



## NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY



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# Historical Archaeology in New Zealand: A Review and Bibliography

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## ABSTRACT

A bibliography of historical archaeology in New Zealand is presented and discussed in terms of the types of reports that it contains and the subject matter with which they deal. Growth patterns in the discipline are identified and compared with developments in North American and Australian historical archaeology.

*Keywords:* HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY, NEW ZEALAND, BIBLIOGRAPHY.

## INTRODUCTION

In 1990 it is particularly appropriate to consider what has been achieved in historical archaeology, the branch of our discipline that deals specifically with the period around and since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The year 1990 marks not only 150 years since that event, but also 198 years since the first European settlement was founded in this country, and 221 years since James Cook's first visit. If we leave aside the earlier, but more ephemeral, visit of Tasman, the period since substantial contact between Maori and European began represents something like 20 percent of the entire human history of this country.

This paper reviews what has been done in the archaeological study of the historic period, evaluates some of its strengths and weaknesses, and draws some comparisons with developments in North American and Australian historical archaeology. It is based largely on a review of literature on New Zealand historical archaeology. This literature is summarised in the accompanying bibliography (Appendix 1), which was compiled through a systematic search of New Zealand archaeological publications, along with information supplied by some of the major practitioners in this field. Some unpublished sources have also been included, but in this respect the review is inevitably incomplete.

## SCOPE

The first issue that must be addressed is what to include within the category of historical archaeology? This raises the whole question of how we define the subject. Opinions vary on this. Some people apply strict methodological criteria so that the term is used only where documentary or other historical evidence can be brought to bear directly on the archaeological problem at hand (Dollar 1968). Others use it exclusively to describe the archaeology of colonial societies, usually of European origin (cf. Connah 1989: 371). The term is also used more generally for all archaeology that is concerned with the period for which historical data are available (Schuyler 1970: 84).

I think that the latter approach is the most useful one, and thus the central question becomes one of deciding when the historic period begins. I have used the arrival of Cook

in 1769 as a starting point, both because it marks the first detailed documentary evidence for some parts of the country, and because it began the period of substantial and continuing contact between Maori and European cultures, extending even into areas beyond those initially visited by Europeans. There is, however, a grey area between 1769 and the early decades of the nineteenth century (by which time Europeans were here in greater numbers and more widely distributed, so that documentary evidence is more abundant). The term protohistoric is often applied to this era. While I think there is some value in making this distinction, I believe that it is more useful to see the protohistoric as a subdivision of the historic period than to consider it as a distinct period in its own right.

Definition of the historic period goes only part way towards circumscribing what constitutes historical archaeology. There is a massive body of literature on this period that deals in some way with the places, things, events and processes that are of concern to historical archaeologists. However, such publications do not qualify for inclusion within the discipline unless they are written from an archaeological perspective. While it is difficult to provide an all embracing definition of what such a perspective involves, in general it requires that the work focusses on or builds upon detailed description of archaeological site features or artefacts. Application of this criterion has excluded from this review much of what has purported to be industrial archaeology in New Zealand—work that should more properly be classified as industrial history (cf. Prickett 1984; Hooker and Ritchie n.d.).

This still does not solve all the questions about which items in the archaeological literature to include within the review of historical archaeology. Clearly there is no problem where they deal with the sites or material culture of Europeans and other recent immigrants, or indeed with Maori sites such as gunfighter *pā* and those with documentary evidence or substantial quantities of post-contact material which make it clear that they belong to the historic era. The difficult cases are the archaeological reports on sites with small quantities of post-contact material in their upper horizons, but where the archaeologist's attention has been concentrated on lower, clearly prehistoric, layers. The latter have been excluded here except when they include some detailed analysis of the historic period materials, or make some other specific point of them. This is the area in which it is most difficult to be confident about the thoroughness of the review, so this type of report may well be under-represented.

The review also included site surveys and site management reports that focussed specifically on historic sites, but excluded general works dealing with both prehistoric and historic sites, except in a few cases where the latter so outnumbered the former that the emphasis of the report was clearly on the historic period.

Two further limitations were placed on the scope of the review for more arbitrary logistic reasons. In order to reduce the size of the task at hand the geographical focus was confined to the main islands of New Zealand. This has required exclusion of the considerable body of work undertaken by New Zealand historical archaeologists in Antarctica and the sub-Antarctic Islands. Secondly, no attempt has been made to include any maritime archaeology, largely because so little was known about it by the present author.

One final procedural point to note is that when quantifying data in the following review unpublished preliminary reports have been included only when they have not been followed by a more complete formal publication.

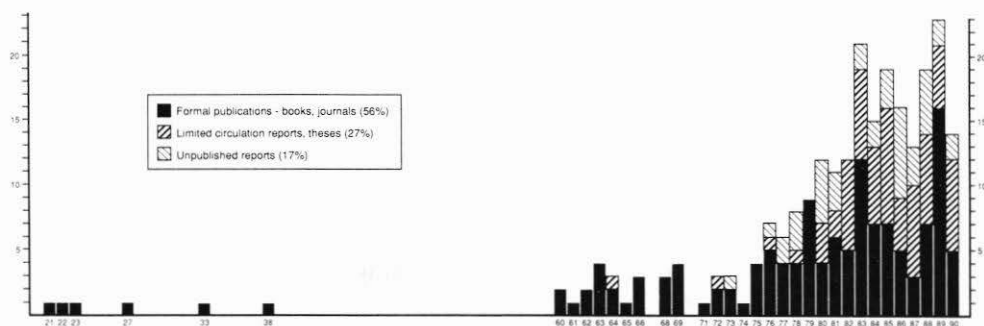


Figure 1: Publications per annum in New Zealand historical archaeology.

## THE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography (Appendix 1) lists 246 publications of various sorts, spanning the period from 1921 to October 1990, although 97 percent of these appeared after 1960, and 71 percent after 1980 (Fig. 1). Almost 60 percent of these items have appeared in books or journals, more than one quarter in limited circulation reports or theses, and only 17 percent in unpublished reports. There is, though, a disturbing trend in recent years, with limited circulation and unpublished reports accounting for half the items that have appeared since 1980. It is to be hoped that a good number of these will soon appear in formal publications.

The items in the bibliography can, for the most part, be classified into five main categories of report types, each of which is discussed briefly below. A sixth category includes various other items that do not fit easily into one or other of these types. A small proportion of the entries were sufficiently broad-ranging in scope to require inclusion in more than one category.

## SURFACE DESCRIPTIONS OF SPECIFIC SITES

The earliest publications that can be classified as historical archaeology were all descriptions of the surface features of specific sites. These were Elsdon Best's (1921, 1927) and James Cowan's (1922, 1923) descriptions of various nineteenth century Maori and European fortifications. During the following decade, two further publications described *pā* visited by French explorers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Kelly 1933, 1938). Although largely historical in intent, these works reported sufficient details of the archaeological features surviving at the time of recording to warrant inclusion here.

When historical archaeology reports next appeared, more than 20 years later, these were also surface descriptions of nineteenth century fortifications (Hunt 1960; Smart 1961). Over the following 30 years, surface descriptions have continued to appear at regular intervals, although with the more rapid growth in other aspects of historical archaeology, this class of reports comprises only 12 percent of the entries in the bibliography. Fortifications have continued to be the major focus of this class of reports, with more than half of the entries describing such sites (Table 1). In total there are ten items dealing with Maori fortifications, four with European and two describing examples of both. The remaining examples cover a range of site types: three deal with Maori occupation sites, three with European houses

or huts, and one each with a set of gumdiggers pits, a bridge, a tramway, a lime kiln, a coal mine and a gold mine.

Of course, these are not the only works that provide descriptions of the surface features of historic period sites. Many site survey reports also provide such data. However, these are discussed separately here, both because they reflect a different approach to archaeological recording and because they have emphasised a rather different range of historic period sites.

TABLE 1  
SURFACE DESCRIPTIONS OF SPECIFIC SITES

<i>Site Type</i>	<i>References</i>
Fortifications	Bellwood 1968, Best 1921, 1927, Buist 1968, Cowan 1922, 1923, Hunt 1960, Jones 1983, Kelly 1933, 1938, McFadgen 1977, Mitcalfe 1968, Smart 1961, Spencer 1983, Taylor 1964, Walton 1990
Occupation sites	Cassady St Clair and St Clair 1990, Coutts 1977, Jonas 1963, Maingay 1989a, Thomson and Maingay 1987, Walton 1987
Others	Barnett n.d., Chester 1987, 1989a, Deely 1984, Hayward 1977, Simmons 1987, Twohill 1988

## AREA SURVEYS

Site surveys of specified areas that concentrate exclusively or predominantly on sites of the historic period were first reported in the early 1960s (Green and Green 1963; McFadgen 1963), although it was not until 1971 that the term 'historical archaeology' was used explicitly in the title of one of these works (Batley 1971). Their regular production throughout the last two decades has resulted in area surveys making up 27 percent of the entries in the bibliography. This figure almost certainly under-represents the full extent of historic period site recording. In recent years it has become increasingly common for site recorders to include both historic and prehistoric sites when surveying an area. Because of the selection criteria used in compiling this bibliography, not all such survey reports were included here.

In contrast to the surface descriptions of specific sites, the area surveys show a marked concentration on European rather than Maori sites, the latter being a major focus in only 6 of the 67 items in this category. The reasons for this are partly to do with the selection policy just described. But it is also because, on the superficial evidence generally available to the site surveyor, historic period Maori sites are not easily distinguishable from prehistoric Maori sites, or indeed from some European sites.

This reliance upon distinctive surface evidence has had a wider influence, with almost three quarters of the items in this class concentrating upon sites of some kind of industrial activity (Table 2). Over half (53 percent) of the reports deal with gold or other types of mining, 12 percent with aspects of the forestry industry, and another 7 percent with various other industrial activities.

TABLE 2  
SITE SURVEY REPORTS

<i>Predominant Site Type</i>	<i>References</i>
Mining	Bagley 1985, n.d., Barber and Hayward n.d., Barne n.d., Broad <i>et al.</i> n.d., Brown n.d.a, Eastwood 1982, Jacomb and Easdale 1984a, 1984b, 1985, Hall-Jones 1987, Hamel 1983, 1985, 1988, 1989, Hancox 1985, Higham <i>et al.</i> 1976, Higham and Vincent 1980, Hooker 1981, 1982, 1983, 1984, n.d., Knight 1964, Lack n.d., Lawn n.d., Mason n.d.a, McFadgen 1963, McGovern-Wilson 1985, Moore 1976, Moore 1984, Mouat n.d., Newman n.d., Pope 1985, Ritchie 1980b, 1980c, 1983c, 1990b, Ritchie and Harrison 1981, Slane and White 1980, Taylor n.d., Twohill 1984, 1987a, 1987b, Walker n.d., Vincent 1979
Forestry	Bagley 1985, Brown n.d.a, n.d.b, n.d.c, Coster and Johnston n.d.b, Hamel 1983, 1988, Hayward 1972, Hayward and Diamond 1975, 1978, Mason n.d.b, Twohill 1987b
Maori Occupation	Coutts 1969a, 1969b, 1972, Green and Green 1963, Kennedy 1969, McGovern-Wilson 1985, Newman 1988
Sealing and Whaling	Barton 1974, Coutts 1972, Gillies 1985, McGovern-Wilson 1985, Prickett 1983
Colonial Settlements	Bulmer 1982, Frederickson 1988, McLean and Maingay n.d., Smith C. A. 1988, Smith n.d.b
Gum Digging	Coster and Johnston n.d.a, n.d.b, n.d.c, n.d.d
Fortifications	Nevin and Nevin 1980, Prickett 1978c, 1981a
Other	Batley 1971, Oliver 1979, Ritchie 1982a

Three other classes of sites feature. European sealing and whaling sites and examples of early colonial settlements each make up about 5 percent of the sample, and fortifications about 3 percent.

#### EXCAVATION REPORTS

The first report of an excavation on an historic period site appeared in 1960 (Green and Pullar 1960). This and some 116 subsequent excavations are discussed more fully below. The present concern is with some general features of the literature about these investigations.

Excavation reports constitute 30 percent of the entries in the bibliography, making this the most numerous single report type considered here. Given that excavations provide much of the basic data of archaeology, this predominance suggests that a strong evidential base has already been established in New Zealand historical archaeology. However, closer examination indicates a number of deficiencies. Almost half (46 percent) of the cited entries provide little more than brief details of the excavations concerned, and only one quarter could be considered as anything like full excavation reports. Furthermore, 41 percent of the entries are either limited circulation or unpublished reports, indicating that information about these investigations is not yet easily available to a wide audience.

#### SITE CONTENTS ANALYSES

Analyses of site contents such as artefacts, fauna and various site features make up another major class of reports, constituting 19 percent of the entries in the bibliography. A small number of these items appeared in the 1960s and 1970s (Palmer 1962; Diamond 1966; Smart 1966; Coutts 1972; Taylor 1973; Knight and Coutts 1975; Hayward and Diamond 1979), but for the most part they have been a phenomenon of the past decade. Despite this recent growth, the disparity in numbers between this and the previous report class indicates that there are many excavations for which we do not yet have any detailed description of the material that was recovered.

Of the 50 items that fall into this category, 13 provide detailed descriptions and analyses of assemblages from excavated sites (Table 3). Altogether these cover 52 sites, which is only 44 percent of the total number excavated. Most of the more detailed studies in this category are concerned with artefacts, and they cover a wide range of artefact types. Of course most of these artefact types are also dealt with, often in considerable depth, in the assemblage descriptions. Faunal analyses and descriptions of agricultural features such as ditch and bank fences, irrigation ditches, ploughlines and dry-stone walls are the only other types with more than one example.

#### SITE MANAGEMENT REPORTS

Reports dealing with aspects of the management of historic sites make up only 6 percent of the entries in the bibliography, and will not be discussed in any detail here. As with the area surveys, this figure almost certainly underestimates recent growth in this aspect of historical archaeology. The items included here are only those dealing exclusively or



predominantly with historic sites, and it is frequently the case that management reports deal with archaeological landscapes containing both prehistoric and historic sites. Furthermore, the entries included here are almost exclusively published items. I have not gone to any great lengths to seek out what I suspect is a small mountain of unpublished management reports hidden in the files of various Government Departments and State Owned Enterprises.

TABLE 3  
SITE CONTENTS ANALYSES

ASSEMBLAGE DESCRIPTIONS

<i>Site(s)</i>	<i>Reference</i>
First Ball	Bedford 1985d
Halfway House Hotel	Bedford 1986
Fort Ligar	Brassey 1989
Brown's Mill	Brassey 1990
Alzdorf's Hotel	Chester 1989b
Chancery Street	Macready and Goodwyn 1990
Fiordland Sites (9)	Coutts 1972
Runanga and Opepe Stockades	Mitchell 1983
Tongariro Sites (10)	Newman 1988
Omata and Warea Redoubts	Prickett 1981a
First Hermitage	Ritchie 1985a
Central Otago Chinese (23)	Ritchie 1986b
Fort Galatea	Spring-Rice 1982a

ARTEFACT STUDIES

<i>Artefact Class</i>	<i>Reference</i>
Clay pipes	Foster 1983, Goodwyn 1989, Palmer 1962, Pfeiffer 1986, Prickett 1981b
Match boxes	Anson 1983, Bedford 1985a, Spring-Rice 1982b
Building Materials	Coutts 1983, Eaves 1990, Knight and Coutts 1975
Glass Bottles	Ritchie and Bedford 1983
Metal Containers	Ritchie and Bedford 1985
Opium Smoking Equipment	Ritchie and Harrison 1982
Dental Equipment	Bedford 1985b
Writing Equipment	Ritchie 1986a
Clothing Hardware	Cameron 1985



*Table 3 Continued*

Coins	Ritchie and Park 1988
Portable Ceramics	Smith and Goodwyn 1990
Hand-forged Iron Axe	Taylor 1973
Medalet	Jones 1984
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FAUNAL ANALYSES	<i>References</i>
<hr/>	
	Piper 1984, Piper 1988, Ritchie and McGovern-Wilson 1986, Smith 1988a
<hr/>	
SITE FEATURES	
<i>Feature Type</i>	<i>References</i>
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Agricultural	Barber 1989, Campbell 1983, Diamond 1966, Higham 1986, Nichol 1983, Smart 1966, Walton 1982a
Houses	Newman 1989
Kauri Dams	Hayward and Diamond 1979
Gold Tailings	Ritchie 1981a
<hr/>	
OTHER	
<i>Type</i>	<i>Reference</i>
<hr/>	
Human remains	Houghton 1983
Palynology	Chester 1990
<hr/>	

## OTHERS

The final category includes a range of items from an excavation proposal (Groube n.d.), conference resolutions (Cassels 1976) and advice on site recording (Prickett 1979), to popular accounts based on archaeological evidence (Best 1989; Prickett 1989b; Ritchie 1989a, 1989b, 1989d). It also includes four items which move beyond the reporting of data into areas of interpretation (Anderson 1981; Coutts 1969c, 1986; Orchiston 1975). With only one exception, these interpretative works are concerned with the early or protohistoric part

of the historic period and focus largely on the Maori rather than the European side of the culture contact equation.

There are two classes of reports that are distinguished by their absence. These are items concerned with methodology, or with theoretical issues. To be fair, several of the theses that have been written on historical archaeology topics do touch on aspects of theory and methods, but a general absence of concern for such issues is notable.

## EXCAVATIONS

As far as I have been able to establish, there have been 117 excavations on historic period sites in New Zealand (Table 4).

These began in 1959 with investigation of an early historic Maori occupation at Orongo Bay (Green and Pullar 1960), and of the British Army's mid-nineteenth century Paremata Barracks (Davis 1963). The latter excavation was clearly in keeping with the earlier focus of historic archaeological interest on nineteenth century fortifications, but it was not typical of most of the work that was to follow. Throughout the next decade or so the emphasis of investigations was clearly upon Maori sites (Fig. 2), with 78 percent of the sites excavated before 1977 falling into this category. Furthermore, another two sites investigated at this time were thought to be Maori fortifications until excavation showed that they were in fact ditch and bank enclosures that probably functioned as sheep pens (Trotter 1976; Scarlett 1977).

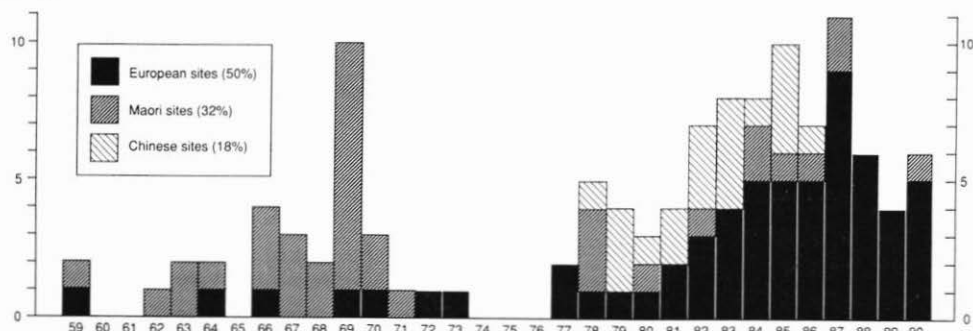


Figure 2: Number of excavations per annum at historic period sites.

The situation changed dramatically after 1977, with only 14 percent of the excavations being on Maori sites. European sites make up 61 percent in this period and Chinese sites 25 percent. This pattern has been determined largely by the emphases apparent in several major projects that have dominated historical archaeology in this country (Fig. 3). Most of the sites investigated during the 1960s and early 1970s formed part of the research projects of Les Groube (1965, 1966, n.d.; Kennedy 1969) and Peter Coutts (1969a, 1969b, 1969c, 1972, 1976, 1977), or the work of Trevor Hosking as project archaeologist for the Tongariro Power Development Scheme (Newman 1988, 1989). The principal interests of Groube and Coutts lay in documenting changes in aspects of Maori culture brought about by European contact, and thus they focussed principally upon Maori sites. However Coutts did also extend his investigations to several early nineteenth century European sites to provide a broader picture of the culture contact situation. Maori sites also predominated amongst those investigated by Hosking.

TABLE 4  
EXCAVATIONS AT HISTORIC PERIOD SITES IN NEW ZEALAND

Year	Site No*	Name	Reference
1959	N107/2	Orongo Bay	Green and Pullar 1960
	N160/50	Paremata Barracks	Davis 1963
1962	N129/102	Waimate Pa	Buist 1962
1963	N164/16	Te Ika-a-Maru	Davidson 1976
	N164/22	Te Ika-a-Maru	Davidson 1976
1964	S74/9	Whakaepa	Scarlett 1977
	N12/52	Paeroa Pa	Groube 1965
1966	N12/14	Te Kuri's Village	Groube 1966
	N102/45	Te Wehengaitei Pa	Newman 1988
	N112/113	McDonnell's Redoubt	Newman 1988
	N112/114	Poutu Redoubt	Newman 1988
1967	N112/15	Opotaka	Newman 1988
	N102/15	Te Waiariki Cemetery	Newman 1988
	N102/13	Te Waiariki Pa	Newman 1988
1968	N112/126,127	Poutu Settlement	Newman 1988
	N112/24	Poutu Settlement	Newman 1988
1969	S84/2	Otokitoki	Trotter 1976
	S148/3	Discovery Cove 1(BSS/1)	Coutts 1972
	S156/1	Long Island 1	Coutts 1972
	S156/3	Cascade Cove 1	Coutts 1972
	S165/20	Southport 1	Coutts 1972
	S165/24	Southport 5	Coutts 1972
	S165/28	Southport 9	Coutts 1972
	S165/29	Southport 10	Coutts 1972
	S165/30	Southport 11	Coutts 1972
	S165/32	Garden Island 1	Coutts 1972
1970	S175/10	Sandhill Point 3	Coutts 1972
		Wohler's House, Ruapuke	Coutts and Jurisich 1972
	N112/5	Te Rata kainga	Newman 1988
1971	N122/1	Moawhango Shelter	Newman 1988
1972		Taeri Island	Coutts 1976
1973		Matanaka	Coutts 1977
1977	N108/39	Omata Stockade	Prickett 1981a
	S178/8	Wyndham Flour Mill	Ritchie 1979a
1978	N118/6	Warea Redoubt	Prickett 1981a
	S133/424	Firewood Creek	Ritchie 1986b
	N46-7/14	Waitete Pa	Bulmer 1983
	N42/91	Mokoia Pa	Bulmer n.d.
	N66/60	Te Miro Wet Site	Edson 1979

Table 4 Continued

1979	N42/876	Albert Barracks Well	Nichol 1979
	S133/223	Caliche Shelter	Ritchie 1986b
	S133/21	Sheung Fong Shelter	Ritchie 1986b
	S133/21	Ha Fong Shelter	Ritchie 1986b
1980	S133/48	Cromwell Chinatown	Ritchie 1986b
	S49/13	Takahanga Pa	McCulloch and Trotter 1984
	N86/7	Fort Galatea	Spring-Rice 1982a
1981	S124/212	Appletree	Ritchie 1986b
	S124/231	Sandy Point	Ritchie 1986b
		Brunner Coke Ovens	Oliver and Wood 1981
		Withells Rd Cemetery	Trotter and McCulloch 1990
1982	S115/54	Ah Wee's	Ritchie 1986b
	S115/44	Poplars	Ritchie 1986b
	S113/474	Hanging Rock	Ritchie 1986b
	N41/417	Waitakere Bushmans Hut	Hayward and Diamond 1982
	S22/40	Cutters Bay	Jones 1982
	N129/46	Puketarata Pa	Walton 1982b
		Fort Clarke	Spring-Rice pers. comm.
1983	S133/790	Kawarau Mining Forge	Ritchie 1986b
	S133/791	Riverside	Ritchie 1986b
	S133/864	Burial, Cromwell Gorge	Ritchie 1990
	S123/249	Arrowtown Chinatown	Ritchie 1986b
	S123/250	Ah Lum's Store	Ritchie 1986b
		Runanga Stockade	Mitchell 1983
		Opepe Stockade	Mitchell 1983
		Acacia Cottage	Maingay 1983
1984	S133/868	The Ledge	Ritchie 1990
	S133/453	The Rapids	Ritchie 1986b
		First Hermitage	Ritchie 1985a
		First Ball Hut	Bedford 1985d
	S133/156	Halfway House Hotel	Bedford 1986
	N53/37	Raupā Pa	Phillips 1986
	N53/198	Waiwhau Pa	Phillips 1986
	E48/8	Ackers Cottage	Williams n.d.
1985	S123/128	Phoenix Dynamo	Ritchie 1985b
	S124/42	Willows	Ritchie 1986b
	S133/48	Horticultural Terraces	Ritchie 1986b
	S133/466	Platform	Ritchie 1986b
	S133/494	Flax Grove	Ritchie 1986b

Table 4 Continued

		Bridge Hotel	Ritchie 1990
	S133/48	Chinatown stores	Ritchie 1990
	R26/242	Mana Island	Jones 1987
	R26/243	Mana Island	Jones 1987
1986	N18/186	Pawherowai Camp	Smith n.d.a
	S115/62	Horseshoe Bend	Ritchie 1986b
		Cromwell Junction Hotel	Ritchie 1990
		White Hart Hotel	Ritchie 1990
	R11/1509	Pollen Brickworks	Best 1986
	N65/87	Roto-o-rangi Redoubt	McFadgen and Walton 1988
		Puapuaruhe	Morgan n.d.a
1987	S15/11	Ohaupo Redoubt	Morgan n.d.b
	R11/1558	Augustus Terrace	Best n.d.
	R11/1559	Auckland Gaol	Best 1987
	R11/1542	Bankside Street	Macready n.d.
	R9/642	Kawau Smelter	Clough 1988
		Pompallier House	Maingay 1987
	N20/434	Woods Flour Mill	Maingay 1989b
	P19/9	Marsland Hill	Fyfe 1988
	R27/157	Alz Dorf's Hotel	Chester 1989b
	N53/37	Raupā Pa	Prickett 1989a
	N53/198	Waiwhāu Pa	Phillips 1989
1988	R11/1509	25 Tinakori Road	Jones n.d.
	R11/1595	Pollen Brickworks	Best and Clough 1988
		General Assembly	Smith and Goodwyn 1990
	R11/1656	Fort Ligar	Smith 1990
	R11/1589	Chancery Street	Macready and Robinson 1990
	R11/1640	Auckland Fishponds	Robinson 1988
1989	R11/833	Albert Barracks Guardhouse	Coates 1990
	P05/579	Waitangi Treaty House	Johnson 1990
		Mt. Cook Barracks	Davidson pers. comm.
	R11/1643	Browns Mill	Brassey 1990
	R11/1530	Victoria Hotel	Brassey and Macready n.d.
1990	U16/108	Te Wairoa	Simmons pers. comm.
		Nairn St. Cottage	Chester pers. comm.
		Pegasus House	McCulloch pers. comm.
	R9/500	Miner's Bay	Clough pers. comm.
	R9/638	Coppermine Whim	Clough pers. comm.
	S155/5	U.S.A. Hotel	Hamel n.d.

\* Site Numbers where available

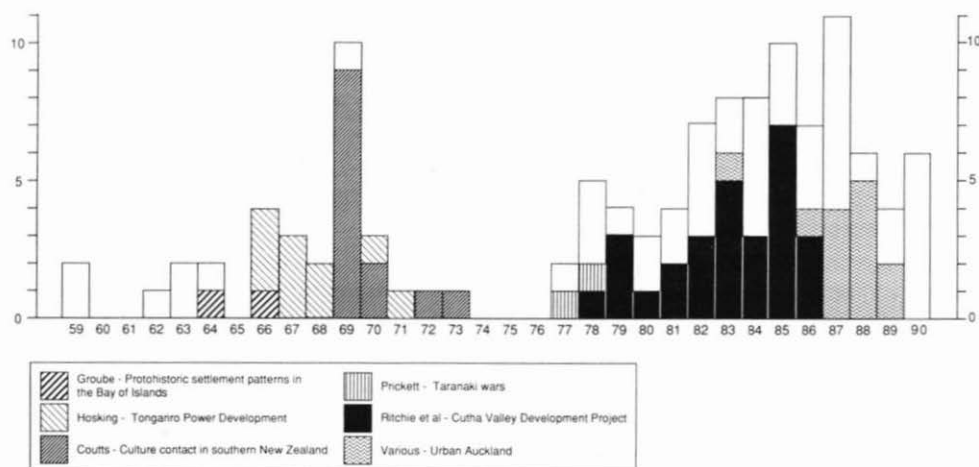


Figure 3: Number of sites excavated as part of major projects in historical archaeology.

In the late 1970s, Nigel Prickett's (1978a, 1978b, 1978c, 1981a) study of British and Colonial fortifications in Taranaki set the scene for the burgeoning interest in European sites. This has been carried on in recent years in the rather more loosely coordinated project run by Department of Conservation archaeologists in Auckland (Best 1986, 1987; Best and Clough 1988; Brassey 1989, 1990; Bulmer 1982; Coates 1990; Goodwyn 1989; Macready and Goodwyn 1990; Macready and Robinson 1990; Maingay 1983; Robinson 1988; Smith 1988a, 1988b, 1989a, 1989b; Smith and Goodwyn 1990). Likewise, archaeological knowledge of the Chinese in New Zealand is due solely to the work of Neville Ritchie and others involved in the Clutha Valley Development programme (for a summary of publications, see Ritchie 1990a). Together these projects just mentioned account for 58 percent of the sites that have been excavated.

Returning to the 'ethnic' composition of our sample (Fig. 3), and breaking each of our categories down further we find that all but two of the Maori sites were living sites in one form or another—13 *pā*, 12 open sites, and 10 caves or rock shelters. The remaining examples were a cemetery and a causeway. A similar situation obtains with the Chinese sites, where 16 of the 21 excavations concentrated on various kinds of living sites. Stores, horticultural terraces and a mining forge make up the remainder.

There is much greater diversity in the European site types (Fig. 4). Only 12 sites, or 20 percent of the total, could be described specifically as living sites such as houses, huts or more temporary camps. However, another nine hotels or other accommodation houses have also been investigated, which would bring the proportion of living places up to about one third. The two other major classes of sites are fortifications (25 percent) and industrial sites of various descriptions (20 percent).

The distinctions made here are in part illusory, in that many Maori living sites will have contained evidence for industrial activity, and might have served social functions such as those carried out in the European public buildings or hotels. Nevertheless, the observed pattern probably does also reflect a much greater degree of compartmentalisation in the social organisation and settlement patterns of European society. At the same time it indicates that only limited archaeological attention has been focussed on the domestic component of that social fabric.

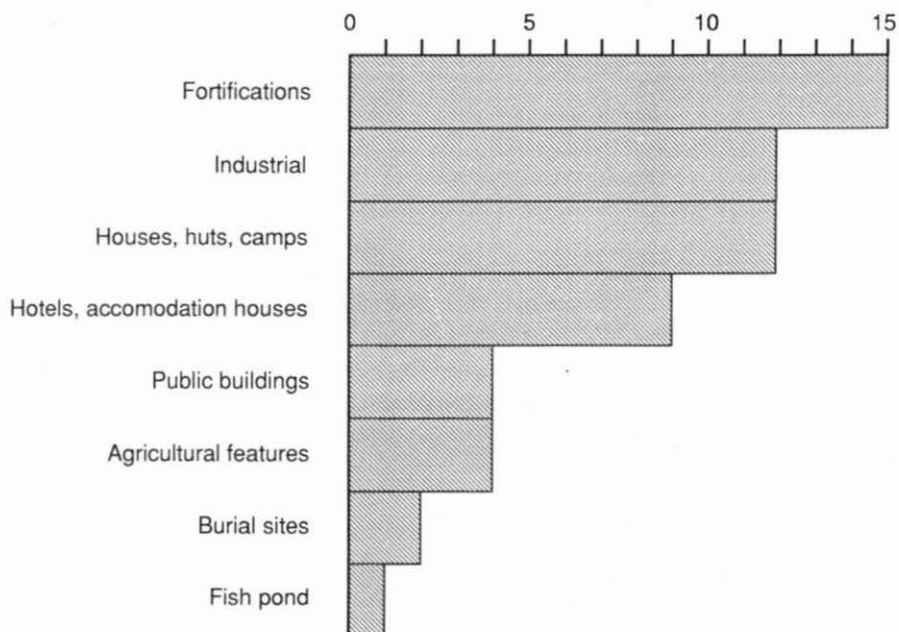


Figure 4: Excavated European sites: frequency of site types.

## DISCUSSION

The foregoing review has shown that the growth of historical archaeology in New Zealand, in terms of both excavations undertaken and publications produced, has been largely a phenomenon of the last three decades. This pattern is remarkably similar to those observed in North America (Deagan 1982: 152) and Australia (Murray and Allen 1986: 85), so it is worth considering whether there are any other similarities in the respective life histories of the discipline.

In North America historical archaeology first emerged, during the early twentieth century, predominantly as a technique for assisting with historical reconstruction (Deagan 1982: 155–6). Most excavations concentrated on so-called ‘historically important’ sites, and their principal aim was to rescue data that would permit the best possible interpretation of the site to a visitor. Practitioners in the field were frequently without archaeological or anthropological training.

With increasing involvement of anthropologically trained archaeologists, this emphasis on particularist historical questions came under increasing scrutiny and challenge during the 1960s from those who felt that historical archaeology could and should address broader anthropological issues of human cultural adaptation and evolution (e.g., Cleland and Fitting 1968). This ‘crisis of identity’ dominated American historical archaeology in the late 1960s and early 1970s (Deagan 1982: 156–7).

As with most identity crises, this one was never fully resolved. In part this is because ultimately the debate had as much to do with American historical archaeology establishing its identity as a discrete discipline as it did with determining whether its parenthood lay in



the realm of history or anthropology. Furthermore, in recent years there has been an increasing realisation that the two contending positions—historical particularisation and anthropological generalisation—are not mutually exclusive, and indeed the accommodation of a diversity of approaches has enhanced the hybrid vigour of the discipline (*ibid.*: 157–8, 170–2). Thus American historical archaeology today still retains an emphasis on ‘filling in the gaps in history’, but at the same time it also deals with broader issues such as distinctions between different ethnic or cultural groups, and processes of culture change.

It is difficult to match developments in New Zealand too closely with the trends identified above. The early years of historical archaeology here differed significantly from the North American experience in that the emphasis was clearly upon investigations of indigenous rather than immigrant cultures. While some of the early work, such as Cowan’s and Kelly’s surface descriptions and most of the early 1960s excavations, could be seen to fit the historical particularist mould, there was only limited attention given at that time to ‘historically important sites’, and none of the early excavations were undertaken for the purpose of presenting or interpreting the site to the public. Furthermore, at no time throughout its development has there been evidence of an identity crisis in New Zealand historical archaeology.

Several reasons can be suggested for these differences. In the first place, historical archaeology in New Zealand had its origins in archaeology, rather than in architectural, engineering or military history as was the case in North America. All of the excavations undertaken during the first decade of development here were carried out by archaeologists with previous experience in the excavation of prehistoric sites. This almost certainly played a major part in developing the initial emphasis on excavation of Maori, rather than European, sites of the historic period.

This emphasis also had methodological implications, reflecting a perception of continuity between the prehistoric and historic periods, not only in terms of the cultural groups under investigation, but also in terms of the methods that should be applied to their analysis. One of the few explicit considerations of such issues (Kennedy 1969: 1–9) describes the approach as ‘text-aided archaeology’, emphasising the primacy of the archaeological component in the methodology.

The early phases of historical archaeology in New Zealand also show a strong concern for broad anthropological issues. This is apparent as early as the 1920s in Elsdon Best’s work on the Modern Pa Maori. While his method and emphasis were largely descriptive, he was also concerned with the process and causes of change. In the 1960s the research programmes of both Groube and Coutts were focussed specifically on the process of cultural adaptation. More recently, Prickett’s analysis of Imperial warfare in a Colonial context, and Ritchie’s reconstruction of the cultural patterns of a discrete ethnic group have continued this concern.

Although four of the people mentioned above are responsible for a considerable proportion of the work done here, it would be impossible to maintain the view that their concern for broader issues was widely evident elsewhere in New Zealand historical archaeology. This is reflected clearly in the literature reviewed above, with none of the bibliographic entries dealing explicitly with theoretical issues, and only a small number moving beyond data description into areas of interpretation. Indeed, while historical archaeology has grown rapidly since the late 1970s, and its attention has focussed more and more on European sites and material culture, the consideration given to such issues appears to have diminished. Thus New Zealand seems to have exhibited the reverse of the North American trend towards broadening the scope of historical archaeology.

Some parallels to this situation can be found in Australian historical archaeology. The first excavations were undertaken there in the mid-1960s (Allen 1967; Birmingham 1968). Although focussing on immigrant rather than indigenous cultures, these investigations did address major issues such as the processes of colonisation and imperialism (Allen 1973; Birmingham 1976). However, a recent review of Australian historical archaeology (Murray and Allen 1986) has shown that this emphasis was not maintained. Indeed they have argued that for most of its history, the essential feature of Australian historical archaeology has been "the restriction of research options to those of local historical supplementation, and the reconstruction of local industrial processes and technologies" (*ibid.*: 85).

The principal reason advanced for this is that throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, Australian historical archaeology was driven largely by the needs of cultural resource management. Surveys were conducted primarily to establish the scope of the historic archaeological resource so that adequate decisions could be made about what should be preserved. Excavations were undertaken, by and large, only to assist in the interpretation of sites being presented to the public, or to salvage information from sites that would otherwise be destroyed. In these circumstances, it is argued, there was little challenge to straightforward 'historical supplementation' as sufficient justification for the doing of historical archaeology (*ibid.*: 86--87).

Again, it is possible to draw parallels with the New Zealand situation, in that much of the historical archaeology that has been done here since the mid 1970s has happened because the sites were under threat of destruction. Quantification of this is difficult because reports do not always clearly outline such underlying reasons, but at least 65 of the site surveys listed in the bibliography appear to fall into this category. In terms of excavations, even if we were to include only those sites in the Clutha Valley and Urban Auckland—which obviously underestimates those under such threat—we would have accounted for almost 50 percent of the sites investigated since 1977.

However, it would be inappropriate to conclude that the imminence of a site's destruction precludes a meaningful approach to its investigation. What the Clutha Valley Project has shown is that even where historical archaeology is stimulated by a salvage motivation, its excavation programme can still involve a coherent sampling strategy, its analyses can be used for comparative as well as descriptive purposes and its research objectives can address broader issues such as ethnicity, conservatism and adaptation. What distinguishes this from most of the Australian work alluded to earlier, and indeed much of the work done in recent years in New Zealand, is that from the outset there were clearly stated research objectives above and beyond the simple recovery of information that would otherwise be lost.

This is exactly what Murray and Allen (1986: 85) prescribed as part of their recipe for successful development of historical archaeology in Australia, which could only occur "if research options are expanded through the development of clearly defined archaeological problems of greater than local significance". They noted that moves in this direction had already begun in the early 1980s, with critical evaluations of the role and purpose of the discipline (e.g., Connah 1983) and attempts to build models that will aid the organisation, interpretation and testing of data (e.g., Birmingham and Jeans 1983). The other ingredients of their recipe involve establishing the disciplinary distinctiveness of historical archaeology, both in the methodological and theoretical spheres "by demonstrating the unique value of the archaeological perspective on historic material remains", and in the political sphere by "demarkating areas of academic territory and arguing for claims on resources" (Murray and Allen 1986: 90).

In New Zealand it is certainly clear that historical archaeology has not been, and still is not a self-consciously discrete discipline. The paucity of the literature on methodological and theoretical issues is one reflection of this. So too is the fragmented nature of its institutional infrastructure. There are no organisations or publications dedicated to this subject and it has only just begun to be taught as part of general courses in archaeology at universities here. While some public archaeologists have been involved, more or less full time, with historical archaeology at various times throughout the past decade and a half, there are no positions specifically designated to this end.

Given the size of the archaeological community in New Zealand and the financial and other resources at its disposal this situation is hardly surprising. For the same reasons it may well be the case that at an institutional level intra-disciplinary separatism is neither viable nor valuable in this country. Indeed, it has been argued here that part of the special character of New Zealand historical archaeology—its interest in the adaptations of an indigenous culture—have arisen through the lack of such separatism. These circumstances place even greater importance upon advances in the methodological and theoretical spheres to enhance development of historical archaeology in New Zealand.

## CONCLUSION

The foregoing review has shown that historical archaeology is a rapidly growing field in New Zealand, and that it has a strong, descriptive evidential base. It has dealt with a wide range of site types that derive from virtually the entire span of the historic period and reflect aspects of at least three of the cultural groups that have been here during that time. It stands apart from Australian and North American historical archaeology in the degree to which it has concerned itself with changes that have occurred in indigenous cultures during the historic period, although this is much less of a concern today than it was 20 years ago.

The major deficiencies apparent are in a lack of attention to methodological and theoretical matters. There are several areas of concern with regard to the former that could profitably be addressed. The most important of these involves explicit consideration of what are the valid and appropriate ways of combining archaeological and historical data to avoid circularity of argument, and promote the testing of one database against the other. However, there are also questions as to what are appropriate sampling strategies within the urban archaeological landscape, and a range of more mundane matters to do with the description, classification, sourcing and dating of the artefacts that are commonly recovered.

On the theoretical side the principal need is for the asking of appropriate research questions. The impression that is conveyed strongly by the literature reviewed here is that this has been done most consistently and successfully within the projects that have dealt with protohistoric Maori culture or the Chinese in Central Otago. The implication of this is that historical archaeologists in New Zealand have had greatest difficulty in dealing adequately with that which is most familiar, our own recent past. Thus the challenge that lies before us is to look beyond the superficial familiarity of the sites and artefacts with which we deal towards broader questions such as the diversity or lack of it within our society, and the processes by which it has changed. At the same time we need to develop and refine the techniques through which the integration of historical and archaeological data can combine to give us a unique viewpoint on these questions.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An earlier version of this paper was presented to the New Zealand Archaeological Association Conference in Wellington, June 1990. I am particularly grateful to Neville Ritchie for additional information, references and useful comments on that paper, and also to John Coster, Peter Douglas, Roger Green, Ray Hooker, Chris Jacomb and Tony Walton for assistance in compiling the bibliography.

## APPENDIX 1

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Submitted 17 October 1990

Accepted 15 December 1990