

Bringing Christ to Whaingaroa: Te Nihinihi Wesleyan Mission Station at Raglan, New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

Te Nihinihi Mission Station was the second Wesleyan mission station at Whaingaroa (Raglan) replacing an earlier station at Te Horea with a dedicated and distinct mission station in 1839, which operated until 1881. Whaingaroa was third in a chain of missions established by the Wesleyan Mission Society along the west coast of New Zealand's North Island and the interior of the Waikato. Reverend Wallis and his wife Mary, who established the Whaingaroa Mission, first at Te Horea and later at Te Nihinihi, were active and popular with Māori, but during their time the environment changed from one dominated by Māori to one colonised with land purchases by Europeans. Shortly after the Wallises left in 1863, land confiscation followed militarisation of the area during the British invasion of the Waikato. Whaingaroa Mission's history is, like most other west coast Wesleyan missions, only sketchily understood with no archaeological investigations undertaken prior to the work described here. Layout of the mission describes the integrated yet separated nature of Whaingaroa mission and hints at its changing status and relationship within the colonising process of Whaingaroa/Raglan Harbour.

Keywords: Wesleyan, mission station, Te Nihinihi, Whaingaroa, Raglan.

INTRODUCTION

The first Christian mission station in New Zealand was opened at Hohi at the Bay of Islands by the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in 1814 (Middleton 2008, 2013; Smith 2013, 2019), with two new missions being founded in the bay at Kerikeri (1819) and Paihia (1823). In 1823 the CMS missionaries were joined by the first Wesleyan mission nearby at Kaeo in 1823. This mission was abandoned in 1827 but a new station was opened at Mangungu on the Hokianga Harbour on the west coast opposite the Bay of Islands. This mission became the base for rapid expansion of the Wesleyan Mission Society (WMS) along the west coast of North Island and the north end of South Island. From the founding of the Ahuahu Station on Kawhia Harbour in 1834 over the next decade a dozen stations were established both on the coast and inland in the Waikato Region (Middleton 2013; Smith 2013). Although they shared this landscape with CMS missions and to a lesser extent Roman Catholics it was for a significant duration very much a Wesleyan dominated environment.

Little research has been undertaken on the Wesleyan

mission stations of the west coast on New Zealand's North Island. Of the 18 Wesleyan Missions identified by Middleton (2013) three have been surveyed. For most of these mission stations we know little beyond the names of the missionaries and the dates they occupied the stations, with many of the locations uncertain. Even for Whaingaroa, one of the better known of these mission stations, we can only offer a sketch of its history. Although far from extensive, the archaeological investigations considered here provide the first archaeological evidence from a Wesleyan Mission station in New Zealand.

The first of two mission stations at Raglan (Whaingaroa) was established by Reverend James Wallis in early 1835 at Te Horea village and pā (fortified hill) close to the north side of the mouth of Raglan Harbour before being abandoned 18 months later (Figure 1). In 1839, after two years' absence, the Whaingaroa mission was re-established at Te Nihinihi on the southern side of the harbour.

Whaingaroa, one of three large harbours on the west of North Island, was occupied by members of hapū (tribes) descended from the Tainui waka. Early in the nineteenth century European trading ships had begun to call into Whaingaroa and the people of the area were familiar with European goods, foodstuffs such as peaches, pears, wheat, potatoes, corn and pigs, and new pleasures gained from alcohol and tobacco; they had been exposed to Christianity and were receptive to Wallis's teachings.

An archaeological investigation of part of the mission site was conducted in 2019 as Opotoru Road was being

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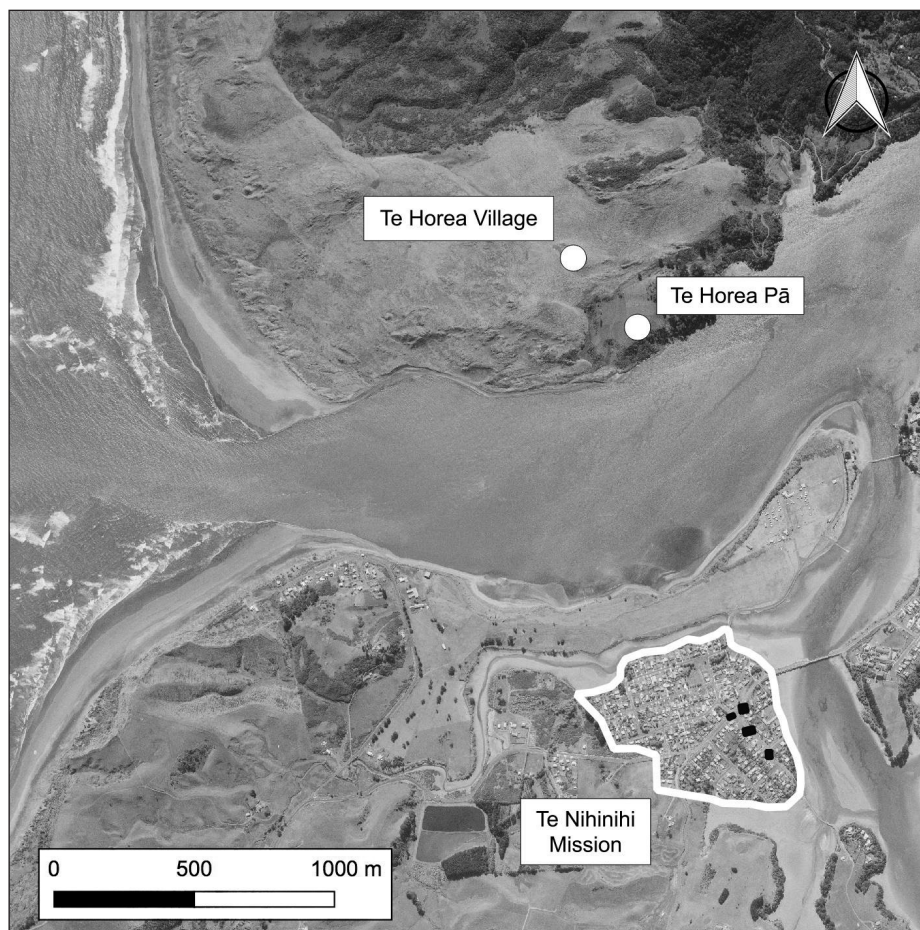


Figure 1. Map showing the location of Te Nihinihi Mission Station (outlined in white) on the southern side of Whaingaroa (Raglan) Harbour, and Te Horea Pā and village on the northern side of the harbour. The locations of the mission buildings are as shown on Drury's 1854 Navy Survey chart shown in black.

upgraded. This investigation provided us with the opportunity to verify the location of the church, mission house and other parts of the core Te Nihinihi Mission Station.

The investigation discovered artefacts that substantiate the location of the mission house and also the segregated Māori whare (huts) on the station land.

WHAINGAROA MISSION AT TE HOREA

The first Wesleyan mission station in Whaingaroa was established by Wesleyan Minister Reverend James Wallis and his wife Mary Ann Wallis in April 1835 on land assigned to him by the local people either within or close to Te Horea village (Figure 2). James and Mary were the first Europeans to settle at Whaingaroa Harbour, and their daughter Elizabeth was the first European born there, at Te Horea on 23 November 1835.

The early years of the mission appear to have been successful. A Māori assistant translated for Wallis and helped with teaching about 60 children. Within a few months the number of worshippers swelled from about 200 to

400–500. The first convert, Hamiora Ngaropi (Samuel Honeybee), was later ordained into the ministry. Te Awaitaia, the paramount Ngāti Māhanga chief, was baptised also; he adopted the name William Nera (Naylor). Other high-ranking chiefs, Wiremu Patene (William Barton), Paratene te Maioha, Epiha Putini and Hone Pihama, were also baptised by Wallis (Luxton 1965).

On 1 June 1836 Wallis and other Wesleyan missionaries on the west coast were withdrawn while the Wesleyans and the Church Missionary Society discussed allocation of territory for each denomination. The withdrawal caused Wallis and his congregation much distress. Wallis wrote:

Left Waingaroa with heart overwhelmed with sorrow When I looked at the chapel, the school-room, the house, the garden, the field, the station, I felt desirous to remain in possession of them, but my leaving was only a light trial compared to tearing myself from the weeping natives.... (Luxton 1965:10).



Figure 2. Wesleyan minister Rev. James Wallis (1809–1895) and Mary Ann Wallis (1807–1893). (Raglan Museum 1969.15.1 & 1969.15.2.).

During the next two years Wallis visited the area twice and after finding that the Church Missionary Society had not occupied the Whaingaroa area, nor any other location evacuated by the Wesleyan Mission, he asked for, and was granted, permission to return. When Wallis returned in 1839 he found the old mission station in disrepair (Luxton 1965:17). On the first Sunday after his return he preached at Te Horea to a congregation of nearly 500 Māori and a further 300 at another village. He also married and baptised two couples (Luxton 1965:18). Two weeks later he had a congregation of 800, and had baptised 65 people and married 23 couples. This is probably a good indication of the Māori population in the vicinity of the harbour at the time, although people may have come from further afield.

THE MISSION STATION AT TE NIHINIHI

The Wesleyan Missionary Society purchased land on the southern arm of the harbour from Ngāti Māhanga, one of the local tribes, and Wallis set up a new station, at Nihinihi (Luxton 1965:17). The Deed of Purchase was signed on 27 February 1839 by Te Awaitaia and James Wallis and witnessed by Hakopa, Hone Kingi, Warekura and Mahikai. It records the following items received as payment: ‘20 Blankets, 1 piece Print, 11 Handkerchiefs, 24 Spades, 24 Axes, 20 Hatchets, 36 Razors, 36 Knives, 10 Iron Pots, 300 Fish hooks, 320 figs of Tobacco, and 100 Pipes’ (Turton 1882).

The earliest known plan of this station is associated with a land claim in 1845. It shows the parcel as being 76 acres. The land went through the Old Land Claims¹ process as Claim 946 and the plan is annotated “Granted to Trus-

1 The Old Lands Claim process was established to investigate purchases of Māori land by Europeans prior to the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.

tees Wesleyan Missionary Society 6/12/66”. No buildings are shown on the plan.

By the time the site of the new mission station was established James and Mary had three children aged from three months to three years. There was no shelter at the new site, and their four-poster bed, which along with goods and equipment was landed from the barque *Elizabeth* on the beach at the new station, provided the first shelter for the family, with the addition of timber and blankets, and packing cases placed for windbreaks (Luxton 1965:17).

Wallis, like many of his colleagues, not only served the strictly spiritual needs of his community but worked to prevent disputes among tribes from flaring into open warfare. Te Horea Pā, in its prime position dominating the harbour entrance, was highly desirable. In one of several incidents referred to in Māori Land Court Records, the pā had been burnt down by Ngāti Mahuta in 1849, but re-built the next day by the occupants, Tainui Awhiro and Ngāti Tāhinga, preventing occupation by Ngāti Mahuta. In March 1850 Ngāti Mahuta re-built Horongarara a little further up the harbour during a dispute with Ngāti Tāhinga who lived in and around Te Horea Pā. The dispute almost led to warfare, but a peaceful settlement was brought about through the intervention of Rev. Wallis, Rev. Ashwell and the Surveyor-General Charles Ligar (Anon 1850a; Arvidson 2005; Boulton 2011:211–222). Documents show that Te Wherowhero of Ngāti Mahuta sold Te Horea to the government on 25 May 1850, for £50. One report stated the money was a payment to ensure Ngāti Mahuta should not visit again with hostile intentions. However, there was a repeat confrontation in August 1850, again averted by Rev. Wallis, after which both tribes continued to work their cultivations in the vicinity (Anon 1850b).

While we know the first station building at Te Nihinihi, which was constructed by local Māori, was a raupō (*Typha orientalis*) church with one end partitioned off as a dwelling for the missionaries before a weatherboard house could be constructed (Luxton 1965:17), we do not know whether this church was located on the ridge above or on the harbour-side flat where the four-poster bed was landed. A naval survey chart of Whaingaroa Harbour published in 1854 (Figure 3) offers the first solid information about the physical organisation of the station. It shows ‘Te nihi-nihi Wesleyan Missⁿ Stⁿ’ with four buildings; one is shown with a cross and must be the church. The other large building to the north may be assumed to be the mission house but the other two structures shown are a mystery. The chart also shows Te Hoie Village (Te Horea) on the northern shore of the harbour with a few other buildings scattered on the southern shore. The mission buildings appear to be oriented to Turerua Creek (Opotoru River). A later survey plan, SO 11339 (1898), describes an ‘old orchard’ on the flat area below the house area and an ‘Old Mill’ on a tributary stream forming the mission’s western boundary.

The appearance of the mission station is recorded in contemporary sketches and watercolours but no photo-

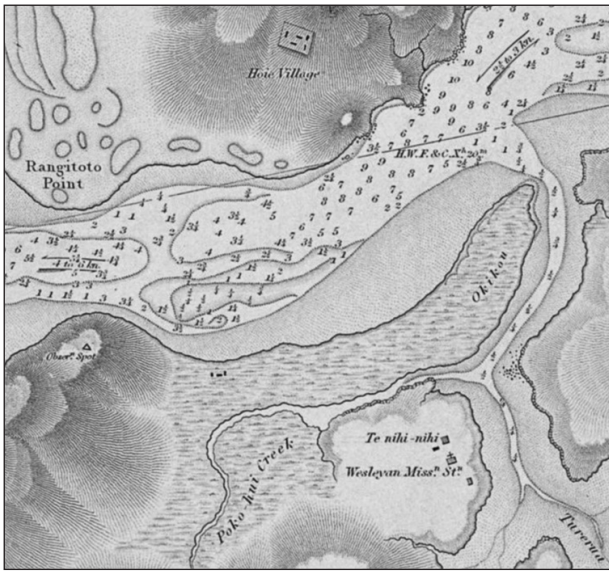


Figure 3. Part of ‘Whaingaroa Harbour’ surveyed by Com. B. Drury 1854. (Sir George Grey Special Collections, Auckland Libraries. NZ Map 3910).

graphs of the station are known. Artists’ renditions typically conveyed a sense of the station’s picturesque setting, with Mount Karioi forming the backdrop and the harbour

waters in the foreground. Artist Edward Ashworth drew several landscape sketches in December 1843, with one showing the church and mission house in the distance as viewed from hills overlooking the upper (southern) end of the Opoturu arm of the Raglan Harbour. His sketches also show other buildings and fenced enclosures scattered over the landscape, showing a dispersed settlement pattern being adopted by local Māori by this time.

Two photolithographs from the 1850s, apparently based on an original by James Wallis (date unknown), show the two mission buildings viewed from the eastern side of the Opoturu arm of the harbour. The copies differ in the detail of the crowds of Māori arriving by canoe, congregating on the foreshore and climbing the slope to the church but otherwise they are consistent and may be assumed to be faithful reproductions (Figure 4). In both images the mission house is shown as having a steeply-pitched hipped roof with two dormer windows, a front window on either side of a central door and the front protected by a veranda. Extensions or wings protrude from each of the rear corners of the house; two of the three chimneys appear to protrude from these extensions. It is possible that these are the visible elements of the rear of the house that served as kitchens and other rooms that formed a courtyard in the same style as the earlier plan of Busby’s house in the Bay of Islands and typical of the Colonial Regency style (McLean 1990). It is tempting to suggest that this house

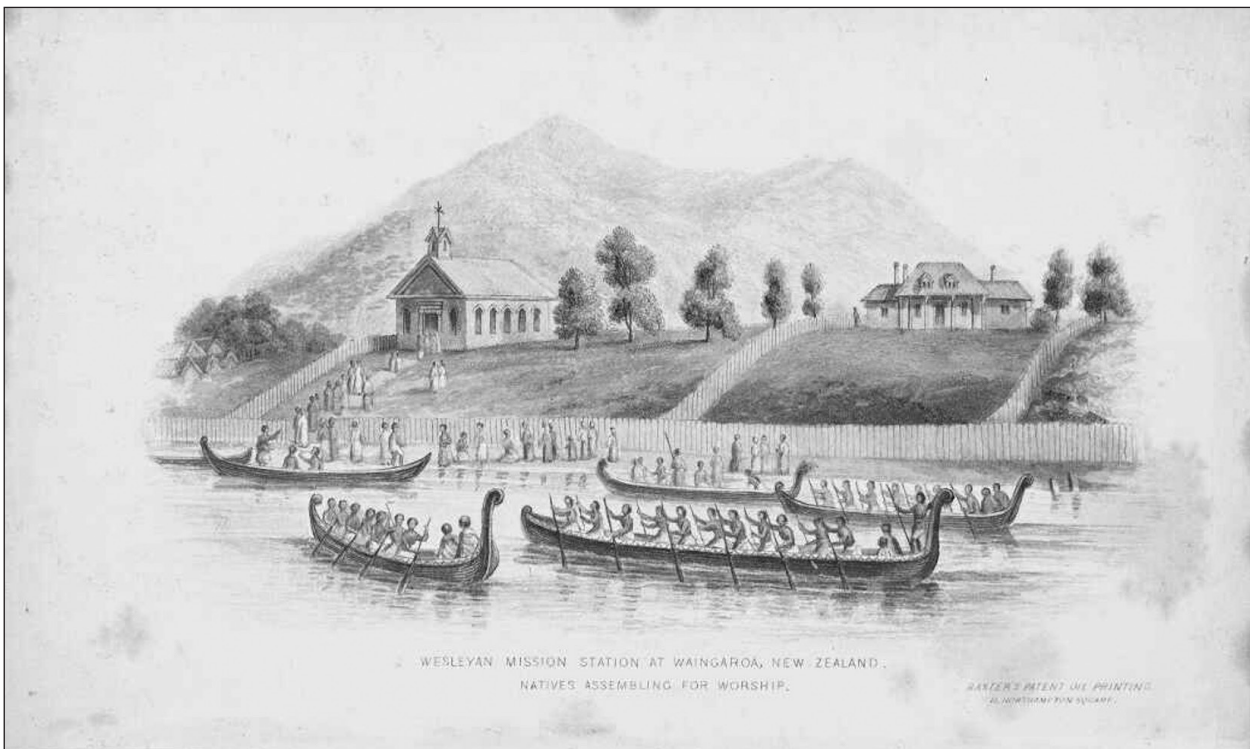


Figure 4. A published image believed to be copied from an original painting by James Wallis and reproduced by George Baxter. (‘Wesleyan mission station at Waingaroa, New Zealand. Natives assembling to worship.’ Baxter’s Patent Oil Printing. London, Wesleyan Missionary Society, 1846. Ref: B-088-014. Alexander Turnbull Library. <http://natlib.govt.nz/records/23040002>).

may have had a similarly iterative process of alteration and enlargement to Busby's house at Waitangi. The church is shown in both images to have a modest belfry and five tall windows along the north side with a window each side of the unadorned door. These buildings are prominent in an idealised, almost park-like, landscape where the land is neatly divided by fences segregating the mission house from the church and both from their surrounds. The fences extend to the harbour-side flat where a long paling fence can be seen extending along the entire harbour frontage. Tucked into the left-hand (southern) periphery of both images is a set of traditional style whare (Māori house), included almost as an after-thought.

Harriet Watkin's later sketch (Figure 5) shows a similar image but with a wider 'lens' that gives a better impression of the station in the landscape. The sketch differs in a number of minor ways: the house is smaller and without its wings or dormers but with a small building to its rear. The church does not have a belfry but the curtilages are still demarcated by fences, now shown augmented with a hedge along the harbour edge. The group of whare are absent and replaced by a single building in a similar location to the south of the church.

Although the house's dimensions are unknown, it was large enough to accommodate the Wallis family, which grew to nine children, along with visitors who included other missionaries and government officials. In early 1840 the CMS missionary Robert Maunsell brought a copy of the Treaty of Waitangi to Whaingaroa for signing. In June 1840 there were at least three visitors: Rev. John Bumby, Rev. Buddle and Mrs Buddle. On that occasion Rev. Bumby preached to a congregation of 700. The Buddles subsequently lived with the Wallis family for nine months, which implies a house of sufficient size (Anon 1883). Vernon (1984:82) states it had eight rooms. In 1841 scientist Ernst Dieffenbach and Ensign Abel Best and their party stayed at the mission station and in 1842 Best returned with Governor Hobson and again stayed there, where they were 'kindly entertained' and Mrs Wallis lent them a boat to travel around the harbour (Vernon 1984, 12–14; citing Best's diaries).

Another visitor was the artist George French Angas who stayed for three nights from 5–8 October 1844. Angas was travelling with a government official, Thomas Forsaith, who held a meeting with the chiefs which meant, according to Angas, that 'the whole settlement is in a state of unwonted excitement' (Angas 1847:58–59). He wrote:

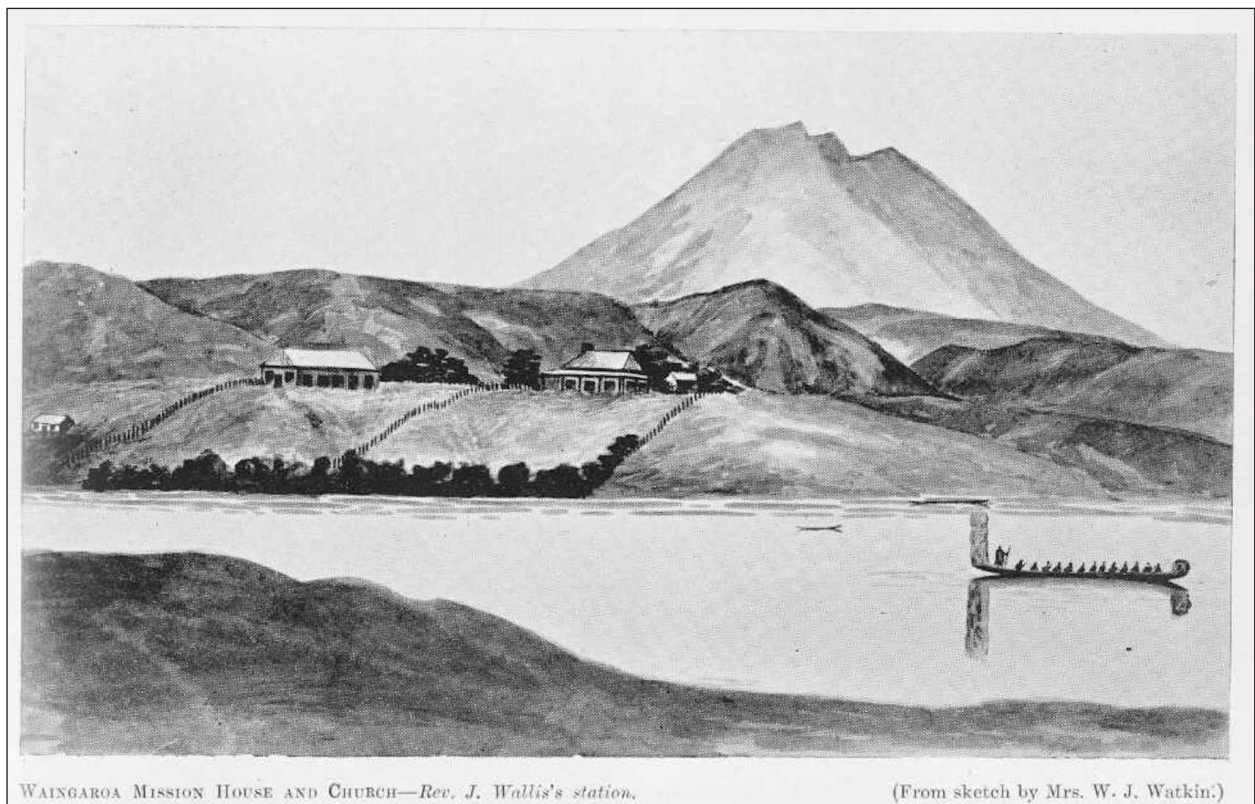


Figure 5. Photolithograph of a sketch by Harriet Watkin (c.1860) showing Te Nihinihi Mission Station. The print is titled 'Waingaroa Mission house and church—Rev. J. Wallis's station' (Alexander Turnbull Library. <https://natlib.govt.nz/records/23242984>).

Late last evening we reached the hospitable roof of the Wesleyan mission station. Mr Wallis, the missionary, was from home, but his wife received us most kindly, surrounded by half a dozen fine rosy-cheeked children The mission station stands upon the side of a hill, sheltered from the westerly winds and overlooking a valley, along which winds one of the many branches of the harbour.... In the afternoon I visited the chapel, where I found two classes. Composed of persons of all ages, squatted upon the floor, reading the Testament in the Maori language with the native teachers (Angas 1847:57–58.)

Angas spent his time at the mission house sketching the portraits of local chiefs, one of whom was a Ngāti Mahuta chief, Paratene Maioha. Angas stated that people came to watch 'sitting in the courtyard' and that 'upwards of thirty found their way into the room where I was engaged in painting, and the passage leading to it was crowded to excess'. He also painted Te Moanaroa and Te Awaitaia at Whaingaroa (Angas 1847:58–60).

A controversy arose in April 1854 when a letter to the editor of the *Daily Southern Cross* (Piscator 1854) described going into the station's chapel and finding inside 'swine, goats, geese, ducks, and turkeys' as well as 'a quantity of straw, wheat, and farming implements show that the place is used also as a barn' and that a quantity of wheat had been shipped from the chapel to Auckland, and also accusing Wallis of operating some form of local monopoly. The writer, using the pseudonym 'Piscator' had visited Whaingaroa with a view to purchasing land. The allegations were refuted by fellow Wesleyan missionary Rev. John Whiteley in a letter to the same newspaper (Whiteley 1854). He stated that the chapel was 'furnished with pulpit, a communion rail &c.', but that it was in need of repairs. Whiteley went on to state that the repairs had begun before Piscator's letter had been published, saying that 'the building was long since divided, and supported by a partition, and it is now being removed and reconstructed on another site'. This is ambiguous as to whether this referred to just the partition or whether the entire building was removed. Whiteley was also moved to enquire whether Piscator had yet married the 'half-caste girl' he was co-habiting with. Whiteley's letter does indicate that the Reverend Wallis, along with his sons, had obtained land prior to the Crown purchase of the southern side of the harbour, stating that Wallis and his five sons owned 588 acres. Given that purchases by the Crown of land around Whaingaroa Harbour had begun in 1851 (Boulton 2011; Walker 2013) we may speculate that Wallis had somehow frustrated Piscator's interest in land acquisition. Tellingly, in the same letter, Whiteley exclaims that 'it has long been our settled, unanimous, and declared conviction that the sooner the land is purchased by Government, and the country filled in the length and breadth of it with British colonists, and the better it will be for all parties'

(Whiteley 1854). This is an emphatic statement on behalf of his fellow Wesleyan missionaries.

Rev. Wallis's son Thomas died at Whaingaroa mission station in 1862 aged 22 years, while caring for typhoid sufferers including members of his own family (Anon 1862). The eldest three children left home in the early 1860s. James and Mary Ann Wallis, and the younger members of the family remained at the mission station until April 1863 when Wallis's ill-health caused him to take up a new position at Auckland, where he died on 5 July 1895 (Luxton 1965:31–32; Vernon 1984:80).

Rev. Cort Schnackenberg continued the mission in Raglan from his base at Kawhia, but moved to Te Nihinihi in approximately 1865. In 1871 Mrs Schnackenberg gave birth to a son at 'the Mission-station, Raglan' (Anon 1871). In 1873 a group of Māori who were forbidden from bedding down in the town 'had to cross over to the residence of the Rev. C.H. Schnackenberg' (Anon 1873). A boarding school in connection with the Wesleyan mission had 17 scholars is reported in the *Daily Southern Cross* (Anon 1869). By 1866 Schnackenberg was assisted by the Māori minister Wi Patene and Hamiora Ngaropi (Anon 1866, Anon 1870). Cort Schnackenberg died in August 1880; his widow and their five children subsequently shifted to Auckland (Anon 1880).

Rev. William Slade then took over the ministry but it seems that he did not occupy the mission house, as in March 1881 tenders were invited for a 14 year improving lease of the Wesleyan mission farm, 'consisting of 79 acres of land with a good house thereon' (Bond 1881).

The mission house at Te Nihinihi burned down on 27 March 1889 while it was occupied by an engineer, Mr Sewell, and his family. Accounts varied as to the extent of the fire, but at least 'one of the outhouses' and the mission house were destroyed. Insurance information stated that the mission station was insured for £150 and the chapel £100, that 'both buildings were destroyed' and that the fire started in gorse 'which so thickly surrounded the house' (Anon 1889a, Anon 1889b). In 1899 Edward Schnackenberg, son of Rev. Cort Schnackenberg, purchased the land from the Methodist Church.

ARCHAEOLOGY

Residential subdivision has meant that the setting of Te Nihinihi Mission Station is very different today from the nineteenth century with much of the station now enclosed within numerous residential lots and under roads. An opportunity was presented to examine part of the site prior to the planned upgrading of Opoturu Road. A georeferenced overlay of the 1854 Navy survey chart provided some guidance to the general location of the mission buildings in the area (Figure 6). This showed that the mission house was located in the general area of the intersection of Wainui Road and Opoturu Road with the mission church further south on the crest of the ridge. An initial survey of the road also revealed several areas of shell midden, with

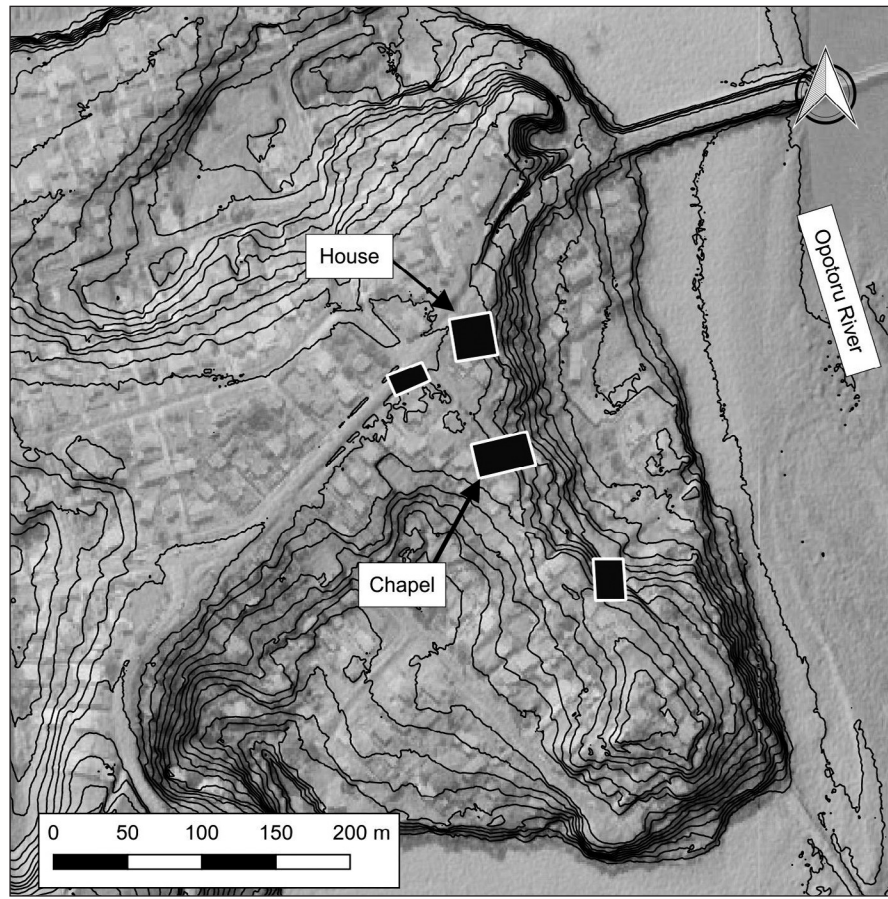


Figure 6. Locations of mission buildings interpolated from a georeferenced copy of the 1854 Royal Navy survey chart of Whaingaroa Harbour overlaid with a 1997 aerial photograph. This has placed the mission house close to the Wainui Road/Opoturu Road intersection, and the church to the south partly on Opoturu Road and to its west. The sizes of the polygons reflect the size of the corresponding polygons on the 1854 chart. Contours are 1 m.

some disturbed by the original road formation and other areas apparently in-situ. Whether the midden related to the mission station or an earlier phase of use was uncertain. Altogether the archaeological work focused on three areas, which approximated the areas of the mission house (Area 1), the church (Area 2) and the whare shown in the James Wallis derived images (Area 3) (Figure 7) (Gainsford 2020).

Area 1

Area 1 was located by the intersection of Wainui and Opoturu Roads close to the likely location of the mission house and the anonymous structure to its west. Scattered shell and small fragments of nineteenth century ceramics were visible on the ground surface.

The stratigraphy was relatively simple; generally, it took the form of a recent topsoil (or road seal), an approximately 10 cm thick cultural layer overlying the natural clay subsoil. The cultural layer was mostly a mix of fragmented shell, soil and artefacts. On the eastern side of the area the shell was relatively dense and gave the impression of paving rather

than midden. In one area this was replaced by a mixed soil 30 to 40 cm thick with a relatively high organic content and occasional artefacts, which was interpreted as a possible garden bed (Figure 8).

Area 1 had a relatively high concentration of archaeological features and also greater diversity in types of features compared to the other two areas. A number of post-holes were found in this area but none described a pattern that suggested a structure. Several linear depressions were also identified in this area; all but one had regular profiles. The exception was straight and had an irregular stepped profile that indicated it had followed a particular form that suggests it was a trench, possibly to accommodate a foundation. Some pieces of decayed wood were identified in this feature.

A well, lined with limestone blocks, was found close to the eastern edge of Area 1 (Figure 9). The well was approximately 2 m diameter and 6 to 7 m deep. The limestone blocks had all been fractured from natural cleavage planes and had been quarried from outcrops on the northern side of the harbour.

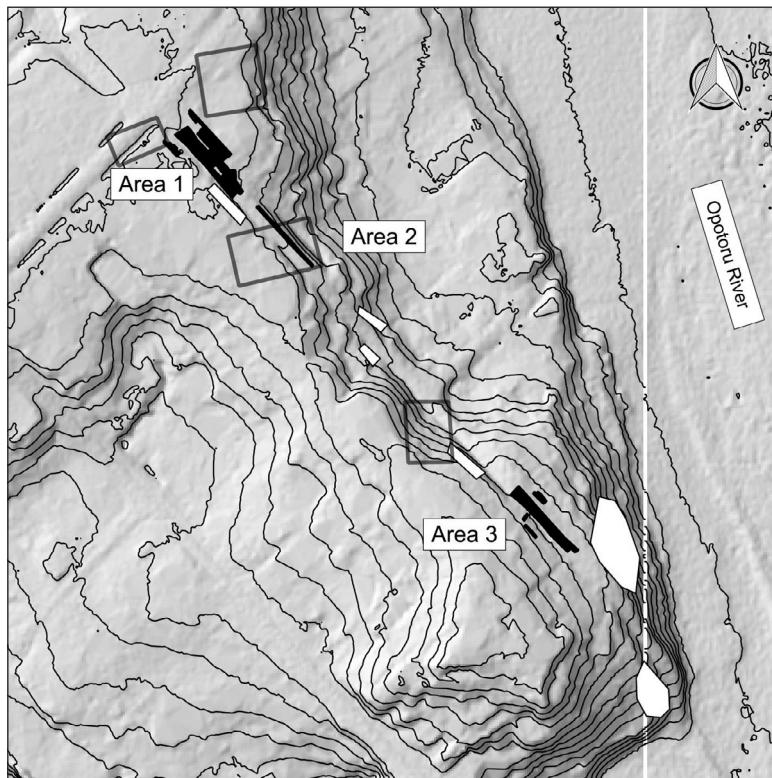


Figure 7. Approximate locations of the mission structures (grey rectangles), investigation trenches (black) and the locations of shell midden exposures as identified to date (white). Note the structure locations appear to be distorted to the east of their probable locations. For example, the church is more likely to be on the crest of the ridge (west) and possibly a little further to the north. (Lidar-derived hillshade and 1 metre contours: WRC 2010 lidar survey data).

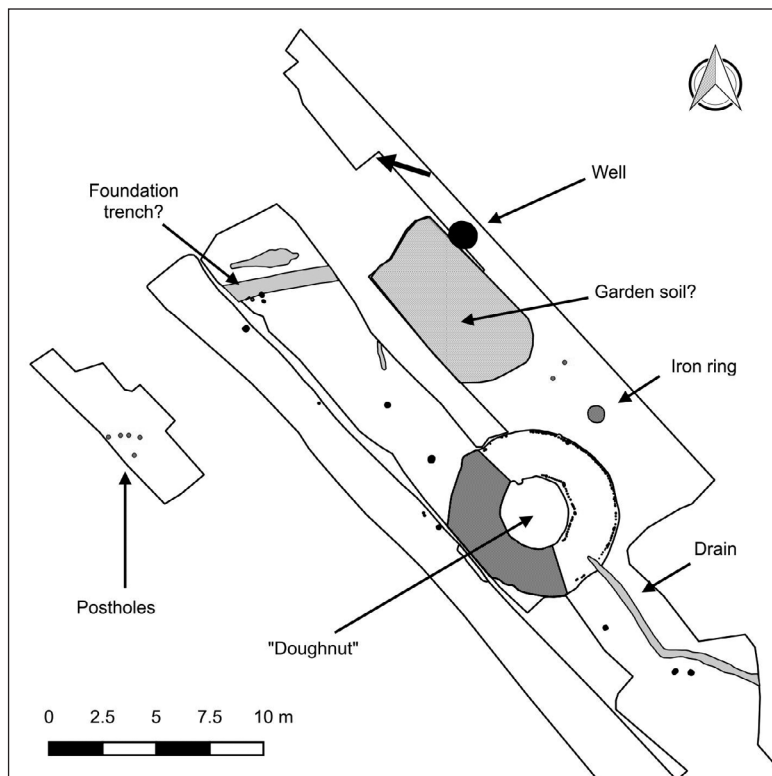


Figure 8. Plan of Area 1 excavation under Oporou Road.



Figure 9. Mission house well.

An iron ring (80 cm diameter) was found to the south-east of the well and was formed from two overlapped pieces of forged iron. The upper fill of the iron ring was much the same as the surrounding shelly matrix. The lower fill was more organic with less shell but include ceramics, bone, slate, and wood with nails.

The dominant feature in Area 1 was a large ‘doughnut-shaped’ feature approximately 7.7 m maximum diameter with an internal diameter of 3.24 m and was approximately 25 cm deep (Figure 10). The central ‘ring’ was octagonal. Like much of the surrounding area the upper fill of this feature was a shell/soil matrix, however the feature was demarcated by a dark soil ring clearly differentiating it from the surrounding sediments. The lower fill unit was darker and more organic and had less shell. While the base of the ring was broadly level it had a distinct but shallow, broad groove in the middle where the darker fill unit was congregated. A shallow trench emerged from the south-east side of the feature to drain water downslope. Both the outer ring and inner octagon were bolstered by closely-spaced small diameter posts around their outer circumferences, apparently to retain or stabilise the edges. Otherwise no structural evidence was found that suggested this feature had a roof or was enclosed in a building. This was inter-

preted as the remains of some form of horse-driven engine or mill (Gainsford 2020)².

Area 1 also had the highest concentration and greatest range of artefacts recovered. These included ceramic fragments, glass, metal, slate and bone and all were found in the shell sediments matrix generally, including the fill of the ‘doughnut’ feature and the iron ring. The glass included numerous fragments of window glass and parts of dark olive glass beer or whisky bottles and a fragment of an aqua glass medicine bottle. The presence of alcohol bottles in the site is interesting given its role as a Wesleyan Mission. Does this mean that Wallis and his family were as corrupt as Piscator claimed? If so we may expect some

2 Altogether 26 water-driven flour mills were constructed in the Waikato region by the end of the 1850s (Hargreaves 1961), although not all were operational at the same time. The first flour mill was constructed in 1846 in association with the Wesleyan Mission Station at Aotea, 20 kms south of Raglan/Whaingaroa. A similar flour mill was constructed at Whaingaroa, although the dates are uncertain. An 1897 survey plan by Vickerman (SO 11339) marks the site of an ‘Old Mill’ on a stream forming the western boundary of the mission and this is likely to have been its location.

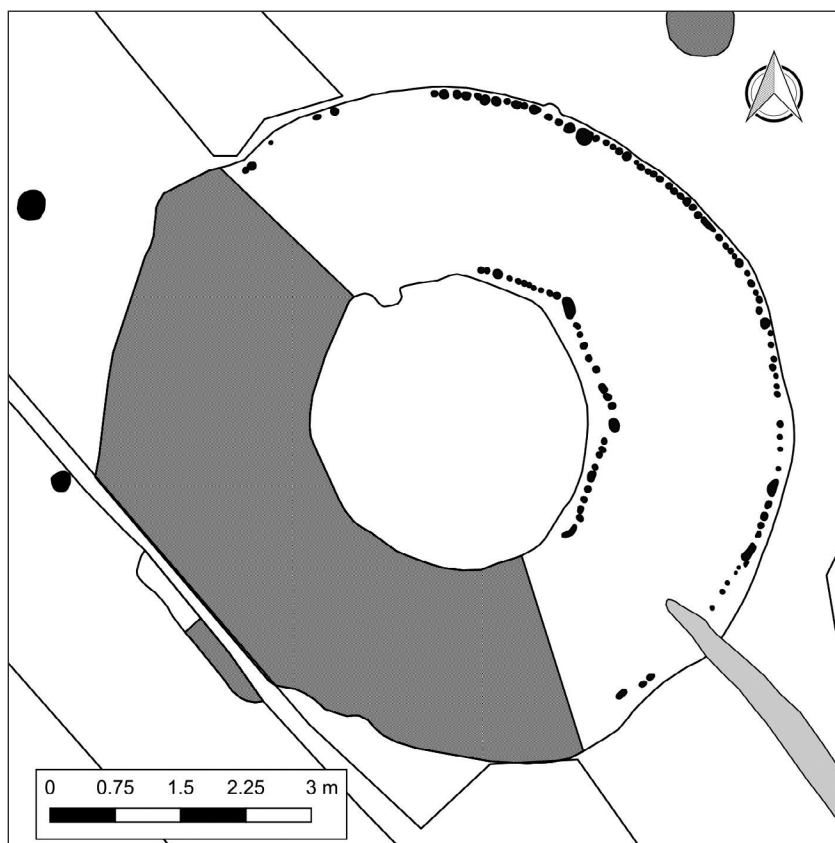


Figure 10. Plan view of excavated 'doughnut' feature and the lining postholes. Dark fill indicates the unexcavated part of the feature.

disharmony in the wms ranks, which was absent as far as we are aware if Whiteley's defence of Wallis is genuine. The vessels date to 1850 to the mid-1870s so may not relate to the Wallises but to the tenant Sewell. Or it may be that glass vessels of any form in such a remote location would have had a re-use value.

Two hundred and six ceramic sherds were recovered, overwhelmingly from domestic ware, particularly plates and cups but also terrines, jugs, serving dishes and an egg cup. Decorative patterns were varied, with 78 patterns represented, mostly transfer printed (including Willow, Wild Rose, Fibre, Coral, and Rhine patterns) but also shell edge and industrial slip ware. Cream-ware, white-ware and stoneware were also represented (Figure 11). Four manufacturers' marks could be identified but only a large serving dish with a Copeland and Garrett Late Spode mark (Figure 12) could be dated; it was used from 1833 to 1847 (Godden 1964). This mark, along with the shell edge decoration, the general range of dates when the transfer print patterns were popular and the presence of industrial slipware indicate that this scatter of rubbish was part of the domestic crockery collection of the mission house (Furey 2010; Millar 2000). Of course, as a deposit from the early/mid-nineteenth century tobacco pipe fragments were present.

Pieces of slate and two slate pencils were found in as-

sociation with the general shell layer (Figure 13). Twenty-four of these were broken pieces of roof slates and seven were from writing slates. Another two fragments of writing slate were found in Area 2. Several of the writing slate pieces had holes for bindings (Davies 2005). Many of the roof slate fragments had lines scribed on them suggesting that they may have been repurposed for schooling.

Nails were also common with some still surrounded by remnants of wood. Almost all nails were wrought iron and had square or rectangular profiles but four small copper nails embedded on wood were also found. In New Zealand, wrought nails were eventually replaced by wire nails although this was not commonplace until the 1870s (Middleton 2005: 56–57).

As well as the forged iron ring already mentioned, three small metal rings were found in the fill of the 'doughnut' feature. A few fragments of pig and cattle bone were also found in the general shell/soil matrix.

Area 2

The single trench excavated in Area 2 was excavated in the intact sediments sandwiched between the shallow road cutting on the west and an area of retained fill on the east. As well as the two pieces of writing slate already noted five



Figure 11. Selection of ceramic fragments showing commonly occurring patterns identified within Area 1.

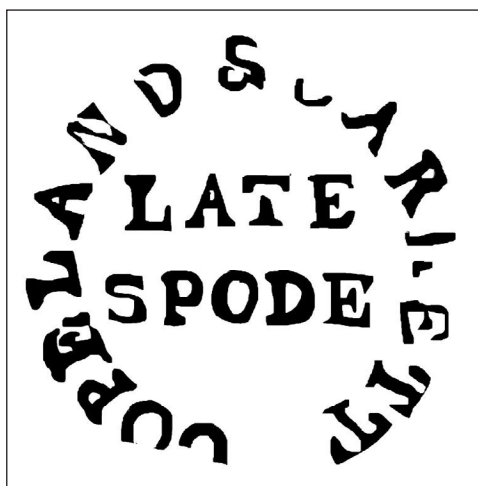


Figure 12. Example of identifiable makers-mark from a piece of whiteware. Text reads: COPELAND & GARRETT – LATE SPODE.

post holes were identified in the trench with four clustered to the northern end and the fifth 4.6 m to the south. Given the location of this area on what would have been the shoulder of the ridge none of these are likely to have been related to the church but may have been associated with the fences described in contemporary images.



Figure 13. Writing slate and a fragment of slate pencil from within the fill of the 'doughnut' feature. Note the holes for binding.

Area 3

Area 3 was located where Opoturu Road rose back to a point where it crossed a relatively flat crested spur off the principal ridge, and which dropped steeply to the water on the southern side but had a gentle slope to the harbour-side flat on its northern flank. Within this area the composition of features differed significantly from those found in Area

1. Archaeology within this area included posthole alignments, drains, fireplaces and midden deposits. The most substantial midden deposits were found in this part of the site and it was the only area to include fireplaces scooped into the subsoil (Figure 14).

Several posthole alignments were identified during the investigation some of which may represent the remains of whare. Two fireplaces and midden deposits were also identified within the trenches and in the surrounding area.

Three alignments of postholes represent the remains of a structure of a form typical of Māori whare. Fireplaces, which included oven stones, and midden were found outside the structure whereas a drain or trench ran from within it outwards and downhill away from it. Another posthole alignment which ran perpendicular to the investigation trenches has unclear function but probably represents a fence or windbreak structure. No artefacts were recovered from this area of the site.

Surrounding Area 3, shell midden was plentiful on the ridge to the west and south on the shoulder and slope to the harbour and also to the east of Area 3 on the slope to the harbour. The latter was particularly dense and extensive.

Shell midden, charcoal and radiocarbon dating.

Samples of shell midden were taken from various locations in Area 1 and Area 3 for comparative analysis and also for the recovery of charcoal.

Shell recovered from Area 1 contained mainly cockle (*Austrovenus stutchburyi*) shell with examples of paua (*Haliotos iris*), catseye (*Turbo smaragdus*), mudsnail (*Amphibola crenata*), turret shell (*Māoricolpus roseus*), rock oyster (*Saccostrea glomerata*), dark rock shell (*Haustrum haustorium*) and pipi/tuatua (*Paphies sp.*). Most of the shell was fragmented/crushed with only approximately 30 whole shells found. These were found mixed with mission era artefacts (metal, ceramic, glass, slate, bottle glass). They were also notable for containing shellfish from estuarine and rocky shore habitats with the former dominating.

Shell midden within and neighbouring Area 3 was heavily dominated by cockle but also included mudsnail, pipi and tuatua. Within the midden most shells were degraded and fragmented, although the dense midden on the slope to the south included a high proportion of whole cockle based on observation in the field (this midden was not sampled).

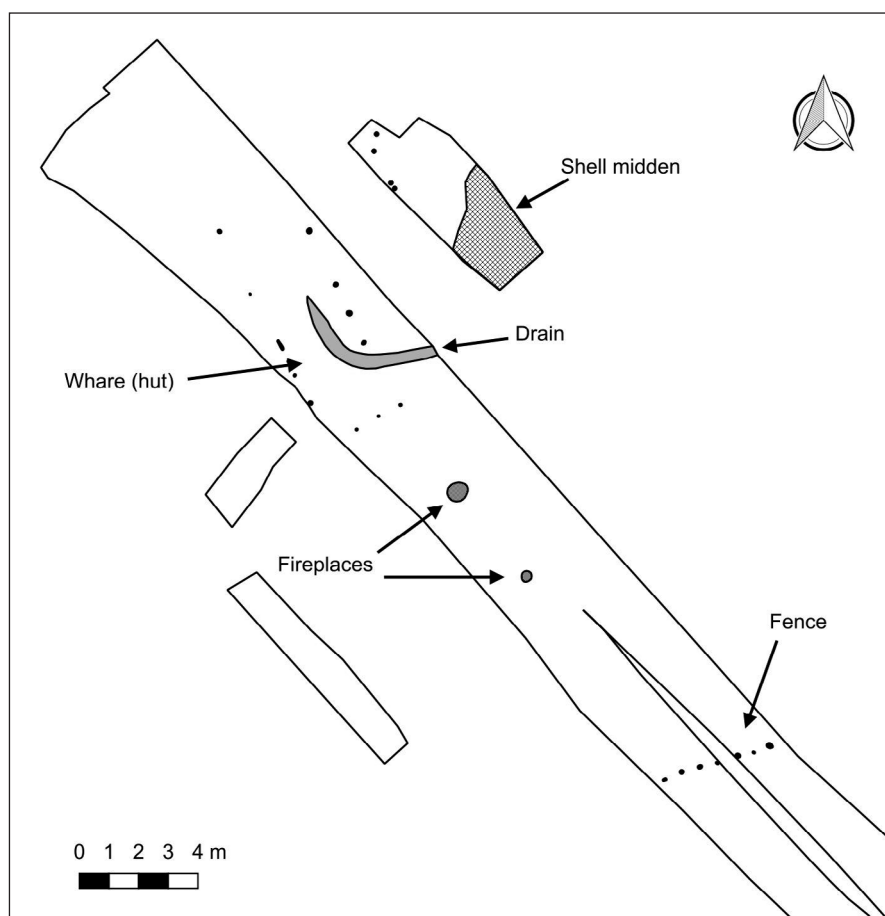


Figure 14. Plan of Area 3 showing a whare (hut). To its east is a shell midden with further associated postholes and to its south are fireplaces. Further south (c. 15 m) is a row of seven postholes, indicating a fence.

Charcoal collected from Area 1 contexts did not differ significantly from Area 3. In Area 1 k nuka (*Kunzia ericoides*), dominated the samples with m nuka (*Leptospermum scoparium*) a clear secondary species together with scattered examples of shrubs and trees. Area 3 samples were dominated by m nuka with some k nuka, with shrubs forming a common minor component but with rare examples of tree charcoal. Generally, this was interpreted as describing a deforested landscape (Wallace 2019) which agreed with the results of microfossil samples extracted from the same contexts (Horrocks 2019).

No European artefacts were found during the excavation of Area 3 but the area was small, particularly in relation to the area that was probably occupied at the southern end of the mission. Because there was nothing to specifically link the deposits in Area 3 chronologically to Area 1 a series of radiocarbon assays were undertaken (Table 1, Figure 15). Two control assays (Wk-49690, Wk-49691) were done on samples from Area 1 with its clear association with the mission station and another six were carried out on samples associated with Area 3. Wk-49696 was significantly older than the other samples and was identified as an outlier.

Table 1. Radiocarbon assays from charcoal samples.

Lab #	CRA (BP)	Error \pm (BP)	Material	Area	Feature type
Wk-49689	134	16	M�nuka (<i>Leptospermum scoparium</i>)	Area 3	fireplace
Wk-49690	179	16	Hebe sp.	Area 1	shell matrix
Wk-49691	170	16	M�nuka seed cases	Area 1	'doughnut' fill
Wk-49692	170	16	Ribbonwood (<i>Plagianthus regius</i>)/ <i>Pittosporum</i> sp.	Area 3	midden
Wk-49693	238	22	Hebe sp.	Area 3	midden
Wk-49694	226	23	M�nuka (<i>Leptospermum scoparium</i>)	Area 3	fireplace
Wk-49695	184	22	M�nuka (<i>Leptospermum scoparium</i>)	Area 3	midden
Wk-49696	325	22	Hinau (<i>Elaeocarpus dentatus</i>) seed	Area 3	midden

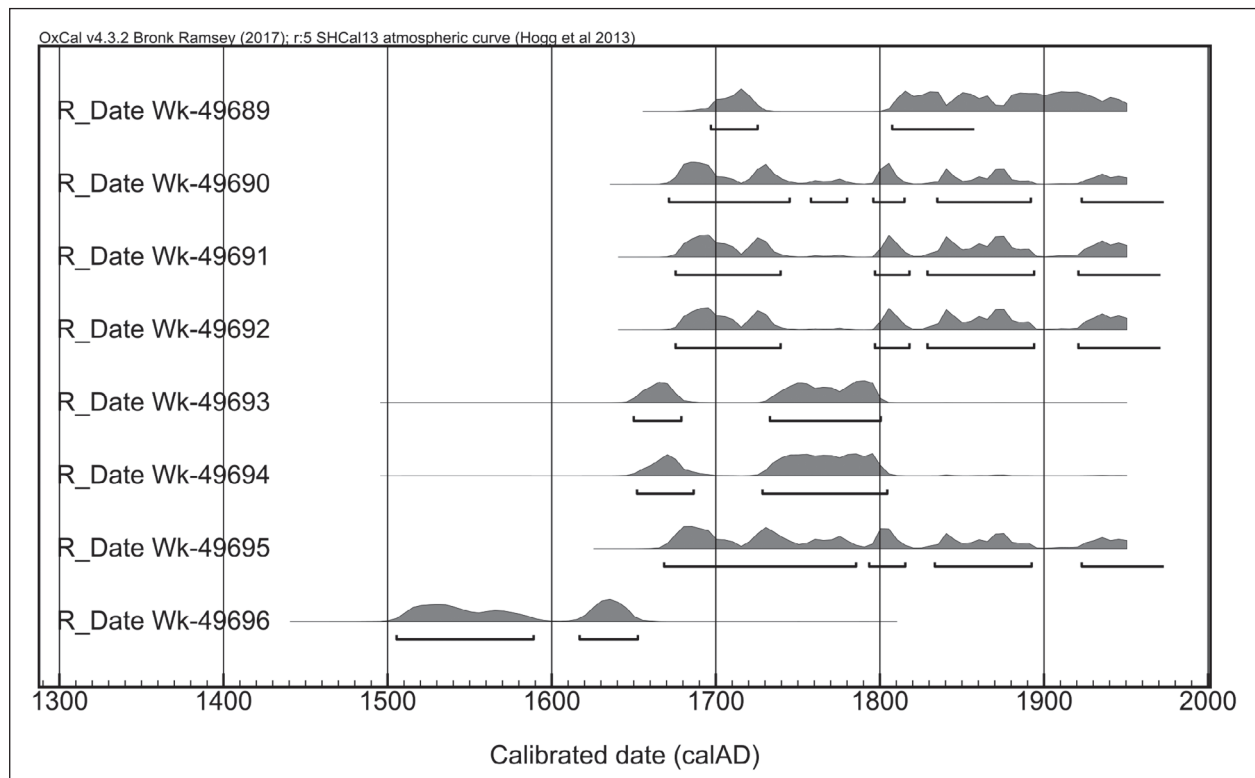


Figure 15. Calibrated samples (OxCal) from Areas 1 and 3. Wk-49690 and 49691 are the only two samples from the Mission House (Area 1). The remainder are from Area 3.

While the other samples were reasonably closely associated in time, two of these appeared a little older than the other indicating ages in the late eighteenth century (Wk-49693 and Wk-49694) while the others included the period of the mission station. While not conclusive evidence of contemporaneity between Areas 1 and 3 we considered this to be probable evidence for it.

DISCUSSION

Archaeological evidence has confirmed that the location of the core of the mission station, in the form of the mission house and chapel, was centred on the area now definable as the Oporuru Road and Wainui Road intersection, with an extension along the ridge to the south. The mission house was located on or close to the intersection, the chapel 80 m south on the ridge crest, and another cluster of activity at the southern end of the ridge. While the remainder of the mission station was probably largely devoted to agricultural activities, the harbour side flat below the mission house and chapel is likely to have been another focus of activity. Certainly the images of the mission station indicate that this gateway to the mission house and chapel was a centre for congregation.

Simultaneously the missionaries were instrumental in the prevention of conflict between hapū and saving Māori souls but can also be viewed as instrumental in readying land for settlement by Christian Europeans. Whiteley's (1854) emphasis in his letter to the editor of the *Southern Cross* on the importance of European settlement neatly illustrates this zeitgeist. However, the apparent close interaction of the Wallises and local Māori, as illustrated by Angas's description of the scene in their home, is equally reflective of the intimate association of the two groups. The ability of the missionaries to retain close relations with their flock while at the same time working toward embedding 'modern' Christian values and supporting passively, if not actively, the sale of land and its take up by European settlers illustrates the underlying notion of the 'superiority' of Christian European 'civilisation' and the inherent desirability of European settlement.

The richness of the archaeological deposits found in the mission house area contrasts strongly with the absence of equivalent portable artefacts in the southern part of the station (Area 3) where the whare are shown in the contemporary images. Here, archaeological remains of shell midden and at least one whare have been identified. The physical separation of the materially rich mission house from the materially poor 'native' section of the mission 200 m to the south-east, exemplifies the generally bicameral nature of mission stations.

Te Nihinihi Mission was clearly bound up in the role of missions as mechanisms for 'civilising' and 'Christianising' Māori, and their integral role in the colonisation process. The controversy displayed in the exchange of letters in the *Southern Cross* newspaper between 'Piscator' and

Rev. Whiteley illustrates this neatly. It is possible to read the activities and perhaps mind-set of the missionaries as a bicameral one. On the one hand they lived intimately among the congregants and worked energetically to better their spiritual well-being, provide education and work toward a peaceful and harmonious environment, as Wallis's intercession between Ngāti Tāhinga and Ngāti Māhuta demonstrates. Yet, there is this alternate perspective where the missionaries regard themselves very much as members of the European colonising process, while maintaining a distinct separation from the community.

We see this expressed materially in the archaeology of the mission station. The rich archaeological and artefactual remains found in Area 1, within the mission house curtilage, both demonstrate the relative wealth and comfort of the missionaries, while contrasting with the less complex archaeology and comparative poverty of artefactual remains in Area 3 which seems to have been the site of a Māori precinct within the mission station. In many ways this seems to have reflected the segregated nature of New Zealand society by the 1840s and 1850s. Middleton (2013: 52) states: 'The New Zealand missions were located firmly under Māori control and missionaries were effectively captives of their indigenous patrons'. This was undoubtedly the situation that the Wallises experienced during the first part of their time at Whaingaroa but by the 1850s the cultural milieu was changing with the landscape becoming increasingly dominated by European settlers. Smith (2019) describes this dynamic in detail noting the contrast between the integrated nature of European settlement with Māori in the early decades of the nineteenth century and the situation a few decades later as European settler numbers swelled.

The mission station itself although largely dissected by urban subdivision is likely to remain archaeologically intact, albeit damaged. Not only is the archaeological, and for that matter historical, examination of mission stations in general in its infancy, research into the Waikato and west coast missions of all the denominations has effectively yet to begin and so represents an exciting area of important future research. We hope that this work represents an early step along the way.

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