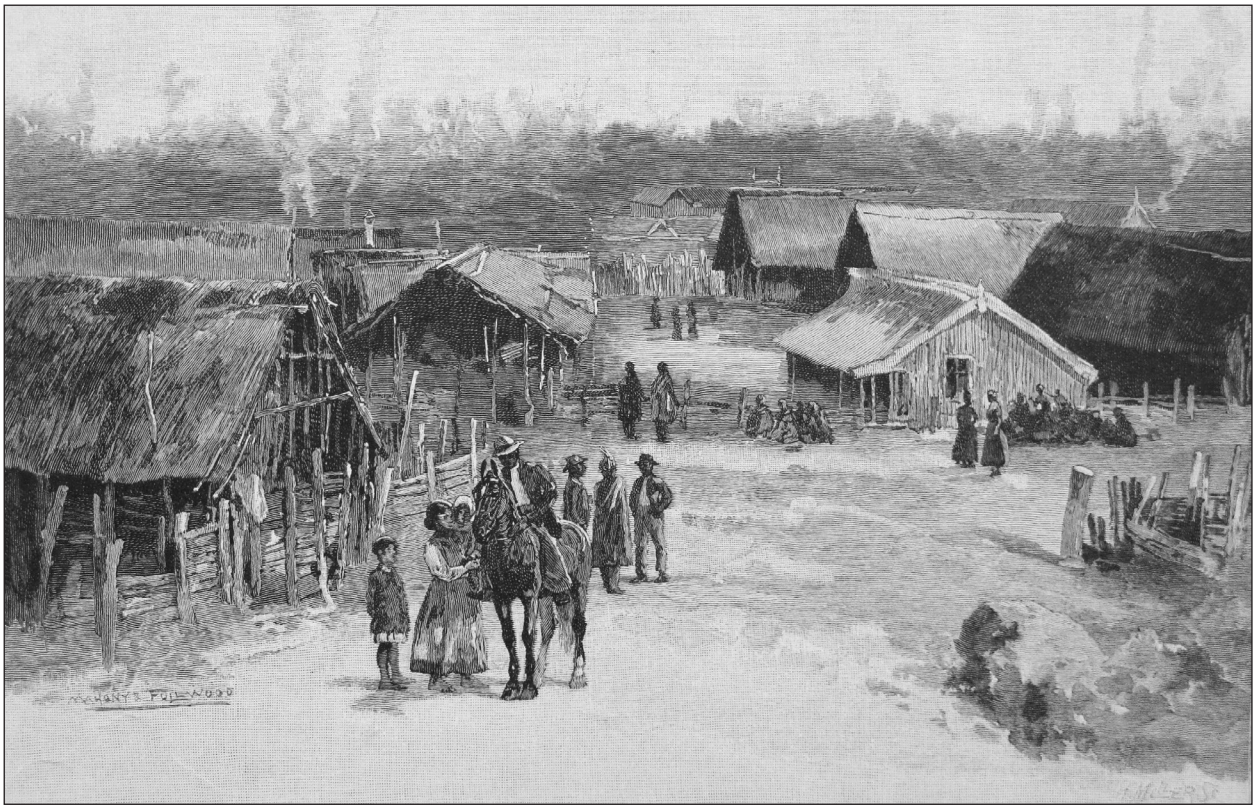

Figure 3. Parihaka Village (Garran (ed) 1886).

Dunedin Gaol, where they were considered to be safely out of the way. In November 1869 the Pakakohe group of 74 men, including the chief, Rihare Watone Ngawakataurua, were sent to Dunedin, followed by a further five men from the East Coast between 1871 and 1873 (*Otago Provincial Council, Votes & Proceedings*, Sessions XXVII, 1870; XXX, 1872; XXXII, 1873). In 1879 another cohort of Maori prisoners arrived, these being the 'Taranaki ploughmen' who had been arrested at Parihaka and were followers of Te Whiti o Rongomai and Tohu Kakahi. A group of 46 men arrived in August 1879, followed by a further 91 men in January 1880 (Reeves 1989: 40, 42; 1999: 126, 127). These Maori prisoners are best remembered in Dunedin for their work on the Otago Harbour walls and the formation of Maori Road (named after them), but the village of Parihaka has become nationally significant as a symbol of Maori passive resistance to nineteenth century land confiscations.

Returning to Dunedin's growth and the house at 29 Queen Street, the property as surveyed was on Part Section 39 Block XXV Town of Dunedin. This section remained unsold until 1860, when a large block of 6 sections was purchased by Thomas Dick (Deeds Register 3, Deed No. 1419, dated 7th September 1860). It is unlikely that there were any buildings on the property at this stage, and it was subsequently sold several times and then subdivided. In 1880 Johanna (or Joanna) Agnes Wilkinson purchased the land, which by then had an area of 19.3 poles (approximately 488 m^2) and Johanna and her husband, William Wilkinson, immediately took out a mortgage on the property, almost certainly to fund the construction of a new house (Certificate of Title 49/142). This reasoning is supported by the Dunedin Valuer's Fieldbook for 1880, which has a late entry for a house owned and occupied by William Wilkinson inserted for this property. It seems most likely that the house was named 'Parihaka' early in its life, as the early 1880s were when the Parihaka Maori prisoners were being held in Dunedin, and the storming of the village itself occurred in November 1881.

William and Johanna Wilkinson were both Irish Catholics, from County Limerick, but were married in Dunedin on 28 June 1877 (*Otago Daily Times*, 29 June 1877: 2.) They had four children born between 1878 and 1887, of whom the youngest died in infancy. William Wilkinson was an ironmonger, with a business in George Street that traded as 'Wilkinson and Keddie' (*New Zealand Tablet*, 12 October 1883: 13) His political sympathies can be at least partially surmised by his donation of £1/1/- to the Irish National Land League in 1881 (*NZ Tablet* 5 August 1881: 15). Also on the list, and subscribing identical sums, were "M. Fleming" and "John Fleming". This is almost certainly Johanna Wilkinson's father, Michael Cleary Fleming, and her elder brother, suggesting a political disposition shared across a wider family network. The aspirations and efforts of the Irish League were not far removed from those of Te Whiti

and Tohu in Taranaki. They used passive resistance to oppose foreign landlords during the mostly peaceful 'Irish Land War' of 1879–1882 and added a new word to the English language when they applied them successfully against one Captain Boycott in late 1880 (O Corrain & O'Riordan 2011: 41). At exactly the same time Parihaka ploughmen were languishing in Dunedin's gaol and engaged in public works about the city. They attracted considerable sympathy from at least some sections of the local population, including both Maori and Pakeha (Brosnahan 2015).

In the early 1880s William Wilkinson's business was presumably reasonably promising, as the couple built their new house 'Parihaka,' albeit with the capital supplied by a mortgage. However, a second mortgage in 1885 may have been a sign of trouble, and in late 1888 Wilkinson filed for bankruptcy (*Otago Daily Times*, 5 December 1888: 3). Although he quickly applied for an order of discharge, the Judge suspended this for two years. In 1889 the National Bank foreclosed on the 1885 mortgage, and the Wilkinsons moved to briefly operate the Woodhaugh Hotel in Leith Road (*Otago Daily Times*, 4 October 1889: 4). From there on the family moved a number of times and William seems to have been on a downward spiral that may reflect a drinking problem. In 1906 he appeared in court in Dunedin for embezzling a small sum from his then employer (*Otago Daily Times*, 31 May 1906: 6). Further minor offences followed – for theft and drunkenness – which saw William spend short spells in prison in various locations around the country. (*Otago Daily Times*, 26 November 1908: 8; *Dominion*, 14 October 1912: 3; *Evening Post* 12 December 1912: 7) He seems to have lived apart from his family from this point onward. Johanna Wilkinson remained in Dunedin, living in York Place from 1899 until her death in 1920 (*Otago Daily Times*, 13 December 1920: 4).

After the National Bank took over the 'Parihaka' house property in 1889, it was sold in 1897 to Katherine Mary McGregor, and it then passed through a number of owners, most of whom retained it for only a few years apart from Catherine McIntyre and Amy Williamson who each owned it for approximately 20 years (Certificate of Title 49/142). Some owners resided in the house, but it was also rented out for extended periods. No original construction plans for the house survive, although the Dunedin City Council Archive does hold a number of sketch plans and permits for modifications, which help us interpret some of the changes over time. One significant change to the house probably occurred in 1933, when the internal stairs were removed and an upstairs WC (toilet) was installed where the stairwell had been (DCC plan C7983), suggesting that the house was converted to two flats, one upstairs and one downstairs. Plans lodged in 1944 indicate Amy Williamson modified the front of the house by extending one front room forward, replacing the Victorian sash windows and applying a stucco finish to the Queen Street façade (DCC plan H-1944–26016). It was at this time that the 'Parihaka' fanlight above the front door was covered over. At a later date (there are no council records to tell when) an internal staircase was reinstated, albeit in a different location to the original stairs, and the house was latterly rented as student accommodation. The last tenants moved out at the end of 2014, and the house was demolished in early 2015.

DESCRIPTION OF 'PARIHAKA' HOUSE

Queen Street runs along the flank of Maori Hill, overlooking the North Dunedin Flat. The road is largely lined by late nineteenth and early twentieth century houses, many of which are now used as student rental accommodation. Twenty-nine Queen Street was located between two other slightly earlier houses, one of which (No. 27 on the south side) was named 'Kahanga' (see below for a discussion of the meaning of this name) (see Figure 2)

Twenty-nine Queen Street (Figures 4 & 5) was a two storey timber building constructed on a steep slope, with the lower storey built on a cut and fill terrace below the road level, and the upper storey at road level. The house originally was a variation of a centre gutter return bay villa (see Salmond 1986: 168–169), but with the use of the bay window feature at the front of the house repeated at the rear. In effect the original structure had a T-shaped plan. The Queen Street façade was remodelled in the 1940s, and was the most modified exterior wall, while the rear façade was largely original, with the exception of the window and door arrangement on the veranda. All of the exterior architectural detail was in the front and rear walls; because of the tight location between two other (taller) houses the side walls were plain, clad with 5 ½ inch (140 mm) shiplap weatherboards with just one window in the north wall and two small windows in the south wall. The front and rear walls of the house were both very originally very visible: the front from Queen Street and the rear from the North Dunedin Flat. This visibility appears to have influenced the design of the house, with both front and rear walls being in effect public frontages, and what would normally have been the 'invisible' rear service elevation was instead styled to appear as a street frontage. The front (Queen Street) façade appeared from the road to be a single storey small bay villa, while the rear façade (North Dunedin Flat) appeared to be a tall two storey bay villa. This 'double front' design is considered in more detail later.

The Queen Street façade retained its basic proportions, despite the 1940s modifications that included an extension to the southern front room filling in the space that was probably originally occupied by a veranda. The original square plan bay window had been replaced by one with angled sides and a flat roof. All of the original Victorian sash windows had been replaced by casement windows with distinctive 'sunburst' leadlight fanlights and the side and fanlights around the front door had been panelled over. A single panel glass pane front door itself had replaced the original door. The front of the house had been stuccoed, and it was the removal of the external stucco

Figure 4. Front (left) and rear (right) elevations of 29 Queen Street as it appeared immediately prior to demolition in 2015.

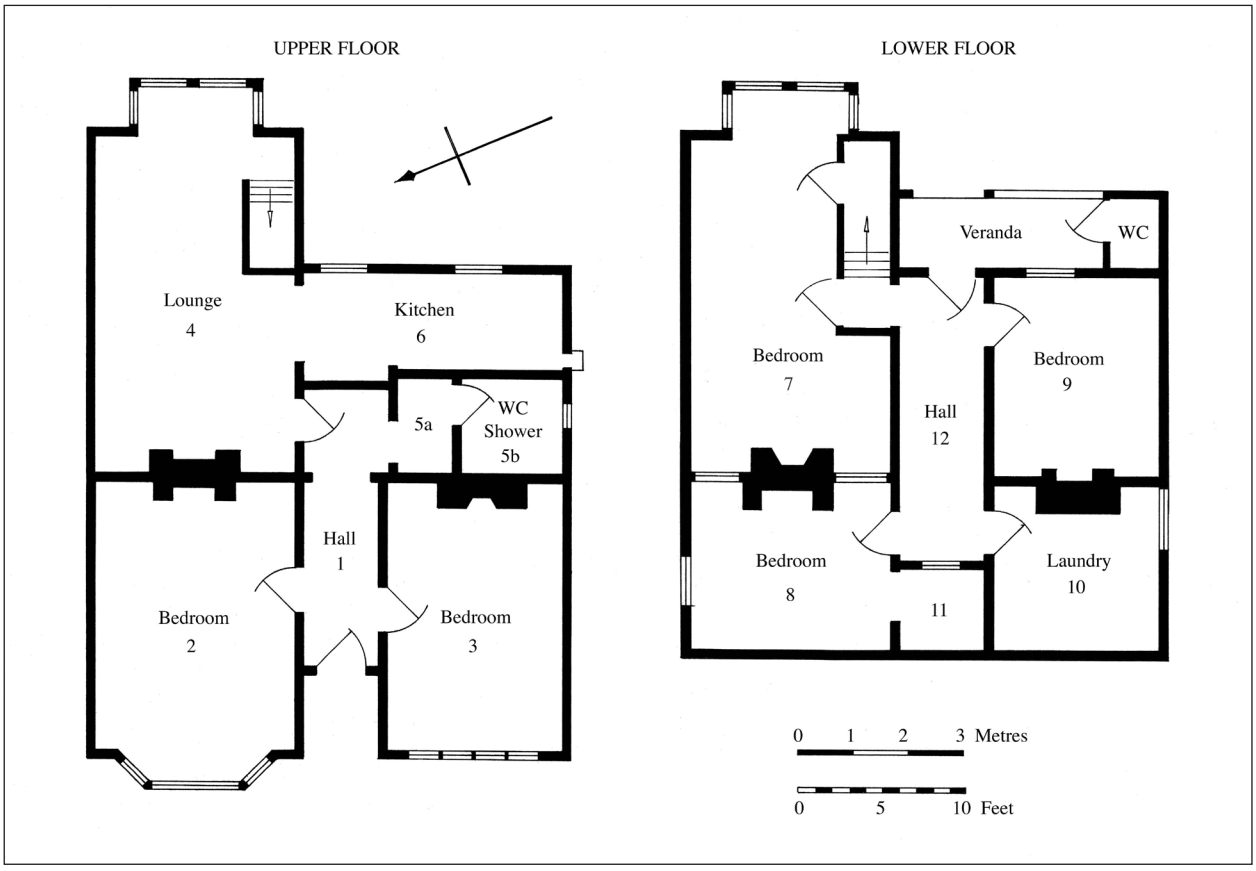

Figure 5. Floor plans of 29 Queen Street, showing the use of the rooms during the last student occupancy in 2014. The room numbers refer to the description in the text.

around the doorway that revealed the painted name 'Parihaka' on the fanlight (Figures 6 & 7). The timber barge boards on the gable remained, but the wooden finial had been cut off at the roof line. The chimneys had been simplified by the removal of any brick corbelling and had been plastered. The original slate roof was still in place on the front and northern roof planes (those visible from Queen Street), while on the other planes the slates had been covered with corrugated iron. The overall effect was to remodel the front of the house in a more modern mid-twentieth century style, although the original roofline and overall proportions gave away its origins.

The eastern (rear) façade was in effect a two storey version of the original front elevation, still clad in the original 5 ½ inch (140 mm) shiplap weatherboard (Figures 4 & 8). The bay window was square sided and was capped with a hipped roof clad with 'sparrow iron' (narrow pitch corrugated iron, see Salmond 1986:103–104). Sash windows were fitted to the front and sides of the bay. The rear wall was also largely original, and the modifications that had been made were all within the rear veranda area. Upstairs two sash windows retained all of their original parts and timber architraves, although the internal spaces that they opened into had been modified (discussed below). The lower storey included the veranda, where most obvious modification was the installation of a WC on the southern end of the veranda (probably installed in 1936), but there was also clear evidence in the form of an old architrave (and framing details found inside when wall linings were stripped) that an original external door (located directly below one upstairs window) had been replaced by a window set slightly to the north. The 'new' window was a sash window, in keeping with the original windows in the house, but differing slightly in details. The main un-

Figure 6. The front door of 29 Queen Street as the 1940s stucco was stripped back to reveal the original 1880s door frame and 'Parihaka' fanlight.

Figure 7. The 'Parihaka' fanlight. This window is now in the collection of the Otago Settlers Museum in Dunedin.

Figure 8. The rather decrepit rear elevation of 29 Queen Street in 2015, with missing bargeboard, failed guttering and decayed weatherboards. However, the formal aspect of this elevation is still apparent.

certainty in this area was the existing rear door at the end of the ground floor hallway; it may have been original, but this would have meant that there were two external doors in the rear wall. The alternative explanation was that there was a window there.

Inside the house the upper floor had five rooms that opened off a central hallway, while the lower floor had four rooms off a central hallway (Figure 5). The two floors were linked by an internal stairway that had been inserted into the north-east room space; the original stairway had been at the end of the main hallway, and the impression of its side was found in the downstairs hall when the wall linings were stripped off (Figure 9).

On the upper floor, the front section of the hallway (Room 1 in Figure 5) and the north-west front room (Room 2) were the most original spaces, and both retained timber skirting boards and door architraves, plaster cornices and lath and plaster lining (see Figures 10 to 12). The south-west front room (Room 3) had been extended in 1944 when the front wall was moved forward, and it is likely that most decorative trimmings had been removed then, apart from the black slate fireplace that was the only original fireplace to survive (albeit roughly painted white) in the house (Figure 13). The rear rooms retained far less original fabric, and several internal walls had been moved as the layout was changed on at least two occasions. A fragment of newspaper dated 1939 was found underneath the wall framing that had been inserted across the end of the

Figure 9. The downstairs hallway after a layer of plasterboard had been stripped back, revealing the outline of the original stairway and timber wainscot. Note that the visible door architrave is a twentieth century addition, probably installed at the same time as the plasterboard.

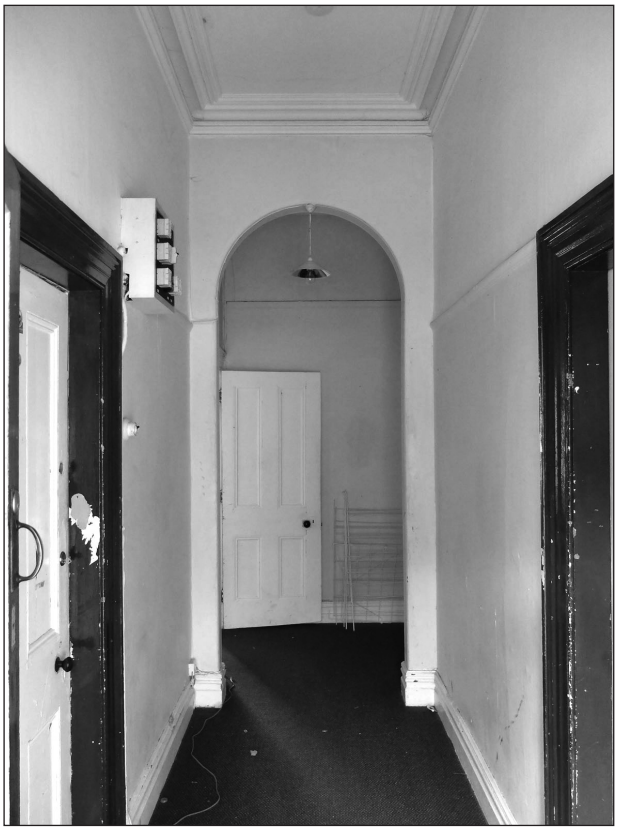

Figure 10. The main upstairs hallway, with the original lath and plaster lining in place from floor to ceiling, and the original architraves, skirting boards and ceiling cornice intact.

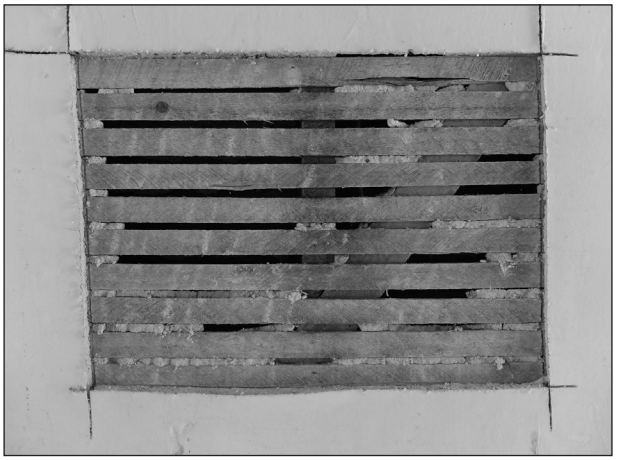

Figure 11. A detail of the lath and plaster lining in the hallway after the plaster was cut through and pulled away.

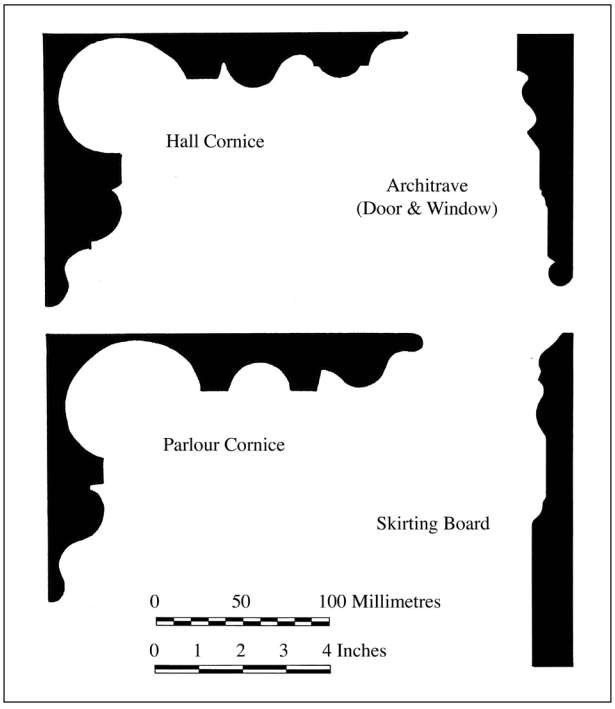

Figure 12. Profiles of original ceiling cornices, door and window architraves, and skirting boards, taken in 2015.

old hallway when the present kitchen space (Room 6) was created. The main rear room (Room 4) had been stripped of all of its original lath and plaster lining, and modern insulation and medium-density fibreboard (MDF) lining had been used to line the outside wall. The new stairway had been inserted into the corner of this room, as the original stairway position had become part of the kitchen area.

The lower floor was smaller than the upper floor, as it was built to fit into the terrace cut into the hillside, and the lower front wall was set back from the front wall of the upper floor. However, the basic layout was similar, with a central hallway with rooms opening off on either side. As already mentioned, the impression of the original staircase was found on the north wall of the hallway (Room 12) when modern wall linings were stripped. Four rooms opened off the hallway, three of which were latterly used as bedrooms (Rooms 7, 8, 9) and one as a laundry (Room 10). A notable difference in the decorative treatment of the lower storey was the use of a timber wainscot in all of the rooms. The laundry was the only room where it was still exposed, but when the wall linings were stripped in the other rooms evidence of the wainscot was found (Figure 14).

Figure 13. The original black slate fireplace in the south-west upstairs room (Room 3). This had been painted white, but retained its cast iron centre section.

Figure 14. The timber wainscot revealed in the downstairs north-east room (Room 7) during stripping of the wall linings.

Structural Elements

The house at 29 Queen Street was built using standard construction techniques and elements for a wooden house of the 1880s period. It had timber framing that consisted of top and bottom plates, with the studs mounted into these using mortise and tenon joints. The lower floor studs were 4 by 3 inches (100mm by 75mm) in section, and the upper floor studs were 4 by 2 inches (100mm by 50mm). The roof framing consisted of 4 inch by 2 inch (100mm by 50mm) rafters at 18 inch (460 mm) centres, which supported 2 inch by 1 inch (50mm by 25mm) batons (for mounting slates) at 8½ inch (220mm) centres. Collar ties were placed between every second set of rafters. The wall cladding was simple 5 ½ inch (140mm) weatherboards, and the roof was slate.

Decorative Elements

The house incorporated many decorative elements, including ornate timber and plaster mouldings. Surviving examples of original door and window architraves, skirting boards and cornices from the house are shown in in Figure 12. These elements are again typical of the 1880s period, and were used in the construction of numerous timber villas found in the urban areas of New Zealand.

Heating, Cooking & Lighting

In 2015 the house was all-electric. Fireplaces had originally been installed in five rooms, although as discussed already only one original fireplace surround survived, and none were in use in the final years of the use of the house. The original kitchen is likely to have been on the lower floor, possibly in the room that originally opened onto the rear veranda. There was no coal range, nor any obvious setting for one, although the fireplace in this room had been rebuilt at some date, to a small art deco design (suggesting a twentieth century date for the modification). It is a possibility that the house was fitted from an early date with a gas cooker, and it was certainly fitted with gas lighting. Lead gas pipes were found in the roof cavity, and a main feeder ($^{7}/_{8}$ inch, 22mm diameter) came up the front (Queen Street) wall and then split into smaller lines (½ inch, 12.7mm diameter) that led to each room. The Dunedin Gasworks started producing gas for street lighting in 1863, and some private customers also fitted gas lights (McDonald 1965: 64), so the supply was certainly present from the time the house was built.

Interpretation of Original Appearance & Layout

As has already been discussed there is physical evidence of a number of modifications to 29 Queen Street, both internally and externally. The most immediately obvious change was the modification of the Queen Street façade in the 1940s, and it was at this stage that the name 'Parihaka' was covered over. Figures 4 and 15 show the Queen Street façade in 2015 and its probable appearance in 1880. The use of a pair of sash windows in the front wall is speculative as this section of wall was completely removed when the house was modified, and the alternative choices would be a 'Chicago' window (a large sash window flanked by two narrow windows of the same height, see Salmond 1986: 68) or a single sash window. The corbelled tops to the 1880s chimneys are based on the typical pattern of the period. The rear façade had undergone less modification than the Queen Street elevation, the main changes being to the veranda area. The greatest uncertainty in this reconstruction is the location of a window at the end of the downstairs hallway, and it is possible that there originally was a door there as well (making two doors onto the veranda).

There had been numerous changes to the internal layout of the house, although the basic elements of the original design had survived (except for the original staircase), with a procession of rooms opening off a central hallway on both the upper and lower floors (Figure 16). The extension of one front room to occupy the space originally taken up by the front veranda was reflected in the external changes, but other internal changes only involved modifications to internal walls, the removal of the original staircase from the main hallway, and the later installation of a new staircase in a different location (Figure 9).

The changes in function of the different rooms inside the house are more difficult to determine than the simple physical changes. Based on the known layout of contemporary house plans (eg see Salmond 1986: 154–155), the main front rooms (Rooms 2 & 3) were probably used

Figure 15. Reconstructions of the front and rear elevations of 'Parihaka House' as it probably appeared in 1880, based on examination of the house in 2015. The main uncertainties are the presence of either one or two doors that opened onto the rear veranda, and the use of a single or double sash window in the front wall.

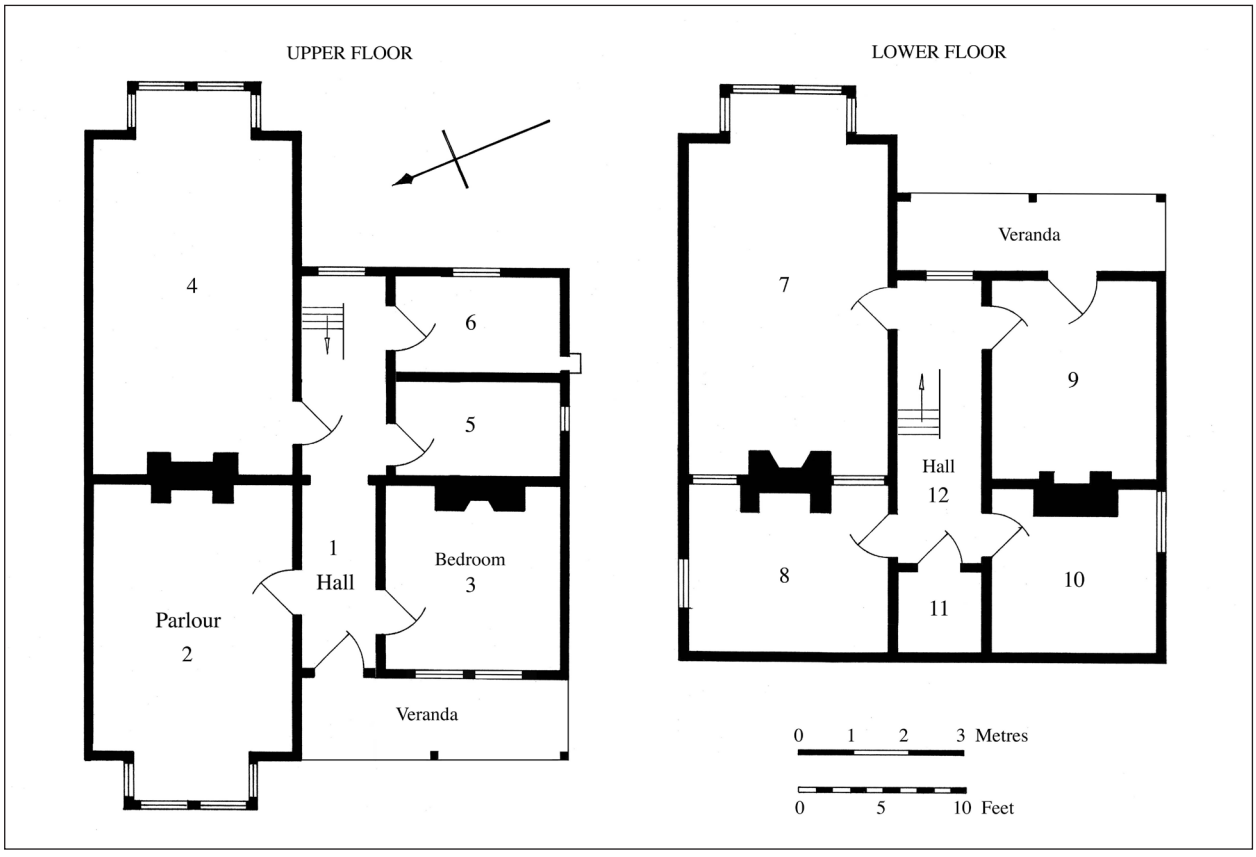

Figure 16. Reconstructions of the floor plans of 'Parihaka House' as it was probably laid out in 1880. The main uncertainly is the layout of the openings on to the rear veranda.

as the parlour and main bedroom, and the ornate detailing in Room 2 appears to confirm this interpretation. The exact layout of the other service rooms is more difficult to determine, and as already mentioned one puzzle is the location of the original kitchen. This would usually be located at the rear of the house, along with a scullery and pantry. Because of the external stylistic adaptations to the very visible site already discussed above, the rear elevation of the house was not utilitarian, and therefore offers no clues. The most likely contender is the lower storey rear room that opened on to the veranda (Room 9), or alternatively the northern front room on the same floor (Room 8). A small room at the end of the downstairs hall (Room 11), latterly modified to be a walk-in wardrobe, could have been the pantry. The 1903 DCC drainage plans (DCC S75) indicate that the original wash house was an outside building, located down the garden below the house, and therefore comfortably out of view from all directions.

DISCUSSION: RESPECTABILITY AND IDENTITY

'Parihaka' house was in many ways a standard timber villa of the period. The construction techniques and materials were standard for the late 1870s-early 1880s, as were the internal and external decorative features. It is straightforward to consider the social significance of the quality of construction and detailing; timber rather than masonry might suggest a modest budget; but the moderate size of the house (albeit smaller than its neighbours), use of plaster interior wall lining, slate roof and elaborate detailing in the main rooms (including the black slate fireplace) all suggest some aspiration to comfortable respectability.

In their discussion of identity at the Westney house Campbell and Furey (2013:140) emphasised the importance of community and respectability, and focussed on age/life cycle and martial status rather than the 'big three of race, class or gender.' Within this paradigm 29 Queen Street could be interpreted as the house of an Irish immigrant couple making their way in their adopted country, and three years after their marriage building a new home for their growing family that complied with conventional urban Victorian respectability and was presumably bigger and better that they could have ever achieved in their native land. Petersen (2001:99) has discussed the societal pressures and escalating expectations of the time that encouraged couples to make such displays of pretension and luxury: 'even the average four or five-roomed villa seemed to harbour a kind of spurious gentility, where a four or six-foot wide passage down the centre was pretentiously termed a 'hall' and the front room with a bay window was set aside as a drawing room' (Brown, J. scrapbook 1845–1885, cited in Petersen 2001:99). The hall at 29 Queen Street was four feet six inches wide, the front room did have a bay window, and its decorative finish suggests that it was the drawing room (parlour). This interpretation of visible respectability is reinforced by the 'double front' design of the house, with a respectable façade to both publicly visible elevations. The term 'double fronted' is more usually used to refer to houses with a central front door and symmetrical design on either side (Curl 2006:244), but here the term 'double fronted villa' is quite literally used to mean a house with two fronts and no back.

If at any time in the past 135 years the Parihaka window had been removed or broken, this paper would be discussing 29 Queen Street in exactly these terms. The double fronted villa design could have been used as evidence for the Irish Wilkinsons making an added effort to appear respectable in Scottish/Anglo Dunedin society. However, the survival of this single pane of glass makes the interpretation of the house much more complex. When considered with the known historical facts about William and Johanna Wilkinson it adds some elements of tension to the discussion, particularly regarding the invisibility of the Wilkinson's nationality, and William's support for issues of land reform.

To deal with nationality first, for many people their cultural and ethnic background would be one of their first markers of identity (see Smith 2004:260), and yet it does not always show up well in the archaeological record. The presence of Chinese miners in the South Island goldfields is often marked by distinctive Chinese material culture, but they did not generally incorporate distinctive Asian architectural features in their dwellings in southern New Zealand (Ritchie 1986; 1993:369). Other nationalities can be even less visible. An archaeological investigation on an immigrant Irish farmstead at Macraes Flat failed to find anything that could be described as 'Irish,' and the material culture was no different from any other contemporary farmstead site of similar size (Petchey 1997:25–36), while Hearn & Phillips (2008:178) have noted that there are few signs of Irish practices in the farming traditions of New Zealand despite large numbers of rural Irish immigrants. Martin Jones (2012:31) considered that Dalmatian identity at the Devcich farmstead was most notably expressed though the layout of the farmstead, opening a possible line of enquiry to see if other nationalities organised their farmsteads in distinctive ways. In America at the 1850s Ohio Trap Rock copper mining site Cornish mining technology introduced by Cornish immigrants was apparent, but there was no other archaeological evidence that could identify the Cornish identity of the miners and their families (Landon & Tumberg 1996:55). As the authors stated: 'this has important implications for other archeological [sic] sites where immigrant workers comprised an important part of the labor [sic] force' (Landon & Tumberg 1996:55). The lack of any overt indication of Irish nationality in 29 Queen Street is therefore not unexpected (would we expect to see shamrocks carved in the woodwork?), but by exhibiting a Maori placename above their front door, were the Wilkinson's publicly displaying at least one aspect of their Irishness?

William Wilkinson's support of the Irish land cause

through at least one donation to the Irish National Land League reflects both his origins and his support for opponents of land alienation by foreign landlords. In itself, this donation would not be notable as there was a large immigrant Irish population in New Zealand (Phillips & Hearn 2008: 63, 133), and widespread support for land issues amongst these immigrants would be expected. However, the discovery of the original name of the house, 'Parihaka,' adds another dimension to this interpretation. The use of Maori names for Pakeha houses became fashionable in the late nineteenth century, especially for upper-middle class urban properties (Griffiths 2002: 42; Petersen 2001: 100). In Dunedin the fashion for Maori house names was led by Dr Hocken, who named his house 'Atahapara' in the 1870s, and it has been estimated that by 1902 at least ten percent of fashionable homes in Christchurch had been similarly named (Griffiths 2002: 42; Petersen 2001: 134). The choice of a Maori house name by William and Johanna Wilkinson was therefore fashionable, and possibly even influenced by the neighbouring house 'Kahanga' (either 'evidence of strength' (Griffiths 2002: 41) or a mis-spelling of 'Kohanga,' 'nest' or 'fort' (Williams 1971: 124)). However, the choice of 'Parihaka' is significant when taken in context with the Wilkinson's nationality and expressed support for Irish land reform: suddenly both their identity is expressed (through solidarity with other similarly disadvantaged groups in society), and the conventional respectability of the house is challenged (through the anti-establishment name that it was given). The very visible presence of Maori prisoners in Dunedin labouring on various public works would have meant that the name was lost on no-one. A tension was therefore created between the respectable villa architecture of the house (given additional emphasis by the double front design) and the challenge to authority in its naming.

As Smith (2004: 261) has noted, identity is not restricted to culture and ethnicity, but is determined by an interplay of these and many other factors including class and wealth, social position, occupational specialisation and geographical location, while Campbell & Furey (2013) have discussed the importance of community and outward respectability. The interplay of all of these factors could create tensions, especially because in a frontier society new circumstances and wealth contrasted with old social order and class. Petersen (2001: 61) has commented on the tensions inherent in the dominant colonial ideology between competitive individualism and the role of the family in society, a tension heightened in the south by the Otago gold rushes of the 1860s that brought a flood of single men of no fixed abode. Parihaka House was built nearly 20 years after the goldrushes, when the social order in Dunedin had settled down again, but, as the evidence discussed here shows, tensions remained despite the veneer of Victorian respectability. In the 1880s immigrants still outnumbered New Zealand born Europeans (Phillips & Hearn 2008: 179), and so European society still had a mixed identity, without even taking into account the complexities of a changing Maori society. Parihaka house encapsulates many of these strands of tension and complexity.

However, before we run away too far with these arguments, there is another factor that must be considered when considering the design of the house. There is a less esoteric explanation for outward displays of architectural respectability: pragmatism. The conventional design and the 'double front' layout of the house would have been straightforward for the builders to construct and would have ensured resale value, and therefore protected the Wilkinson's financial investment. In effect, it was not (nor is now) financially prudent to build an unfashionable house. This can explain much of the conservatism and standardisation in urban architecture, and make trying to tease out archaeological meaning a challenge. William and Johanna Wilkinson's anti-establishment statement could have been scraped off the glass in 10 minutes, had it been necessary. This has two important implications: vital details of the archaeological record can be exceptionally fragile, and much buildings archaeology may only be a record of financial prudence.

CONCLUSIONS

Buildings archaeology in New Zealand has had a 40 year semi-existence and a 10 to 15 year formal existence. However, it is yet to make a significant contribution to archaeological debate. To be useful, buildings archaeology has to be more than architectural history, but much of what has been done to date has been basic recording work as required under heritage management legislation, and little has been synthesised or published. It is relatively straightforward to look for design features that might reflect status, and changes in form and appearance that reflect change in architectural fashion, building technology and use over time. All of these aspects of a building's existence are significant, and if enough examples are studied and the information synthesised, a growing understanding of New Zealand's buildings can provide information about changing New Zealand society.

However, while the study of such architectural detail has some use, buildings archaeology should arguably be able to tell us much more about the people that build and lived in these structures. To repeat Phillip's (2013: 102) comment, buildings are manifestations of behaviour, and so they can be interrogated to determine what decisions have been made, if not always necessarily why those decisions were made. This paper has not dwelt on the changes to Parihaka House over time, other than the 1940s modifications to the façade, and has instead concentrated on the implications of the original design. The consideration of phases within a building, as discussed by Campbell & Furey (2013), is of course important, and is broadly comparable to the basic archaeological interpretation of a stratigraphic sequence, but here the focus has been on the

meaning and identity of the original structure. But as the example of Parihaka House shows, this is not only a complex task that needs to consider many tensions and contradictions in the evidence, it can also depend on the serendipitous survival of very fragile elements of the building.

If the expression of identity is taken to be an important consideration for New Zealand historical archaeology (see Campbell & Furey 2013; Jones 2012, Smith 2004; 2008), the structure of the building only conveyed one set of meanings: conformity with contemporary building practice and fashion, the striving for respectability and the trappings of affluence. Another set of meanings: the Irish diaspora, land alienation, and the solidarity with similar Maori land issues in New Zealand, are only physically conveyed in a single pane of glass. The events at Parihaka are seen now as critical in the history of Maori land issues and the relationship between Maori and the Crown, but, as this named window shows, many Pakeha were also acutely aware of these issues at the time. That William and Joanna Wilkinson were both Irish Catholics, and William had supported the Irish National Land League, shows how similar debates surrounding land tenure in both Ireland and New Zealand led to expressions of solidarity between what would at first glance appear to be quite disparate groups in 19th century New Zealand.

William and Johanna Wilkinsons' sympathies and identity were not expressed architecturally other than through the fanlight window of Parihaka House. Indeed, quite the opposite is true; the 'double-fronted villa' design of the house shows an overt effort was made to appear outwardly conformist. The utterly respectable villa architecture was in tension with the anti-establishment name written publicly over the front door. The challenge for buildings archaeology in New Zealand is to look beyond simple architectural design and change over time, and to try to tease out the ephemeral, fragile and often contradictory details that can arguably tell the real stories behind the Victorian facades.

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