



NEW ZEALAND JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY



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Mission Station as Trading Post: The Economy of the Church Missionary Society in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the economy and trading relationships of Church Missionary Society (CMS) mission stations in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, from 1814, when the country's first mission was established, until about 1840. Archival sources from the CMS store accounts are examined and compared with archaeological remains recovered from the site of Te Puna mission station. These two sources of evidence are used to reconstruct the fundamental aspects of the CMS economy and to explore the role of the mission station as trading post in the decades before a cash economy was established. The sources also raise questions about the relationship between the archival and archaeological evidence, such as what was supplied to Te Puna mission and what was recovered from the archaeological investigation, and what were the long-term outcomes of this venture.

Keywords: MISSION STATION, COLONISATION, TRADING POST, TRADE AND EXCHANGE.

INTRODUCTION

This paper investigates the nature of trading activities within the economy of the Church Missionary Society (CMS) in the Bay of Islands, New Zealand, during the period dating from the establishment of the first mission station in 1814 until approximately 1840. Both archival evidence and archaeological remains are used to determine the range of goods and services exchanged between missionaries and indigenous Maori. These investigations show that among other roles, mission stations operated as trading posts, retaining quantities of goods for exchange. This trading relationship was essential to the mission economy in the early years, with missionaries dependent on their Maori patrons for much of their food, as well as protection from other potentially hostile tribes.

Accounts held in the CMS archives provide a key to the material culture and economy of the Bay of Islands' missions, giving nearly complete documentation of everything supplied to the stations from the mission store located at Kerikeri, established in 1819. This raises questions about the relationship between stores provided to missions and artefacts recovered from the archaeological record: what survives in the archaeological context, what was supplied that does not survive, and what survives that was not identified in the archives? Was there a black economy within the CMS? What were the long-term outcomes of this initial commercial venture?

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The earliest mission at Oihi was relocated to Te Puna in 1832. Archaeological investigations at the latter site in 2002 provide evidence that is examined here, alongside the archival record, as a detailed study of trading activities within the CMS economy in the Bay of Islands. This case study is contextualised within a broader framework of the earlier phase of occupation at Oihi and the general organisation of the CMS in the Bay of Islands. It is proposed that aspects of the trading system identified here may have application in understanding mission stations in other geographical and cultural contexts beyond New Zealand.

THE BAY OF ISLANDS CMS MISSIONS, 1814–1840

New Zealand's first mission station was established in December 1814 when Samuel Marsden arrived in the Bay of Islands with a small party of three missionaries, John and Hannah King, William and Dinah Hall, and Thomas and Jane Kendall and their children, along with a number of convict labourers on leave from Port Jackson (Elder 1932, 1934; Middleton 2005a). Marsden had spent nearly five years planning this evangelical CMS initiative, after developing a close association with two chiefly Maori men from the Bay of Islands, Te Pahi, who had died in 1810, and Ruatara, who died in March 1815, only a few months after the missionaries' arrival. Marsden insisted on settling the mission at Oihi, a small, steep valley located in the shadow of Rangihoua Pā, once the seat of Te Pahi and Ruatara, despite the protests of his catechists, who preferred the more fertile Te Puna valley to the west of Rangihoua (Fig. 1).

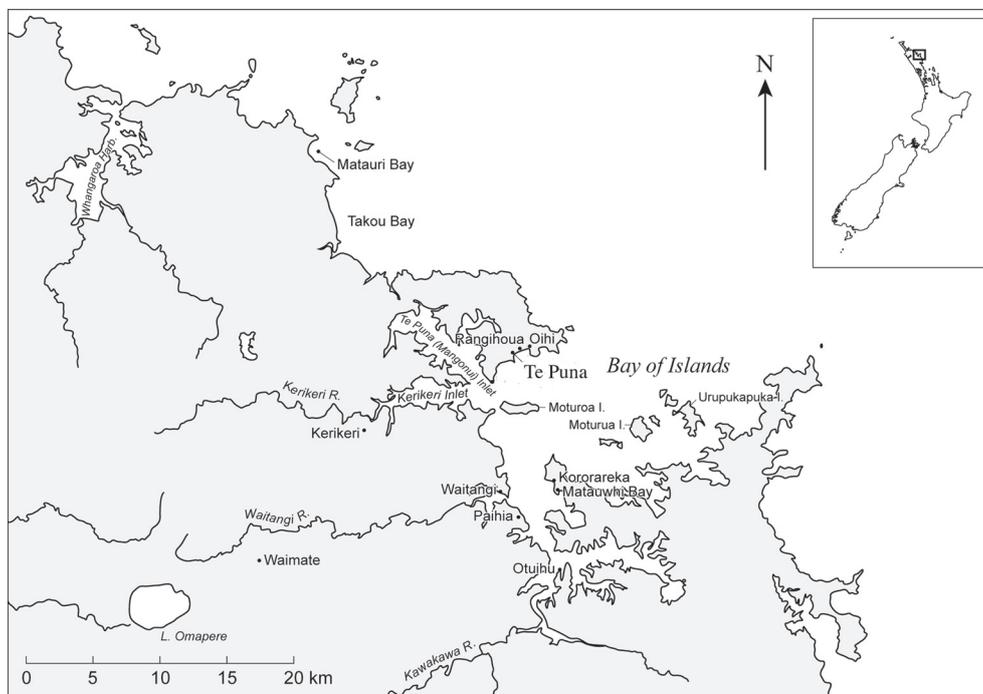


Figure 1: The Bay of Islands, showing locations discussed in the text.

Only two days after arriving at Oihi, having already used up his store of trade goods, Marsden found he “had no alternative but to erect a smith’s shop and burn charcoal in order that the smith might get to work as soon as possible and make such axes, etc as the natives wanted” (Elder 1932: 94; Challis 1993: 18). This blacksmith was the convict-labourer Walter Hall. Trade items made on the spot by the smith were Marsden’s only means of purchasing provisions for the missionaries and other resources such as building materials and labour from Maori. At the same time, Marsden considered that it was necessary to “excite a spirit of trade” amongst Maori, so that “civilization”, in the form of trade and commerce, should pave the way for the introduction of Christianity to the Maori population. Iron, the only article valued except for firearms, Marsden stated, was necessary to stimulate industrious behaviour, commerce and the development of civilisation (Elder 1932: 129; Marsden 1857, 1913: 69). He hoped this would be followed in due course by conversion to Christianity.

In March 1815 Marsden left the Bay of Islands to return to Parramatta and his role as chaplain to the colony of New South Wales, leaving the fledgling mission to struggle for survival. In October of that year Marsden reported to the secretary of the CMS in London on the state of affairs of the recently established New Zealand mission. Marsden (n.d.a: to the Secretary October 26 1815) considered that nothing could be achieved without the services of a blacksmith, “the principal person for procuring by his labor, pork, fish, potatoes and such things as [the missionaries] want from the natives A pious smith or two would be a great blessing”. Marsden’s request for a “pious” (i.e., missionary) blacksmith to join the mission was not answered until the arrival of James Kemp in 1819.

CMS directives to the three mission families stated they were to “spend no time in idleness” but should “occupy every moment set apart for labour in agriculture, building boats or houses, spinning twine or some other useful occupation ...”. They were to “make themselves independent in respect of provisions, by cultivating grain and rearing pigs and poultry” (Stock 1899: 206-207), something that proved impossible to achieve. “Private” trade with Maori or any shipping was forbidden, except for the “general account and benefit of the mission”, a point that became a cause for disagreement and conflict in the small Oihi community (CMS n.d.c: 23 January 1823). All stores, including goods acquired from Maori (such as additional food supplies), were to be deposited in the mission store and distributed to those engaged in the mission “according to their wants” (CMS n.d.c: 23 January 1823).

On leaving the Bay of Islands, Marsden (n.d.a: 26 October 1815) instructed Thomas Kendall to keep “an exact account” of all the work the blacksmith produced. In the first six months of 1815 Walter Hall produced axes, bolts, hinges, tomahawks, toki (small hatchets), knives, nails, hammers, meat stands, thimbles, shears, hoop iron and boat hooks, many of which were supplied to Maori, or to the mission settlement, where in turn they were traded to Maori for goods and services (Marsden n.d.a). Walter Hall also mended pots and pans and gun locks.

Muskets were a prime trade item, highly prized by Maori in the first decades of the nineteenth century (Urlich 1969; Middleton in press). Missionaries often found themselves going without as Maori exchanged pigs and potatoes for muskets from the ships that came into the Bay of Islands for provisions. Muskets, although a forbidden trade item for missionaries, sometimes changed hands at the mission too (Elder 1932, 1934; Binney 2005).

Trade items were also required to reward children for attendance at school, one of the primary aims of the mission being the instruction of Maori in reading and writing. In 1816, Kendall was writing to the CMS in Britain, requesting articles that could be given

to pupils, including thimbles, needles, knives, hair combs, and boys' whistles, in return for school attendance.

Marsden planned to use the CMS ship *Active* for trading. He sent the vessel to Tahiti for cargoes of pork and "the produce of the industry of the natives" (Marsden 1857, 1913: 68; Elder 1932). During the whaling season he planned for it to collect a cargo of oil for England, and to bring timber and flax back from New Zealand, the profits from which he hoped would offset the expenses of the New Zealand mission (Elder 1932: 139). In March 1817 Marsden even "strongly recommended" a plan to settle "a small colony of Agriculturists and Mechanics" in New Zealand (Marsden n.d.b). At the same time, from the commencement of the New Zealand mission the Oihi missionaries were forbidden to undertake any private trade with Maori on their own behalf, in order to prevent any profiteering.

Despite an initial lack of converts, the mission expanded, opening new stations at Kerikeri in 1819 and Paihia in 1823. By the late 1820s, after more than ten apparently unsuccessful years, the first Maori baptisms took place and in 1830 another station, with a model farm, opened at Waimate North (Standish 1962). By this time Oihi was marginalised on the outer fringes of the Bay of Islands and its houses were scarcely inhabitable. The last two missionaries living there, John King and James Shepherd, had begun building houses at Te Puna in 1828 (King n.d.a, n.d.b; Middleton 2005a). They moved there with their families in 1832, finally closing the original mission but continuing to serve the now diminished population of Rangihoua Pā and its surrounding villages (Fig. 2).

During the first decade of the CMS in the Bay of Islands, and beyond this period, the blacksmith remained an essential member of the mission. Although Walter Hall left the Bay of Islands in 1816 and the missionary blacksmith James Kemp did not arrive until 1819, it is clear that smithing continued in the intervening three years. On 3 April 1817

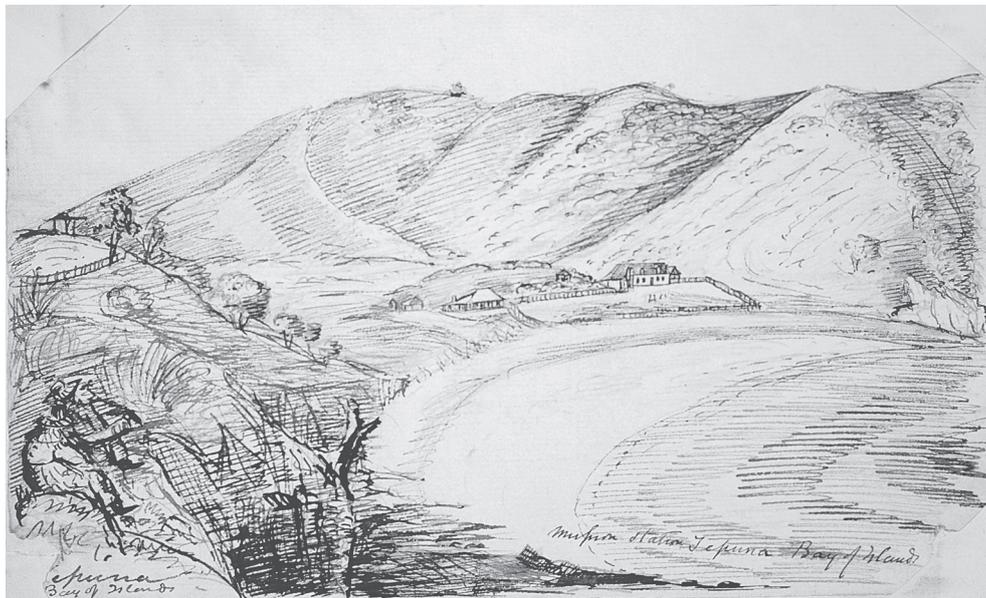


Figure 2: Te Puna Mission Station. Drawing by Richard Taylor c. 1841. Alexander Turnbull Library E-296-q-160-1.

Marsden (n.d.b) wrote to the secretary estimating the cost of the “Blacksmith’s Work” at £30, and supplies of iron and steel at £15; in May 1818 he ordered an anvil, a “few dozen smiths Files”, bar iron and steel (Marsden n.d.b). There were also opportune arrivals. On 4 September 1820 William Hall (n.d.) met a blacksmith off a ship recently arrived in the Bay, and setting up a forge “set him to work to make nails and other Iron work, for the benefit of the Settlement.” In fact, Challis (1993: 18) argues that a blacksmith’s shop was incorporated into almost every settlement in the early occupation of the Bay of Islands, repeating “the familiar English pattern”. He also points out that some missionaries were themselves smiths, naming George Clarke, Richard Davis, James Preece and William Puckey among those who were skilled in this craft.

However, by 1827 the preferred trade goods had changed from hardware to blankets (CMS n.d.a: 7 August 1827). This development may have been influenced by changes in the musket trade. According to the missionary Richard Davis, by the mid 1820s there were “many thousand stand of arms” amongst Bay of Islands Maori, and from this point on the balance of power between different tribes became more equal, leading to a decline in the demand for muskets (Davis n.d; Shawcross 1967; Binney 2005; Middleton in press). In 1827 the committee requested the CMS in Britain “to send in future three fourths of the amount of trade usually sent out, in Blankets weighing 4 lb each” (CMS n.d.a: August 1827). By the 1830s, clothing also formed a significant trade item, with large quantities held at Te Puna and exchanged for goods and services.

Although Henry Williams sometimes used hard currency to pay for stores from ships (Rogers 1961), it does not appear to have been in consistent local use until after annexation in 1840. On 23 September 1823 Marsden (n.d.a) wrote to the CMS secretary Josiah Pratt, blustering that “the missionaries had fallen into another serious error. Some of them had purchased provisions from the natives with dollars. ... I saw this evil would be as great as the other [trade in muskets], as this would furnish the natives with the means of purchasing muskets either from the ships or Port Jackson.” Marsden considered that Maori would never accept “iron” if they could trade in dollars. In the same letter he insisted that the missionaries

want for nothing. No persons can have more of the comforts of life than they enjoy. The difficulties the missionaries have met with in New Zealand originate from their perverse tempers, their pride, envy and a secular spirit. (Marsden n.d.a)

MISSION ORGANISATION

The New Zealand mission’s ultimate governing body was the London committee of the CMS. Correspondence was generally written by the committee’s secretary, with Josiah Pratt and subsequently Samuel Bickersteth featuring prominently in this role. Marsden, closer to the Bay of Islands at Parramatta, took a firmer controlling hand with his New Zealand mission and its finances (Stock 1899; Standish 1962). In the Bay of Islands, all missionaries, ordained and lay, participated in a local committee, but the mission was run according to rules fixed by the London committee.

Missionaries (that is, unordained missionaries, called “settlers” by Marsden) were paid a fixed salary of £20 for each man and woman and £10 for each child in the family, although salaries were later increased. In 1820 “Rules for the Settlement” detailed weekly provisions from the mission store:

For every man

8 lbs Flour
5 lbs of Salt Pork or 7 lbs of Fresh meat
1 lb of Sugar
2 oz Tea & 1/4 lb Soap

For every Woman

8 lbs Flour
4 lbs of Salt Pork or 6 lbs of Fresh meat
1 lb of Sugar, 2 oz of Tea & 1/4 lb Soap

And for every Child

4 lbs Flour
4 lbs of Salt Pork or 5 lbs of Fresh Meat
1 lb Sugar, 1 ounce of Tea & 2 oz of Soap (CMS n.d.c)

The new superintendent at Kerikeri, Rev. John Butler, could increase the provisions if it seemed necessary. Whale oil for lighting and lamp cotton were also included in the quarterly rations. Supplies were ordered from Port Jackson as well as London by the storekeeper at Kerikeri. All other missionaries were subject to the superintendent, who could make binding decisions about mission matters. Missionaries were to obey the superintendent's directions "according to their several offices, Trades and calling, and shall account to him for all their labour and time" (CMS n.d.c: undated, but *c.* 1820). Each person (or family) permanently engaged by the society was entitled to a house, yard and garden to be cultivated "for their private individual benefit". No member of the mission was allowed to acquire or hold any private property, other than that granted to them by the Society.

William Colenso, who arrived in Paihia in 1834, later recalled that

The weekly allowance of foreign rations was very small ... it was said to have been the same in quantity as the convicts' allowance in Sydney; a single ration not being sufficient for one person (as in my own case), but a number coming together – as in a large family where all received rations, did better. (Colenso 1888: 28)

The superintendent or (after the end of 1823 when John Butler was removed) chairman (as Henry Williams was appointed) was to call monthly committee meetings, although it appears that the frequency of meetings changed from the later 1830s, with only quarterly and occasional 'special' meetings held. All the missionaries (men, but not their wives) attended meetings, whether ordained or not. The committee made decisions about the day-to-day running of the missions such as whether a member could build a house, the expenditure of committee finance for such things, the relocation of personnel between missions, and the setting up of schools. While members submitted reports and accounts to quarterly meetings that were copied into the minutes (see Figs 6 and 7), they were required to send copies of six-monthly reports and daily journals to the London committee, where excerpts were published annually in the *Missionary Register*. London's responses to any queries or requests could take a year or more to arrive back in the Bay of Islands through irregular shipping channels.

KERIKERI MISSION STORE RECORDS

After it opened in 1819, the Kerikeri mission formed the centre of most of the CMS operations. It was the location of the store, where all goods for the CMS were off-loaded from ships anchored near Kerikeri or transported there in boats from ships at anchor at Paihia. From 1836 the store was located in the purpose-built Stone Store that is now an important heritage building in the Bay of Islands. James Kemp, CMS storekeeper, kept 'daybooks' and 'journals' detailing stores received and expended, creating an archive that has left a traceable circuit of the CMS trade and economy. The trading relationship, crucial to the CMS from the beginning years at Oihi, continued into the 1830s at other missions, as the archives reveal. The accounts provide a record of all the items distributed to the mission families from the CMS store, from the early 1820s until 1843, when the Stone Store was sold to Richard Kemp, son of the missionary storekeeper James Kemp. The subsequent records of store sales from 1843 can also be consulted in the archives of St John's Theological College (Kemp n.d.). The CMS accounts, handwritten by James Kemp, are a form of artefact themselves. Copies held at the Kerikeri Mission House were consulted, with a focus on the years from approximately 1828–1832, the years when the two houses at Te Puna were being built, although data for some earlier and later years were also consulted. Quarterly "Accounts of Trade" appear in the minutes of CMS committee meetings for a wider time period (CMS n.d.a, n.d.b).

The Kerikeri CMS store archives consist of several principal sets of accounts that can be 'reconciled' to some extent, and used to reconstruct the economy and material culture of the Bay of Islands missions. Goods brought into the Bay of Islands on board ships and supplied to the CMS store are documented in the first set of accounts. An example of this is the list of items received from "Schooner Active Captain Wright Sydney New S Wales" 4 August 1830 (not the CMS's *Active*) (Fig. 3; CMS n.d.f). Goods then supplied to mission families from the mission store are detailed in the "General Account of Stores Issued, Te Kiddee Kiddee Store" (Fig. 4; CMS n.d.e). This is an apparently complete inventory of supplies to all the CMS missions, as well as occasional supplies to others such as members of the Wesleyan mission on the Hokianga Harbour. These are duplicated in the "Journal Te Kiddee Kiddee Store" (Fig. 5; CMS n.d.f), which provides a list of articles supplied on a particular date (in the case of Figure 4, on 10 January 1832), then re-entered in the "General Account of Stores Issued". The missionaries then completed 'returns' for the quarterly meetings, making up the third set of relevant accounts. An example of the returns to the committee meetings is John King's "Tepuna acct of trade from July 1 to Oct 1 1833" (Fig. 6, CMS n.d.b).

Information collected from these accounts for the period April 1831–March 1832 is summarised in Appendix 1. This lists all the goods itemised quarterly in the "General Account of Stores Issued" but does not include information from John King's quarterly returns to the CMS committee. It also lists items recovered from the archaeological investigation of the site of the Te Puna mission house that can be compared with those in the store accounts.

Goods brought in on the *Active* by Captain Wright in 1830 that went to the CMS included a larger range than those that appeared in the Kerikeri "General Account of Stores Issued". Figure 3 demonstrates only the first page of goods received; in this single shipment items included nearly 20,000 iron bark shingles, 6,000 bricks, 11 bars of iron weighing 480 lbs, 112 sacks of flour, 87 soldiers' great coats, 375 yards of factory cloth, kegs of tobacco, 400 shirts, 200 blue jackets, 344 pairs of cotton trousers, over 1,000 blankets, 300 iron pots, agricultural and building tools, and a number of other goods as well as the first printing

1830

August 4th 7 Schooner Active Capt^t Wright & Sydney New Wales

52	Pair Chimney - Cbbs 242 lbs for boat	7/6	7	1	2
5	1 Case Cont ^y Tools & Blank etc etc		2	11	"
5	4 Health Boxes		2	"	"
5	1900 Copper boat Sails about 11/4 lbs	1/6	1	1	"
5	6000 Bricks	20/	8	14	"
5	6 Wheel Barrows	20/	6	"	"
5	2 Timber Carriage Chassis		2	7	"
5	1 Filling Cart		12	"	"
1	Case Cont ^y 36 Croz cut saw files...		2	1	"
5	4 Tin funnels	3/6	"	15	"
5	6 Wood hills	4/6	1	4	"
5	6 lbs Cold Lead 1 Spelter		"	10	6
5	12 lbs Cold Putty	2/6	1	10	"
5	6 Limb sciver	7/6	2	2	"
5	1 Jar Cont ^y 20 lbs Linseed Oil	2/6	3	10	"
5	11 Press of Iron - 480 lbs		2	19	"
5	3 Coils rope - 5-5-5	50/	9	10	"
5	1 Wooden Pump 24 ft	7/1	8	8	"
5	9970 Large iron bark shingles		17	8	"
5	10000 Small do do		6	8	"
5	64 Canvas sheets Cont ^y 12475 lbs Fine flann	13/	93	11	3
5	46 do & 8 Cases Cont ^y 12407 lbs do do	13/	80	12	11
5	87 Soldiers old great Coats	3/	13	1	"
5	397 do Belts should have been 426	1/	21	6	"
5	3 pair Girths		"	16	6
5	1 Bridle & Martingale		1	1	"
5	1 Hide leather 29th	1/6	1	16	3
5	7 Lash lines		"	12	3
5	6 Bags Cont ^y 14 Bushes plasterers hair	1/	"	14	"
5	100 100 Permitted Factory Cloth 350 yds wide	5/	52	10	"
5	100 100 do do 25" narrow	1/6	"	"	"
5	6 pair Blankets Colonial	20/	6	"	"

362

over

Figure 3: CMS store goods received from Captain Wright, 4 August 1830 (CMS n.d.f).

General Account of Stores issued.

		No. of Boxes	Tea	Coffee	Soap	Oil
1832			4 - 12	15 - 13	10 - 12	10 - 12
Jan 7	To Mr J. King for Ranghema Settlement	7	7	17 - 3	137 - 8	46 - 14
March	To " Do 13 Weeks ration Do for	4	4	2 - 7	39 - "	29 - "
	To " Do	7	7	19 - 10	170 - 8	75 - 14
Jan 7	To Mr J. Chapman for Wikeri Settlement					9 - 2
March	To " Do					
	To " Do 13 Weeks ration for	8	12	28 - 12	244 - "	65 - "
	To " Do	4	7	6 - 14	91 - "	87 - 4
	To " Do	8	12	38 - 10	333 - "	152 - 4
Jan 7	To Rev W. Williams for Pahiia Settlement					16 - 2
March	To " Do					
	To " Do 13 Weeks ration for	14	17	36 - 9	292 - 8	100 - 14
	To " Do 13 Do out of ration	4	4	9 - 7	134 - "	153 - "
		14	17	46 - "	426 - 8	253 - 14
Jan 7	To Mr J. Kambin for Kaimata Settlement					15 - "
March	To " Do					
	To " Do for 13 Weeks ration for	12	15	31 - 13	253 - 8	87 - 12
	To " Do	4	4	8 - 15	133 - 7	141 - "
		12	15	39 - 11	386 - 15	243 - 12
Jan 7	Expulsion to Tauranga			20 - "	10 - "	7 - "
	Cap. Knight for Schooner Section			20	135 - "	5 - "
	Rev W. Williams for latter Service					
	Unsalable stores and an excess on receiving					
March	Rev W. Williams for Mission			16 - "	161 - "	78 - "
	Waste on Quarters					11 - "
Jan 7	To Rev J. Hobbs Wesleyan Missionary				20 - "	20 - "
	To Rev W. Galt Private Use			4 - "	17 - "	3 - "
	To Mr W. Nesbet Do					1 - 1
	To Mr J. King Do					
	To Mr Chapman Do			2 - "		
	To Mr Parker Do					
	To Mr Kemp Do					
	To Rev J. H. Brown Do					
	Rev W. Williams Do					
	To Mr W. Kainham Do					
	To Mr W. Parker Do					
	To Mr Barrett Do					
	To Mr R. D. Jarvis Do					
	Spent on Private Use			6 - "	37 - "	23 - "
						1 - 1
	Kari Keri		1 - 10			
	Ranghema			13 - 0		3 - 8
	Pahiia			32 - 0		60 - 0
	Mauriata			239 - 0		40 - 0
				100 - 8		
			1 - 10	380 - 0		103 - 8

Figure 4: "General Account of Stores Issued, Te Kiddee Kiddee Store" January–March 1832 (CMS n.d.e). See Table 1 for complete inventory.

1832

Jan 10	To Mr King for Settlement Rangitikea	
	12 Flocs	2 qdls Nails
	12 Blankets 30	2 Lbs Gimblets
12	76 Telling Axes	6 Shaving Boxes
	6 Small do	1 Sheet Copper #11
	12 Plane Irons	24 pane Windows Glaz
✓	12 On Pickers	2 Large Iron rim Locks
	12 Combs	6 Small do do do
	40th Tobacco	2 Wood Stock do
	12 Knives	100r Butt Storage
	13 Rugs	1 Grof Screws
168	8 Yellowed Flows	1 Set of Chisels
	9thls Brads	5 lbs Paint
	4th Sealing Wat	1 qn of Paint oil
	4 Tin Cans	1/2 Gall Turpentine
	3 Tin Cans	32 Cooper rivets
	40r Braces	2 1/2 Copper Nails
	Opunah	
	Mr King	
	To Mr Hamilton for Wairangi Settlement	
	24 Red Shirts	4 Grof Screws
	48 Iron pots	5 Dog Bit Saw Files
	6 Bars of Soap 15#	1 Bundle Red Iron
	29 Rugs	1 Small Square
	12 Shaving Boxes	4 Gauges
	48 Tooth Combs small	10 In Braces
	12 Razors	15 Spanish Sheep
✓	24 Axes Steel pole	6 Tin Cans
	36 Duck Irons	50 Pens
	1 Cask Tobacco 18#	Foots Cap Paper
	24 Flocs	36 Gimblets
	1 Sheet Copper #23	12 lbs Paint - 2 Kags
	138 yards Blue Linen	1 qn of oil
	139 Striped Cotton	1 lb Sealing Wat
	3 lb Thread	24 pane Windows Glaz
	10 Pieces of Tape	1000 Rail nails
	3 r Irons	1 Flans tin
	32 Blankets	27.5 lbs Salt

Figure 5: CMS store goods supplied to John King January 10 1832. "Journal Te Kiddee Kiddee Store" (CMS n.d.f).

Tepuna acct of trade from July 1 to Oct 1 1833

On hand and received	6	12	16	20	7	10	17	9	15	24	11	10	7	13	1	13	1	13	12	10	15	7	4	9	9	2	10	13	15	17	20	26
Expended for pigs	-	4	-	6	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Native food	2	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Mr. Richards exp	-	4	-	1	-	-	-	-	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
For settlement use	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
To Euro/seen children	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
To redeem a slave	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Mr. Harris exp	-	-	1	30	1	-	7	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total expenditure	2	12	1	30	2	10	-	9	9	3	3	2	-	3	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
By Land Oct 1 1833	4	-	15	30	5	-	18	-	6	21	9	6	7	4	2	1	13	9	0	15	7	4	10	-	2	9	-	14	0	13	-	

Signed John King

Figure 6: "Tepuna acct of trade from July 1 to Oct 1 1833" (CMS n.d.b).

press imported into New Zealand, which was used rather unsuccessfully by the Rev. William Yate (see Appendix 1 for a more complete list). Although this shipment arrived in the Bay of Islands about two years before the Te Puna mission opened, these items are typical of those supplied to John King, then still living at Oihi, and many of them may have been incorporated into the two houses being built at Te Puna. Some of the iron bark shingles may have gone to Te Puna, although these do not appear in the outwards accounts for John King at this time, and James Shepherd made shingles from local timber at Matauri Bay (King n.d.a: October 1831). Hearthstones from Sydney, brought over by Wright in 1830 and again in 1831 may have been among those excavated from the Te Puna mission site in 2002. Some building materials may also have gone to the Waimate mission, as houses were being built there in 1830, while other goods including building materials supplied to John King in this period can be identified in Appendix 1. Quantities of “British and Foreign iron” supplied to John King in the last quarter of 1831 (Appendix 1) suggest that King or James Shepherd may have been manufacturing their own metal goods on a forge at Te Puna.

Figure 4 is a reproduction of the first page of the “General Account of Stores Issued” for 10 January to 22 March 1832, an example of the accounts from which the data in columns 1 and 2 of Appendix 1 were drawn. In the “General Account of Stores Issued”, names of missionaries (the male head of the household) to whom the goods for the various settlements were supplied (Te Puna, Kerikeri, Paihia, Waimate) are listed in the first vertical column, as well as for an “Expedition to Tauranga”, while goods are listed in the first row, with the first three columns sometimes noting the numbers of European adults and children and ‘natives’ at each station. In this quarter there are 7 adults and 7 children (the King and Shepherd families) listed at the Te Puna mission, with Maori numbered at 31. Regular food supplies consisted of tea, sugar and flour, as well as arrowroot and salt; large quantities of this and saltpetre (potassium nitrate) were required for preserving meat such as pork. Mission families used ‘fine’ flour, while ‘seconds’ was given to Maori. Soap and lamp oil were also supplied quarterly. While only the first page of the “General Account” is illustrated here, quarterly account books record a number of goods running over a large number of pages, rewritten for each quarter. The complete list of goods supplied to John King from April 1831 to March 1832 is recorded in Appendix 1. The quantities of goods the CMS store received from ships such as the *Active* were far larger than the CMS missions required for their own use.

The returns made quarterly from each mission to the CMS committee supply the firm evidence of the mission’s role as trading post. John King’s “Account of Trade” for the quarter 1 July to 1 October 1833 (Fig. 6; Table 1) demonstrates the goods that were present at the Te Puna mission during this period. The mission had received, and presumably consumed, the regular supplies of flour, sugar, tea and occasional supplies of wheat and rice and these were not included in the return. In Figure 6, the top row of King’s return to the committee lists all the goods supplied to the mission—such as “Scriptures, Hoes, Blankets, Trowsers” etc., with the next row itemising the number of these “On hand and Received”. Following rows itemise how the goods have been expended. Two iron pots, six blankets, four hoes and one shaving box (function unknown) were exchanged for pigs, along with another blanket, more hoes, a handkerchief, combs and 2 lbs of tobacco for other food such as potatoes. Other goods were used “for the settlement”, and for the two families. King’s own use included the six pipes he had at the beginning of the quarter, while he and Shepherd both appear to have used nearly all the tobacco. King’s final two columns of his accounts include total expenditure of goods and what remained “on hand” on 1 October, numbers that can be reconciled with those on hand at the beginning of the

TABLE 1
Summary of Te Puna Account of Trade 1 July–1 October 1833

Item	On Hand	For Pigs	For Food	Redeem Slave	Mission use	Shepherd Expenses	King Expenses	In Excavation
Household								
Kitchen/dining								
Iron Spoons								X
Knives	13							X
Iron Pots	13	2		1	1	6	1	X
Lighting								
Lamps	9						1	X
Bedding								
Blankets	10	6	1	1				
Toiletries								
Razors	7					1	1	
Soap	4							
Horn & Bone Combs	13		3			6		
Miscellaneous								
Scissors	12							
Reading & Writing								
Books	12				2		1	
Scriptures	6				2			
Catechism	19					2	2	
L Books*	20				1		1	
P Books*	6				5			
Clothing								
Men's Wear								
Belts	7							X?
Cotton shirts	24						3	
Cotton Trousers	16						3	
Blue jackets	7							
Scotch Caps	10						1	
Fabric								
Parramatta Cloth	9							
Haberdashery								
Handkerchiefs	15		1				1	
Agriculture								
Axes	15				1		1	X
Adzes	10					2		
Hoes	12	4	2		2	4		X
Spades	7				3			X
Horse Gear								
Bridles								X?
Sundries								
Tobacco	13lb		2			5	6	
Pipes	6						6	X
Fishhooks	100						20	X
Miscellaneous								
Shaving Boxes	8	1					1	

* not identified further in archival record; P books are presumably prayer books

quarter. A rather large amount of men's clothing remained in the mission supplies, but only 9 yards of cloth, mostly used for sewing women's clothing, as gowns were not usually available ready made at this time (Middleton 2007). Of particular interest is the cost of redeeming a slave—in this quarter, one blanket and one iron pot; in the following quarter from 1 October 1833 to 1 January 1834, not illustrated here, John King paid another “part payment” of 1 lb of tobacco and one adze for the slave (CMS n.d.a). The purchase or “redeeming” of this slave was a rather tumultuous event that John Wilson, a missionary living at Te Puna at the time, described in his journal (Wilson n.d.; Middleton 2005a).

Goods held in the mission store were also exchanged for land. In the quarter from 1 April to 1 June 1834, John King's return to the committee records “To Mr. King's son for the purchase of land”, 20 hoes, 40 iron pots, 20 adzes, 20 axes and 20 blankets being used for this purpose. John King does not record the area or location of land purchased. However, Turton's (1877–1883) Old Land Claim Deeds provide additional information about Phillip Hansen King's land purchases in 1834. Deed No. 104, dated 20 June 1834, identifies Motuapo, the island just off the point between Rangihoua Bay and Wairoa Bay at Te Puna as one of the likely contenders. The deed records only one blanket, one hoe and one pound of tobacco being exchanged for the small island. In November of the same year Phillip Hansen King purchased Koutu, the point of land between the two bays, for four blankets, two iron pots, four pounds of tobacco, four hoes and two dozen pipes. This still leaves a large amount of trade goods unaccounted for. Phillip Hansen King's largest land purchase of 1500 acres at Waiaua, on the coast some distance north of the Bay of Islands, took place in October 1836.

Three years later King's Account of Trade return to the CMS committee meeting in July 1836 (Fig. 7) lists fewer fabric and clothing items, although blankets and trousers remain and “drawers”, an innovative, ready-made item of underwear for women (Willett and Cunnington 1951), have appeared. King traded 20 blankets for pigs, but unfortunately he does not specify the quantity he received. This may have been a rather large number, according to the price Eliza White, wife of the Wesleyan missionary William White, recorded in the Hokianga in May 1832. In this month she purchased potatoes, kumara, corn, pigeons, pork and fish from Maori in trading canoes. “We are now living on the Fat of the Land”, she commented, noting that these provisions should be stored away for winter and scarcity. Two days later more canoes arrived to trade. Eliza purchased:

- a pig for a small blanket
- 8 baskets (1 bushel) of corn for a spade
- the same number of baskets for a Hoe
- 1 basket for a negrohead of Tobacco
- 2 for a comb
- 2 for a bottle of oil

At other times of the year pork was the cheapest, most available food:

I have eaten rather too freely of meat lately, owing to the high price of flour. Have made very few puddings, and been careful to use little bread. Pork is so cheap that it is a constant article of diet at every meal except tea; but it does not suit me more than once a day. (White n.d. Wednesday 10 February 1836)

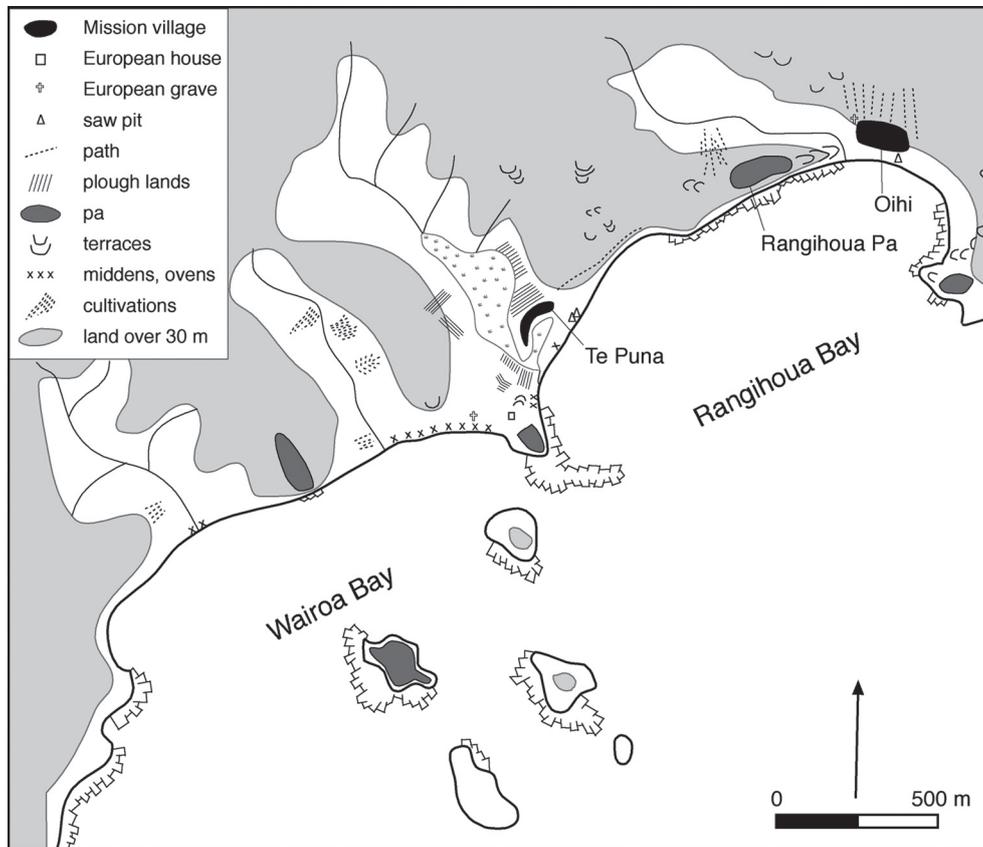


Figure 8: Archaeological features and topography of Te Puna mission station and its surroundings.

gin' bottles stacked to lie flat. Domestic debris such as pins, buttons, thimbles, faunal remains, clay pipes and both wrought and cut nails were also recovered from the floor of the cellar. It appeared that barrels, perhaps used for storage containers, were also abandoned in the cellar, although they were identified only from the large quantity of hoop iron used to hold the staves together. Iron cooking pots (commonly known as goashores) and irons were recovered from the same context, with others (the pots broken into fragments) also located in the post holes outside the main structure, probably used to shore up wooden posts (Fig. 11). Several metal artefacts—a pick axe, a large hinge, and two axes—lying in a line appeared to demarcate a fence line or wall of one of the outbuildings (Fig. 11). A total of six spades was recovered, four within the cellar fill, one from the cellar floor and one from the neighbouring garden area. Other agricultural tools were grubbers, a hoe, a scythe, a reaping hook and three axes, two apparently constructed by a simple method of folding a length of flat iron around the eye and bending it double to join at the body of the blade, as a blacksmith could do at his forge and anvil.

Although there is no documentary evidence giving the date the mission house was demolished, artefacts such as nails used in construction and repairs point to its abandonment and demolition by the early 1870s. In March 1874 the land the house occupied was sold



Figure 9: View west from Rangihoua, March 2002, showing excavations at the site of Te Puna mission station.

and integrated into a larger pastoral holding (Middleton 2005a, 2005c; LINZ n.d.). Many of the other artefacts, in particular the glass bottles, point to an early to mid-nineteenth century manufacture consistent with the abandonment of the mission house by this date. The results of the excavation also point to a sparing economy, with few non-essential items recovered (Middleton 2005a, 2005b, 2005c). This frugality suggested by the archaeology goes hand-in-hand with the thrift of the rations supplied from the mission store, as described in the 1820 “Rules for the Settlement” and subsequently confirmed by William Colenso’s description.

THE ARCHIVES AND THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RECORD

Table 1 and Appendix 1 indicate articles from the store inventory and those supplied to John King that were recovered from the archaeological investigation of the Te Puna mission house site. Other items recovered from the archaeological context do not appear at all in the CMS accounts. This raises questions about the economy and the operation of the missions.

Some kinds of materials will not survive in the archaeological record and are not expected to be recovered. This applies of course to clothing and fabric, large amounts of which were supplied to John King at Te Puna during the period examined. However, buttons, thimbles and pins as well as five household irons were recovered from the cellar of the mission house, pointing to the presence of articles of clothing and fabric there and the domestic role of women (Middleton 2005a, 2005b, 2007). These articles all appear

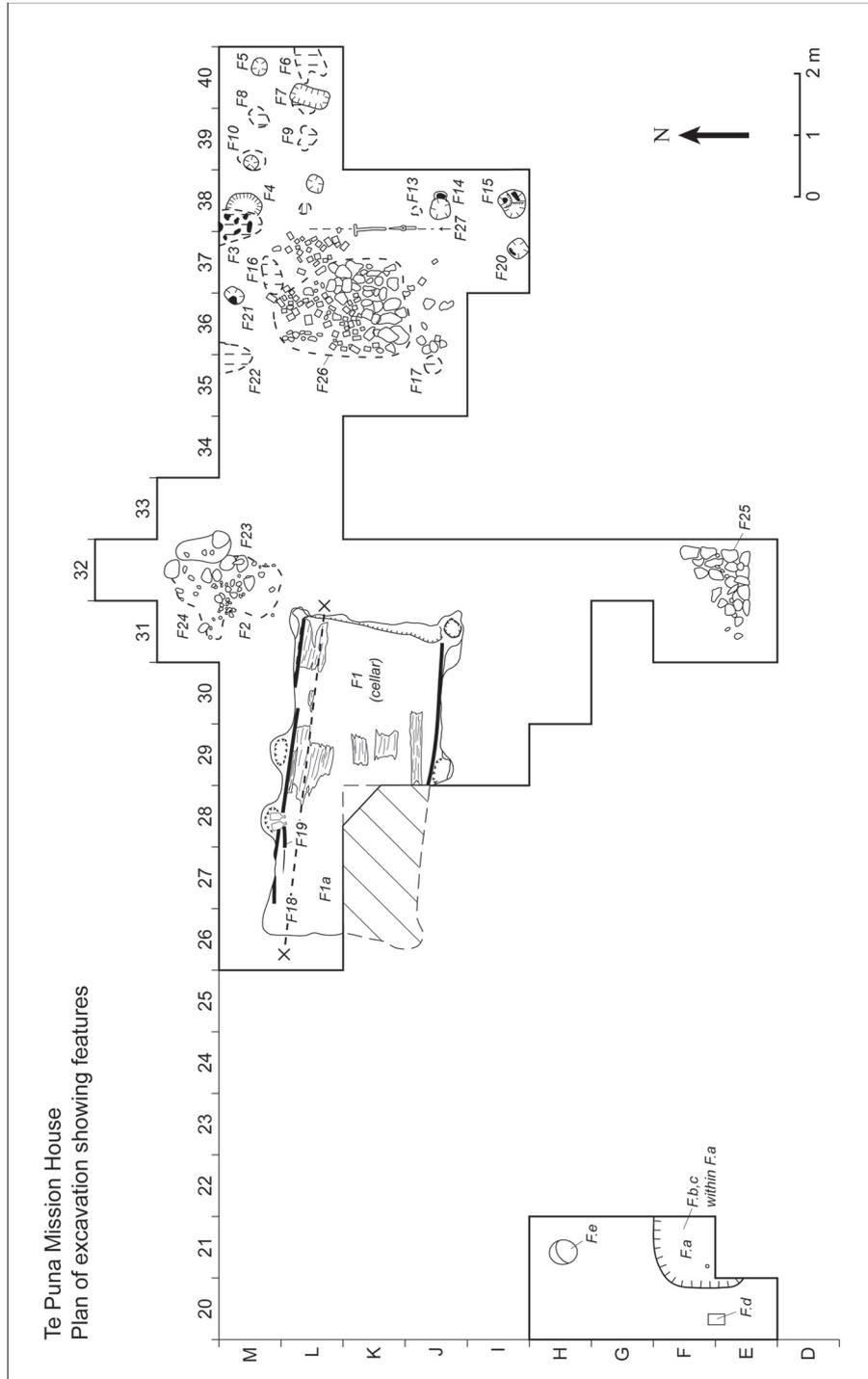


Figure 10: Plan of the excavation at Te Puna, showing features. X-X is the position of the profile of cellar fill (Fig.12).

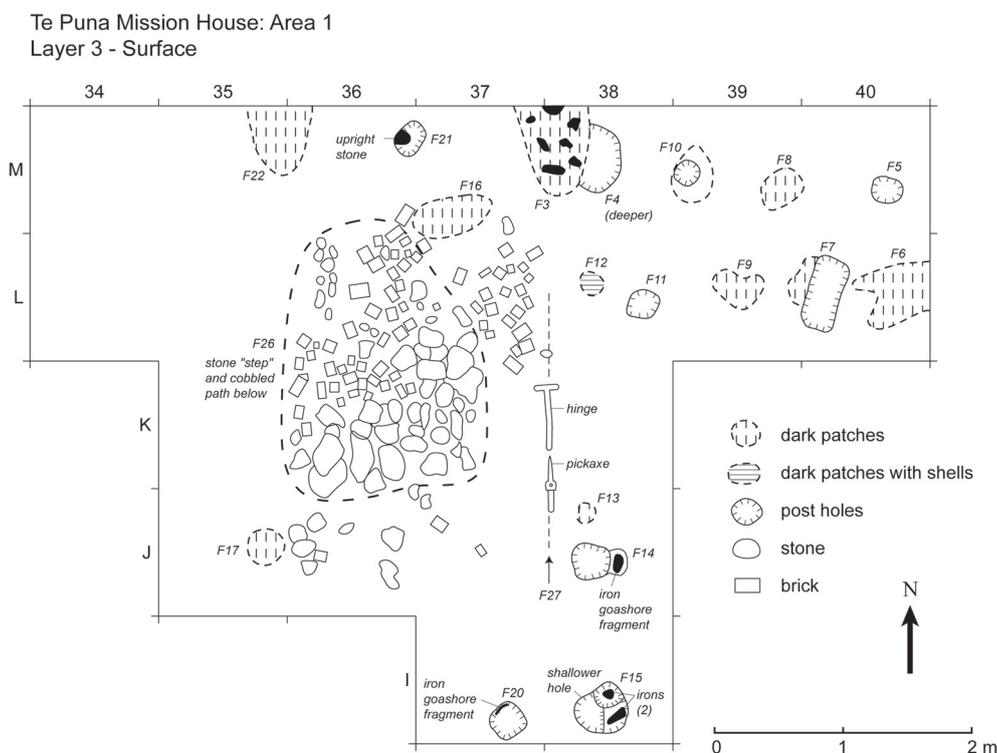


Figure 11: Plan of the layer 3 surface of area 1 (east) at Te Puna.

in the store accounts, but were not specifically supplied to Te Puna during the period summarised in Appendix 1. Books were also supplied in large quantities from the early 1830s, but have not survived in the archaeological context, along with other items such as those made from wood, for example.

Other goods such as ceramics do not appear in the accounts for the 1831 to 1832 year, but are represented in the archaeological record (Middleton 2005b). William Yate (n.d.) as mission secretary ordered a large quantity of ceramics on the missionaries' private accounts in 1832, suggesting that china was an item missionaries had to supply themselves, while the mission store supplied the more durable and economic pewter tableware. A total MNV of 97 ceramic vessels was recovered from the site of the mission house, 92 of these being tableware. In this assemblage, blue and white transfer-printed ware predominates, displaying patterns popular during the nineteenth century such as Willow and Wild Rose. The lack of complete vessels in the Te Puna assemblage, along with the fact that ceramics do not appear among goods supplied by the mission store, suggests a frugal mission economy (Middleton 2005a, 2005b).

Of more interest perhaps is the bottle glass that formed the biggest component of the Te Puna assemblage. A total MNV of 266 bottles was recovered, principally from the cellar of the mission house. Of these 221 were dark olive glass, of the kind commonly referred to as alcohol bottles; that is, 'black beers' and 'pig snout gins'. One was a possible pickle or oil jar, and one other a possible tumbler or tableware, but there was no other domestic or kitchen glass. The consumption of alcohol was a contentious subject in missionary society. John Butler was expelled from the CMS in 1823 for being drunk on board a ship

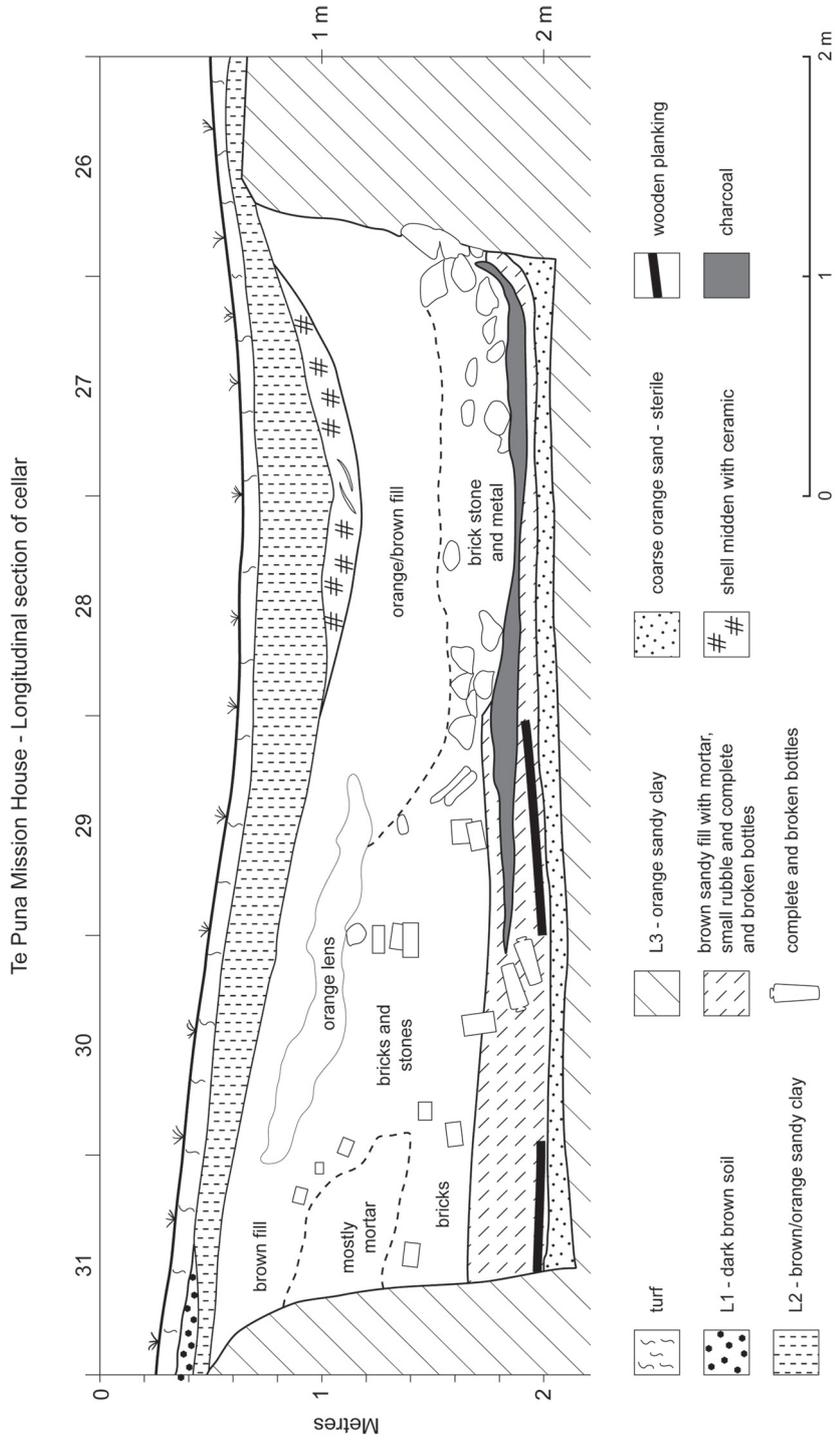


Figure 12: Profile of the cellar looking towards the south. See Figure 10 for the location of this cross-section (X-X).



Figure 13: Plan of the excavation at Te Puna showing the likely extent of the house and other features.

in the harbour (Elder 1932: 393; 1934). In the early days at Oihi, accusations flew about who was consuming excessive amounts of alcohol, with this contributing to conflict and to the eventual expulsion of Thomas Kendall, also in 1823, for trading in guns. Alcohol is not amongst the goods itemised in the “General Account of Stores Issued”. Wright supplied one “case of medicines” to the store in his August 1830 shipment. While this item appears in the store accounts, John King did not receive any for this time period considered, and no pharmaceutical bottles were evident in the archaeological record.

Despite these remonstrances about alcohol, it was acceptable for missionary consumption, and considered medicinal. In 1816 John King complained to his CMS mentor Daniel Wilson that they had “Not a drop of wine or spirits to help either of us out of our sickness” (King n.d.c), and in 1834 Anne Wilson (n.d.), writing from Puriri to her husband John, noted that “There was no brandy in the Karire [sic; missionary boat] for anyone. Perhaps you had best get some.” Alcohol was also considered appropriate for daily use. Easdale (1991: 52) notes that hospitality received by Marianne Williams on her arrival at Kerikeri in 1823 included “English bottled porter”. Alcohol was purchased in bulk by the CMS and divided amongst its members. In 1827 the CMS (n.d.a) wrote to Marsden

The mission Families wish to purchase on private account to be divided and charged to their respective accounts in New Zealand

1/2 pipe Best port Wine, and if 1/2 pipe cannot be procured a Whole Pipe may be sent

1/4 Cask of Best Madeira

A “pipe” in this context was a wooden cask used as a container for liquids, usually equivalent to two hogsheads or 105 gallons (*Oxford English Dictionary* 1976). Alcohol bought in this way may have been decanted into bottles in the process of being divided amongst the mission families. William Yate’s (n.d.) 1832 order for crockery included one dozen “plain pint decanters” and thirty dozen each “plain strong tumblers and wine glasses”, also items purchased on the missionaries’ private accounts. In 1819 Marsden (Elder 1932: 180, 231) extolled the virtues of New Zealand’s suitability for growing the grapevine, and planted “about a hundred grape vines of different kinds” near the Kerikeri settlement on this visit, along with fruit trees. The vines were in leaf before he left about two months later. Wine was also required for communion. The Waimate Mission House has in its collections a small wooden barrel and funnel noted as the vessel used by John King to carry wine for communion to villages lying beyond Rangihoua and Te Puna.

However, the large quantity of ‘alcohol’ bottles recovered from the Te Puna cellar raises questions about the consumption of alcohol at this remote location. The glass assemblage demonstrates two main manufacturing techniques, the first developed in the late eighteenth century and used into the early nineteenth century, the second developed in 1821 and used into the middle of the nineteenth century. The uniformity of techniques used in manufacturing the bottles demonstrates that the Te Puna glass assemblage is consistently early for New Zealand, dating to the first half of the nineteenth century, with none of the glass showing techniques of mechanised manufacture developed later in the nineteenth century (Middleton 2005a, 2005b). Does the presence of this assemblage demonstrate an aspect of a black market within the CMS economy? The large quantity of bottles in the cellar points to a trading relationship with ships coming into the Bay of Islands, as the most likely source of such bottles was ships off-loading or trading either empty bottles or bottles complete with alcoholic contents. Te Puna played an important role in the early years of the nineteenth century as an anchorage for ships (Lee 1915; Middleton 2003, 2005a) but even in 1833 the Rev. Joseph Orton (n.d.), when visiting the Bay of Islands, complained that the Te Puna mission “was by no means a promising station; its immediate

connection with a roadstead for Shipping has proved very detrimental to the successful operations of the missionaries.” However, it is important to keep in mind the domestic economy of the mission station in precolonial New Zealand, where domestic resources were limited and glass containers for liquids may have been important. Jones (1986) has noted that large quantities of old bottles survive in private cellars in England and points out that vessels commonly known as ‘wine’ or ‘beer’ bottles may have contained a number of different liquids apart from alcohol, including vinegar, mineral waters and oil. Re-use of bottles was commonplace throughout the nineteenth and up to the middle of the twentieth centuries (Busch 1987).

Muskets also once formed part of a black market, beyond the control of the CMS. The forbidden sale of muskets to Maori forms part of the points of discussion in the letters and journals of missionaries during the early years at Oihi and contributed largely to the enmity that developed between the first missionaries Kendall, King and William Hall (Binney 2005; Butler n.d.; Elder 1932, 1934). Muskets and gun-related items such as musket balls and gunpowder do not appear in the “General Account of Stores Issued”. However, a musket ball and gunflint recovered from Te Puna demonstrate the presence of guns and remind us of the presence of muskets in both the missionary and Maori economy. By the mid 1820s they were an important part of the Ngapuhi arsenal in the development of the musket wars. Guns may also have formed part of the domestic economy at Te Puna, used legitimately for killing cattle or perhaps for hunting (Middleton 2005a). They do not feature in the archival accounts, nor does John King mention such forbidden goods in his journals or reports.

The strongest correlation between goods supplied to the mission and artefacts recovered from the investigation is found in the building materials. Over 500 lbs of iron nails were supplied in the year from 1831 to 1832, in various sizes, as well as copper boat nails and screws, many of these no doubt making up the total MNI of 1982 fasteners recovered from the mission site. The majority of these were wrought nails, consistent with the early nineteenth century date of construction and the type of nails supplied by the CMS (Middleton 2005c). Hinges, supplied for building, were also present in the archaeological record, one of them of the ‘T’ shape catalogued in the accounts. Twenty-four glass window panes supplied in the first quarter of 1832 must have contributed to the shards of window glass recovered from the site, as with copper sheeting. Some of the tools, such as saw files, saws and gimlets, may have made up the nondescript rusted metal recovered from the cellar, while other metal tools and iron pots retained their form, as described above. Of course, none of the 138 blankets and rugs supplied to Te Puna during the course of that year remained in the archaeological record: it is likely that they were exchanged within a short space of time to those still living in the pā.

CONCLUSION

From its inception, the CMS mission in the Bay of Islands relied strongly on trading relationships. Missionaries could not have survived those early years in a strange country without the iron goods, desired by Maori, which the mission blacksmith (or missionaries themselves, after Walter Hall left) manufactured. As later stations were established the CMS imported large amounts of trade goods, but the settlement blacksmith remained an important artisan (Challis 1993: 18). Goods were supplied from the Kerikeri store to missions where they were held and then exchanged with Maori for food items as well as labour. Goods were also exchanged for land and, on other extraordinary occasions, for

things such as the “redeeming” of a slave. These transactions are documented throughout the meticulous accounts created by the missionaries, in particular James Kemp, and held in the archives of the CMS, allowing the reconstruction of the CMS economy in the Bay of Islands.

Archaeological investigations of the site of Te Puna mission station point to a number of categories of goods that do not appear in the CMS accounts but are present in the archaeological record. A musket ball and gunflint as well as the large number of bottles that may once have contained alcohol point to the possibility of a black market functioning within the tightly-controlled economy of the CMS. Some artefacts recovered from the mission site correlate with goods supplied from the CMS store, while other items held for trade were soon exchanged for goods and services. Consumables appear only in the archival accounts that inform us about daily food and the frugal mission economy. Other perishable goods also do not appear in the archaeological record, or are represented only by tangible traces such as buttons and beads.

Finally, what was the global process that Samuel Marsden unwittingly participated in with his arrival on the shores below Rangihoua Pā in late December 1814? As the ticket-of-leave blacksmith Walter Hall hammered out his axes, tomahawks, knives, nails and hatchets to exchange for Maori food and goodwill, Marsden stimulated the “spirit of trade” that he thought necessary for the introduction of Christianity. At the same time, Marsden was playing a significant role in the beginnings of colonisation and cultural change. As Dietler (1998: 298) has pointed out, a focus on consumption or trade in the initial stages of cross-cultural encounters leads to the “entanglement of indigenous and colonial societies” from which the conditions for other unanticipated kinds of colonial relationships develop. As elsewhere throughout the expanding empire, the establishment of the first Christian mission in New Zealand paved the way for British annexation of New Zealand some 25 years later, when William Hobson sailed into the Bay of Islands in February 1840 with instructions to negotiate a treaty with the country’s indigenous inhabitants. From this time onwards the mission’s trade and exchange system evolved into the developing cash economy.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This paper originated from Peter Sheppard’s red underlining of the word ‘trade’ throughout the drafts of my PhD thesis, provoking my thoughts about the trading activities of the CMS expressed here. I am grateful to Ian Smith for comments on the text, producing the map in Figure 8, and assistance with formatting tables. Thanks also to two anonymous reviewers who provided useful comments and to Janet Davidson for patience and forbearance, as well as suggestions for this paper in its initial form.

APPENDIX 1

Complete list of all items in CMS store, April 1831–March 1832

Items listed in Store inventory	Received at Store from Capt Wright Aug 1830	Supplied to John King April 1831- March 1832			Represented in Excavation	
		Apr-May	July-Sept	Oct-Dec		Jan-March
<i>Food</i>						
Tea	-	1lb	24lb 9oz	19lb 10oz	19 lbs 10 oz	-
Sugar	-	16lb	219lb 12oz	176lb 8oz	176lb 8oz	-
Fine Flour	12475lb	-	1166lb	1014lb	1014lb	-
Seconds flour	12407lb	405lb	728lb	796lb	705lb	-

Appendix 1 continued

Items listed in Store inventory	Received at Store from Capt Wright Aug 1830	Supplied to John King April 1831- March 1832				Represented in Excavation
		Apr-May	July-Sept	Oct-Dec	Jan-March	
Arrowroot	1 cask 750lb	-	11lb	17lb	-	-
Salt lbs	-	240lb	60lb	416lb	-	-
Saltpetre	-	-	-	5lb	-	-
Biscuit	-	312lb	-	-	-	-
Rice	-	-	160lb	-	-	-
Wheat	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sundries						
Tobacco	3 Kegs & 3 Baskets	4lb	51lb	-	40lb	-
Pipes	-	-	-	-	-	√
Fishhooks	-	-	200	200	-	√
Household						
<i>Kitchen/dining</i>						
Pewter plates	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Spoons	-	-	-	-	-	√
Tin Pots	-	-	-	3	-	-
Tin Pans	-	-	-	-	-	-
Knives	-	-	-	-	12	√
Kettle Pans	17	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Pots	300 x 3 sizes	-	-	-	-	√
Tin Cans	80	-	-	-	4	-
<i>Lighting</i>						
Lamp Oil	-	-	13gal 2qt	10gal 2qt	9gal 2qt	-
Lamps	-	-	-	-	-	√
Lamp Cotton	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Cleaning</i>						
Broom Heads	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ground Brushes	-	-	-	-	-	-
Scrubbing Brushes	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Water</i>						
Pump boxes	5	-	-	-	-	-
Iron Pump	1	-	-	-	-	-
Wooden Pump	1	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Bedding</i>						
Rugs	300	-	8	15	13	-
Blankets	1002	24	18	30	30	-
<i>Toiletries</i>						
Razors	-	-	-	-	-	-
Soap	-	-	61lb 8oz	85lb 1oz	75lb 14oz	-
Horn & Bone Combs	-	-	12	-	12	-
Ivory Combs	12 doz	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Miscellaneous</i>						
Case of Medicines	1	-	-	-	-	-
Scissors	-	-	-	-	-	-
Glue	-	-	-	-	-	-
Reading & Writing						
Pens & Quills	-	-	-	25	-	√
Ink Powder	-	-	-	-	-	-
Blotting paper	-	-	-	-	-	-
Brown paper	-	-	-	-	-	-
Foolscap	-	-	-	-	-	-
Letter paper	-	-	-	-	-	-
Slates	-	-	-	-	-	√
Slate pencils	-	-	-	-	-	√
Black Lead Pencils	6 doz	-	-	-	-	√
Books of Native Language	530	12	-	-	-	-

Appendix 1 continued

Items listed in Store inventory	Received at Store from Capt Wright Aug 1830	Supplied to John King April 1831- March 1832				Represented in Excavation
		Apr-May	July-Sept	Oct-Dec	Jan-March	
Books	6 blank minute	-	-	-	-	-
Scriptures	-	-	-	-	-	-
Catechism	-	-	-	-	-	-
L Books	-	-	-	-	-	-
P Books	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sealing Wax	6 lbs	-	-	-	0.5 lb	-
Clothing						
<i>Men's Wear</i>						
Belts	397 Soldiers	-	-	-	-	√?
Red Shirts	150 mens 50 boys	6	-	6	-	-
Cotton shirts	150 mens 50 boys	6	8	-	-	-
Duck Frocks	-	-	-	-	-	-
Duck Trowsers	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cotton Trowsers	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gray Trowsers	-	7	-	-	-	-
Best Duck Trowsers	144 pr	-	-	-	-	-
Common Duck Trowsers	200 pr	-	8	-	-	-
Blue jackets	150 mens 50 boys	-	20	-	-	-
Scotch Caps	300 mens	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Women's Wear</i>						
Cotton shifts	36 stripe	-	9	-	-	-
<i>Shoes</i>						
Children's shoes	240 pr	-	-	-	-	-
English Shoes	-	-	-	-	-	-
Colonial Shoes	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fabric						
Canvas	-	-	-	-	-	-
British Duck	-	-	-	50yd	-	-
Std Cotton	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stripe Cotton	-	3yd	24yd	-	42yd	-
Cotton Shirting	-	-	-	-	-	-
Print	-	-	-	-	-	-
Common Print	-	-	50yd	-	-	-
Best Prints Chintz	-	-	-	-	-	-
Shirting calico	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std Linen	-	-	-	-	-	-
Blue Linen	-	18yd	-	-	42yd	-
Factory Cloth	10 Bundles	-	53yd	-	-	-
Parramatta Cloth	-	-	-	-	-	-
Flannel	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sheeting	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cotton Sheeting	-	-	-	-	-	-
Russian Towelling	-	-	-	-	-	-
Worsted	-	7yd	-	-	-	-
Fustian	53yd fine	-	-	-	-	-
Brown Holland	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bunting	-	-	-	-	-	-
Haberdashery						
Shirt buttons	-	-	-	-	-	√
Metal Buttons	-	-	-	-	-	√
Brace buttons	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thread	60lb	8oz	12oz	-	11lb	-
Needles	-	-	-	-	-	-
Thimbles	-	-	-	-	-	√
Braces	-	-	-	-	-	-

Appendix 1 continued

Items listed in Store inventory	Received at Store from Capt Wright Aug 1830	Supplied to John King April 1831- March 1832				Represented in Excavation
		Apr-May	July-Sept	Oct-Dec	Jan-March	
Handkerchiefs	-	-	-	-	5	-
Tapes pieces	-	1.5	3 pieces	-	4	-
Building						
<i>Materials</i>						
Bricks	6000	-	-	-	-	√
Hearthstones	4	-	-	-	-	√
Brick Moulds	-	-	-	-	-	-
Window Glass panes	-	-	-	-	24	√
Copper Sheet	-	-	-	-	55lb	√
<i>Fasteners</i>						
Screws	2 gross	-	-	4 gross	1 gross	√
Spike Nails	-	-	-	-	-	√
Nails Sizes	-	-	142lb	105lb	296lb	√
Iron boat nails	-	-	-	-	-	√?
Copper boat nails	14lb	-	-	-	2lb	√
Flat clout nails	-	-	-	-	-	√
Brads	-	-	-	-	9lb	√
Tin Tacks	-	-	-	-	-	√
Rivets	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Hardware</i>						
T Hinges pr	-	-	-	6	-	√
Box Hinges pr	-	-	-	-	-	-
Butt Hinges pair	-	-	-	-	10	?
Door Locks	-	-	-	4	10	-
Chest Locks	-	-	-	-	-	-
Door Bolts	-	-	-	-	-	-
Norfolk Latches	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drawer Locks	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Joinery</i>						
Sash	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sash Lines	31	-	-	-	-	-
Sash Pulleys	8 doz	-	-	-	-	-
Sash Weights	8 doz	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Paint & Plaster</i>						
Plasterers hair	6 Bags	-	-	-	-	-
Plasterers Brushes	-	-	-	2	-	-
Paint lbs	-	-	-	56	56	-
Paint Oil gals	-	-	-	6	6	-
Whitening lbs	-	-	-	12	-	-
Turpentine	-	-	-	-	1gal 2qt	-
Tools						
<i>Building</i>						
Plane Irons	-	-	-	-	12	-
Bench Plane	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chisels	-	-	-	12	-	-
Saw Files	36	-	-	48	-	-
Plasterers Trowel	-	-	-	-	-	-
Augers	-	-	-	-	-	-
Lime Sieves	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hand Saws	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tennon Saws	-	-	-	2	-	-
Pit Saws	-	-	-	-	-	-
Picks	-	-	-	-	-	√
Squares	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hammers	-	-	-	2	-	-
Trowels	-	-	-	-	-	√

Appendix 1 continued

Items listed in Store inventory	Received at Store from Capt Wright Aug 1830	Supplied to John King April 1831- March 1832				Represented in Excavation
		Apr-May	July-Sept	Oct-Dec	Jan-March	
Gimblets	-	-	-	36	22	-
Cast steel chisels	-	-	-	-	1	-
Pincers	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drawing Knives	-	-	-	-	-	-
Gouges	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Coopering</i>						
Coopers Adzes	-	-	-	-	-	-
Drawing Knives	-	-	-	-	-	-
Spoke Shaves	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hooks & bands	-	-	-	-	-	-
Coopers Tools	-	-	-	-	-	-
Coopers Rivets	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Smithing</i>						
Blacksmith Files	-	-	-	-	-	-
Plate Iron	-	-	-	-	-	√
Iron	480lb	-	-	-	-	√
British & Foreign iron	-	-	-	224lb	-	√?
<i>Stones & Grinders</i>						√
Grind stones	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rub Stones	-	-	-	-	-	-
Oil Stones	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stone Chisels	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Agriculture</i>						
Hay Forks	24	-	-	-	-	-
Reap hooks	24	-	-	-	-	√
Garden Rakes	24	-	-	-	-	-
Hatchets	-	-	-	3	-	√
Dung & Potato Forks	24	-	-	-	-	-
Hay & Dung Forks	-	-	-	-	-	-
Axes	-	-	11	4	12	√
Adzes	-	-	15	-	-	-
Hoes	400	-	13	18	12	√
Spades	100	-	11	-	-	√
Scythes	-	-	-	-	-	√
Turnip & Garden Hoes	-	-	-	-	-	?
Barrow Wheels	-	-	-	-	-	-
Grass Seeds	2 casks	-	-	-	-	-
Powder	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Horse Gear</i>						
Saddles	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bridles	1	-	-	-	-	√?
Harness Cases	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dray	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>Miscellaneous</i>						
Antikorosive Powder	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tin Funnels	4	-	-	-	-	-
Shaving Boxes	-	-	-	-	6	-
Tents	-	-	-	-	-	-
Rope Coils	3	-	-	-	-	-
Blocks	-	-	-	-	-	-
Planks set	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Received 5 September 2006

Accepted 7 November 2006