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– ARTICLE –

The Tawhiao Cottage and the Archaeology of Race and Ethnicity

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ABSTRACT

On his return from internal exile Tawhiao, the second Maori king, had a cottage built in the 1890s on land owned by his family in Mangere, South Auckland. While it isn't clear that Tawhiao ever stayed there, other members of the kahui ariki (royal family) are known to have done so, and it is known that the cottage had a Maori housekeeper. The cottage passed out of Maori ownership in 1925 but continued to be rented to Maori until 1947 when the landowners built a new house at the front of the property. By the time of our investigation in 2012 the cottage was dilapidated, but was removed to Council owned land and 'restored.' Our investigations showed what was, in many ways, typical of the archaeology of a South Auckland cottage of its type and time. This paper examines what there was in the archaeology that might be related to the distinctive culture of its Maori inhabitants, particularly the midden beneath the cottage and evidence of hakari (feasting).

INTRODUCTION

The Tawhiao Cottage was located at the rear of 31 Wallace Road, Mangere, South Auckland (Figure 1), on land that was owned by Tawhiao, the second Maori king, from 1890. Details of who built the cottage and whether Tawhiao ever lived in it are unclear, but it is believed to have been constructed shortly after 1890 (Murdoch 2007:11). The land passed out of Maori ownership in 1925 but the cottage continued to be occupied by Maori families until 1947 when a new house was built on the front of the section at 31 Wallace Road and the cottage was abandoned.

By 2005 the cottage was in a dilapidated state and the owners, who had no further use for the building, and Manukau City Council commissioned a Conservation Plan prior to relocation (Dave Pearson Architects 2005). By 2010 plans for the proposed relocation of the cottage had progressed and an archaeological assessment was carried out by CFG Heritage Ltd (Campbell 2010). The cottage and curtilage behind the current house were recorded as archaeological site R11/2535 in the New Zealand Archaeological Association Site Recording Scheme.

Archaeological investigation and recording were carried out between February and May 2012 under authority 2011/115 issued by the New Zealand Historic Places Trust. This included detailed recording of the building and monitoring the deconstruction of the lean-to portion of the building. Preliminary investigations of the underfloor deposit were conducted after the building had been jacked up prior to removal, and the main investigation of the cottage footprint and curtilage was carried out from 23 April–3 May 2012. The cottage has now been relocated to a site next to the Mangere Mountain Education Centre on Coronation Road and refurbished.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND

The following history is a condensed version of a complex story that is itself part of the even more complex history of changes in Maori society in the early 19th century (see Belich 1996; Stone 2001; Ballara 2003; Te Hurinui 2010), but it serves to show the relationship between Tawhiao and his land at Mangere. Around 1807 Ngati Mahuta, and other Waikato tribes and their allies, under their great war leader Te Rauangaanga, defeated Ngati Toa of Kawhia and their allies under Pikautearangi at the battle of Hingakaka, one of the few pitched battles in traditional Maori warfare, and one that had far-reaching effects (Anderson *et al*. 2014:177). This battle established the pre-eminence of Ngati Mahuta in the Waikato. Te Rauangaanga's eldest son was Te Wherowhero who, by the 1830s, was the leading ariki (paramount chief) in the Waikato. In 1825 Hongi Hika of Ngapuhi in Northland, newly armed with muskets, sought utu (reciprocity, balance) for the death of his brother and sister at the battle of Te Kai a te Karoro some 20 years earlier, defeating a Ngati Whatua confederation from Tamaki (modern day Auckland) in a series of battle around Kaiwaka known as Te Ika a Ranganui. Many of the survivors fled south to the Waikato though even here they were subject to Ngapuhi attacks until the latter were driven out by Te Wherowhero, who by this time had acquired his own muskets. By the mid-1830s

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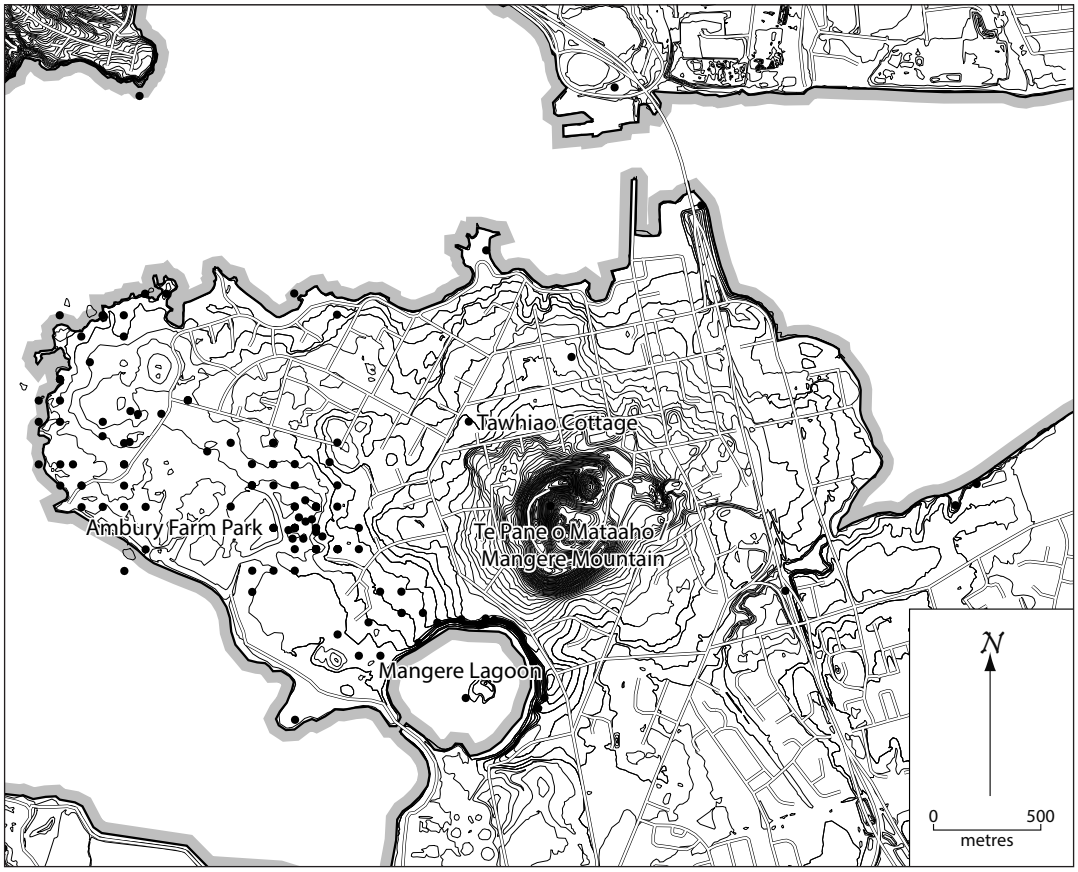

Figure 1. Location map, showing other archaeological sites recorded in the general Mangere area.

the Tamaki people began to return to their homes with Te Wherowhero guaranteeing their safety, 'the virtual arbiter of peace and war in Tamaki' (Stone 2001:136). Following the founding of Auckland in 1840 Te Wherowhero became its protector. He had lands and houses close to Auckland at Kohimarama, Orakei and Mangere, the latter part of a string of defences across south Auckland that included the Fencible settlements of Howick, Panmure, Otahuhu and Onehunga. However, disenchantment with land alienation led to the rise of the Maori King movement in the 1850s, and in 1858 Te Wherowhero became the first Maori King under the name Potatau, and relocated to Ngaruawahia. Following their support of Wiremu Kingi in the first Taranaki War of 1860–61 Governor Grey decided to crush the Kingitanga (king movement) by invading the Waikato in 1863. Te Wherowhero, already an old man when he took the crown, had died in 1860 and had been succeeded by his son Tawhiao. Due to their numerical superiority the Imperial forces succeeded in driving the Kingitanga out of the Waikato Basin but did not take the territory of Ngati Maniopoto, the Waipa Basin south of the Puniu River, which became the home base of Tawhiao and the Kingitanga in exile, known to this day as the King Country (Belich 1996:238). In the early 1880s the Government negotiated the integration of the King Country into the rest of New Zealand and Tawhiao emerged from his internal exile.

In 1863, as a prelude to war, Grey had demanded that Maori in Auckland either take an oath of allegiance to the Queen or depart for the Waikato. Although most Maori left, six adults remained behind at Mangere to look after their kainga and possessions (ahi ka). Although other kainga in South Auckland were sacked by the militia it seems Mangere was not, although Te Wherowhero's lands were subsequently confiscated. In 1867 the Native Compensation Court returned 144 acres (58 ha) of the original 485 acre (196 ha) Mangere Block to Maori ownership under individualised title and in 1890 Section 49 of the Village of Mangere was granted to Tawhiao. It was on this block that the Tawhiao Cottage was built.

Much of the historical significance of the Tawhiao Cottage lies with the fact that the property and cottage were originally owned by Tawhiao, as well as the connections of his family during subsequent occupation. Tawhiao was succeeded by his eldest son Mahuta who reigned from 1894 to 1912 and he in turn by his son Te Rata from 1912 to 1933.

Mangere remained largely rural until the second half of the 20th century, that is, for all the period of the Tawhiao Cottage occupation. During the early years mixed

farming predominated with wheat, oats, barley and potatoes being grown and dairy herds raised. By the 1880s the Manukau area had become a wheat producing region, though dairying came to predominate as the demand for milk grew with the Auckland population. A local dairy factory was established and Mangere became the chief supplier of milk to the city. From the 1930s the dairy farms were joined by market gardens run by local Chinese. In the second half of the 20th century farmland gradually gave way to housing development (Mogford 1977).

History of the cottage

The exact date of construction of the cottage is not known but a date around the early 1890s, soon after the land was granted to Tawhiao, would agree well with evidence derived from the buildings archaeology, such as a lack of complex joints and use of rose-head nails, and the material culture recovered from the archaeological investigation.

After Tawhiao died in 1894 his lands were divided between his sons and grandsons, with shares of 1/6th and 1/36th and, until the property finally fell out of Maori hands, it had multiple owners whose shares were further divided on their successive deaths (Murdoch 2007).

The cottage was maintained by a house keeper called Te Aorere and was used by the kahui ariki (royal family) when they visited Tamaki. Te Puea and Mahuta are known to have used it, and at least two of Mahuta's sons lived there while attending school in Mangere. On 20 February 1926 the interests of the then owners were redistributed and on the same day Lot 49C was sold to William Well, Maori Agent. Well was soon after declared bankrupt and title was transferred to Nellie May Henwood, wife of Herbert Henwood, farmer. The cottage was rented out to a number of local Maori families until 1947, when the property was sold to Leslie Thomas Williams, and the modern house at 31 Wallace Road was constructed shortly after. The cottage does not appear to have been lived in after this (Murdoch 2007).

Historic images

In 1913, 1923 and 1931 James Richardson took a series of panoramas from the summit of Te Pane o Mataaho / Mangere Mountain, which shows only gradual change in this rural landscape. Figure 2 shows a photo from the 1931 panorama which, although the latest in the sequence, is the best quality image and clearly shows: the enclosed porch around the back doorway; outbuildings, including one that was probably an outhouse toilet and another that looks like a tent, both of which were on what became adjoining lots by 2012; and market gardens to the west of Wallace Road, many of them probably run by Chinese.

Figure 2. Detail of a panorama taken from Mangere Mountain by James Richardson in 1931. The Tawhiao Cottage is in the lower left of the image to the left of the pine trees. Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries, 4-4741.

Archaeological landscape

While the Tawhiao Cottage is a late 19th century historic site, with an occupation dating mainly to the early 20th century, it is located in an area of dense pre-European Maori occupation. Dominating the site to the south east is the volcanic cone pa of Te Pane o Mataaho / Mangere Mountain, site R11/26, and it is highly likely that most of the area surrounding the pa would have been extensively gardened and occupied. To the west in the area of Ambury Farm Park and around Mangere Lagoon approximately 100 pre-European Maori sites have been recorded (Figure 1), although many of these are essentially components of a continuous archaeological landscape. For the large area between Ambury Farm Park and Te Pane o Mataaho that has been developed and built over, the only recorded site to date is the Tawhiao Cottage. Historic settlement by Europeans, which began before the Waikato Wars in the 1860s and increased markedly in the late 19th century, is not represented in the archaeological record at all and neither is the occupation of Te Wherowhero.

THE COTTAGE

The cottage was a single storey building containing only four rooms: two in the northern, main part of the building; and two in the southern part, which was in the form of a lean-to although built at the same time as the two main rooms (Figure 3). For the sake of simplicity this part is referred to as the lean-to although technically it is not. The buildings archaeology is reported in full in Campbell *et al*. (2013a).

The cottage was timber-framed, clad with plain weatherboards, roofed with corrugated iron and had a single brick chimney (Figure 4). The roof of the main part was an east–west running gable, with some surviving bargeboards in the west elevation, while the lean-to had a skillion roof. The building was in a poor state of repair with sections of weatherboard having fallen away to leave the building frame exposed in places, and the roof was no longer weather tight.

Originally it had probably had double-hung sash windows in the north, west and east elevations but these had

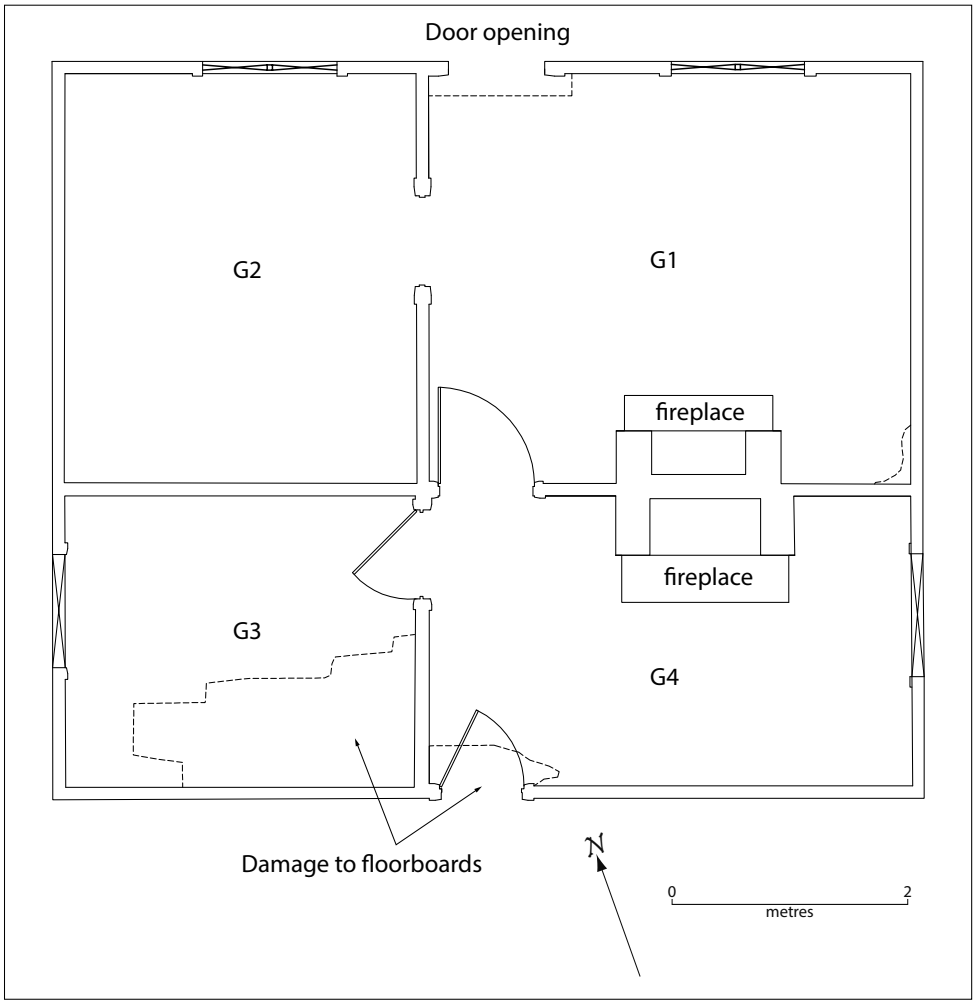

Figure 3. Floor plan of the Tawhiao Cottage at the time of investigation.

Figure 4. The cottage at the time of investigation: top left, the south west corner; top right, the north east corner; bottom left, the walls and ceilings of Room 2; bottom right, the fireplace surround in Room 1.

been replaced with smaller windows in the 20th century. The main doorway (minus its door) was between the two windows in the north elevation and there was another doorway in the south elevation.

The floors were tongue and groove floor boards running east–west, rotted away in places. The interior walls were lined with planed tongue and groove boards with a bevelled edge detail. In Room 2 they had been varnished (Figure 4), while in other rooms they had been painted. There was no evidence of wallpaper. The ceilings of Rooms 1 and 2 were board and moulded batten with timber mouldings around the edge, while the ceilings of Rooms 3 and 4 in the lean-to followed the line of the skillion roof and were planed tongue and groove boards with a bevelled edge. As with the walls, the ceiling of Room 2 was varnished, while the ceilings elsewhere had been painted.

There was a back-to-back fireplace between Rooms 1 and 4 sharing a single chimney (Figure 4). The chimney base and hearths consisted of basalt and shell loosely bonded together with a concrete skim forming the hearth. The fireplace in Room 4, in the lean-to, was larger, so this is presumed to have been the kitchen, although no evidence of a wood or coal range was found in either fireplace. It is possible that cooking took place outside, a traditional Maori practice, although there is no obvious cookhouse visible in the 1931 photo in Figure 2. There were timber fireplace surrounds around each fireplace.

The building was located on a site that sloped gently down to the north and the lean-to at the rear of the building was built almost on the ground surface. The main bearer and base plates were supported by a series of puriri piles, which were the original supports for the building, but these had been supplemented by basalt rocks.

This small cottage was competently built from above-average materials, such as the planed tongue and groove wallboards, which in a cheaper building would have been rough-sawn sarking. This suggests that the building was built by skilled carpenters, and fits the historic account of it having been built for Tawhiao.

ARCHAEOLOGY

The majority of archaeological features were either be-

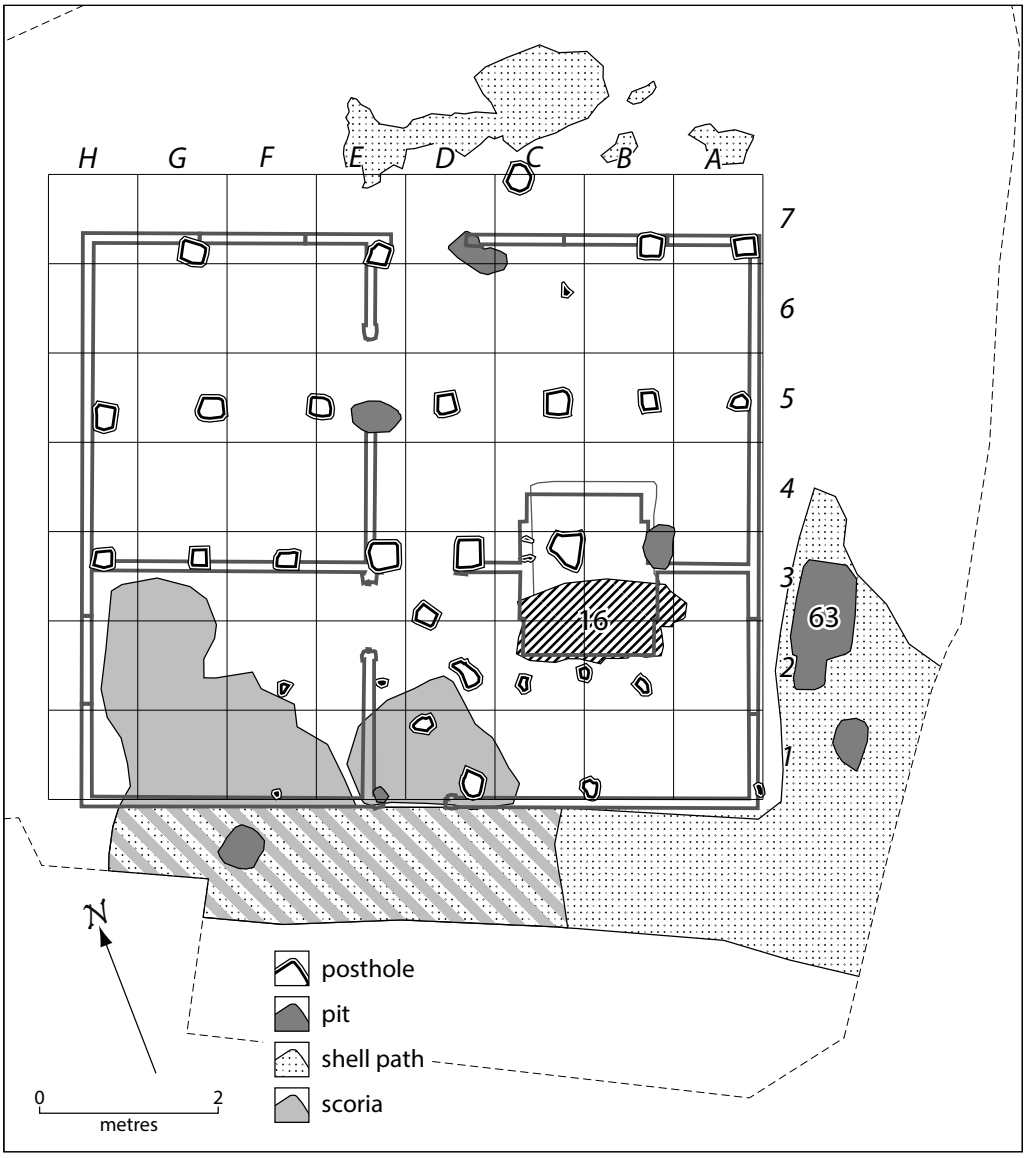

Figure 5. Plan of the excavation of the cottage – features in the driveway and yard to the south and west are not shown.

neath the cottage or immediately next to it, with only a few pits and postholes in the yard (Figure 5). The archaeology is reported in full in Campbell *et al.* (2013a) and is summarised here.

The underfloor

Loose surface material was removed from the underfloor deposit while the cottage was jacked up on sties. Once the cottage was moved off site the remainder of the deposit was excavated in 1 m squares. A loose shell midden underlay much of the house and had been thoroughly churned by rats, with both 19th century ceramic and modern plastic spread from top to bottom. This midden and any loose fill were excavated by hand and artefactual and faunal material was handpicked and bagged by square. Bulk samples of midden, 10 litres where possible, were taken from several contexts, including excavated squares.

The postholes for the main puriri house piles were arranged in five regular rows running east–west. Other scoria and basalt rocks and bricks around the edge of the house were added as replacement piles at a later date, as they overlay a mixed soil containing artefacts. Stones and scoria in the north west corner of the cottage appeared to be original.

The largest feature in the footprint of the cottage was the chimney base, Feature 16 (Figure 6). The north part of the base was damaged during removal of the cottage and so only the southern half was investigated in detail. It measured 1500 mm wide × 450 mm high and had originally been 2200 mm long, and was constructed of irregular, un-mortared scoria rocks partly set into the natural

Figure 6. The excavation in progress: top left, modern and historic rubbish and shell midden beneath the leant-to after its removal; top right, the exposed fireplace and chimney foundation, bricks and rubble under the floor in the area around the back door, and scoria rubble under the floor of Room 3; bottom left, fireplace and chimney base showing the plastered hearth surface with layer of levelling midden below on a foundation of irregular scoria rocks; bottom right, the cottage footprint after excavation.

subsoil, with smaller stones and rubble in between and then shell midden used as levelling fill and the top plastered over with a concrete skim. This midden was the same composition as the midden beneath the rest of the cottage. In the centre of the fireplace it was capped by the plaster layer and was the only part of the midden undisturbed by rats – a bulk sample was taken for analysis. Beneath the north side of the chimney base two postholes had been dug for piles but were not needed and had been filled back in with clean fill. The midden, then, postdates the wooden piles but predates the chimney base into which it was subsequently incorporated. It was laid down during the early phases of construction.

Features around the cottage

On the north side of the cottage a small area of scoria stones was exposed to the west of the doorway and a sparse scattering of shell to the east side. Neither layer was very substantial but they ran parallel to the cottage and appear to have been a deliberately laid path. Small finds from this surface such as two 1941 halfpenny coins, a slate pencil and a manganese glass jar fragment indicate that it was contemporary with occupation of the cottage.

On the east side of the house the surface was scattered with fragments of shell and the occasional small artefact, but nothing that suggested any formal paths. Towards the south east corner of the cottage the fill became deeper, and built up with mixed scoria, soil and shell midden. This feature continued around the back of the cottage to the back doorway. On the west side of the back doorway another similar layer of fill but with more artefacts and up to 220 mm deep was present. Artefacts from this layer dated to the 1930s.

On the east side two features, a sump and pit, were excavated and on the west side a rubbish pit. Feature 63, the sump, contained a box kerosene lamp designed for stationary outdoor use. The sump measured 1050 × 680 mm × 750 mm deep, with a fill of large scoria rocks and clean soil, with the occasional artefact, including a metal ploughshare tip.

To the south of the sump was a small oval pit measuring 630 × 430 mm × 30 mm deep, filled with shell midden, including fragments of ceramic and glass. Around

the back of the cottage on the west side of the doorway a roughly circular rubbish pit measuring 560 × 480 mm × 520 mm deep was excavated containing fragments of tin cans, glassware and ceramic.

The driveway and yard

Apart from the underfloor deposit and features directly related to the cottage itself, few other features were found. There was little space between the cottage and the current boundary to north, south and east while the yard between the cottage and the 1950s house was undeveloped but had clearly been modified in the past.

The surface of the current driveway was gravel up to 250 mm deep, with a base course below this of mixed scoria 200 mm deep. Few features were revealed beneath the driveway with just a single rubbish pit and two postholes possibly relating to the occupation of the cottage. A rectangular rubbish pit 800 × 750 mm × 450 mm deep contained a 1930s or 40s milk bottle and a moulded alcohol bottle base and probably relates to the cottage occupation.

In the yard topsoil stripping revealed that the area had been cut down and levelled in the past. No topsoil was present and the natural subsoil was buried under a layer of redeposited subsoil up to 300 mm thick. The few features included a ceramic pipe drain and two postholes.

ANALYSIS

The majority of the excavated material culture and faunal remains came from the underfloor deposit, with some minor components from nearby features and very little from the driveway and yard.

At the time of the investigation the piles along the back wall of the cottage had rotted away or otherwise collapsed so that there was no gap between the base of the wall and the ground, but there would never have been a large gap here. At the front there was a gap of around 300 mm. While there was little space for deliberate disposal of material beneath the cottage, artefacts dating across the full span of occupation were found there, and we can presume they were deliberately deposited. Modern material was also found beneath the cottage: wind deposition, animals and continued use of the cottage for storage are likely sources, as gaps where the floor had rotted away would have allowed material to fall through. Disturbance from rats was also obvious and the deposited material had been thoroughly turned over, with modern plastic buried well into it. If there had been any stratigraphy in the deposit, this was obscured by this process. The horizontal distribution of ceramics, glassware and other artefacts are likely to have been less affected and there were no plumbing or electrical utilities cutting through the deposit.

Here the artefactual and faunal assemblages are treated as single assemblages. The analyses are reported in full in Campbell *et al.* (2013a).

Material culture

Few bottles were recovered that might have contained alcohol. The earlier bottle types include champagne shape ring-seal bottles in green glass and tall black beer shape bottles in olive green glass, one case gin bottle and two aqua glass whisky or spirit flasks. Later alcohol bottles are almost all amber or brown, machine-made, crown seal beer bottles.

Numerous generic glass bottles and jars were found that would have contained jams, pickles, oils and vinegar, as well as the ubiquitous Lea & Perrins Worcestershire Sauce, but several were embossed with product names. New Zealand products included a Kirkpatrick 'K Brand' jam jar and fragments of two Hayward Bros 'Flag Brand' pickle jars, all mould-blown; while later machine-made bottles were also present.

Pharmaceutical bottles included small pill bottles and cough and cold medicines, including Woods' Peppermint Cure, Lane's Emulsion (from Oamaru), Baxter's Lung Preserver (from Christchurch) and Kruschen's Salts. Fragments of at least three 'Udolpho Wolfe's Aromatic Schnapps' bottles were also found under the house – Udolpho Wolfe's was marketed as a medicine though it was also an alcoholic drink.

A number of aerated water or soft drink bottles were recovered from the underfloor excavation, mainly representing Auckland aerated water manufacturers, ranging from mould-blown aqua glass Codd Patent bottles dating to 1890–1920 to machine-made crown seal or screwtop bottles dating 1920–1940s.

Cleaning fluid, oil and ink bottles were represented, as well as table glass such as tumblers and bowls. In Feature 63 a copper alloy metal box with a glass pane on one side, 125 × 100 mm × 7.5 mm thick with chamfered edges, came from a stationary outdoor kerosene lamp. Enough similar glass was found in the underfloor deposit to provide an MNI of 3 such lamps, and a more conventional portable kerosene lamp was also recovered – a fragment of a large kerosene tin was found beneath the house. The cottage was never provided with electricity so lamps and candles were the only form of lighting.

The ceramics are mainly from the underfloor deposit and are almost exclusively tableware – a total MNI of 107 vessels. Little of this was transfer print, as the *ca* 1890 date of the cottage would indicate. Gilt hairlining was the most common decorative technique, but multi-coloured printed and painted designs were also found along with a black-slipped earthenware teapot. Most of the manufacturers that could be identified were from Staffordshire, but included some New Zealand made Crown Lynn (post 1940), as well as some early 20th century Japanese ceramics. Of note are a Chinese ginger jar and an *ng ka py* whisky jar – the occupants may have used Chinese products but they also had Chinese neighbours who established market gardens in Mangere from the 1930s. One machine-

Figure 7. A sample of material culture from beneath the house and from features around it: a–c, patent medicine bottles; d–f, condiment bottles and jars; g, vulcanite pipe mouthpiece; h, locket; i, slate pencil; j, marbles and beads; k, Hollinshead and Kirkham 'Fruits' pattern transfer print; l, transfer print ware; m, Japanese ware; n, edge-banded ware; o, printed ware.

made glass bottle also had Chinese characters embossed on the base.

Metal objects included lidded tins for products such a cocoa or golden syrup, as well as sealed tins for meat and fish. Tobacco tins and matchboxes were well preserved beneath the cottage floor. The paper label survives on a Johnson's Baby Powder tin with perforated shaker top. Two metal cans had been repurposed, with holes punched in them to serve for shakers, one fine enough to be for salt or pepper. Other metal objects included nails, hinges and tools.

Leather belts and shoes and boots were well preserved beneath the house, ranging from heavy men's work boots to women's and children's shoes.

Personal items included glass beads, a metal brooch and vulcanite pipe mouthpieces. Slate pencils, fragments of writing slate, clay and glass marbles and toys, along with the footwear, indicate the presence of children. Coins include halfpennys up to 1946 but also 1 and 2 cent coins from the 1970s and 80s.

Various items of horse gear were found: five iron horseshoes, a spur, leather from horse tack (some seemingly repurposed to repair boots and shoes) and buckles probably from horse tack.

Finally, two small pieces of obsidian, probably from Tuhua / Mayor Island were found: an angular fragment beneath the floor and a small flake in a posthole fill. These probably relate to the pre-European Maori occupation of the wider Mangere area.

Faunal material

The great majority of faunal material came from the underfloor midden and was deposited in a single event, whether over one day or a period of days, during the construction of the cottage.

Midden was incorporated into the chimney base as a levelling fill and it is clear that this midden is the same deposit as the general midden beneath the cottage. Some of this midden was present outside the footprint of the cottage, but this was much more weathered, crushed and dispersed than the well-preserved component beneath the cottage; and small amounts of midden, which appeared to originate in the underfloor deposit, were also recovered from nearby pits and postholes. In these analyses all faunal material is analysed as single assemblage. The analyses are reported in full in Campbell *et al*. (2013a) with the exception of the fishbone, which has been reanalysed for this paper.

Mammal and bird

The mammal and bird remains included several probably natural bone accumulations of cats (mostly juvenile), rats and hedgehogs. A few small Passeriforme remains, smaller than a black bird, are also unlikely to be human food remains. Small quantities of wood pigeon and duck may have been deposited by rats or cats but may equally have been human food remains.

The rest of the animal remains are clearly deposits related to meat consumption, mostly domesticated farm mammals (Table 1) as well as small amounts of domestic chicken (Table 2). Burning, cut marks, and dog and rat gnawing were recorded in only low proportions.

Pig was the most frequent species, representing at least 10 individuals, based on skeletal element abundance and age profiles. Most were under 2 years old but some were as old as 4–7. Elements from the trunk and neck, and foot were the most common, including loin, blade cuts, and ham hocks. The loin elements were mostly complete and not butchered while some were still articulated suggesting that these had been cured as bacon or ham. Several other elements could have been stewed or roasted while skull elements suggest that brawn was made.

Sheep exploitation was quite varied with a range of mutton, prime adult and lamb being consumed. The sheep remains represent an MNI of at least 5 individuals. This kind of profile suggests that the inhabitants may have kept their own sheep and butchered them themselves. Although skull remains, key elements representing butchery waste, are missing, foot bones are quite well represented, probably a result of dressing the carcasses elsewhere. Most of the remains had been sawn into a variety of cuts including some small thin leg and shoulder chop retail-type cuts, but most were large and probably consumed in roasts, and

Table 1. *Mammal taxa by* NISP.

Common name	Taxon	NISP
Pig	*Sus scrofa*	428
Cattle	*Bos taurus*	161
Sheep	*Ovis aries*	144
Cat	*Felis catus*	33
Hedgehog	*Erinaceus europaeus occidentalis*	24
Rat	*Rattus* sp.	17
Rabbit	*Oryctolagus cuniculus*	2
Ferret, weasel	Mustelidae	1
	mammal sp.	372

Table 2. *Bird taxa by* NISP.

Common name	Taxon	NISP
Chicken	*Gallus gallus*	18
Turkey	*Meleagris gallopavo*	3
Wood pigeon	*Hemiphaga novaeseelandiae*	2
Duck	Anatidae	1
	bird sp.	38

stews/casseroles. Overall this represents a variety in the types of dishes being prepared.

Cattle appear to have been butchered offsite. Mostly low quality, tougher but cheaper beef cuts were found, sawn into large portions, particularly short rib/cross rib cuts. These cuts tend to be more suitable for soups, stews/casseroles, and corned beef in the case of brisket. There are also few cuts associated with butchery waste such as the skull and tarsals. Age data for cattle was limited with at least one mature adult over 7 years of age and one under 7 years. These patterns suggest the purchase of cheaper cuts from a commercial butcher.

Fish

The fish bone came almost entirely from the midden beneath the house, with very few bones (25 in total) coming from other contexts. Much of the bone was handpicked from the midden during excavation, meaning that numerous small bones would not have been recovered – while this is less of a problem for larger fauna such as domestic mammals, it does mean that the fishbone analysis will not present a full picture (Allen 2014). Fishbone analysis followed the method outlined by Campbell (2016).

Numbers for fishbone are given in Table 3. Simpson's index of diversity calculated on all identified bones, expressed as 1/D (Magurran 2004:114) is 1.273, which is close to 1 and indicates very low diversity, in this case because the assemblage is dominated by a single species, snapper. Other taxa were also present in low numbers, all of which could have been taken with baited metal hook in the nearby Manukau Harbour.

Only 51 bony fish vertebrae were counted, compared to 329 cranial bones. Fish generally have 25 to 30 vertebrae, while 30 cranial bones were potentially identified for each species, so we would expect cranial bones and vertebrae to be present in roughly equal numbers. This result indicates either that whole fish were not being bought onto the site or that bodies, including vertebrae, were being taken off site. At pre-European Maori sites where there are low numbers of vertebrae, this is taken to indicate that fish were being processed and preserved for consumption elsewhere. The Tawhiao Cottage occupation, however, did not take place under a subsistence economy but under a capitalist market economy, as the probable purchase of beef cuts shows. While it is possible that this represents fish preservation other explanations would seem to be more likely.

Fish may have been bought on site already filleted, with fish heads being used to make soups or cooked for the delicate cheek meat. However, whole mummified snapper heads were found in the deposit. It is possible that the fish were being caught, cleaned and headed on site, while the fillets, including vertebrae, were taken elsewhere for consumption. It is notable, however, that very few pharyngeal bones from the gill arches were found, so it seems that the fish were already cleaned when they were deposited, rather than being cleaned on site.

Table 3. *Fish taxa by* NISP.

Common name	Taxon	cranial bones	vertebrae
Snapper	*Pagrus auratus*	302	35
Grey mullet	*Mugil cephalus*	14	4
Hapuka	*Polyprion oxygeneios*	4	2
Trevally	*Pseudocaranx dentex*	4	6
Tarakihi	*Nemadactylus macropterus*	3	
Kahawai	*Arripis trutta*	2	4
Shark	Chondrichthyes		1

Shellfish

Bulk samples of midden, 10 litres where possible, were collected from the fireplace and chimney foundation, Pit 64, the fill layer/shell path outside the front door and from two transects beneath the house: Row E (running north–south) and Row 5 (running east–west). These are all treated here as a single assemblage.

The shellfish assemblage is dominated by cockle and oyster with other species in small numbers. Oyster is a larger species than cockle so that, while there are somewhat fewer oysters, they would have provided more meat. All the species represented could have been gathered from the rocks, beaches and mudflats of the Manukau Harbour, only about 500 m from the site. The primary species targeted appears to be oyster but other species were also gathered expediently.

Table 4. *Shellfish taxa by* NISP.

Common name	Taxon	NISP
Bivalves		
Tuangi cockle	*Austrovenus stutchburyi*	960
Rock oyster	*Saccostrea* sp.	673
Pipi	*Paphies australis*	216
Green-lipped mussel	*Perna canaliculus*	30
Scallop	*Pecten novaezelandiae*	10
Miscellaneous bivalves		9
Gastropods		
Cat's eye	*Turbo smaragdus*	77
Mud snail	*Amphibola crenata*	29
Paua	*Haliotis iris*	4
Miscellaneous gastropods		9

Discussion

While the artefactual material had been deposited beneath the cottage throughout most of the time since its first construction, the midden appears to be a single deposit. The sealed deposit in the chimney base was no different to the general underfloor deposit; whole, mummified snapper heads and articulated pig limbs were found beneath the cottage, and it seems unlikely that these would be deposited there to decay while the cottage was occupied; some faunal material may have been dragged beneath the house by rats or cats, but there are no evident gnaw marks. Luminol dating of one cattle and two sheep bones from the midden gave results near the limit of this method, indicating the bone is from an archaeological (pre-1900) timeframe. This indicates a time since death consistent with an 1890s deposition of the midden and confirms its close temporal relationship to the cottage construction (Dudley 2016). The midden relates to a single deposition event just prior to the construction of the cottage.

MAORI IN HISTORIC ARCHAEOLOGY

There are few recorded excavations of historic period Maori sites and no clear patterns are evident. On the other hand, there has been very little in the way of synthesis of European historic archaeology, so that any archaeological attempt to trace the 19th and early 20th century origins of modern New Zealand society and the influences of Maori and Pakeha (New Zealanders of European extraction) culture on each other can barely be said to have begun.

On the Hauraki Plains, European material culture became progressively more common through time so that from a late 19th century house on the Puriri River no 'traditional' material culture was found, but settlement and subsistence patterns remained 'traditional', including the use of shell 'as a free-draining fill to build up the living area' (Bedford 2004:149). As Bedford points out, European items that directly filled traditional roles were adopted first, while others were repurposed – ceramics were used as pendants and iron nails as fishhooks.

Maori were quick to adapt European material culture, technology and subsistence strategies as it suited them, though often at different tempos in different places (Anderson *et al*. 2014:165). Houses, however, continued to be built in traditional forms well past the mid-19th century and the archaeological signature of housing shows little obvious change. Several houses were excavated near Lake Rotoaira, Taupo, as part of the Tongariro Power development in the 1970s, but although they date from the 1880s to 1930s, they do not appear to have been of European-style construction (Newman 1989). At Papahinu, South Auckland, Foster and Sewell (1995) excavated historic Maori houses that were built and occupied in two phases: up to 1823, and then between 1835 and 1863, when Te Akitai refused the oath of allegiance and departed to the Waikato. Again, they retained traditional layouts with late phase houses having square, spade-cut postholes. At Te Oropuriri in Taranaki, Holdaway and Wallace (2013) describe several phases of house construction between the 1840s and 50s, with traditional construction forms set into spade cut holes. At Whenua Hou / Codfish Island, in Foveaux Strait, a population of Pakeha sealers and their Maori wives lived in European style cottages in the early to mid–19th century (Smith and Anderson 2008). At Te Wairoa (the buried village, destroyed by the 1886 Tarawera eruption), near Rotorua, Simmons (1991) excavated an 1880s house in largely traditional form but with a corrugated iron roof and a simple fireplace and chimney. The latter is among the latest of these examples and the only one that might be considered 'transitional.' Like Whenua Hou, Te Wairoa was a mixed community and some Maori are recorded as living in European style houses there from the mid–1860s (Simmons 1991:56). None of these examples is really comparable to the Tawhiao Cottage which, to date, is the only specifically Maori-occupied late 19th century European-style building investigated archaeologically in New Zealand.

THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF RACE AND ETHNICITY

The archaeology described above is not sufficient on its own to mark the cottage as being owned and occupied by Maori. Despite the presence of an unusual midden, in many ways the archaeology is typical of similar New Zealand sites of similar age. In order to understand the site as a specifically Maori site it is useful to examine it through the concepts of race and ethnicity, which have been widely developed in archaeology recently, particularly in North America. While this global approach is useful, it is also necessary to examine the site in light of Maori cultural concepts. We know from the historical record that the site was occupied by Maori and placing the site within a specifically local, New Zealand context enables an interpretation that addresses global colonial processes while acknowledging the uniqueness of the local situation.

Race and ethnicity are categories of identity. In simple terms, ethnicity is an identity developed by those who see themselves as belonging to the particular ethnic group. The development of an ethnic identity may be a response to racial categorisations imposed on the group from the outside by an opposing group as a means of control. Conversely, those without power may also apply racial categorisations to their oppressors in order to differentiate themselves on their own terms. In settler societies such as New Zealand the relationships between immigrant colonists and Maori, as tangata whenua (the people of the land), might appear to provide an innate basis for racial distinction. However, racial categorisations in the modern sense were created as a central feature of the colonial, or Imperial, project, as metropolitan Europeans assigned an inferior status, based on physical and cultural difference, to

peoples whose land and resources they were appropriating, and over whom they consequently gained and maintained economic and political power (Orser 2007: 9). While it is an endlessly repeated truism that race has no scientific basis, it remains a central factor in modern society. The archaeological study of race and ethnicity, then, is the study of the interaction between these created categories of persons.

The process of colonisation, from the mid-19th century through to the 20th century (and perhaps beyond), is a central topic of historical archaeological inquiry. At the same time, the archaeologist should be careful not to accept racial categories as valid: Maori and Pakeha culture, and material culture, were certainly different, but a clash of cultures and an economic struggle over land and resources does not become a clash of races and a social struggle over identity until it is explicitly categorised that way. Maori, as much as any people caught up in global movements largely beyond their control could, adopted and adapted to Pakeha lifeways on their own terms, as active agents, rather than passive recipients. At no time were they wholly subservient to the racialised colonial project.

The construction of racial, or other, hierarchies implies that those at the bottom will have less access to goods and services than those at the top, in whose interest these hierarchies are constructed, and who enforce and reinforce them, monopolising access to goods and services. This in turn implies that the material culture assemblages and the spatial relationships that archaeologists study will be differentiated along racial or other identity lines (Mullins 2004; Orser 2007: 13). The problem is that differences in access to capital are a signal of not only race but of all hierarchies constructed to reinforce the position of elites: hierarchies of gender, class, religion, marital status, age, etc. Material culture is held to reflect peoples' identity, but it has proven impossible to identify consistent assemblages of artefacts that correlate with the presumed ethnic identity of their users. If there are particular characteristics of people or groups of people that affect their access to different material possessions, these are not always immediately clear. The most obvious such characteristic is not ethnicity or race, but wealth, the money to obtain such possessions (Orser 2007: 46–50).

By the end of the 19th century Maori were enmeshed in the global economic system of western capitalism; half a century after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi and the beginnings of concerted European settlement, the material culture of a site known from documentary evidence to have been owned and occupied by Maori is not markedly different from any site of similar age known to have been occupied by Pakeha. We can expect such homogenization in material culture because of the entrepreneur's urge to sell as much as possible to as many people as possible, regardless of their 'race.' In New Zealand the problem is compounded by the limited range of some goods available, much of which had to be imported from Britain. The British merchant decided what would be available in the colonial market, and it was equally available to Maori and Pakeha, or at least to Maori and Pakeha money.

The midden beneath the cottage, as we have seen, dated to the time of construction, and it is this midden that is key to understanding the Maori occupation of the cottage. Middens are the most commonly recorded pre-European site type and are characterised by shell, with some fish, bird and mammal bone often present, much the same as the Tawhiao Cottage midden, which also has introduced European farm animals. But a midden alone does not equate with a Maori occupation; Pakeha also ate shellfish, fish and farm animals and would have had to dump the remains somewhere. The shellfish and fish are almost certainly gathered locally and there are some aspects of the assemblage that might be interpreted as Maori, particularly the collection of a wide range of shellfish – Pakeha would be unlikely to collect cat's eyes or mudsnails. On its own, although this is indicative, it is not definite a marker of Maori presence.

One aspect of the midden is unusual – the use of shell, including all the same fish and mammal bone parts present in the main midden deposit, as a levelling fill in the chimney foundation. This fill was plastered over to form the hearth. It is possible that Maori would be more likely to view shell as a structural material, since levelled shell floors are a known site type and they would have been familiar with it but again, this is only indicative at best.

Much of our understanding of the archaeology of race derives from work done in the United States, where the transportation and enslavement of Africans was predicated on racial grounds that are in many ways uniquely American, and race remains a salient factor in American society to this day. Orser (2007) has developed a sophisticated exploration of race and the process of racialisation in American historic archaeology, much of which is relevant to our understanding of the Tawhiao Cottage.

Mullins (1999) has shown how African Americans in the 19th and early 20th centuries at Anapolis, Maryland, often caught their own fish and otherwise obtained food and consumer goods outside the local markets, allowing them to avoid what Orser (2007: 29) refers to as the 'racialized public sphere.' There may be an element of this in the Tawhiao Cottage midden assemblage, although equally it may represent a continuation of traditional subsistence patterns with new technology and new species. A combination of continuing traditional fishing, where Maori may have been comfortable, farming of sheep and pigs, and limited shopping for items like cheap cuts of beef in local stores and markets, seems likely. Despite being enmeshed in a capitalist economy, the occupants of the cottage may have limited their involvement, relying on a limited self-sufficiency, supplementing this with Pakeha goods and foods on their own terms.

Orser's approach includes his advocacy of a 'modern-world' historical archaeology as a shared global project,

one that explores the global expansion of European colonialism in the 16th–19th centuries (Orser 2004). This expansion impacted on the unique societies already present in the 'new' lands, in the case of New Zealand, on Maori. While race relations in America and New Zealand share a common origin in the colonial project, the particulars of the American experience do not necessarily translate easily to New Zealand. The timing, impetus and development of colonialism differed (Campbell *et al*. 2013b) and the nature of interaction with Maori meant that much of New Zealand colonialism was unique. The particulars of the New Zealand experience are as important as globally shared factors, and one aspect of the archaeology of the Tawhiao Cottage can only be understood with reference to distinct Maori culture.

The building of large, carved houses (wharenui, whare whakairo) was accompanied by ritual. Such houses are tapu, the labour to construct them is tapu and the chief who sponsored them is tapu. A house that is tapu is not safe to live in, a man who is tapu is not safe to live with. The tapu, then, must be controlled and made safe though rites of whakanoa, and one of the agents through which things could be made noa was cooked food (Firth 1929: 242). The Tawhiao Cottage is not a carved meeting house but many of the same dynamics would apply, particularly given the tapu associated with a man of Tawhiao's status. House construction was accompanied by feasting at both the start and the conclusion of work. Hakari (feasts) were communally organised, and probably the building of the Tawhiao Cottage was a communal affair. At least some of the builders were skilled, and may not necessarily have been Maori, but the social context of building the cottage was Maori.

The hakari 'represents the pinnacle of satisfaction in community life, the focus of interest for months ahead' (Firth 1929: 299). By the late 19th century hakari were planned 12 months ahead of time, with stores of biscuits, sugar and flour purchased (Booth, quoted in Ballara 1998: 223). 19th century and early 20th century accounts of hakari cited by Ballara (1998) emphasise the competitive nature of feasting, less so the occasion for the feast. 'A feast is considered as being held in furtherance of some other object than the satisfaction of ordinary physical needs; it is an integral part of some social activity. It is concerned not only with the actual consumption of food, but also with a complex set of activities surrounding this event' (Firth 1929: 300). Certainly competitive feast giving, given the obligations of utu, falls into this definition, but feasting was also an integral aspect of the house construction process, with a communal feast held before construction was begun and another at its conclusion (Firth 1929: 295).

The hakari was supplied by the chief, perhaps in this case Tawhiao himself or his representative, and was in part a payment (utu) for the labour involved. The hakari at the conclusion of the house construction removed the tapu of house construction, though a certain level of tapu always remained associated with wharenui, and this may also have been the case with a building associated with Tawhiao. The lack of evidence of an oven in the room designated (by the archaeologists) as the kitchen reinforces this. After a hakari guests often took with them uneaten food (Ballara 1998: 225), in the case of the Tawhiao Cottage hakari this may have been the fish bodies that are notably absent from the assemblage.

Following the work of Dietler (1996) and Hayden (1996), feasts can be categorised into three broad levels: inclusive feasts held to reinforce social bonds; feasts held to aggrandize the chief or big man who hosts them but that are still largely inclusive; and exclusive feasts held by elites to reinforce their status and exclude lower ranked members of society. This schema is a spectrum rather than a typology and the various levels are not mutually exclusive – feasting can occur at various points on the spectrum concurrently. The feast at the Tawhiao Cottage is of the first two kinds, a reward due to the work party from their high-status patron but one intended to reinforce social bonds by ensuring their safety.

Hakari have received little attention archaeologically. Law (1999) associates particularly long or large kumara storage pits with conspicuous display of wealth, analogous to the linear stages on which food was displayed at hakari. Jacomb *et al*. (2014) describe a large midden that was deposited in a cooking pit in a single event at the early period site of Wairau Bar. Richard Walter proposes that this was the remnants of a feasting event and the scale and diversity of the faunal assemblage suggests that it might have been associated with some significant ritual activities (pers. comm. 27 November 2015). The Tawhiao Cottage midden is the first that has been explicitly analysed as the evidence of hakari but it seems highly likely that other middens encountered by archaeologists fit into this category, although the evidence that enables such an interpretation may be elusive. Midden composition on its own would not demonstrate hakari, but when the midden is placed in context, as the historical record has allowed us to do for the Tawhiao Cottage, the evidence becomes clearer.

CONCLUSION

The most unusual aspect of the archaeology of the Tawhiao Cottage is the midden over which it is built, part of which is incorporated into the chimney base. A historical archaeology that seeks to understand global processes of modern European expansion and colonialism can only go so far in understanding this midden, placing it within the market economy. Its origin lies partly in the interaction of Maori with global capitalism, but more importantly, it represents the continuation of traditional Maori practice, as new technologies were adopted and found a place in their unique culture.

The point is not to differentiate a Maori historic archaeology from a Pakeha historic archaeology or to look

for specific ethnic markers in settlement or material culture. The historic record already tells us that the cottage was owned and occupied by Maori, but by taking this simple fact as a starting point a more nuanced interpretation becomes possible.

Smith *et al*. (2014) highlight the need for an archaeological examination of continuity and change in 19th century Maori society to complement our growing understanding of change in Pakeha society:

> Two hundred years after its founding [in 1814], the legacy of [the Mission Station at Hohi, Bay of Islands] can be seen in the strands of both Maori and European culture woven into the cultural fabric of New Zealand. Both retain elements of the traditional forms in which they first encountered each other at Hohi, but each has been transformed by engagement with the other and by the passage of time (Smith *et al*. 2014:72).

Sites such as the Tawhiao Cottage have considerable potential for exploring these processes and the tensions between old and new. The Tawhiao Cottage excavations indicate that the archaeological correlates of these social changes may be subtle at best, and discerning them in the archaeological record will not be a simple task.

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