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“Improving Our Condition”
An Archaeology of Improvement in Taranaki, New Zealand, 1841-1860

Janice Adamson

Abstract

This research uses archaeological means to investigate the materiality associated with the ethic of Improvement as it is reflected in the everyday lives of two settler families to New Plymouth in the mid-19th century. The Jury and Autridge families, from North Cornwall in Britain, arrived on a free passage emigration scheme as members of the ‘labouring classes’. They arrived amongst the first flurry of organised emigration to New Plymouth in 1841, the year after the Crown signed the Treaty of Waitangi with Māori, forming the basis of the colonial nation of New Zealand. Within this transformational period in New Zealand’s history during the 1840’s and 1850’s these families purchased land and settled themselves at Omata, to the south of New Plymouth, until the first Taranaki war beginning in 1860 saw them leave their farmsteads and their homes destroyed. This doctoral research tracks the lives of the two families from what is known of their lives in Britain through to the final destruction of their small farm cottages, and reveals, through archaeological excavations on both sites, how they lived out their vision for a better life.

Members of the ‘labouring classes’ were otherwise largely invisible in the historical record and the Jurys and Autridges were no exception to this. Many of this group of first emigrants did not leave written records, and archaeology now provides what is largely the only material evidence of their lives at this time. While the 1860-61 war in Taranaki caused anguish on both sides, these same wars left behind a valuable archaeological resource in the form of the remains of the farmsteads of many of these early European settlers, as nearly 200 buildings were destroyed across the district. The short term occupation of these sites provides a rare and unique opportunity for a closely contextualised and fine-grained analysis of the material remains associated with these particular families.

Using a lens of Improvement through which to contextualise the aspirations of the settlers, finely detailed and nuanced understandings are gained into the daily lives of the settler farmers, and how the motivations and values of the settlers may have been expressed through the acquisition, use, and discard of material culture, and through the landscape of the family farm. The history and the archaeology of the two households reveals the processes of Improvement relating to factors such as emigration, working on the land, improving the house and the domesticity within, children and education, attitudes to alcohol and tobacco consumption and also health and hygiene.
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Abbreviations

AJHR  Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives
LINZ  Land Information New Zealand
MNI  Minimum number of individuals, i.e. the smallest number of items / animals necessary to account for all the specimens in a faunal assemblage
MVC  Minimum vessel count, i.e. the minimum number of vessels that could be calculated from any number of fragments or sherds. Used for material culture analysis in a similar means to the use of MNI in faunal analysis
NISP  Number of identified specimens, i.e. the number of complete and fragmentary items identified to a category within a faunal assemblage
SBCP  The Society for Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor
TPQ  Terminus Post Quem, i.e. Earliest possible date of manufacture
TAQ  Terminus Ante Quem, i.e. Latest possible date of manufacture

Glossary of Māori words

Ahi-kā  Home fires, maintaining title through occupation and keeping the fires burning
Hāngī  Earth oven used to cook food with steam and heat from heated stones
Hapū  Kinship group, clan, tribe, subtribe – section of a larger kinship group or iwi
Iwi  Extended kinship group, tribe, people, nationality – often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor
Kāinga  Home residence, village, small settlement
Mana  Prestige, authority, control, power, influence, status – a supernatural force in a person, place or object
Pā  Fortified village or occupation site
Pākehā  New Zealander of European descent
Raupō  Bullrush, reeds (*Typha orientalis*). Stems used for construction of thatch for walls or roofs of houses or decoration
Rua  Hole, pit, underground store for provisions
Tapu  Sacred, prohibited, restricted, forbidden, under protection of the gods (atua)
<table>
<thead>
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<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>Toa</td>
<td>Warrior, brave man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whare</td>
<td>House, constructed by Māori often from fern and raupō</td>
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1. Introduction

“We the undersigned Labourers of this settlement having left our native land with a view of improving our condition and that of our families by reason of promises held out to us...” (New Zealand Company 1842)

These are the opening lines of a petition of protest put forward by some of the first European settlers to what was by 1842 the recently established town of New Plymouth in the area known as Taranaki on the western coast of the North Island of New Zealand. The petition was compiled as an expression of settler disillusion and disappointment with the contrast between conditions they were experiencing compared with those they had been promised. What is particularly poignant about this protest is that the words clearly express the motivations and aspirations of the labourer emigrants - they were coming to New Zealand to give themselves and their families a chance to have a better way of life than that they had experienced in Britain. These settlers were emigrating to New Plymouth, to a town yet to be built, only recently named after a place they were familiar with, Plymouth in Devon, travelling for months by sea in what were sometimes arduous conditions, to improve their condition. That the protest mentions the phrase “improving our condition” [emphasis added] is of no surprise. This reflected a preoccupation with Improvement that, by the 19th century, had become widespread across all levels of British society. These settlers, members of the ‘labouring classes’, arrived in New Plymouth with an expectation that it was possible to materially improve their own situation and that of their families.

The thesis focuses on the historical archaeology of two emigrant families, the Jurys and the Autridges, who gained free passage to New Zealand as members of the ‘labouring classes’. The Jury family journeyed on the first passenger ship to the new planned settlement of New Plymouth, the William Bryan, arriving on 31 March 1841. The Autridges sailed on the second ship, the Amelia Thompson, arriving on 3 September 1841. A further four ships would depart Plymouth in England for New Plymouth in this first wave of emigration, the Oriental arriving in New Plymouth on 7 November 1841; the Timandra, arriving 23 February 1842; the Blenheim, arriving 19 November 1842, and the Essex which arrived on 20 January 1843. The Jury and Autridge families settled on their farmsteads in Omata sometime after the 1847 purchase of land by the Crown and the research here centres on the archaeology from these two small farmstead sites (Figure 1).
Figure 1 Study area, showing archaeological sites P19/270 Charles Autridge’s farm and P19/292 Mrs Jury’s farm

1.1. Thesis Aims and Scope

The central aim of this thesis is to investigate the process of Improvement through uncovering the archaeology of two particular families, originally from North Cornwall. The Jurys and the Autridges arrived in New Plymouth in 1841 under the emigration scheme offering free passage for the ‘labouring classes’. The study examines ways in which these labourer emigrants from the British working classes may have actively participated in the process of Improvement in the colonial setting of Taranaki, and the materiality that resulted from this participation.

The concept of Improvement is defined here as being a process whereby groups and individuals transform a range of social and material conditions while acting in their own interests (Dalglish 2003: 39). The interests of the individual could be subsumed or hidden by the belief that one was contributing to a larger transformation either of society as a whole or various aspects of it. Improvement was based upon a moral and philosophical framework
that was the basis for much philanthropy. However adopting the values of Improvement was also a means of advancing oneself socially (Tarlow 2007: 192).

Improvement is considered to be an ethic or ideology with material expressions and it is this materiality that makes it a particularly useful point of investigation for archaeologists. It has significance as it was a process where the effects could be seen in many aspects of daily life by people from all walks of life. Due to this relevance “at the time” (Tarlow 2007: 17) Improvement can provide a frame of reference for understanding motivations and aspirations in a material sense.

Improvement and progress are related concepts, although they are not identical. Progress was considered to be an inevitable result of humans passing through successive stages of development. People were considered to be largely passive in this process, being swept along in the flow of a historical current, whereas they actively and strategically participated in Improvement. Improvement however could contribute to historical Progress through an aggregation of actions carried out by people upon all aspects of life including the land, the self, society and commerce (Tarlow 2007: 19-20).

Using the ethic of Improvement as a lens through which to view the archaeology, I argue that, as opposed to this ideology being used as a method of social control, or, as Sarah Tarlow describes, “an ideological hammer with which the middle classes clobbered the poor” (2007: 200) these particular members of Britain’s labouring poor utilised a system that allowed them to better their own situation. Their desire for Improvement is expressed not only through participation in the emigration process to the extent of using manipulative, even subversive, techniques such as deception about age to ensure a passage, but also by appropriating the scheme of settlement for their own ends through purchasing their own land much sooner than the emigration scheme had allowed for. This was made largely possible through cooperation with Māori, who not only sold their land but also enabled the labourers to remove themselves from a position of working for others by taking on that role themselves. The ethic of Improvement is shown to be reflected in the daily lives of the settler families on their farmstead sites in Omata, just south of New Plymouth, and is expressed materially through means visible to the archaeology.

This study is unusual for research in the area of Taranaki as it does not have the Taranaki wars, beginning in 1860, at the forefront of its research, and instead focuses on the years between arrival of European settlers in 1841, and 1860, which was the time of
abandonment of the Omata homesteads by the two families under study. The wars in Taranaki were a hugely significant part of New Zealand’s past, and the historical and archaeological research undertaken to date in the region reflects this significance. The wars have regularly been examined by historians usually, but not always, within the context of the wider New Zealand wars that impacted upon the country in the 19th century (e.g. Belich 1986; Cowan 1955; Grace 1899; Grayling 1862; Maxwell 2005; Wright 2006). The archaeologist Nigel Prickett has also made the Taranaki wars the focus of sustained research (e.g. Prickett 1980, 1981, 1994, 1994, 1999), and a recent cross-disciplinary study had the 1860-1881 period of disputes and wars in Taranaki as its primary research theme (Day 2010).

The end period for this research of 1860 is a deliberate date that does not necessarily exclude the Taranaki war period but instead allows for a blurred merging into this fractious time. However, while not being the primary focus of research, the war impacted upon and, through destruction of the houses, created and formed a large part of the archaeology that remained in the ground until excavation. Additionally, the nature of the archaeology, particularly at Mrs Jury’s farmstead, meant archaeological features relating to the war period in Taranaki were unexpectedly uncovered and subsequently could not, and should not, be ignored. However, while these Taranaki war related archaeological features are examined and discussed here there is potential for further research that foregrounds this particular part of the archaeology. The archaeological research also stretches back in time, as the Jury and Autridge families arrived on land that had previous inhabitants. The extent of this pre-European occupation by Māori, while limited, has been revealed and is subsequently discussed in the archaeology of the excavated sites in Chapter 4 of this thesis.

The European settlers to New Plymouth that are the focus of this research were last studied, briefly but systematically, by historian Raewyn Dalziel (1986, 1991). However, more general work on immigrants to New Zealand that cover this period have been produced since then (e.g. Phillips and Hearn 2008; Simpson 1997). The aim in focussing on this part of the pre-war period is to shed light on aspects of a rather neglected phase in recent Taranaki historiography and archaeology - that of the families, many of whom left no written records, who arrived as members of the ‘labouring classes’ and came with the aim of achieving a better life.

The ethic of Improvement was not only part of the cultural baggage brought by these labouring emigrants but it was also part of the wider ethos of colonization of New Zealand and was used as justification for controlling Māori in ways that supposedly promoted their
advancement under colonial conditions. The colonial pre-land-war period of Taranaki history is an interesting one, for it is the time where Māori had their relationship with the Crown transformed from being sovereign treaty partners in 1840 to “something approaching a nuisance for the Government by the mid-1850’s” (Moon 2009: 27), with Māori being subjected to even more coercive forms of control after the 1860’s (O’Malley 2012: 226).

George Grey, governor of New Zealand between 1845 and 1853 (Sinclair 1990: 161-2), adhered to latest Improvement philosophy when it came to dealing with Māori. Grey, in a despatch to Earl Grey in 1849, boasted of his progress in establishing institutions aimed “at the present improvement of the native race” (Grey and New Zealand Government 1853: 85) such as industrial schools, ensuring many were employed on public works. Grey’s mission to civilize Māori involved making sure “the natives were trained to European habits of order and obedience, were accustomed to use European tools instead of their own rude implements, and were thus gradually trained to become useful labourers for the colonists.” (Grey and New Zealand Government 1853: 85).

However, this pre-1860 colonial time was a period where Māori were not only subjected to European Improvement philosophy but were also participants in the process themselves through their own enthusiasm and ability in developing businesses and forming trading and other partnerships. The early colonial relationship between Māori and Pākehā was “a dynamic, fluid and evolving process of mutual discovery, reaction, adjustment and reflection” (O’Malley 2012: 10), with Māori selectively choosing what aspects of Pākehā culture they adopted and adapted. Māori had shown an eagerness towards many of the new concepts and technology Pākehā brought with them and generally had aspirations to work alongside them (Marsh 2012). O’Malley (2012: 10) argues that Māori were so amenable to embracing these new ways and ideas as their society was driven by mana, which was enhanced through competitiveness with other hapū and iwi. If a hapū or iwi felt that, for example, becoming literate, purchasing firearms, working alongside Pākehā, or taking a Pākehā within their own community could enhance their mana compared with competing hapū, then engaging in those developments was considered to be advantageous to them. Māori desire for Improvement in their society came as a surprise to many Europeans who considered indigenous societies to be static and unchanging (O’Malley 2012: 226).

The following section focuses on the theoretical approaches used in this study, particularly looking at understanding issues of scale and agency. This research crosses scales, from the global reach of emigration, through to the micro-scale examination of individuals
within their family context through the archaeology on their farmsteads. However the primary focus is on the particularity of the two individual families. Understanding the concept of human agency is also crucial to this study, as it is predicated on the view that people were able to act in their own interests upon their motivations and aspirations and had choices on how to do this. Improvement, in this study is considered not as an oppressive ethic or dominant ideology, but instead is reflective of people’s choices and ability to control their own circumstances.

1.2. Theoretical Approach

The approach in this study foregrounds the small scale domestic environment associated with family farmsteads, and consequently focuses on the families and the individuals within such units, rather than centring the study on large scale processes such as capitalism and colonialism. To achieve this outcome therefore, this study has a particular theoretical position that allows for the overarching research question concerning ‘active participation’ in Improvement to be addressed. Explicit within this theoretical framework is the notion of agency, and the casting of the individual subjects of the research to the fore. The historical archaeology I follow is concerned with “writing history from the small scale: creating stories from individual artefacts, detailed studies describing single houses or settlements, and reconstructing the intentions and experience of named historical agents” (Gilchrist 2005: 334).

Improvement was a framework by which people directly structured and lived their lives, and can give an insight into aspects of human actions such as motivation, philanthropy, aspiration and collective action (Tarlow 2007). While Improvement is undoubtedly a characteristic of modernity (Tarlow 2007: 11) - the post-medieval period of industrialisation (Giddens and Pierson 1998) - some archaeologists have stated that Improvement is “inexorably” linked to capitalism (Forsythe 2007: 221; Orser 2005: 394). This has caused a concern that the study of the past is being reduced to the examination of the “exercise, legitimation, manipulation or rejection of power relationships of inequality” (Tarlow 2007: 9). Improvement and capitalism are undoubtedly linked, particularly in relation to changes through agricultural Improvement and capitalist expansion throughout the 18th and 19th centuries in Britain. This however does not translate into the argument that capitalism must be brought to the foreground in historical archaeological research, and alternative, more nuanced, ways of exploring the past are discussed below.
1.2.1. Contextual and Interpretive Historical Archaeology

“The way to study people is not from the top down or the bottom up, but from the inside out, from the place where people are articulate to the place where they are not, from the place where they are in control of their destinies to the place where they are not.” (Glassie 1995: 86)

That historical archaeology is an interpretive human science has been a claim made for some time (Beaudry 1996), and the theoretical approach used in this research works within this established framework of an interpretive and contextual archaeology. This approach has its origins in Ian Hodder’s contextual archaeology (Hodder 1986) and the work of James Deetz (1988, 1996), but this research also draws from work by Mary Beaudry (1996; 2006), Lu Ann De Cunzo (2004), Sarah Tarlow (2007), and Adrian and Mary Praetzellis (2004), who have all used this approach in recent studies. Contextual archaeology places emphasis on historical, social and cultural contexts of behaviour, rather than seeking universal explanations (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004: 4), and recognizes the active role of both the material culture, and the archaeologist, in the creation of the past (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991). Contextual or interpretive archaeologists are looking for “alternative models of science that resolve the problems of positivism” while still keeping in mind “general scientific goals” (Whitley 1998: 24), as the very emphasis on context, in all forms, means there is an openness to scientific data collection and technical analyses (Beaudry 1996: 496).

As described above, this research uses contextual and interpretive approaches advocated by historical archaeologists such as Mary Beaudry (1995, 1996; 2006) and Adrian and Mary Praetzellis (2004). This contextual interpretive approach emphasises the ethnographic scope of historical archaeology (De Cunzo and Ernst 2006: 261), and rejects the totalising approaches that are found within processual archaeology, structuralism, and structural Marxism (Hicks and Beaudry 2006: 6). In a move away from focussing on grand narrative approaches, Beaudry argues historical archaeology should focus on the nuances and detailed relationships between people and things in the past, things that reveal the “intimate and unheralded details of day-to-day life” (Beaudry 1996: 496). Some significant work has been carried out by historical archaeologists using interpretive and contextual approaches, focussing on the small-scale and the experiences of people within specific historical, social and cultural contexts (e.g. Beaudry 2006; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004).
Most historical archaeologists would now argue that a contextual archaeological approach is crucial to developing refined and responsible interpretations of the past (King 2006) in order to identify the ‘faces’ in the households studied by historical archaeologists and to situate the individuals behind those faces both socially and culturally (De Cunzo 1996; King 2006: 305). Context is defined by Hodder as the “totality of the relevant environment” from which archaeological entities are recovered (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 188). Within this framework, context is defined and built through the use of both material and documentary sources, and this provides the basis by which to investigate individuals and households and their decisions and choices that may, or may not, be socially structured (King 2006). A contextual interpretive archaeology involves the movement between data and theory, bringing together different strands of information to provide a best fit and a coherent argument (Hodder 1999). This nature of research in archaeology was described by Deetz:

“In the nonexperimental sciences (if archeology is indeed a science), precise certainty is rarely achieved. Rather, research takes the form of a gradual refinement of explanation, as more and more factors are incorporated into the construction of the past that one is attempting to create. In historical archeology, this refinement is best accomplished by maintaining a balance between the documentary and material evidence, being always mindful that, to be a productive exercise, the results should provide a more satisfactory explanation than would be forthcoming from either set of data alone (Deetz 1988: 367).”

Alison Wylie describes this process as creating cables of inference, or a tacking exercise (Wylie 1993: 24), and this provides for stronger but more flexible explanatory structures than if just one frame of reference were to be depended upon (Gamble 2004: 91). This is the process explicitly used by Mary Beaudry (2006: 7) when providing interpretations from combined sources of evidence.

Understanding the life history of the site is seen by historical archaeologists as a crucial first step towards interpretation and is critical to delineating the relationship between archaeological features and occupation cycles (Beaudry 1999; Simmons, Stachiw, and Worrell 1993; Staski 1990; Wheeler 1993). I use the research framework of a “full-fledged contextual archaeology” (Beaudry 1999: 123) in historical archaeology, which also incorporates the elements of understanding site formation and depositional history through fine grained data collection (Groover 2001, 2003), understanding the relationship between features and the landscape (Beaudry 2001-2002), an interpretive analysis of artefacts that goes beyond identification and quantification (Beaudry 2006; Beaudry, Cook, and
Mrozowski 1991; Brooks 2005; Cochran and Beaudry 2006; Crook, Lawrence, and Gibbs 2002; Groover 2001), and documentary analysis to provide detailed historical context (Beaudry 1996, 1999; Wilkie 2006). Blending the “two cultures” (Jones 2002) of archaeology’s highly developed empirical and interpretive approaches allows for creative integrations that do not separate objects from people, and allows the exploration of roles “that things had in shaping the lives of men and women in the past” (White 2002: 29). Interpretations of the past should include cultural meanings, intentions and purposes, and recognize the role people had as individual agents in transforming their lives (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 10).

1.2.2. Scale - Between the Global and the Local

This research is concerned with issues of scale, and addresses these accordingly. The emigrants to New Plymouth are studied in relation to being participants in a global process of emigration, arriving in New Zealand with a certain amount of cultural baggage already in place, through to the study of them at the scale of the local, through their occupation as individuals and households at the small farms they owned in Omata.

Questions of scale, between the global and the local, continue to dominate discussions within historical archaeology (e.g. Hall and Silliman 2006; Hicks 2005; Hicks and Beaudry 2006; Johnson 2006; Lucas 2006). It remains a challenge for archaeologists interested in the linkages between the globalized modern world and the “small things forgotten” (Deetz 1996) associated with everyday life located at the scale of the individual and the household (Orser 2010). Some historical archaeologists have over the past few years called for a united global historical archaeology to address questions concerning grand narratives such as capitalism, colonialism and consumerism (e.g. Deetz 1991, 1993; Falk 1991; Leone and Potter 1999; Orser 1996, 2004). Orser’s goal that historical archaeologists should “think globally, dig locally” (Orser 1996: 183) has the aim that archaeological research should be “relevant and significant in a global sense” (Orser 1999: 281). He argues the discipline should be focussed on the study of the modern world (Orser 1996), and that this modern world is characterised by a “single economy that is colonial, international and expanding” (Funari 1999: 43). Historical archaeology, according to Orser, should be structured around four key concepts, or “haunts”, being colonialism, Eurocentrism, capitalism and modernity (Orser 1996). This currently fashionable idea of a “world historical archaeology” (Johnson 1999: 23) can be seen through several forums, most notably the World Archaeological Congress, One World
Archaeology publications (Johnson 1999: 23), as well as Orser’s Global Historical Archaeology publication series (Kluwer/Plenum).

The focus on ‘big questions’, particularly concerning capitalism arose out of the archaeological work conducted in Annapolis by Mark Leone and other critical archaeologists (Leone 1984; Leone 1988) over the past 20 years (Tarlow 1999). The goal of historical archaeologists practising critical archaeology is to “examine the roots of modern life in order to illuminate the modern conditions of capitalism” (Shackel 2000: 769). Leone linked patterns in material culture to larger scale ideologies concerned with mercantile capitalism by developing the idea of Deetz’s Georgian world order (Deetz 1996) as a set of ideological rules which were underlying new forms of material culture (Leone 1988). The Annapolis work draws on Louis Althusser’s (1971) “dominant ideology thesis” which argues that submissive groups have the ideologies of dominant groups imposed upon them. The Annapolis project archaeologists were inspired by the post-processual work of archaeologists such as Hodder, Miller, Shanks and Tilley, and theorists outside archaeology including Giddens, Bourdieu and Foucault, to look at such concepts as ideology, structure and meaning (Shackel 2000: 769). Leone’s early (1984) work was critiqued by Hodder (1986) for its lack of perspectives upon different groups and human agency, with Hodder arguing that meaning is not something that is stable or fixed, but is negotiated or read. Beaudry, Cook and Mrozowski (1991) also noted that the Annapolis work ignored those who were ‘ruled’, and stated there is no reason to assume that artefacts of any type serve only one symbolic meaning (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991: 157). In addition, the focus on capitalism has been criticised as perpetuating Eurocentric perspectives in history and archaeology (Funari, Hall, and Jones 1999). However, the Annapolis research was so successful that it has, until recently, been synonymous with North American theoretical historical archaeology (Johnson 1997), and has resulted in the persistent view that historical archaeology is coterminous with an archaeology of capitalism (Hicks 2004: 101; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). Recently Marxist archaeologists such as McGuire (2006) have moved away from totalising and normative accounts of Marxism and capitalism. Leone also has developed a more nuanced look at capitalism by examining African hoodoo practices which were at the fringes of capitalism, or beyond it (Leone 2005). Notwithstanding these alternative types of studies, historical archaeologists studying capitalism continue to define the discipline as the archaeology of capitalism (Leone and Potter 1999; McGuire 2006).
Orser’s attempt to seek “universal agreement about the precise nature and scope of historical archaeology” (Orser 1999: 274) has not been embraced by all historical archaeologists (Gilchrist 2005). Critiques of the concept of a global historical archaeology centre around concerns that overarching frameworks flatten out interpretations, masking polyvocality and diversity (Funari, Hall, and Jones 1999; Hicks 2005; Johnson 1999; Lawrence 2003; Lucas 2006), and create the very types of totalising grand narrative approaches to history that were criticised by the post-processual archaeologists in the 1980’s (Johnson 1999; Lucas 2006). Tarlow argues that with the “obligatory Marxian interpretation”, where hierarchical class relationships are considered foremost, other distinctions, entanglements and nuances that signify the range of human experience in the historical period important factors are forced out (Tarlow 1999: 469). In addition, Horning questions the relevance and necessity of an archaeology where all it can say is “that capitalism breeds poverty and wealth and that objects and landscapes encode dominance and resistance” (Horning 2011: 65). These comments also reflect Ortner’s uneasiness within anthropology of the use of a capitalist-centred world view based upon the assumption that everything studied in the modern era has been “touched” by capitalism (Ortner 1984: 142). There is a certain irony that although the concept of a ‘modern world archaeology’ has its origins in postcolonial thinking, the postcolonial project emphasises the scale of the local over the global (Gilchrist 2005: 333).

The search for answers to big questions serves only to distract historical archaeologists from the real strengths of historical archaeology, which is the diversity and complexity arising from its methods and materials (Hicks 2003). Some of the most effective work carried out recently in historical archaeology has been based on interpretive, contextual approaches, and is done by focussing the small-scale, the commonplace, and allowing lives of the disenfranchised to come into focus (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004: 5). Historical archaeologists using interpretive, contextual approaches examine the experiences of families and individuals within specific historical, social and cultural contexts at the smallest of scales (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004). In creating what has been described as archaeological biographies (De Cunzo 2004; Gilchrist 2000; Lucas 2006), these types of approaches can be seen in the studies of life cycles of individuals, households and communities (e.g. King 2006; Murray 2006; O’Keefe and Yamin 2006; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004), gender, sexuality and children (Shackel 2000; Wall 1994; Wall 2010; Wilkie 2003), the relationship between artefacts and identity (Beaudry 2006; Loren and Beaudry 2006), the use of storytelling and
narrative as an interpretive practice (Beaudry 1998; Joyce 2006; Joyce et al. 2002; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1998), and interpretive studies of farmsteads and agricultural practices (e.g. Beaudry 1995; De Cunzo 2004).

While unequal power relations are a part of a capitalist structural system, power in itself is not necessarily monolithic, negative and hierarchical - represented as ‘power over’ others. Power can be considered as the ‘power to’ make meaningful choices that enable people to act as agents of their own change, within the boundaries of their own specific cultural context (Benton 1981; Cowie 2011: 125; Miller and Tilley 1984: 5). As described by Foucault (1995: 26-7), power is exercised by people, rather than possessed by them, not rendering them passive but active beings (Miller and Tilley 1984: 6).

1.2.3. Households, Individuals and Agency

Many archaeologists focus on the household as the minimum unit of analysis, as historical archaeology is typically centred around small discreet domestic areas often associated with particular households (e.g. Allison 1998; Barile and Brandon 2004; Beaudry 1999; Blanton 1994; King 2006; Wilk and Rathje 1982). A particular strength of household archaeology is the ability to shift between wider social contexts and individual lives (King 2006), as well as bringing women and children to the forefront of interpretations – areas of research that have been undervalued in the past (Middleton 2005; Spencer-Wood 1999, 2004). Archaeologists, with their focus on material remains, can create richly nuanced interpretations of households, developing “archaeological biographies” (Gilchrist 2000) that can provide a multi-scalar study of individuals and social lives in the past.

As historical archaeologists place a growing emphasis on contextual and interpretive approaches, household archaeology has changed in recent years to focus more on individuality and stories associated with particular families (Beaudry 1999: 123; White 2009). This translates to archaeological research at the “subhousehold level, taking microhistory at its smallest unit of analysis” (Orser 2010: 118). The household then, rather than being the minimum unit of analysis, becomes instead the setting for the interaction between the individuals actors within it. This allows for the smallest, everyday, seemingly ordinary and insignificant items to be placed within their personal, social and historical context, with resulting fine grained interpretations of how people went about shaping and negotiating their personal and social identities. Small finds have often been dismissed in analyses, or are simply overlooked as statistically insignificant. Yet, these types of artefacts, while often
small in size, and few in number, can add a powerful level of interpretation if understood within their social context (Cochran and Beaudry 2006: 200).

Particular examples of research at this level include studies into how needlework and sewing artefacts do not just represent the act of sewing, but were used by reformers to reinforce attitudes towards work, cleanliness and spirituality (Beaudry 2006; Loren and Beaudry 2006). Carolyn White has also produced detailed interpretations of clothing related artefacts, linking personal adornment to construction of identity (White 2004, 2005, 2008). In Melbourne, Australia, the excavations of “slumland” Little Lon led to the discovery of a Lady Godiva figurine that helped form an interpretive narrative around the identities of the working people of the area, individual agency, and debunking the mythology of slums as locations of misery (Mayne, Murray, and Lawrence 2000). The Rocks neighbourhood in Sydney has also been approached in this manner, particularly expressed through a nuanced study by Grace Karskens to provide a fine grained analysis of an area that was once subsumed under the rubric of a slum (Karskens 1999). In New Zealand, the male dominated focus of research surrounding British military sites was challenged by exposing the domestic nature of these places, through the small, but significant, finds of children’s china and toys (Fraser 2002). Using material culture in subtle, nuanced ways has also allowed for renegotiations of interpretations regarding areas of cultural difference, particularly in relation to archaeology of the Overseas Chinese. This has been shown through the study of the presence of European ceramics in Chinese sites which reflect subtle ways of incorporating Chinese cultural practices within a European dominated environment, rather than being a sign of assimilation or acculturation (Adamson and Bader 2013; Bader and Adamson 2011; Karskens 1999; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2004).

Contextual approaches in archaeology are also concerned with the issue of agency. Being aware of historical and cultural contexts allows for the understanding that people played an active role in shaping and constructing meaning in their lives (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991: 153). Agency has been increasingly used as a “buzzword” in archaeological theory (Dobres and Robb 2000: 3), and is often used within a dialectical relationship to structure, as foregrounded by Bourdieu, for whom human agency operates within external structures (Bourdieu 1977). The idea that individuals can be active agents operating meaningfully and consciously within a social and cultural setting that is not entirely under their own control, is a theoretical viewpoint embraced by a number of archaeologists (e.g. Johnson 1989; Silliman 2001; Wilkie and Bartoy 2000). This thesis supports this view.
of agency, but stresses the importance in this instance of the individual actors while still placing the people under study into their wider social context. The individuals and families that appear in this research can be studied in this manner as their occupation of the sites is known to have been for a short time period, and the archaeological data is recorded in intricate scale. Casting subjects as active agents and bringing out the voices of the individual inhabitants allows for an understanding of connections of those people to others at the household level, as well as to their community and the wider societal and global level (White 2009: 4). As stated by Hodder (2000: 26) “It is rare that archaeologists can identify named individuals; it is rare that they can piece together anything approaching a full account of an individual life”. While the archaeology of the Jury and the Autridge homesteads can only provide a fragmented picture of their lives, being able to identify the people at the centre of these places gives potential to record the “fullest possible accounts of individual lived lives” (ibid), at the smallest and most detailed of micro-scales possible in historical archaeology.

1.3. Thesis Organisation

The following chapter provides a social and historical context for Improvement by examining factors such as agricultural Improvement and Improving the people through changing morality and manners. This chapter then examines working class agency in Britain, and explores ways in which people considered to be the labouring poor responded and acted upon Improvement initiatives, such as participation in education, respectability, temperance, improving house and home, and emigration. The focus here is on the working classes in Britain rather than in the colonial context of New Zealand, as it was in Britain that the cultural patterns the emigrants brought with them were shaped. Archaeological perspectives on Improvement are then discussed, although Improvement is not a topic that has been widely investigated archaeologically. The main focus of archaeological research has been on changes associated with Improvement particularly through looking at rural and agricultural Improvement and power inequalities concerning landowners and rural tenants. Chapter 2 also provides a basis for exploring the historical and archaeological context of Improvement in relation to the Omata farmsteads by developing indicators of Improvement through which the history and material culture might then be examined. These were drawn from the literature surrounding Improvement discussed previously in Chapter 2 and were determined by the potential for each indicator to offer insights into Improvement ideology particularly through material correlates. The indicators of Improvement I use here are: emigration;
improving the land; improving house and home; children and education; attitudes to alcohol and tobacco; and finally health, hygiene and personal grooming.

The translation and application of the indicators of Improvement in the colonial context of the settlement of New Zealand, and New Plymouth in particular, are dealt with through a case study in Chapter 3 making use of related documentary historical evidence. While the specific focus is on the two families that are the subjects of this research, it cannot be ignored that the British colonization of New Zealand was to a great extent established with emigration schemes born out of ideologies concerned with both Progress and Improvement. These historical aspects are discussed here in relation to the emigration scheme of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and the development of the Plymouth and New Zealand Companies that expedited the planned settlement of New Zealand. This chapter also discusses the colonization of New Plymouth with particular regard to Māori, examining the role Māori played in facilitating the Improvement of the settlers.

Chapter 4 presents the archaeological investigations of the two sites relating to each family and begins with an overview of the surrounding archaeological landscape and background to the research project, the process of identifying the study sites through geophysical survey methods. The archaeological investigations are then presented for each site, Mrs Jury’s and then the Autridge farmstead, and include interpretations of archaeological features that are separated by three activity phases, pre-European Māori activities, European occupation, and Māori occupation and use during the Taranaki war period.

The thesis then moves on to Chapter 5 which centres on an analysis and interpretation of the material culture from the excavated sites with a focus on the indicators for Improvement identified previously. The methodology for the analysis of all artefact categories was developed with the goal of establishing a minimum vessel count (MVC), based on a sensible minimum (Brooks 2005), and determining interpretive categories for each artefact. Determining the MVC was varied dependent on the diagnostic attributes of each material class, for example, ceramic, glass, metal. The MVC is calculated separately from the sherd count, as each vessel may have been made up from a number of individual sherds or fragments. The faunal analysis is also presented in Chapter 5, and this uses NISP and MNI in a similar way to the calculation of a sherd count and MVC, which is standard in studying faunal remains. As with the previous chapter, each site is presented here separately. The final chapter presents a discussion and conclusions, where both sites are discussed in conjunction and the implications of the model of Improvement presented here are given.
2. **Contexts of Improvement**

2.1. **Introduction**

This chapter provides a historical and archaeological context for the notion of Improvement, and ends by describing the indicators which will be used to interpret the historical and material remains uncovered during archaeological excavations. Improvement is considered to be a “cross-cutting ethic” (Tarlow 2007: 31) with a wide scope of influence and effects in the period following 1750 in Britain, and to this end not all aspects considered to be associated with Improvement can be covered here. My view of Improvement is that it can be used as a lens through which to understand people’s motivations and aspirations (Tarlow 2007), and it is this aspect of Improvement that the research here is focussed upon. Choices were made to limit the spheres of Improvement that were considered to be relevant and important in the context of this specific research.

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the ‘why’ behind the motives and desire for Improvement through emigration by the Jury and Autridge families, the first part of this chapter covers a history of the origins of the ethic of Improvement in the 18th and 19th centuries. Improvement as a process functioned on a number of levels, similar to the manner in which Belich (2009) uses the terms “formal” and “informal” variants in relation to emigration ideology. Much Improvement literature and many projects were written and performed by the upper and middle classes for themselves and on behalf of the lower orders. I describe this loosely as ‘formal’ Improvement. The history of ‘formal’ Improvement is investigated briefly, while also looking at how it relates to the idea of progress through agricultural Improvements to land. The next section investigates Improvement from the perspective of the philanthropic and reformative movements where the focus was on the link between Improvement, morality and respectability. The final section of this part looks at ‘informal’ Improvement, through the idea of active agency as it relates to the working classes and engages with the concept that Improvement was not something that was necessarily imposed upon them from above. Improvement was rather an ethic that the working classes themselves participated in, renegotiated, sometimes challenged and subverted on terms of their own making.

This does not provide a conclusive reasoning as to aspirations, motivations, dreams and desires of the working poor, but offers a more subtle glimpse into ways in which society in Britain was changing, where emigration was seen by these families as a way of improving
their situation. The labourer settlers to New Plymouth brought with them a suite of values - some call these “Victorianisms” (Briggs 2000; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001) - which embraced the multiple concepts of respectability, work, good character and self-help, values that they then proceeded to renegotiate, and in some instances challenge, once they had settled in their new locale.

The final part of this chapter is largely concerned with archaeological context and development of a set of indicators concerned with ‘identifying Improvement’ both historically and archaeologically, with the main focus being on responses to changes caused through processes associated with Improvement. This area of archaeological research looks at aspects of rural and agricultural Improvement and power inequalities concerning landowners and rural tenants. As Improvement crosses a number of spheres, this thesis also investigates Improvement in relation to factors associated with respectability, and therefore also draws on models of respectability and gentility that has been the subject of a wide body of work in the North American and Australian contexts. The indicators of Improvement I use here are concerned with emigration, improving the land, improving house and home, children and education, attitudes to alcohol and tobacco, and health, hygiene and personal grooming.

2.2. A Socio-Historical Context for Improvement

In order to understand how the ethic of Improvement shaped the motivations and actions of the emigrants to New Plymouth studied in this thesis it is necessary to understand how this idea operated within the society from whence they came. While Improvement is a characteristic of the post-medieval industrialised period of modernity (Tarlow 2007) and the Improvement ethic is a value underpinning Western society today, it was not always the case. Tarlow argues that “the concept of society as a set of groups of people and individuals in mechanistic relationships to one another, framed by a physical environment, is itself a characteristically modern idea” (Tarlow 2007: 11). In contrast, late medieval morals pertained to the environments of the self and the spiritual, rather than to greater society, with a view to the future in heaven directing personal Improvements. Charitable works were undertaken with a view towards future divine judgement, rather than being part of a project to change society for the better, as was the case by the 19th century (Tarlow 2007).

Improvement, once a transformative concept, today however is often implicit and taken for granted in everyday life. Rather than the power it once had to effect change, the concept of Improvement is so pervasive within our society that it creates what Tarlow and
West describe as a masking familiarity, making it historically invisible (Tarlow 2007; Tarlow and West 1999). In modern life today, the Improvement ethic can be seen in the form of things such as self-Improvement, home Improvement, Improvements in education, economics and infrastructure Improvements. The end result is often a perceived Improvement, rather than actual Improvements, however the idea that through human action we can make things better has been normalized to the point that it is considered to be part of human nature, and is consequently often overlooked historically (Tarlow 2007: 11).

British historian Asa Briggs described the late 18th to mid-19th century period as the “Age of Improvement” (Briggs 2000) which was that time, emerging out of the Enlightenment, when it was regarded as an ethical necessity or a moral duty to not only improve oneself, but to improve others. The term Improvement, however, was in use long before Georgian times and was used increasingly in relation to animal husbandry from the 16th and 17th centuries (McRae 1992), but also morally through cultivation of the self (Tarlow 2007: 12). Orser states the history of Improvement thinking dates back to Classical times, however is generally equated with the writings both of Francis Bacon in 1625, who related elegant gardens with ‘civility’, and those of John Locke in 1690, who wrote, in relation to governance and land use, that leaving land without Improvement through pasture or tillage was waste (Locke and NetLibrary Inc. 1999 [1690]; Orser 2005: 394). Sarah Tarlow constructed a database of publications in the catalogue of the British Library to understand the various contexts in which the words ‘improvement’, ‘improved’, or the verb ‘to improve’ were used between the years 1550 and 1850. She found that usage of these terms increased rapidly from the end of the 18th century onwards, along with increases in English published literature generally. In addition, contexts of use were varied and cross-cutting, ranging from rural and agricultural reform through to self-improvement, as well as in the fields of science and industry through such aspects as inventions, production techniques, transportation and communication (Tarlow 2007).

**2.2.1. Agricultural and Rural Improvement**

Agricultural reform has been closely tied to concepts of Improvement. By the end of the 17th century Improvement was used in terms of increasing the productivity of land particularly through enclosure and drainage, elimination of traditional practices, as well as organising farm dwellings to conform to set standards (Tarlow 2007). During the 18th century interest in ‘scientific’ farming grew rapidly and the popularity of agricultural societies was reflected in the relationship between agricultural reform, science, and concepts
of progress (Tarlow 2007). The application of Enlightenment principles of scientific observation and agricultural practice were used, for example, as justification for the conquest of Ireland (Forsythe 2007). Mid-18th century scientific farming was the domain of wealthy gentlemen, but by the late 18th century was supported at state level through infrastructure and law changes, particularly through Acts of Enclosure. By the mid-19th century in Britain few farmers were left still farming by traditional, less intensive means without using scientific Improvements. Most farmers were intent on increasing productivity through interventions such as the addition of chemical fertilisers and artificial feeding (Tarlow 2007: 36-7).

Enclosure involved the delineation and consolidation into private use and ownership of previously commonly held, or collectively used land holdings and field systems including those that were non-intensively used and therefore described as ‘waste’ lands. Enclosure was seen as a “necessary precondition for any serious improving endeavour” (Tarlow 2007: 42). Enclosures had significant impacts on the organisation of people in rural Britain, although the amount of enclosure varied regionally. Once the land was enclosed, the next steps were various strategies of Improving the unproductive ‘waste’ land into productive arable land, including draining wetlands, removing fern and furze, improving the condition of the soil, as well as consolidation of smaller owned yeoman farms into larger farms that were owned by fewer and fewer, but wealthier, people, with these larger farms becoming more specialised in production of particular commodities (Tarlow 2007: 50-8). The use of scientific principles were also reflected in developments of farm machinery to make the processes of ploughing, sowing and harvesting, more efficient, as well as selective breeding in stock and crops (Tarlow 2007: 62-6). The physical results of agricultural reforms can been seen today in such factors as field systems, crops, animals, land organisation, building structure and farm layout.

In colonial contexts the ideology of Improvement was crucial to the taking and transformation or ‘civilizing’ of ‘waste’ lands into land that was productive in the European sense (Pawson and Holland 2005). The colonization of New Zealand was not undertaken under the paradigm of terra nullius, or empty land, as was the case in Australia (Banner 2005; Ireland 2003), however in New Zealand the ideological use of the term ‘waste land’ made the transfer of land into colonial hands seem largely acceptable. This showed no understanding of the use of land by Māori, who practiced cyclical management of the land for both harvesting resources and rotational cropping (Kawharu 2000).
2.2.2. Improvement, Morals, Manners and Respectability

As well ‘Improving’ the physical environment, through agricultural and rural improvements, a key element of reform was transformation of people through raising their material and moral conditions (Tarlow 2007: 124). Emerging in the late 18th century, a movement of ‘moral reformation’, inspired by Evangelicalism, together with Methodism, laid the foundation for the later notion of Victorian values, or “Victorianisms” (Briggs 2000; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001). This reformation, while establishing societies that promoted piety and virtue, also encouraged the development of societies to assist the poor and the ill, as well as institutions such as orphanages, hospitals, charity and Sunday schools (Himmelfarb 1995: 6). Respectability, with its demand of faith and conduct, was essentially a “distillation of evangelical disciplines” (Bailey 1979: 338), incorporating both ideology and a prescribed way of life. The Victorian concern with the ‘small morals’ of such things as table manners, appearance, toileting and other behavioural ‘decencies’ was driven by the fact that they saw these as indicators of a larger, more public, morality – the civilized behaviour one exhibited in one’s private life had a direct correlation with achieving a civilized social life (Himmelfarb 1995: 22). To be a respectable member of society one not only had to be morally upright, it was also expected one should be economically sound and self-sufficient. Attaining respectability manifested itself through the process of self-discipline and self-improvement (Bailey 1979).

By the 1820’s Britain was a place of rapid change, with people living through the Industrial Revolution and its advances giving the impression that anything was possible. The ranks of the middle classes had swelled through this time and, being a young population, people were excited and hungry for change. The boundaries between levels of society were becoming blurred, with the expanding middle classes able to afford luxury goods such as silverware and porcelain, glass, clocks, and linen, items that were similar to those of the elite. People in the middle classes were being informed through magazines and novels as to what was in fashion and what was not, and servants informed their contemporaries of the latest styles that their employers’ were adopting (Wilson 2007). An optimistic writer in the Quarterly Review of 1829 wrote “In houses, dress, furniture, horses, roads, conveyances, and every thing which can minister to the ease and gratification of mind or body; in the number and refinement of the sources of amusement; and in all the articles of domestic luxury and convenience; the progress that has lately been made is unprecedented either for extent or rapidity”. The writer noted that this alteration, while present Europe, was most conspicuous
in England, commenting that even in the remotest parts of the country, the comforts of life had improved beyond anything anywhere else in the world (*Quarterly Review* 1829: 499).

This general movement towards an increasing concern with respectability and a more civilized and decorous pattern of behaviour amongst the people in late 18th and early 19th century Britain spread across all classes. Whilst the years after 1815 had been difficult in Britain, with predictions of collapse of religion, law and morality, the Improvements and progress in relation to the manners and morals of the people were finally becoming apparent. With the generation of British born post-1800 benefitting from the aspirations of their parents, and becoming “the makers of manners” (Wilson 2007: 309), their children in turn became the Victorians, with their notions of respectability, gentility and a sense of public duty (Wilson 2007: 388). Henry Angelo wrote in 1830 of this change in manners “In no period of our domestic history has so universal a change in the manners and habits of the people generally, taken place, as within the last half century” (Angelo 1830: 283-4).

The economic prosperity seen in the first decades of the 19th century initiated the rise of the upwardly mobile middle classes. The swelling of the middle classes, with their wealth, size and economic significance, revolutionized British politics, society and culture, with education, and a thirst for knowledge and learning, becoming widely popular (Wilson 2007: 274). Reform, at this stage, was focussed on getting people to help themselves – ‘active’ self-reform, particularly through education, was key to contemporary writers such as Samuel Smiles (Smiles 1859; Travers 1977). Working class reformer Francis Place, who saw education as a key to improving the manners and morality of the whole community, was surprised at the progress made by his contemporaries, noting education was important to all classes of people (Place 1972: 15).

### 2.2.3. *Improvement and the Working Poor in 19th Century Britain*

Much of the literature produced with Improvement and self-help in mind was written by the upper and middle classes as part of the social ethos of the philanthropic, benevolence, and reform movements beginning in the 18th century, and continuing through the 19th century (Himmelfarb 2005). Britain’s first census report in 1801 showed that, while there was great wealth, one in nine people lived in extreme poverty, with agricultural labourers particularly vulnerable due to harvest failures (Wilson 2007). Scarcity of food and high unemployment, brought about by Britain’s wars contributed to a fearfulness of Malthusian population explosion, which would be hastened by the unrestrained vices of the poor, causing
the productivity of the country to irrevocably fall. The fear of a loss of social order preyed on
the imaginations of reformers who believed, through their philanthropic and charitable
actions, that the functioning of society could be radically changed for the better – the poor
would work harder, abstain from vice and generally be more restrained in their conduct. It
was believed that social order could be restored, and improved, by inculcating through
education the working class poor into middle class habits and values (Parker 2000). Working
to better the people became a moral imperative and a duty for evangelicals and secularists
alike, with reform and change, rather than provision of relief through charity being the
desired goal (Wilson 2007).

Philanthropists and reformers were influential in highlighting and promoting change
to the conditions associated with society’s ills, including abolition of slavery, reform of prison
and workhouses, cruelty to animals, and the Enlightenment value of educating the poor
(Himmelfarb 2005). In the space of a century, over 100 voluntary and charitable institutions
and societies were established with these goals in mind, promoting every possible cause, such
as “Bettering the Condition and Increasing the Comforts of the Poor”, the “Reformation of
Manners”, and “The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge” (Himmelfarb 2005: 133).

There were certainly moral reformers in the 18th and 19th centuries who did not
understand much about the lower classes, judging them on impossibly high standards of
virtuous behaviour. However, reformer Francis Place, himself from the lower classes, had a
view of the British labourer:

“Idle he is not, improvident he generally is, to some extent, and it can hardly be
otherwise. He must spend an odd six-pence or a shilling now and then, although he
had certainly better save it. But as to his idleness – all the work is done that is desired
to be done; and there he stands, ready and willing to be engaged in the hardest, the
most disgusting, and the most destructive kind of work” (Place 1822: 154-5).

Generally reformers were concerned with getting the poor to help themselves. One
institution formed in 1797 by Thomas Bernard - The Society for Bettering the Condition of
the Poor - was based on the principle that the poor would improve themselves given the
means and the right tools, but without a forceful hand that would harden the poor against
accepting new ideas. Bernard wrote “Let us therefore make the inquiry into all that concerns
the POOR , and the promotion of their happiness, a SCIENCE, - let us investigate
practically.....and let us unite in the extension and improvement, of those things which experience hath ascertained are beneficial to the poor” (SBCP 1797: ii-iii). While he was concerned with offering the poor practical assistance he was also determined that force was not useful, and would harden the poor against the acceptance of new ideas: “the poor have never yet had a fair trial. Let useful and practical information be offered to them; give them time to understand, and a choice of adopting it; and I am mistaken, if they do not shew as much good sense on the subject, as any other class of men in the kingdom” (SBCP 1797: ix-x). However, one of Bernard’s imagined end results is that the landowner supplies the “industrious labourer…. with a sufficient portion of garden ground, and, in many instances with the means of keeping his cow” (SBCP 1797: xxxiii), rather than the labourer eventually becoming a land owner in his own right – the possibility of which motivated much of the later emigration to New Zealand and elsewhere. The idea of land ownership as a route to Improvement was an important factor in emigration. William Austin, an American visiting Britain, noted that in Britain generations of people never owned anything, while in America there was the belief that even the most destitute could one day own a farm and have a well off family (Austin 1804).

2.2.4. Improvement and Working Class Agency

The discussion so far has focussed mainly on formal Improvement, based upon how the ethic was structured and performed by the upper and middle classes both for themselves and on behalf of the working classes. While Sarah Tarlow has problematized the extent to which the labouring classes participated in the Improvement ethic in Britain during the 18th and 19th centuries, she argues however that it is wrong to uphold the idea that “Improvement was an ideological hammer with which the middle classes clobbered the poor” (Tarlow 2007: 200). The working class poor were also actively participating in the same ethos that motivated the philanthropists and reformers of self-help and cooperation (Himmelfarb 2005). The poor, as well as the wealthy, engaged with Improvement in a wide range of ways, through choosing strategies that suited their aims, desires, and economic situation. To argue that the upper and middle classes had the power to ideologically control the poor from above homogenises their experiences and assumes a lack of agency on their part (Tarlow 2007).

Himmelfarb, as a historian, takes the positive view that the 19th century values of hard work, respectability, and cleanliness were attributes desired throughout society rather than the middle classes imposing them upon the working classes as a means of social control (Himmelfarb 2005). The following part of this section therefore investigates ways in which
members of the working classes responded to, and participated in, Improvement in Britain, through examination of associated themes, or “vectors of improvement” (Orser 2005) of education, housing and health reform, respectability and emigration. While early Enlightenment Improvement texts were generally read by the person who had social power and was financially independent - individual agents that were usually male and wealthy - other groups such as women and working classes were usually the recipients of Improvements produced on their behalf (Tarlow 2007: 23). However, individual independence was both a goal and a prerequisite to Improvement (Tarlow 2007: 23). Porter, in contrast to Foucault’s emphasis on discipline and control of others, described the Enlightenment period in Britain as being more about dissent, individualism and “doing your own thing” (Porter 2000: 482). As far as the working classes in Britain go, historian E.P. Thompson pointed out that they participated in an active process – “The working class did not rise like the sun at an appointed time. It was present at its own making.” (Thompson 1963: 9).

**Education**

Literacy was a core part of the Improvement ethos, and being literate indicated a belief and active participation in the shared values of a respectable and polite society (Tarlow 2007). For the reformers and modernizers of the Enlightenment, education was a crucial part of the civilising process (Porter 2000: 363). Early 19th century social commentator Francis Place saw hard work and education as the key to Improvement, noting that the morals and manners of society generally had been elevated due to the desire that people of all classes below the very rich had “to give their children a much better education than they had themselves received” (Place 1972: 15).

Place’s interest in the value of education led him to notice that a separation was occurring amongst working people as to who had been educated and who had not, stating that those who were “better-informed” became:

“…decent in his conduct and language, sober, discreet, taking reasonable pride in his own person and in that of those who are dependent on him. Such a man will frequently rise as the uninformed man sinks; his prospect will not be so invariably hopeless of attaining to a somewhat better condition; he will seldom be without some money, some small property; the Benefit Club will maintain him in sickness; and save his family from immediate distress when he dies” (Place 1834: 9).
For the working people themselves the provision of, and participation in, educational institutions became a way in which they were empowered to order and control their lives. Institutions such as charity schools and Sunday Schools provided not only a religious education, but a social education as well, making such schools an important part of the working class community (Himmelfarb 2005; Laqueur 1976). Sunday Schools in the late 18th and 19th centuries encouraged the emergence of “a highly developed culture of self-help, self improvement and respectability” (Laqueur 1976: 155). Laqueur associates the role of such institutions with working class agency and self-control:

“…what appears to have been an imposition from above was, in fact, a way in which those who spent their lives in disorder, uncertainty, dirt and disease brought some order into this environment. Cleanliness in body, punctuality, neatness in dress and in one’s home, and orderliness in one’s lifestyle were very much part of the fabric of ‘respectable’ working class society” (Laqueur 1976: 170).

The charity schools and Sunday schools aimed at educating working-class children, while intended primarily to give religious instruction, had the side effect of teaching children to read, with the consequence that there was a high degree of literacy amongst children of the poor well before free public education was instigated in Britain in 1870 (Himmelfarb 1995: 7). Sunday schools became a vital part of working-class culture, reinforcing and supporting the same habits and values respectable parents tried to instil in their children at home, such as obedience, hard work, cleanliness, language and good behaviour (Himmelfarb 1995: 79). The growth in popularity of the Sunday School movement in Britain is testament to the values the working-class placed upon learning orderliness, punctuality, industry and cleanliness within the structured authority of a religious institution (Laqueur 1976; Thompson 1988: 141).

Educating children in the 19th century reflected changing attitudes to childhood, and by the mid-19th century childhood was seen as being a series of distinct life phases that were foundational in forming their values and moral character (Wall 1994). Children from respectable families were the products of regulation and discipline, rather than being indulged, and were expected to follow rules of routine chores and gendered division of labour (Thompson 1988: 130). While education for children was seen as a “passport to respectability” (Thompson 1988: 137), many working-class parents in Britain were reluctant to send their children to formal education, particularly if it meant sacrificing wages that could otherwise be earned. Whether a child was getting an education or not however became part of
responsible identity formation for parents and a means of separating themselves from the
unresponsible “lowest children of the town” (Thompson 1988: 140).

Access to education has been, and still is, held up as being essential to success and
empowering to people, but one critique of the educational process is that it can have the effect
of suppressing and homogenising traditional cultural practices by ensuring the spread of
similar ideas and values throughout a society (Tarlow 2007: 156-7). Mechanics’ Institutes
were an educational institution that were controlled and restricted in the types of knowledge
being taught. While they were developed and promoted as a place where working class men
could spend time and get educated, they served a dual purpose in keeping these men out of
pubs and taverns. Most Mechanics’ Institutes in Britain were formed by philanthropists from
the middle classes rather than the working classes themselves, and many were not actively
used by mechanics and labourers, but membership attracted the upwardly mobile lower
middle classes from a variety of occupations. The education on offer was mostly restricted
to teaching scientific and technical skills, and anything that may have promoted free thinking
and radical thoughts was censored. In addition, until literacy became wider spread in the
second half of the 19th century, many members of the working-class had such a limited
education that they would not benefit from lectures on scientific subjects. Therefore while
Mechanics’ Institutes were institutions associated with self-improvement and reform, they
were not always reflective of working class aspirations, and were more informed by middle
and upper class educational and social values (Tarlow 2007: 158-60).

Working Class Respectability

Laquer’s statement quoted above highlights the role of respectability in working class
society. Respectability was closely tied to the notion of self-improvement – with hard work,
determination, self-reliance, and self-improvement, one could achieve a level of
respectability that was worn like a “badge of conformity” (Bailey 1979: 338). Respectability
was a way in which the working classes not only distinguished themselves from one another
within their own social world, but was a way for them to negotiate the public notion of a shift
towards an improved society that was “more orderly, restrained and civilised” (Masters 2010:
2-3). It has been argued by Lord (1997: 168) that respectability was present amongst the
working-classes for two hundred years before the Victorian middle classes articulated it as a
social virtue. Others suggest it arose as a 19th century phenomenon by the middle classes
seeking to distinguish themselves from the masses (Tholfsen 1976), and becoming
increasingly accepted as an ethic by the working-classes by the 1840’s (Haynes 1991).
The idea of ‘respectability’ was summed up by values including those of work, thrift, cleanliness, temperance, honesty and self-help. These were not just middle class values, imposed upon the poor as a form of social control, and were not values in which the working classes sought to emulate the behaviour of the middle classes. These were shared values, belonging as much to the working classes as well as to the middle classes. Parents shared these values with their children, who were also expected to behave in a moral manner, as well being taught to believe in hard work, how to keep clean, and to observe rules surrounding table manners and appropriate conduct (Himmelfarb 1995).

Respectability was not a given – it was valued, and was occasionally a struggle for some to maintain. E.P. Thompson argues the majority of mid-Victorian working classes in Britain would have been considered respectable, even if they were unskilled workers (Thompson 1988: 199), and the divisions amongst the working classes between those that were ‘respectable’ and those that were ‘rough’, was a moral, rather than economic, distinction (Himmelfarb 1995). Those people that were self-reliant and determined not to rely on charity were set apart from others who were destitute, idle, drunken or disorderly (Thompson 1988: 199-200). Himmelfarb describes working-class memoirs and oral histories that describe the struggle to remain respectable and have good character – for men it generally meant to have a job, and for women to have a clean, orderly and thrifty home, for children it was to be obedient, helping around the house, possibly contributing to the household income. The family as a whole also had values to live up to – joining Friendly Societies, paying rent on time, appearing in clean clothes, and best on Sunday, and not disgracing themselves in public (Himmelfarb 1995: 32-3).

Drunkenness was seen as a threat to all who valued a comfortable and respectable home and family life (Masters 2010; Place 1834). Sobriety was a concern amongst moral reformers from both the secular humanist reform movement, as well as the evangelical Christians – Sarah Tarlow points out this was an area where these two movements, who did not agree on much, were joined in their efforts to eradicate drunkenness (Tarlow 2007: 133). The temperance movement arose out of these two groups working together as early as 1808, and encouraged people through pledges to give up sprits, wine and beer. In the early stages of the temperance movement, voluntary abstinence was considered the best way of persuading people to give up alcohol. As it was seen as an act of personal choice (Eldred-Grigg 1984: 178), people could actively participate in the self-improvement ethos by engaging in the self-discipline required to abstain. By 1841 in Britain, temperance was being
touted by social reformer Edwin Chadwick as the solution for the recovery and Improvement of the labouring classes (Harrison 1994; Himmelfarb 2005).

The temperance movement came to epitomise what Harrison calls the “cult of respectability” (Harrison 1994: 308), and was not a value imposed upon the working classes, but had grown out of the working class desire for respectability, even if many who took the pledge relapsed back into drinking at some point (Himmelfarb 2005: 38). For some members of the working class, it was important for their respectability not to be seen as totally abstinent, as this possibly indicated that one was previously intemperate and therefore non-respectable, but rather that one had the self-control to be able to drink in moderation (Masters 2010: 233).

Children were also encouraged to join temperance societies, and meetings, such as those of the Band of Hope, allowed a safe place for children to socialise and, in a manner similar to Sunday Schools, were used as a form of social education. In New Zealand during the 1840’s, children as young as six and seven signed the teetotal pledge book of the Nelson Temperance Society (Nelson Temperance Society 1842-1871). Attendance at temperance festivals were also a way in which children could safely participate in activities outside the home, and these events were also used to display a family’s moderation and respectability (Masters 2010: 236).

The working classes also participated in forms of self-improvement that combined the ethos of self-help together with collective and communal action (Himmelfarb 1995). Friendly Societies were ubiquitous voluntary independent workers’ organisations for dispensing financial assistance to those in need and were both self-supporting and self-governed through regular contributions from members. Friendly Societies were around for two hundred years before the Victorian period and this is seen as evidence of their place in development of working-class respectability. Lord (1997: 172) argues this suggests there was a large number of working-class people that were already members of respectable society, on their own terms, without having it indoctrinated into them.

The help given by Friendly Societies extended to assisting families through illness, unemployment, and paying for emergencies and funerals (Himmelfarb 2005: 143; Lord 1997; Masters 2010: 91). Having the means to provide a decent burial without recourse to charity was the most basic measure of respectability, and making regular contributions to such a society ensured a family’s continued good standing within their community should such a

Friendly societies also performed an important social role, bringing people together for a common goal and motivations (Himmelfarb 2005: 143). Many friendly societies met in public houses, and the social convivial nature of this setting would have been a draw card for many worker members (Lord 1997; Masters 2010). In 1801 there were 7,200 such societies in Britain with a membership of approximately 650,000 adult males, and by 1835 there were one million members of friendly societies in Britain (Green 1993; Thompson 1988). These types of societies were mostly male dominated venues where men could both express their respectability as well as safeguard their family from difficult circumstances. The involvement of women in these public organisations of self-help, however, was negligible (Masters 2010).

Working class women tended to display their respectability through other means, usually through domesticity and the home environment (Masters 2010). By the 1830’s, some reformers were encouraging the working classes to create a comfortable domestic environment by promoting the positive morality associated with this goal. A comfortable home, it was believed, would keep men with their families and away from the evil influences of alcohol in pubs and taverns (Roberts 2004).

For women respectability also could involve participation in consumer culture, especially through the act of shopping. Shopping is an activity over which people have a certain level of control (Miller 1993 cited in Cook, Yamin, and McCarthy 1996: 56), and being able to acquire goods allowed women of the working classes with the opportunity to display their taste and choices in consumer goods that were befitting their own perceived place in society (Yamin 2001). In British working-class households, women often controlled all the household expenditure, with husbands handing over the entirety of their wages and receiving a little pocket money in return (Himmelfarb 1995: 84; Snell 1985: 357).

How a family chose to spend their money was an important indicator of respectability in a working class household. A respectable working class housewife was expected to make a little go a long way, and exercise thrift and prudence in her purchases. Those purchases were also often tied to expressions of respectable domesticity in the making of a comfortable home. Even everyday items that were bought offered the potential to become metaphors of
respectability, empowering her own sense of identity as a respectable member of society (Masters 2010: 63-4).

The Victorians taste for acquisition and consumption has been well recorded (e.g. Cohen 2006; Loeb 1994), although the working classes and the middle classes consumption practices may have differed somewhat. Johnson (1988) argued that working class households in Victorian Britain were more concerned with achieving an Improvement in social wellbeing and status through quantitative means and conspicuous expenditure, rather than being as concerned with taste and style as the middle classes. Therefore, displays of pecuniary strength by working class households through quantities of goods purchased ensured the enhancement of the family’s good repute. This act of display “was to a very local community, the increase in status apparent often only to neighbours close in economic and cultural terms, as well as close geographically” (Johnson 1988: 40).

While ‘conspicuous consumption’ amongst the wealthy was seen by some as being a Christian duty, the poor were not encouraged to spend in the same way, and trying to control and direct working-class spending were common themes amongst social reformers in Britain even if they rarely succeeded (Cook, Yamin, and McCarthy 1996). Wasteful unaffordable spending on ‘luxuries’ by the working classes was discouraged over affordable spending on domestic comforts (Roberts 2004: 291). However, until incomes rose in the 1840’s and 1850’s, even middle class households in England and Scotland had little to spend on household furnishings and early to mid-19th century British households placed an emphasis on a more austere approach to material consumption than the later 19th century, late Victorian, period. Generally wealth was not displayed in a conspicuous manner, especially in evangelical households, where succumbing to material desires was seen as sinful. Improving literature, where the activity of shopping was mentioned, cautioned against being lead into temptation and moral trial (Cohen 2006: 11). Even during the time period on which this study is focussed, the mid-19th century, while the accumulation of goods was no longer seen as sinful and worthy of raised eyebrows, morality remained the focus of Victorian culture, with furnishings and possessions creating a setting for moral Improvement (Cohen 2006: 13).

“Room for Improvement” – House and Home

The connection between the physical environments and moral Improvement was epitomised through the reform of housing and sanitation (Evans 1978). Transforming and improving the bulk of the people – the labouring classes – through reforming the physical environments they lived in was considered a crucial way of addressing and controlling social
problems. Reformers were particularly concerned with sanitation and overcrowding in towns and urban locations, and during the 1830’s and 1840’s a number of parliamentary enquiries reported on such issues (Tarlow 2007: 110). The purpose of such reform was to replace physical environments that were considered to be both cause and effect of immorality with new housing that signalled a better, improved, domesticity.

Perhaps the major report of the time was Poor Law Commissioner Edwin Chadwick’s “Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Labouring Population”, where he noted the relationship between disease and living conditions, and the need for public health reform (Chadwick 1965 [1842]). Presented at the same time to the Houses of Parliament were a series of local reports, including one for Devon and Cornwall entitled a “Report on the Sanitary State of the Residences of the Labouring Classes for the counties of Devon and Cornwall” (Gilbert 1842). Data for this report was gathered from inspecting dwellings and talking to “the labouring people themselves” as well as through medical officers notes (Gilbert 1842: 1).

In Gilbert’s report regarding Devon and Cornwall, concern was expressed about the spread of typhus and its link with the number of manure pits and pigsties close to houses in towns and villages. Many houses had a pit to dispose of animal and vegetable waste outside the back door or had access to a close by communal pit, and the resulting manure was then used to grow potato crops. People spoken to were concerned that they would not have enough manure to grow their crops if this practice was stopped (Gilbert 1842).

Housing also came in for criticism, with many built directly onto the ground without flooring, little in the way of windows or doors to keep the weather out or let the sun in, and decaying thatched roofs. Many cottages are also described as not having privies, or areas called the “dust-pit” for cleaning potatoes and doing other household chores (Gilbert 1842: 9). A medical officer in the Launceston district¹, stated:

“The houses inhabited by the poor in this district are generally in a most dilapidated condition; consisting of one room on the ground floor, and one bed-room, having no other place for their potatoes, fuel, &c. Scarcey one house in ten is weather-tight, and there is generally an accumulation of filth in front of the doors, as they have no proper receptacle for refuse. I consider that in this district there is a great need of

¹ The Jury family were recorded as residing in Launceston town, while the Auttridge family were from the village of Boyton, six miles from Launceston, in the Launceston district. The Street family, subject of prior research (Adamson and Bader 2008), were also from Boyton village.
superior cottage accommodation; and that the health and condition of the inmates would thereby be considerably improved and benefited.” (Gilbert 1842: 11)

Separation and segregation of living and sleeping spaces within houses were especially problematic for reformers. Francis Place, expressing dismay at his own situation stated a man and woman sharing a space, for eating, work, cooking, and sleeping, was degrading to both (Place 1972). Gilbert’s report for Devon and Cornwall shows “deficient sleeping space” as a concern, noting cottages were small, often one room on the ground, and two on the first floor (Gilbert 1842: 9). However, reformers were also particularly concerned with houses having enough rooms to separate adults from children and male and female siblings, where immoral sexual behaviour could potentially occur (Tarlow 2007). One person, A.D. Ackland, Esq., corresponding in Gilbert’s report, communicated this concern through correlating “evil” moral habits with sleeping space and lack of separation between brothers and sisters, to the point where incest and abuse is insinuated (Gilbert 1842: 13).

Many of the ideas for reforming working-class housing derived from middle-class ideals, where aspirations were for houses that were bigger, lighter and cleaner (Tarlow 2007: 127). Gilbert points out examples where houses have been Improved from small dirty places of immorality to those more reflecting respectable values: “In the improved class of cottages I find these defects removed. There is a sitting-room, a small sloping-room behind for cooking and washing, and other domestic offices; and a privy and dust-bin so situated as not to be offensive to the inmates of the house” (Gilbert 1842: 13).

In the New Zealand colonial context, efforts by missionaries to Improve Māori living conditions were also in part based around dividing up houses into at least two, or three, rooms. Missionary Thomas Chapman wrote of his frustration at not being able to persuade Māori to divide their houses, even when his head teacher built his own house with two bedrooms and a general sitting room, as a role model for all (Chapman 28 March 1846).

It is difficult to understand the extent to which the working-classes in Britain responded to housing reform, as most would have been tenants rather than owning their own housing (Tarlow 2007: 161). This meant that while many working-class tenants did not possess the power to change their built environment, they could still manage to alter their domestic setting. Many in rented accommodation chose to express their respectability through improving their domestic environment through factors such as the type of house they
rented (Masters 2010: 162), paying their rent on time, and maintaining a pride in their homes (Thompson 1988).

As discussed previously, the creation of a comfortable domestic environment was considered to be an important goal for moral Improvement, and from the early Victorian period, respectability was tied to a particular view of domesticity (Masters 2010). It is commonly argued that increasing emphasis on domesticity, separation of gender roles and ideals of Victorian femininity, espoused in the model of an “angel in the house” (Patmore 1854), became a distinctly middle-class attribute at this time. The focus was on roles that kept women within the bounds of the home, taking on sole responsibility for child rearing and running the household, rather than helping earn an income (Davidoff and Hall 1987; Fitts 2001; Wall 1991, 2010; Young 2003). These, however, are not attributes confined or restricted to the middle-classes, and working class aspirations also tended towards these ideals. Domesticity for the working classes however was not something that was driven by a desire to emulate and imitate middle class behaviours, but was a shared ideal. As Masters (2010: 278) points out, the concern so many women had with keeping their homes clean and tidy really cannot be interpreted as stemming from a desire to imitate the middle classes.

Creating a comfortable home involved the use of furniture, soft furnishings and decorative items to reinforce a sense self-respect, as well as projecting a respectable identity to others. The Victorian love of soft furnishings in their homes, using curtains on windows, rugs on floors, and padded well upholstered furniture, was more than a reaction to privations of earlier evangelical Christian ideals as reflected in sparser furnishings. By the mid-19th century people were renegotiating the meaning of possessions, where they became more than immoral self-indulgence, but rather ownership of abundant material goods had been renegotiated to reflect spiritual and moral goodness (Cohen 2006: 30).

**Emigration**

Whilst emigration was one response by many individuals and families within the labouring poor to conditions in Britain (Haines 1997; Snell 1985), the desire and ability to emigrate emerged out of an ideology of Improvement that also ordered the improving of the British empire by overseas expansion and emigration (Drayton 2000: xvi). As stated by Edward Gibbon Wakefield, “The policy of emigration, we once more say, ought, in these days to go hand in hand with that of agricultural improvement at home” (Wakefield and Gouger 1829: x). Wakefield called for systematic colonization that included organised emigration and social and economic development (Wakefield 1849). Wakefield’s role in the
creation of the planned settlements of New Zealand is discussed in more detail in the chapter following. By the late 1840’s and early 1850’s more than 250,000 emigrants were leaving Britain each year (Briggs 2000: 335). While many returned disillusioned, far more stayed on in the country in which they had settled. The United States held the greatest draw, but Australia, once gold was found, was a land where many came to seek their fortunes. Most of the emigrants through the 19th century had little in the way of government assistance, and faced a long and difficult sea journey.

One contemporary guide for settlers makes the suggestion that it was a duty and a responsibility for the British to go out and people the world (Smith 1850). However motives were varied, ranging across personal, economic, religious or social motivations (Briggs 2000: 336), bringing rise to explanations about immigration that focus on dichotomous “push or pull” theories (Belich 2009). Demographics, industrial and agricultural explanations have been used to suggest that people were pushed out of Britain. However economic historians show opposite trends between population growth, migration, and industrialisation with its ensuing urbanisation, could be seen as an alternative to emigration as much as being a cause of it. Another push theory is that enclosures caused by agricultural Improvements displaced workers. On their own, these are not sufficient to explain the growth of emigration from Britain (Belich 2009: 129). In addition, while there was unrest and unemployment amongst rural labourers, it is now believed by some historians that most emigrants from England were not displaced farm workers (Belich 2009; Van Vugt 1999). While statistics for New Zealand and Australian emigration from the 1850’s show these two countries took the majority of all departing agricultural labourers, this was only a small proportion of the total number of emigrants leaving Britain (Haines 1997; Richards 1993). Erickson (1981: 196) argues that most English emigrants were not the poorest of society, but were those who had some assets to help finance the costs of emigration thereby giving them the choice whether to stay and adapt to the conditions in England, or take a risk in the new country. These emigrants also had enough skills to draw upon in their new country to give them the ability to eventually acquire land even when they previously did not have the capital to do so.

Although a simple dichotomy between “push and pull” theories has now been largely discredited (Erickson 1990: 21), pull theories of emigration are now argued to be more relevant when discussing British emigration (Belich 2009: 130). The idea is that people were well-informed and able to make a rational decision whether or not to emigrate, and were ‘pulled’ towards the opportunities for Improvement that new countries offered – in the words
of Belich (2009: 130) “migrants had brains and used them; nobody intentionally migrated to be worse off”. The lure of land was also considerable, with historian Eric Richards arguing this was the “vital incentive” (Richards 2004: 44, 62). Emigrants from the rural South of England writing letters home regarding conditions in the United States, Canada and Australia, commonly focussed on prices and availability of food, owning a cottage, ability to hunt without obstruction and, overwhelmingly, availability of land and potential for owning one’s own farm (Snell 1985: 10-2). Therefore, the desire to improve position and status, rather than economic hardship, was the primary motivating force behind emigration from Britain (Erickson 1981; Haines 1997).

Certainly the promise of owning land, eventually, was a motivator for the labouring classes emigrating to New Zealand. Also, judging by letters back to England from emigrants to New Plymouth, there was the desire for regular work, as well as the dignity of not being “an English slave [no] more” and having a “house and garden of my own” (New Zealand Company 1843: 153). This desire for independence did not however translate into a desire for peasant-like self-sufficiency. Belich (2009: 156) argues that settlers did not particularly care about being self-sufficient. They wanted independence from masters rather than from markets where they could sell their produce and participate in a market economy.

Selection policies were in place for emigration schemes. In Australia, “a better class of immigrant” was called for - people who would work hard with good character, rather than the lowest of the paupers. Consequently, Australian immigration schemes were designed not to recruit from the groups of the very poor (Richards 1993). New Zealand schemes followed suit, with calls for potential emigrants from particular occupations, marital status, and age (e.g. Plymouth Company of New Zealand 1840), although one couple who emigrated to New Plymouth with their children were from a workhouse (Dalziel 1991: 121). These categories however have been found to be often unreliably reported, and there seems to have been a subversive manipulation of personal situations in order to secure a free passage. Preferences by the emigration companies were for agricultural workers, and it has been noted that people that had been recorded as having other occupations stated they were agricultural labourers to Company Agents. Age was also sometimes misrepresented, with Company age requirements acting as an incentive to alter this information (Dalziel 1991: 127).

Emigrating with kin, as well as friends and neighbours, seemed to be an important factor in the decision whether to emigrate. In the South West counties, the Plymouth Company recruited potential immigrants from a limited number of villages so that they had
“the pleasure of improving their circumstances among their own village friends and relations” (Plymouth Journal, 5 November 1840, cited in Dalziel 1991: 116). Married couples were preferred by emigration Companies, and at least to New Plymouth, a number of couples were married in the two months preceding leaving England, with one couple marrying only four days before their journey (Dalziel 1991: 123).

As described above in relation to formal and informal Improvement, Belich ascribes “formal” and “informal” attributes to the ideology of emigration, or “Settlerism” as he calls it (Belich 2009: 153). “Formal” settlerism, produced by the upper and middle classes for both themselves and the lower classes, was demonstrated by the copious amounts of promotional emigration literature published. Formal emigration schemes consistently promoted to the lower classes the prospect of owning their own farm, and in Wakefield’s versions, this was to come after years on a wage working for others (Belich 2009: 153-5). The second form of settlerism was “informal” and of a more “pervasive and subversive creed” (Belich 2009: 161), produced by the lower classes themselves, and evidenced mainly with literature in the form of letters from emigrants to home (Belich 2009: 153). Many of these letters placed emphasis on different aspects of life in the new country than the formal literature allowed for, for example, promoting the concepts of equality, where “Jack was as good as his master” (Belich 2009: 157). While formal settlerism included conditions that a certain type of person was desired for emigration and those that were emigrating on free passage were required to meet certain work commitments, informally these labourers who emigrated often subverted, challenged and renegotiated these conditions to operate on their own terms.

2.3. Archaeological Perspectives on Improvement

Although discourse regarding Improvement has been of significance in Britain’s social history for some time, in archaeological terms, little work has been undertaken on Improvement specifically as a field of study. However Tarlow’s recent (2007) research establishing Improvement as a framework for archaeological study of the British in Britain follows this historical interest in the relationship between modernity, British empire and Enlightenment thinking (e.g. Drayton 2000; Porter 2000). While Asa Briggs used the term Improvement to address the period of economic, social and technological changes in Britain during the Georgian and Victorian timeframes, Sarah Tarlow’s approach to Improvement is less distinct. Improvement is considered by Tarlow as an ethic, a philosophy, and an ideology that is not fully articulated. The aesthetic of Improvement is characterised by factors
such as cleanliness, order and rational organisation. Possessing the aesthetic of Improvement showed “ownership of rational knowledge and taste, a general orientation towards the future” (Tarlow 2007: 67).

From an archaeological perspective, Tarlow investigates the material correlates of Improvement through four themes - the aesthetics of an improved rural landscape, urban and civic Improvements, improving the people through reform and institutions, and material goods.

Improving the rural landscape explores the changes to farm buildings and yards, in an attempt to improve aesthetics and arrange features in a rational way (Tarlow 2007: 68). This resulted in the ideal of the ‘model farm’, with a particular layout of farm buildings, increase in specialised buildings with specialised machinery. Although most farms in Britain during the 18th and 19th centuries were less compact and efficient than model farms, the aspiration towards improved social and cultural values could be seen in an increased separation of the household from the dirt, noise and smells of the farmyard. Orientation of the houses also changed from previous medieval layouts, with houses facing outwards towards the road, rather than the unimproved house which faced inwards towards the mess of the farmyard. Tarlow also addresses agricultural Improvement in terms of the effects of land enclosures and subsequent Highland clearances. Archaeological approaches to this particular topic are discussed below.

Tarlow also focuses on towns and urban Improvements, which included making changes such as increasing access to clean water, street cleaning and paving, as well as development of urban parks and cemeteries. Her focus on “improving the people” links the ideology of Improvement to philanthropic activities associated with Mechanics Institutes, as well as the material correlates associated with institutional architecture, particularly buildings associated with workhouses and prisons.

Tarlow’s final focus on the “right stuff” – the material goods – provides a link between Improvement and the material culture archaeologists excavate and record. She investigates such elements as bleach works and how an increasing emphasis on whiteness was associated with respectable morality. The ubiquitous presence of window glass in archaeological sites is also given deeper meaning by being linked to changing cultural attitudes towards “lighting up the gloom” (Tarlow 2007: 176), as well as being indicators of wealth, as in Britain, windows were taxable between 1696 and 1851 (Tarlow 2007: 177).
Transfer printed ceramics can also be used to shed light on Improvement in terms of their manufacture, distribution and consumption. The role of ceramics in self-improvement is considered here in relation to the acquisition of taste. Choice of ceramics, along with other forms of material culture, allowed for a display of refinement and taste, indicating the type of person the purchaser is in terms of their level of Improvement. This view of ceramic consumption differs from models that focus on using ceramics to infer socio-economic status. While it is clear from historic documents that transfer printed ceramics were more expensive to produce than undecorated wares (Miller 1991), there is no simple relationship between ceramics, wealth, and proximity to markets (Tarlow 2007). Brooks also notes that, due to the ubiquitous nature of transfer printed ceramics in Australia, quality and quantity rather than decoration probably are more relevant indicators of wealth in this context (Brooks 2005: 63).

Improvement as it relates to agriculture has been a consistent theme in archaeological research. Chris Dalglish recently used Improvement as a central focus of study in his archaeological examination of tenant and landowner relationships during the period of agricultural enclosures in the Scottish Highlands (Dalglish 2003). For Dalglish, “Improvement was a process involving drastic change to the physical environment” (Dalglish 2003: 7), which included the wider landscape as well as settlements and agricultural environments and domestic space (Dalglish 2003: 1). While recognising, and showing, the non-monolithic nature of the process of Improvement, the focus of Dalglish’s research is based on capitalist ideas of the nature of the individual in relation to land tenure and ownership, and ensuing power relations between tenant and landlord. Dalglish argues Improvement “privileged the individualized relationships of capitalism over those of community or kin” (Dalglish 2003: 1). This argument has application wider than the boundaries of the Scottish Highlands and could also be applied in a colonized situation such as New Zealand.

Forsthye (2007) provides a well-considered examination of expressions of Improvement in the island of Rathlin in Ireland through changing landscapes and rural ownership, as well as the response by the islander’s to these changes through their housing and material culture. Changes to the landscape included rationalising boundaries regardless of land topography, land reclamation and introduction of new crops. These changes in the landscape were reflected in changes to housing with segregation of internal spaces and ejection of animals, although the communal nature of housing was maintained with people still living within traditional communities. The responses from people were, Forsythe argues,
a combination of “collaboration, acquiescence and resistance” (Forsythe 2007: 235), where people were forced to participate in schemes of Improvement, such as flax growing, in order to pay their rising rents, but were often willing participants in the new world of material goods, acquiring ‘polite’ ceramic table wares, and altering the architecture of their houses.

Charles Orser investigates the relationship between rural Improvement and agrarian based capitalism through studying Irish rural tenants that were removed from their land in the 1840’s. His work is based on the principle taken from Bourdieu that the tenants were subjected to “symbolic violence” by the dominant social elite. This is essentially a version of the dominant ideology thesis, a point picked up by Orser (2005: 394), but not critiqued by him. He argues that activities associated with agricultural Improvement, such as scientific drainage, “represented a subtle, covert form of manipulation and control impressed from the top of the social order” (Orser 2005: 396), but notes variable resistance by the tenants, as they still purchased English ceramics while being on a rent strike.

An archaeological study that also relates agriculture to Improvement, although taking an explicitly “postmodern or postprocessual” (De Cunzo 2004: 5) approach, is Lu Ann De Cunzo’s examination of the cultures of agriculture surrounding the state of Delaware. De Cunzo notes the challenge of scale facing historical archaeologists and the importance of “seeing the global at work in the local without dismissing the local as epiphenomenal” (De Cunzo 2004: 6). De Cunzo reconstructs how people shaped their identities and interactions across a variety of scales - from the home and work on the farm, the market place, and within global industrial capitalism. Improvement, she argues, can be seen as a metaphor for that which is “embodied in the ideals of temperance, domesticity, and middle-class respectability” (De Cunzo 2004: 164). Agricultural reform and notions of Improvement and Progress were linked to all aspects of rural life in Delaware and have also been explored from a historical perspective, showing the contrast between the unreformed and unimproved, and the neat and ordered improved farm (Grettler 1990).

Also examining notions of Improvement and rural modernization in North America is Melanie Cabak and Mary Inkrot’s study of Aiken Plateau farms in South Carolina dating between 1875 and 1950 (Cabak, Groover, and Inkrot 1999; Cabak and Inkrot 1997). This archaeological research follows changing methods of farming with the introduction of scientific knowledge, from traditional ways of working the land, to a more mechanised process. Other North American historical archaeologists who have written about the effects

The ideology of Improvement not only was significant in structuring agricultural reform and enclosures in Britain, but also ordered the improving of the British empire by overseas expansion and emigration (Drayton 2000: xvi). However the influence and application of these types of discourse have only recently begun to be addressed in the wider imperial context, particularly in relation to the post-1780 period of the second British empire (McCarthy 2005). Archaeologist James Symonds studied 19th century emigration of Highland Scots’ to British colonies, and examined how some traditions were maintained, and some were transformed, and related this to identity of the emigrants. Symonds notes the irony in the fact the Scots were escaping destitution after eviction of their lands, yet “often unwittingly served as the instruments of British colonial oppression” (Symonds 2003: 150) in dispossessing the indigenous population of Nova Scotia from their lands.

In New Zealand historical research, Erik Olssen has related the work of Edward Gibbon Wakefield to Enlightenment thinking and emigration to New Zealand, although the concept of Improvement as it might relate to the emigrants is not discussed (Olssen 1997, 1997). Historical geographers Eric Pawson and Peter Holland have investigated how 19th century Canterbury landscapes were viewed by European settlers as an “empty stage” (Pawson and Holland 2005: 167), waiting to be transformed into “spaces of modernity” (Pawson and Holland 2005: 170) with Improvement as the driving force. In addition Heidi Whiteside investigated women and representations of respectability in 19th century Lyttelton, and argues women were actively negotiating and contributing to definitions of respectability, rather than conforming to an imposed behavioural norm (Whiteside 2007: 5).

Contextualised archaeological studies examining Improvement, even through the concepts of respectability or gentility, are non-existent in New Zealand to date, although excavations were undertaken in the late 1980’s of part of the site previously containing the Auckland Mechanics Institute (Macready and Robinson 1990), and this work discusses the role of Mechanics Institutes in improving literacy of the working classes (cf. Tarlow 2007). Tarlow sees the British archaeology of the period between the mid-18th and mid-19th century as one which can record “the attempts of British men and women to improve aspects of their lives, environments and experiences” (Tarlow 2007: 32). These factors are relevant also in the New Zealand colonial context, but here, as in Australia (Gill and Anderson 2005;
McCarthy 2005), the study of Improvement could shed additional light on the colonization process.

As Improvement offers such a broad scope for study, there have also been significant areas of overlapping research, particularly in relation to domesticity through the study of factors such as respectability, gentility and consumption (e.g. Briggs 2006; Fitts 1999; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001; Quirk 2008; Wall 1991; Yamin 2001; Young 2003). Quirk points out through her study based upon a “Gentility Model” (Quirk 2008), that this model was first utilised by historical archaeologists working in North America in the 1980’s and expanded upon and developed throughout the 1990’s onwards. An archaeology of gentility is based upon the notion that Victorian genteel social values exerted a powerful influence upon the ways people lived and the goods they purchased, and can therefore offer insights into the Victorian world view (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001; Quirk 2008).

The archaeology of working-class areas in New York have provided much of this material over the years, particularly in relation to examining respectability and active participation. Stephen Brighton has conducted a comparison of the rural Irish in Ireland with Irish immigrants in Five Points, New York, that showed changes to material culture associated with the continuation of traditional types of ceramics, however these changed as the Irish migrants participated more in the dominant American consumer culture (Brighton 2009, 2010, 2011). Brighton has also investigated how households with limited incomes chose to purchase items that projected Victorian values of gentility, and participated in the rhetoric of temperance and reform (Brighton 2001). Rebecca Yamin also challenged the stereotype of the urban New York slum to provide an “alternative narrative” that revealed how people, particularly women, participated in creating respectable lives for themselves (Yamin 2001).

In Australia historical research has focussed on the relationship between Improvement and land settlement after British colonization, particularly the transformation of ‘waste’ lands, or nature into culture (e.g. Gill and Anderson 2005), and indigenous property rights, or lack thereof, which was based on the non-agricultural status of Aborigines (McCarthy 2005: 64). Tracey Ireland takes an archaeological perspective on landscape and identity in a critique of Australian settler history that is written as “an artifact of a worldview that sees progress and modernity as wiping out all evidence of the past, of the impact of colonialism as fatal and total rather than potentially creative of hybrid forms” (Ireland 2003).
Within Australian historical archaeological research, as well as Quirk’s study into late 19th century gentility in Queensland, Susan Briggs has conducted research into the archaeology of respectability of working class occupants in the Port area of Adelaide. She looks at four themes to identify respectability in these households – temperance, the role of women, attitudes to children, and meal times, and ultimately finds variability in levels of participation (Briggs 2006). Susan Lawrence also found elements of selecting for materials that signified respectability on the Victorian goldfields, where people were creating comfortable homes out of the little they had (Lawrence 2000).

The Rocks area of Sydney has also provided an entry into understanding respectability in 19th century working class areas. Grace Karskens (1999, 2001), although a historian, has interwoven the history with the archaeology, noting that “the archaeology offered one of the few paths inside the Rocks, allowing us to examine the ‘space for living’ which working people actually ‘carved out’ for themselves, so long hidden, and demonised by the writings of outsiders” (Karskens 2001: 73). Karskens challenges the dominant ideology thesis where cultural identity is seen as a place of struggle and domination and the ideas that the middle classes had the monopoly on respectability and gentility (Karskens 2001: 77). Instead she argues the archaeology demonstrates similar aspirations and inspirations, and the sharing and expression of cultural values and ideals, between the working and middle classes. She notes that people of modest means still managed to strive for values that embraced standards of domestic comfort, personal appearance and cleanliness, care of children and education (Karskens 1999, 2001).

To summarize, the archaeological study of Improvement has been limited but offers a wide scope for future research in addition to this particular study. While this thesis does not prioritize a connection between capitalism and Improvement, others such as Orser (2005) and Dalglish (2003) have chosen to study it through this lens. However Tarlow (2007) has provided an entry point model for an archaeology of Improvement that moves away from a dominant ideology thesis. This move is reflected in current historical archaeological theory as described in Chapter 1, and her approach provides a more interpretive structure around which a contextual archaeology of Improvement can be broached. In New Zealand, as well as the particular research presented here, the study of Improvement using this approach could also offer insights into the colonial process by bringing Māori into the picture as active participants rather than passive recipients of ideological social control.
2.4. Identifying Improvement

Previous discussions focused on theoretical and socio-historical contexts for Improvement, and lead onto how the study of Improvement has been approached archaeologically. This section now presents a model for identifying Improvement from both the historical literature and in the archaeological material culture associated with particular settler households in Taranaki. As pointed out by Sarah Tarlow, Improvement offers the potential to link material culture to ideology (Tarlow 2007), and it is this aspect of materiality that needs to be addressed here. Improvement is a broad topic, and to this end I have reduced the study of it to a number of themes. Within these themes are indicators that present a level of participation in notions of Improvement. The indicators chosen here have been drawn from both historical and archaeological literature concerning Improvement, and are in the main concerned with the physical characteristics that may be seen archaeologically. The indicators are:

- Emigration
- Improving the land
- Improving house and home
- Education
- Attitudes to alcohol and tobacco
- Health, hygiene and personal presentation

2.4.1. Emigration

While most of this research is situated at the household level, I am concerned with addressing scale, and situating the research into the broader global setting of emigration is the first Improvement theme. As stated in the Introduction, this research is predicated on the understanding that the labourers who emigrated to New Plymouth did participate at a certain level in the Improvement project through virtue of their decision to emigrate. While emigration was undoubtedly a product of Improvement ideology, the values of these settlers were more focussed on personal Improvement for themselves and their families rather than participation in a grand colonial scheme. The signed document of protest at their conditions in New Plymouth, outlined in the opening paragraph of this research indicates very clearly their motivations were based on the potential for improving their condition through emigration. This document provides an entry point into developing an understanding of the aspirations and desires of these emigrants for better conditions for themselves and their
families. Emigration here, as it relates to the families under study, is part of the historical setting of this research, and is approached within the following chapter.

2.4.2. Improving the Land

The second theme is concerned with Improving the land. This has its background in literature concerned with rural and agricultural Improvement, as it relates to the settlers to New Plymouth. Part of the colonial story of New Zealand is the acquisition of ‘waste’ land from Māori and clearing and converting this into ‘productive’ land by European settlers. Pollen and charcoal analysis can document land clearance and cultivation (Horrocks 2004; McGlone, Wilmshurst, and Leach 2005; Wilmhurst et al. 2004). Given the presence of pre-European archaeological sites associated with Māori occupation in the area, it is likely this large scale forest clearance was carried out by Māori. Nevertheless, much of the land would have needed to have been cleared of bracken fern before it could have been used. Historical and archaeological evidence can also be used to reconstruct the layout of the farmsteads and the positioning of the houses in relation to the road, as this relates to an outward, improved, viewpoint, rather than facing inward towards the farmstead. Separation of the house from areas where animals were kept is also an indicator of Improvement, as is the use of agricultural machinery and equipment in improving the land, such as the parts of a Ransome plough uncovered during excavations at the farmstead belonging to Romulus Street in Bell Block (Adamson and Bader 2008).

2.4.3. Improving House and Home

The third theme is Improving the house and home and this is focused on both structural attributes of the house and also creating a comfortable home through the domestic environment. Structural attributes that can be uncovered through analysis of both historical and archaeological data include building construction methods, the number and layout of rooms possibly indicative of sleeping arrangements, the type of flooring and roofing, as well as the presence of glazed windows. Differentiating between spaces in houses became increasingly common in 19th century houses – middle class Americans expected hallways, rather than coming into a home directly into the living area (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 2001: 647). The development of the parlour, often used as a space for receiving visitors also became common over this time (Logan 2001). Glassie describes southern Virginia houses with a hall and parlour as being based upon common English styles during the American colonial period (Glassie 1968: 66). In New Zealand descriptions of settlers homes make
mention of the setting of the parlour even in houses described as small (e.g. Adams 1850-1852; Hirst 1855).

A comfortable furnished domestic environment was associated with Improvement in Britain, and these ideals of household comfort and associated respectability were transferred by many upon settlement in New Zealand. However, Martha Adams noted that houses of settlers in New Zealand were furnished in a much simpler manner than would be expected back in England. Additionally she also noted in Nelson that occasionally “civilized” homes belonging to officials had interiors decorated with such fineries as pianos, gilt tables, Chinese cabinets, flowers, books and “nicnacks” [sic] (Adams 1850-1852). In Omata, Reverend Henry Brown’s governess, Maria Nicholson, commenting on a house she visited, wrote that, although the house was small, “a few first rate engravings and some books on the shelves give an air of refinement to the room” (Nicholson 1859-1861: 4). However humble the house, there was satisfaction in ownership, and pride in making interiors “look very pretty and cosy”, with details such as hanging cups up on hooks on the dresser (Peterson 1998: 52). It is likely the homes of the ‘labouring classes’ of New Plymouth were neatly and modestly furnished and decorated, exhibiting prudence regarding purchases rather than ostentatious decoration. Historic and archaeological records provide an indication as to the types of furniture that was used by the families being studied here. Soft furnishings such as curtains, rugs and upholstery are unlikely to have survived archaeologically, however they may be represented through the presence of upholstery tacks (Quirk 2008: 82).

Table and tea wares, particularly ceramics but including glassware, are also used here as indicators of Improvement through their association with increasing respectability, as they can provide an indication that the householder took pride in presenting a comfortable and respectable home. During the 19th century, with the increasing emphasis on the idea that acquisition of material possessions enriched people’s lives, ceramics, and a well set table, also came to symbolize increasing respectability, gentility and morality (Brighton 2011). Eliza Cook’s morality tale “The New Crockery Shop” (Cook 1849), sums up the connection between material goods, in this case desirable but affordable ceramics, and moral Improvement, where many lives are changed for the better because of one beautiful teapot. In the story, since the opening of the crockery shop that made ceramics available to the working classes, a whole area became elevated – walking past houses on a Sunday and looking in through open doors and windows, it was possible to view “neat tea-tables, the small efforts of refinement, humble as they are, on the chimney piece, spare table or buffet”
(Cook 1849: 38). Other positive effects associated with the crockery shop opening were the establishment of a Temperance Society, a Mutual Improvement Association, and a Lending Library.

This link between material culture, particularly ceramics, to respectability and gentility in middle and working class American households in the early to mid-19th century has long been established by historical archaeologists working within that context (Beaudry, Cook, and Mrozowski 1991; Brighton 2001, 2009, 2011; Fitts 1999, 2000; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992, 2001; Wall 1991, 1999, 2010). For Fitts, becoming respectable involved a sense of belonging to society, where to belong and become accepted it was necessary to own the right tea and table wares (Fitts 1999, 2000). For Wall, choice of teawares reinforced “sacred” ties of morality and community that served to “soften the blows of poverty” for working class women (Wall 1999: 113). In some cases people were choosing to purchase small objects that conveyed messages of sociability, respectability and gentility, such as teacups, over items that may have made their homes more comfortable, such as furnishings or floor coverings (Martin 1993: 154).

These studies above have emphasised what Quirk identifies as the “three main markers” of ceramics consumption associated with genteel, or respectable, behaviours – elaboration, uniformity and diversity (Quirk 2008: 81-2). Quirk’s use of “elaboration” does not separate between decorative style and decoration quality, therefore I have translated these ceramic indicators here to an investigation of quality, unity and complexity, and have added a fourth category of fashion to give an indication of consumption patterns, based upon the relative dating of particular stylistic designs following Samford (2000).

**Quality:** The quality of ceramics used to serve guests could set one household apart from another (Yentsch 1991: 193). Possession of expensive ceramics was a way to display your respectability to others, and this is the case particularly with tea wares, where serving tea to others became an important part of a respectable social life (Wall 1991). Serving tea was often done by women, and the types of wares used conveyed information about the household to others, as well as maintaining and reinforcing social ties with kin and neighbours (Lawrence and Davies 2011: 294; Wall 1999; Yentsch 1991: 224).

Decoration of ceramics provides an indicator of quality, as highly decorated items, using gilding and elaborate hand-painting, cost more than transfer printed whitewares. These types of decorated wares were often on bone china bodies, and bone china tended always to
be more expensive than whitewares (Miller 2000). Earthenwares and bone china (often called simply “china”) were differentiated in advertisements for the sale of these goods in Taranaki (e.g. *Taranaki Herald* 19 January 1853: 1) indicating there was a relative difference in cost based on attributes of quality. Quality therefore is used here as a simple determinate in this case, based on ceramic decoration, and body type, particularly looking at bone china wares. However, Crook has established a model for determining cost and quality of transfer printed wares based upon flaws in manufacture (Crook 2008), and this may have some usefulness for future analyses, where time is available to use this methodology.

**Unity:** Matching sets of ceramics allowed for displays of formality, symmetry and continuity (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992: 91), satisfying Victorian desires for order and rationality inherited from Enlightenment thinking (Fitts 1999). Matching sets of ceramics have been defined here liberally as the presence of at least two or more different vessel forms decorated with the same pattern (Quirk 2008: 107; Wall 1994), rather than a more conservative definition of three vessel forms of the same pattern (Briggs 2006: 220; Fitts 1999: 50; Yamin 2001: 160). Quirk comments that cups and saucers were usually sold as a pair so for her research are not considered matching sets while still being noteworthy (Quirk 2008: 107). However, as a matching cup and saucer fit with the definition of a matching set described above, they are considered here as to be matching sets. On occasion the term “complementary sets” may be used to represent vessels that have the same pattern and “may have been used as a set, but were unlikely to have been purchased as a whole” (Crook 2008: 237).

Matching sets of tea and table wares have been linked to expressions of respectability and gentility, where to set a table according to appropriate etiquette was viewed in line with moral behaviour (Fitts 1999: 50). Presence of matching tea services, including slop bowls and milk jugs, while uncommon, have been identified in prosperous households in Australia, and the presence of a tea service in the working-class area of Port Adelaide supports Briggs’s argument of respectability amongst his neighbourhood (Briggs 2006; Lawrence and Davies 2011). Availability of matching sets of ceramics does not seem to have been an issue in New Plymouth. Sets of “elegant” table, dessert, and tea wares were advertised for sale in New Plymouth (*Taranaki Herald* 19 January 1853: 1), suggesting dining tables could be set in a genteel manner if desired and, of course, afforded.

**Complexity:** Vessel complexity concerns the number of vessel forms with a specialised function. Changes in dining practices towards more ordered and formalised
settings are characterised by increasing vessel complexity seen in the range of forms utilised. 17th century well off households in Britain used single large serving dishes but by the 18th and 19th centuries dining became a more ritualised performance of acquired manners, requiring a whole variety of specialised dishes (Lucas and Shackel 1994: 28; Martin 2001: 37). The extent of vessel complexity has been argued to relate to social inclusion or exclusion, as the presence of a range of vessels showed acceptance and participation of ideologies of wealth, prosperity and belonging that were associated accumulation of goods (Brighton 2010, 2011; Lucas 1994).

Brighton defines vessel complexity as “those forms not considered necessary in the everyday routines of eating or drinking” (Brighton 2011: 40). By this he considers function specific forms such as platters, gravy boats and soup tureens, wine glasses, bowls and cruets. Other items such as side plates, entree plates, soup bowls are also indicators of vessel complexity (Fitts 1999; Lucas 1994; Quirk 2008; Wall 1991; Wall 1994). The presence of serving dishes in particular implies the acquisition of a particular style of dining etiquette based around accepted practices (Brighton 2011; Wall 1994; Wall 2001).

**Fashion:** The acquisition of taste is a characteristic feature of the process of self-improvement, and choices of fashionable ceramics is one way in which people could communicate their increasing refinement (Tarlow 2007: 183). Where dating evidence through the presence of maker’s marks is not available, Samford (2000) has determined relative dating of particular stylistic designs in transfer printed patterns. Discussions of fashion in relation to ceramics are sparse, possibly because of issues with time lag (Adams 2003) and lack of specifics as to site occupancy in relation to excavated assemblages. The sites in Omata are unusual in this regard, as they were occupied by European settlers for a short time frame, by known occupants, meaning it is possible to get a clear picture of purchasing patterns and ceramic availability. This means it may be possible to determine whether purchasing of up-to-date new ceramics was being carried out, rather than purchasing older, old fashioned styles, probably on the second hand market, that would indicate a more frugal approach to purchases.

Brighton found out-of-date and mismatched ceramics on sites of the Irish poor reflected piece-meal purchasing patterns, and supported the belief that they were uncivilized as they were not possessors of the “acceptable signs of modernity” (Brighton 2011: 41). He found the trend for mismatched and out-of-date ceramics was continued in sites associated with the Irish immigrants in Five Points in New York who obtained similar forms and styles
of ceramics as the rural poor in Ireland. However this pattern changed as the Irish immigrant communities became more incorporated into American society and started expressing their aspirations through the purchase of the types of goods that signalled a higher social value (Brighton 2011: 46).

Many of the ceramics on the Street homestead in Bell Block were also older designs, dated by means of maker’s marks and stylistically, and this was interpreted to mean the bachelor Street brothers living there either purchased their wares second hand, or were given them as hand-me-downs from their parents, who probably brought them with them from England. Either way, it is likely the brothers did not participate in a view of gentility and respectability associated with table setting etiquette, but rather negotiated their own position in society based upon values of their own determination (Adamson and Bader 2008).

2.4.4. Children and Education

My fourth theme involves indicators concerned with education and literacy particularly of children. Education was a crucial aspect of the Improvement ethic, and actively organising and participating in education was an empowering act for many of the working classes.

In colonial New Zealand, the Sunday School movement played an important role from the time of early Pākehā settlement, and many children attended Sunday schools without being associated with particular church congregations (Park 2009). As well as denominational Sunday schools, the village of Omata had three privately operated schools running during the 1850’s (Ferens 2003: 5), suggesting an extensive participation by residents in the educational ideal. The most common archaeological indicator of educational aspirations and participation in formal education is the presence of writing equipment in the form of slates and slate pencils (Davies 2005).

In addition, mothers, in their domestic role, were also seen as educators of children – “the mother’s heart is the child’s schoolroom” (Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992: 92). By the mid-19th century the home became the place where the mother nurtured and instilled in their children the values that reflected their own domesticity (Wall 1994). The ideal middle-class respectable home was considered to be a safe environment, free of corrupting influences, where women did not take on outside work, and spent their time tending to their families (Fitts 2001). Toys, as well as being play things for children, were integral as informal educational tools, and were used to define identities relating to gender and age, as well as
reinforcing expectations of acceptable roles and behaviours. Adult looking dolls were used to reinforce ideals of beauty, elegance and etiquette, while baby and child dolls were promoted to instil mothering and nurturing behaviour in girls (Wilkie 2000: 102). Ceramic wares with individualised children’s names and moral sayings, often appearing archaeologically, are also linked with attempts at education within the home, particularly to encourage good behaviour, discipline and respecting the rights of others (Brighton 2001; Murray 2006; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992; Riley 1991).

Yamin (2002) notes that many studies into childhood and children have been focussed on middle-class attitudes to child rearing. However she found that working-class parents in urban Five-Points, New York, despite often limited circumstances, still invested in their children through the purchase of toys and moralising china, suggesting that these values were widely ascribed to across classes.

**2.4.5. Alcohol and Tobacco Consumption**

This theme concerns indicators associated with the role of recreational drugs, namely alcohol and tobacco. While reformers and genteel upper and middle classes couched alcohol and tobacco consumption in terms of “vice” (Quirk 2008), attitudes to these drugs by the working classes were a little more ambiguous. Attitudes to alcohol and tobacco consumption became a way for the growing middle classes to distinguish themselves from the drunk and disorderly below them (Reckner and Brighton 1999). These attitudes however were not unique to the middle classes, and were a way for some members of the working classes to identify themselves as respectable members of an improved society (Himmelfarb 2005). However, while the respectable working classes in Britain during the 19th century decried excessive drunkenness, social drinking retained importance in popular culture. Reformers such as working-class Francis Place focussed on the evils of excessive drinking, and the temperance movement was more about controlled and restricted drinking rather than the total abstinence aims of teetotalism associated with evangelical religious doctrine (Thompson 1988).

In Britain, the functions of alcohol, particularly as a safe drinking beverage, remained essentially the same between 1820 and 1870, despite determined pressure from temperance movements. Water and milk were widely considered unsafe, and alternatives in the form of cordials, aerated waters and ginger beers were not readily affordable and available until bottling techniques were mastered. Alcohol was also used medicinally in the belief it could
cure a variety of ills such as curing indigestion and pain, which was considered a disease in itself (Harrison 1994).

For the working-classes in Britain, temperance, and therefore moderated drinking behaviour, was closely tied to respectability, and, as mentioned previously, being temperate, and therefore exhibiting controlled behaviour, was often more important than rejecting alcohol completely, which was an indication that one was previously intemperate (Masters 2010: 233).

In New Zealand while there has been a tendency for historians to associate the colonial working classes with wholesale drunkenness as a means of escaping the harshness of life (e.g. Eldred-Grigg 1984; Fairburn 1989; McKimmey 1968; Wright 1994), it is clear that a more moderate approach to drinking habits was adopted by many. Adding to the complexity of understanding the levels of alcohol consumption in the colonial period is that some drinking was done in sprees after a long period of abstinence while hard at work (Ryan 2010). Henry Harper observed in July 1861 these drinking spree habits amongst station hands in Canterbury, who would hit the town for their annual holiday, pay in hand, and “all they get for their hard-earned money is a sore head and empty pocket” (Harper 1914: 65). However he also stated there were “few habitual drunkards, at least in the country districts. Of course there are many who save money, and in a few years' time are in a position to start for themselves, and not a few who have overcome temptation and are thoroughly temperate” (Harper 1914: 65).

The archaeological presence or absence of alcohol bottles can be considered an indicator of whether alcohol was consumed on a site. Whether or not such factors relate to temperance is more difficult to determine, and other factors, such as historical evidence and household composition need to be taken into account. Women tended to drink less than men during the 19th century, so an all female household may have less alcohol bottles present than a bachelor household. Beaudry et.al. (1991) reports of differences between married and bachelor officers quarters, where the bachelors had significantly more alcohol consumption related vessels than the married couples, with this probably relating to the domestic influence of the men’s wives. Campbell and Furey (2013: 139) make a similar point in regard to bachelors living in a late 19th century farmhouse in rural Auckland, where bachelorhood was a phase in the history of the dwelling.
The participation in alcohol consumption is not solely reflected in the presence or absence of alcoholic beverage containers however. The presence of a Father Mathew cup associated with the temperance movement was identified in working-class Five Points, leading to the possibility of an abstinent household (Reckner and Brighton 1999: 81). Belonging to a temperance society was part of colonial life in New Zealand for many, and in New Plymouth, social occasions involving these societies were often organised around tea parties, as tea was considered to be an appropriate alternative to alcohol. Evangelist “sinner turned saint” (Marjouram et al. 1990: 1) Sergeant William Marjouram regularly spent his spare time during the 1860-61 Taranaki war organising events around the consumption of tea, writing in his diary, “I entertained the military-school children with tea, and was very glad to see so many happy faces” (Marjouram et al. 1990: 52). Assemblages that have little in the way of alcohol containers, but have numbers of tea drinking vessels, may indicate a moderated view of alcohol consumption that reflects participation in temperance towards alcohol.

Reckner and Brighton describe a decreasing use of tobacco amongst the middle classes in 19th century America and, from the mid-century, an increasing association with poverty and impropriety (Reckner and Brighton 1999: 68-9). In New Zealand, the most common archaeological indicator of tobacco usage in 19th century sites is the presence of fragments of clay tobacco pipes. Whether smoking was acceptable or not was determined by rules governing the social setting of where you smoked and the type of smoking paraphernalia you used (Reckner and Brighton 1999). As long as these rules were followed, smoking was generally accepted (Mrozowski, Ziesing, and Beaudry 1996: 67-8). While tobacco consumption was viewed disapprovingly by the reforming middle-classes, it appears to have been a gendered activity widely practised amongst men, and frowned upon amongst women (Lawrence and Davies 2011; Reckner and Brighton 1999; Walker 1980). Gentlemen often smoked cigars or long pipes in the evening, and advice for men on “how to spend an evening” was to “accept a long pipe and tobacco from your attentive friend, no matter how much you might detest pipe smoking at other times” (Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle 9 May 1846: 40).

Workers tended to prefer shorter clay tobacco pipes, called “cutties” as they could be gripped in the mouth while working, and were sometimes deliberately made shorter for this reason (Mrozowski, Ziesing, and Beaudry 1996: 71). While this reflects the potential for a class difference between the types of smoking related artefacts, Britain and the United States
had quite different consumption patterns to those in Australia, where smoking in clay pipes dominated (Tyrrell 1999), a situation most likely reflected in New Zealand as well. While smoking of cigars occurred in genteel circles in Australia, this was limited compared to pipe smoking (Lawrence and Davies 2011: 307), and it has been suggested that the popularity of clay tobacco pipes in Australia could relate to egalitarian attitudes (Tyrrell 1999: 4-5).

In an examination of tobacco and alcohol related artefacts in relation to gender and gentility, Lawrence-Cheney noted that sites associated with women had a lower concentration of artefacts associated with these ‘recreational’ activities, and a higher concentration of domestic related artefacts, than sites that were occupied by men only (Lawrence Cheney 1991). The sobering and civilising influence of women reflects the findings of Beaudry et.al. (1991) on sites associated with married officers, and probably goes some way to explaining the quantity of alcohol bottles recovered from the bachelor homestead of Romulus Street in Bell Block, Taranaki (Adamson and Bader 2008). As far as indicators within the archaeology go, Quirk states that while the presence of tobacco related artefacts could be found in respectable homes, “signs of alcohol consumption should be limited and neither should be present in genteel homes” (Quirk 2008: 85).

2.4.6. Health, hygiene and personal grooming

My final theme involves indicators concerned with attitudes to health and hygiene as well as presenting a neat appearance. The Victorians were obsessed with the search for good health and this guided “living habits, shaped educational goals, and sanctioned a mania for athletic sports” (Haley 1978: 4). In Britain, the middle classes had a continual fear of the breakdown of social order amongst the working classes and it was believed the maintenance and Improvement of social order could be achieved by educating the lower classes into the social habits and moral values of the middle and upper classes. One of these values that indicated good social behaviour was the habit of personal health and cleanliness (Parker 2000: 24).

Cleanliness was considered an important feature of a respectable and comfortable home, and settlers to New Zealand were encouraged, no matter how limited their means, to keep their houses neat and clean – “How easy to be neat – to be clean! How easy to arrange the rooms with the most graceful propriety!” (Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle 7 February 1852: 2).
Keeping a clean home meant hygienic disposal of rubbish, and this is also considered an indicator of Improvement. Features such as rubbish and cess pits are reflective of attitudes to waste disposal, and it was more common to dispose of rubbish in pits rather than leaving waste on the ground (Tarlow 2007: 185). However, as described above, improving literature discussed the tendency for the rural working poor in Devon and Cornwall to dispose of their rubbish and manure very close to their homes, and stopping this practice was considered to be an important part of Improvement participation (Gilbert 1842). Victorians were also concerned with the spread of disease through noxious gas or miasma (Haley 1978), and the health giving benefits of the fresh air in New Plymouth were remarked upon by the settlers (Gilbert 1861).

While a clean and orderly home was often associated with middle-class gentility (Quirk 2008; Young 2003), many of the working classes also valued this attribute and strove to keep their homes, as well as their clothing and lifestyles, orderly and tidy. This possibly had more to do with presenting a respectable appearance, rather than health and hygiene concerns amongst many of the working classes in Britain (Laqueur 1976: 170; Masters 2010: 139). However, concerns with hygiene and access to clean drinking water were probably behind motivations for building wells, and the presence of a well on a homestead site is considered here as evidence for this as a concern.

In archaeology, the impact of post-processual approaches has seen attitudes towards practices such as curation and tidying associated with hygiene and cleanliness as being reflective of “interesting elements of cultural practice” (Tarlow 2007: 183), rather than being “regrettable distortions of archaeological patterning” (Tarlow 2007: 183). Archaeological evidence will determine the nature of rubbish disposal by the two households under study, as well as the presence of toiletry and pharmaceutical items that may indicate a concern with health and hygiene.

2.5. Discussion

The focus in this chapter has been on providing historical and archaeological contexts for the idea of Improvement. Accordingly a number of aspects of Improvement have been identified that are significant for the historical research and archaeological investigation and analysis that follows in next three chapters.

The first part of this chapter examined the historical context of Improvement by looking at development of the idea and how people may have engaged with Improvement as
a process during the 19th century, focusing on the working poor, or the ‘labouring classes’, in Britain. The chapter firstly approached ways in which Improvement functioned in a more formal organised manner, by examining agricultural and rural Improvement through agricultural reforms such as enclosures and application of scientific principles within farming methods. Another key element of Improvement through reform discussed here was the creation of philanthropic societies and institutions used to raise people’s material and moral conditions through moral reformation. These created a suite of Victorian values which, for the British working classes, largely centred on notions of respectability, and self-discipline and self-improvement became the way of achieving this.

However, although the working classes were often the targeted subjects of Improvement efforts, Improvement was not necessarily an ideology that was forced upon the working poor. While reformers were concerned with encouraging self-help amongst the poor, the attributes of hard work, respectability, and cleanliness were desired across society, and were not the result of the middle classes imposing these values upon the working classes as a way of socially controlling them. Therefore, this chapter then considered how the process of Improvement also functioned in a more informal way, where the working classes actively engaged in the process of their own Improvement. Aspects discussed concerning agency amongst the working poor in Britain included participation in Improvement through education, achieving respectability through attributes such as work, temperance, thrift and cleanliness, improving house and home and, particularly relevant here, emigration.

The second part of this chapter discussed archaeological perspectives on Improvement with a review of current research within archaeology on the topic. The amount of archaeological research within this topic is limited, and most has been concerned with agricultural Improvement as it relates to the large scale process of capitalism. Notable exceptions to this focus is the theoretical work of Sarah Tarlow, upon which this thesis draws greatly, and also that of Lu Ann De Cunzo, who wrote archaeological ethnographies of the rural families she was studying and determined Improvement within these families could be seen as a metaphor embodied in ideals of temperance, domesticity and respectability (De Cunzo 2004: 164).

The chapter then developed a model of analysis through the discussions of themes relevant to the identification of Improvement particularly within the recovered archaeology but also within the historical sources. Within these themes, indicators or archaeological signatures are determined that then assist in identifying Improvement. The themes associated
with Improvement identified here are emigration, improving the land, improving house and home, children and education, attitudes to alcohol and tobacco, and health, hygiene and personal grooming. Emigration is considered here an indicator of Improvement but does not leave a tangible archaeological record, aside from the presence of the families on their farmsteads. Therefore, the specifics of emigration are covered in Chapter 3 which centres on the history of the settlement of New Plymouth and the families eventual acquisition of land at Omata.

The remaining themes and associated indicators of Improvement are all concerned with the archaeological analysis, although these are also interwoven with historical analyses. Improving the land is concerned with aspects such as land use history, layout of the farm and types of equipment used. Improving house and home covers a broad spectrum of the domestic unit, and includes the house structure itself, as well as the domesticity contained within. Signatures of Improvement relating to material culture are particularly at the forefront here, such as the analysis of ceramics using the attributes of quality, unity, complexity and fashion. Investigating children and education focuses on the presence of educational equipment, such as writing slates, as well as more informal education that was carried out within the domestic environment, such as toys and use of children’s china. Attitudes to alcohol and tobacco focuses on temperance, or intemperance, towards these recreational drugs. The final category is health, hygiene and personal grooming that may show a concern with physical well-being and presentation, and includes archaeological features such as wells, rubbish pits and animal housing, as well as items such as pharmaceutical bottles and clothing related artefacts. These themes and related archaeological correlates are all explored in the following three chapters that comprise the case study that is the examination of the archaeology of Improvement on the sites of the Jury and Autridge farmsteads in Omata.
3. Improvement, Emigration and the Settlement of New Plymouth

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter provided a theoretical background for the study of Improvement within the context of historical archaeology. This chapter now begins the case study applying these theoretical concerns within the historical context of the colonial settlement of Omata in Taranaki. I use the available documentary evidence to investigate the indicators of Improvement discussed previously, looking at emigration, settling the land, creating a comfortable house and home, participation in education, and attitudes to alcohol. The historical scope here is broad in that it reaches back in time to before the Jury and the Autridge families began their emigration journey and follows them through to their settling in Omata and their experiences during the early phase of the Taranaki wars.

The use of documents in historical archaeology can open the way for a complexity of understanding that cannot be provided if one were to focus on just the historical or archaeological information alone. Evidence from documents and archaeology differ in form, meaning it is not a simple matter of putting them together and coming up with a complete story of the past. Whereas documents, the archaeological record and recovered artefacts are explored and “read” separately, in the end they will be interpreted together (Beaudry 1995: 4). While the historical information and the archaeology might challenge one another, archaeology can fill gaps in our existing historical knowledge, but it can also subvert that existing knowledge by opening up a range of new questions and offering up alternative interpretations of the past (Little 2007: 29).

My rationale for using documents in this research follows that described by archaeologist Laurie Wilkie (2006), that is, for finding people, for understanding the social, political and economic contexts of the time and the place, and for situating the material culture into those contexts. To find and identify individuals and families I have used official documents such as maps, census data, as well as a reliance on today’s descendants through family histories and personal photographs. This combination of information can lead to a rich understanding of the lives lived, although in the case of this research it is perhaps all the more poignant for the lack of personal diaries and letters from the families under study, meaning the little that is known can only be enriched through delving into the archaeology.
The bulk of the historical information in this chapter is about providing an insight into the time and place the research subjects were living in, both in Cornwall, and in Taranaki. For this I have drawn on contemporary reports of life in Cornwall and Taranaki, as well as travel and emigration accounts, newspapers, drawings, and published and unpublished letters from other emigrants. Secondary sources in the form of published histories have also been used, particular in relation to the Taranaki wars. The third aspect of my use of documents, of understanding the material histories and contexts in which the material culture was used, is evident in this chapter particularly through the use of the claims for compensation from the Taranaki Relief Fund. These documents provide indications for the types of goods that were lost during the Taranaki war and are therefore a point through which to test, and be tested against, the archaeological data. The use of documents to understand the social context of the material histories is not restricted to this chapter, but is also carried out in the following two chapters, particularly in that concerning the material culture.

As argued in the previous chapter emigration is considered in this research as a historical indicator of the desire for Improvement. This chapter therefore opens with a section linking emigration to Improvement and provides a background through which the motivations of Edward Gibbon Wakefield are placed into the historical context in which they were constituted. The background to the development of the Plymouth Company and the New Zealand Company is also placed into the context of Improvement and Enlightenment thought of the early 19th century. The following section investigates the settlement of New Plymouth, firstly by Māori and then by the settlers from the Plymouth Company and examines the original Company land purchases and reaction by local Māori. The settlement of New Zealand, and New Plymouth, was driven by the implicit belief in the improving and civilising process of colonization, and this background is crucial to an understanding of what follows in terms of later issues between Māori and Pākehā that culminated in the Taranaki wars.

The next section begins looking at the specifics of the emigrants to New Plymouth, focussing on the types of skills and personal situations that were favoured for receiving assisted emigration by the Plymouth Company. There is then a focus on the two families, the Jurys and the Autridges, and an attempt to tease out their motivations for leaving Cornwall to travel to New Plymouth. The process of actually getting to New Plymouth is examined in the following section, and this looks at the costs involved, for assisted emigration was not entirely free and required a source of financial input. Discussion regarding the journeys by
boat out to New Zealand is restricted to the few shipboard diaries that are available written by passengers who were not usually travelling in steerage, but occasionally made comments regarding their fellow emigrants. Once the emigrants got to New Plymouth their situation was often challenging, and some of what the families faced upon arrival and over the next few years is then discussed.

Settlement of the Omata block of land follows with a discussion of the establishment of the Jury and the Autridge farmsteads on their sections of land, as well as what can be construed from documents regarding their housing. In order to build up a picture of lives lived, also examined here are the types of activities and events available, the nature of the land in Omata, and the types of settlers that moved in and around the Jury and the Autridge farmsteads. Māori response to Pākehā settlement at Omata was in general supportive, and the following section examines the response by Māori to having Europeans in their midst, and development of the Māori economy in the Taranaki region in the period from European settlement up until the war in 1860. In conclusion the events of the first Taranaki war of 1860-1861, in which the homesteads were destroyed, are discussed with a focus on the impact on the lives of families residing at Omata.

3.2. Improvement, Emigration and the Ideas of E.G. Wakefield

“God speed the ship to that far Isle,
Where in the vast Pacific Main
Another Albion seems to smile
And Britons find their homes again”
(New Zealand Journal 5 June 1841: 140)

Between November 1840 and September 1842, six emigrant ships set out from the port of Plymouth bound for the new settlement of New Plymouth, arriving there between March 1841 and January 1843. On board these ships were a total of 1012 emigrants, mostly drawn from the South West of England. This number consisted of 896 men, women and children travelling in steerage and classed as ‘emigrants’, with the remaining number travelling as intermediate and cabin passengers, classed as ‘colonists’ (Dalziel 1991: 115). Steerage passengers came mostly from Devon and Cornwall, with a smaller number from other south west counties including Dorset and Somerset (Dalziel 1991: 115). The lines from the poem above were written for the departure of the Amelia Thompson, the second passenger ship to leave the port of Plymouth bound for the new settlement of New Plymouth in 1841.
The poem is of its time, using elaborately romantic and flowery language, however the author’s vision is clear – the emigrants are considered brave explorers, venturing out to a new land that they will transform into a new and better Britain, a Britain that is reflective of Albion and the abundant times long past.

Organised migration out of Britain gathered momentum particularly after 1830 when the country experienced a rural uprising, known as the Swing riots, after entering a commercial depression following the Napoleonic wars. The participants in these riots were mainly agricultural workers in southern and eastern Britain protesting about low wages, unemployment and the introduction of machinery, and they burned buildings and equipment and injured stock (Dalziel 1986). The rural revolt was a reaction to deepening class division between the landed gentry, farmer and agricultural landless labourers which occurred partly due to decline of yeoman small-holding farming and partly through continued enclosures taking away labourers access to land (Arnold 1979). Dorset, one of the counties the New Zealand Company recruited emigrants from, was also one of the main areas where the riots took place (Dalziel 1986: 6). The revolt had implications for New Zealand immigration (Arnold 1979: 5), with Dalziel arguing that emigration itself was “also a protest, perhaps the ultimate, in which the emigrant family finally cut ties with its home and boarded a ship to sail half the way round the world in the hope of finding a better life” (Dalziel 1986: 7).

Despite years of economic depression there were many who believed that Britain was capable of reform, Improvement and progress including the controversial and notorious man that played a key role in planning the early British colonisation of New Zealand, Edward Gibbon Wakefield (Temple 2002). Progress was visible in the development of science and technology and Britain was at the forefront of industrialisation. The belief was strong that science could transform the world through planning and rational scientific method rather than tradition and customary practice (Temple 2002: 84). It is within the context of potential revolution, scientific discoveries and technological applications, that Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s theories and proposals regarding colonization should be placed (Temple 2002: 121).

The foundations for the New Zealand Company were formulated out of the vision for colonization Edward Gibbon Wakefield had devised whilst in Newgate Prison from 1827 to 1830, for the abduction of heiress Ellen Turner. While in prison Wakefield wrote not only on capital punishment reform (Wakefield 1832), but anonymously wrote and had published “A Letter from Sydney” (Wakefield and Gouger 1829), a fictional account published under
supporter Robert Gouger’s name in order to avoid its central thesis regarding colonization being discredited (Temple 2002: 127). Both these books provided a basis by which Wakefield could attempt his own social and political rehabilitation. His writing on prison reform served to legitimise the theories, put forward in “A Letter from Sydney”, that of using emigration as a means of easing the plight of the poor, and assisting prospects of the “uneasy classes” (Temple 2002: 116). In Newgate Wakefield met prisoners awaiting transportation, and most he felt were “impressed with a belief, that transportation to the colony offers them prospects of wealth and happiness far beyond any that they could indulge if destined to remain” (Wakefield 1832: 199). Wakefield’s writings on colonization were not isolated examples but reflected a wider reappraisal of emigration that saw it as a way of not only easing difficult social and economic conditions in Britain, but as an important means of developing trade and national security overseas (Grant 2003: 474-5). However, where Wakefield’s theory differed from those put forward by the others such as Wilmot-Horton (1829) was that Wakefield promoted his view on emigration as not only providing a solution to the problems of the poor, but also as a way of meeting the needs of the middle classes (Grant 2003: 478-9).

Central to Wakefield’s thinking in “A Letter from Sydney” (Wakefield and Gouger 1829) was his preoccupation with post-Enlightenment civilization (Olssen 1997, 1997). Using the voice of his fictional Sydney immigrant, he wrote that it was possible, through systematic means, to transplant an improved version of pre-industrial Britain to the colonies, if the New Zealand Company sold land at what Wakefield described as a “sufficient price” (Brooking 2004: 44). Crucial to Wakefield’s vision was the balance between land, labour and capital in a new colony, with a concentration of capitalists and labourers. To achieve this concentration, waste land should have a sufficient price fixed on it that would vary according to colonial circumstances. The price should be low enough to attract small and large capitalists, but high enough to prevent speculators. A planned settlement should have both town and country land for sale, and profits from the managed land sales would pay for regulated immigration of labourers. The colony should have the “gentry” classes of emigrants, as this group would lead the emigration of other classes, and affect “the standard of morals and manners” (Wakefield 1969: 830). He argued that “no pains should be spared to teach the labouring classes to regard the colonies as the land of promise”, and also that “children or grandchildren of the highest families in this land” should emigrate to relieve themselves of “a life of dependence and indigence” (Wakefield and Gouger 1829: viii). Also
those “young men and women in the intermediate ranks of life” should look to colonization “as the most certain means of obtaining a comfortable settlement” and “if the poor could be persuaded that it would be better for them to purchase a passage, by binding themselves to serve as bondsmen a few years after their arrival in the colonies, than to wear out an abject and hopeless life at home” then Britain could relieve itself of the encumbrance of a “useless population” (Wakefield and Gouger 1829: ix). Wakefield noted the lost opportunities to create civilization in Australia and America, which were countries instead supposedly defined by their debauchery and crime. Most importantly, he believed it was possible to systematically define and rationally construct particular principles and aspects that were needed to make sure a civilization would succeed (Olssen 1997: 204-5). Edward Gibbon Wakefield believed he had contrived a way of successfully transplanting “civilization into the wilderness” (Olssen 1997: 201).

The origins of Wakefield’s ideas were likely to have been influenced by the upbringing of his grandmother, Priscilla Wakefield, and his father, Edward Wakefield, who were both heavily involved in reform movements in the late 18th and 19th centuries. Priscilla was a Quaker philanthropist, whose help for women and the poor reflected the push for charity and moral Improvement that was entrenched in middle-class consciousness throughout Georgian times in Britain (Temple 2002). This belief in self-improvement played a strong role in the education of her grandchildren and from 1794 she began producing a series of guides for the instruction and educational Improvement of children, including one entitled “Mental Improvement” (Wakefield 1794). In 1802, Edward Gibbon’s father, Edward, published a pamphlet on ways to improve the conditions of the poor, and this also addressed how to alleviate the burden of poor rates on landowners (Wakefield 1802). Edward believed that the classes should be more aware of each other’s virtues and that the higher classes should have a duty to assist the lower classes to attain better habits and conduct. This, like his mother Priscilla’s philosophy, reflected his view that society had “a place for everyone and everyone in their place” (Temple 2002: 17). Wakefield, in a reflection of Enlightenment ideas, believed that it was possible to systematically study and identify the origins and means of civilization, and that it was then possible to rationally plan a new enlightened civilization, modelled on Britain, but an improved one, free from the problems and ills faced by the country and existing colonies (Olssen 1997).

Emigration out of Britain became an attractive option to many, particularly in the three south-west counties of Cornwall, Devon and Dorset, where farmers, agricultural labours
and artisans had been struggling on marginal land. Agricultural labourers in this area were badly paid with little job security, suffering amongst some of the worst conditions in England. Many of the agricultural labourers relied on parish aid in addition to wages, usually paid out when a family had three or more children. Wages were not always paid in money, but it was common to receive food, housing, fuel or cider in kind (Dalziel 1986: 5-6). Emigration also appealed to business men who formed Wakefield’s “uneasy classes”, such as Henry King, who had a company transporting lime sand on the Bude canal (Dalziel 1986: 5). King had been experiencing financial difficulties in Britain and, undoubtedly attracted by the prospect of cheap land and a better lifestyle promoted by the Plymouth Company (Dalziel 1986: 5), arrived in New Zealand on the *Amelia Thompson* in 1841 (Rutherford and Skinner 1940: 237).

### 3.3. Settlement of New Plymouth

*"The Plymouth Company has the garden of this country. All we want is labour...."*

(Carrington 1841 cited in Wells 1878: 58)

The area known as New Plymouth began European occupation as a planned settlement by the Plymouth Company - the organisation formed in Plymouth, England, in 1840 with the explicit purpose of colonization of New Zealand from the West of England (Wells 1878). The Plymouth Company was closely linked to the New Zealand Company, following the same principles of colonization laid out by Edward Gibbon Wakefield. An 1840 publication by the New Zealand Company stated the purpose of the Plymouth Company was to “render available the resources of Devon and Cornwall, and to present to their inhabitants the means of participating in the favourable prospects offered by this new field of colonization” (New Zealand Company 1840: 6). By 1841 the Plymouth Company ran into difficulties and merged with the New Zealand Company, working under the title of The West of England Board (Wells 1878: 59).

Māori had long occupied Taranaki, arriving around 800 years ago, with closer settlement and marked impacts on coastal forests occurring over the past 300 years (Wilmhurst and Higham 2004; Wilmhurst et al. 2004). Current tribal affiliations are based on a series of voyaging canoes (Figure 2). By the end of the 18th century, Taranaki was made up of a number of tribal areas including Te Āti Awa that ranged from Onaero in the north, to Ngāmotu, just south of present day New Plymouth, and Taranaki tribal land that ran from Ngāmotu to Oeo (Lambert and Henry 2000). The study area of Omata falls within the Taranaki tribal area.
Before European settlement some of the Taranaki tribes had been in conflict with one another, as well as with tribes north of Auckland and Waikato. The arrival of muskets into the Northern tribe of Ngā Puhi around 1818 led to an intensification of warfare. In 1819-1820 Ngā Puhi led incursions into Taranaki alongside Ngāti Toa under the leadership of Te Rauparaha (Wright 2011: 86). The impact on the Taranaki tribes eventually caused many to either be taken to the Waikato as slaves or leave and migrate south between 1821 and 1834 (Waitangi Tribunal 1996). By the 1830’s the Māori population in Taranaki had significantly declined due to these departures out of the area, as well as the impact of European diseases brought about by contact with traders and missionaries (Lambert and Henry 2000). While some Māori stayed behind in the area to maintain tribal lands through ahi-kā (Adds 2010: 258), by the time Europeans arrived into Taranaki, many Māori still had not returned to their traditional tribal areas having taken up lands in the southern part of the North Island, the northern Southern Island and the Chatham Islands (Waitangi Tribunal 1996).

The first claimed purchases of land from Māori by the New Zealand Company agents were made in 1839. The New Zealand Company ship, Tory, had been sent from Britain, laden with goods for barter, specifically to begin the process of systematic colonization of New Zealand. Up until this point many Māori, including Te Āti Awa hapū remaining in Taranaki and those that had left to live in Queen Charlotte Sound, had become accustomed to small numbers of Pākehā living in their communities and had experienced the positive benefits of such relationships (Boulton 2004; Mutu 1999). Ngāmotu hapū of Te Āti Awa in Taranaki developed such a relationship with whaler and trader Dicky Barrett. He and his crew of whalers were incorporated into the Māori community, allocated tribal lands and given wives in return for sharing their skills and expertise in whaling and access to trade goods. Dicky Barrett was subsequently hired by William Wakefield in 1839 to act as pilot and interpreter on board the Tory (Boulton 2004; Caughey 1998).
The first agreement to purchase Taranaki lands occurred outside Taranaki, in Queen Charlotte Sound. The New Zealand Company agent, Colonel William Wakefield, negotiated with some chiefs of Te Āti Awa to purchase large amounts of their lands in Taranaki and Wellington (AJHR 1860: 2-3). The basis of this agreement was the hope by Te Āti Awa that they could return to their Taranaki tribal lands safe from further Waikato invasions (Wells 1878: 20). This agreement was followed by another deed of purchase in 1840 with chiefs
residing in Taranaki, that included the areas of Omata and Waireka (AJHR 1860: 3-4). Others however were not in agreement with the sale of Te Āti Awa lands. Even though the young chief Wiremu Kingi Te Rangitake signed the 1839 land sale deed as E. White, his father, Te Āti Awa paramount chief Reretawhangawhanga, when he was dying in the mid-1840’s, elicited a promise from his son that Te Āti Awa would not be separated from their traditional lands (Adds 2010: 258). Claims regarding the validity of these early land purchases were questioned as early as 1842, as discussed further below.

In the meantime however, it was all steam ahead for the Plymouth Company, and by the end of August 1840 they had purchased approximately 60,000 acres of this land off the New Zealand Company, and it was this promise of land that was used as a lure to attract potential emigrants (Lambert and Henry 2000; Tullett 1981). Soon after, an overland expedition set out for Taranaki from Wellington to decide on a potential area for the new town (New Zealand Company West of England Board 1841; Wells 1878). After this expedition returned, Colonel William Wakefield wrote a despatch to the Plymouth Company in England recommending the area for settlement due to the “genial climate and fertile soil, the vast space of easily available territory”, stating “I cannot but recommend Taranaki as the most eligible place for the settlement of her offspring” (Wakefield 1840 cited in Wells 1878: 50-1). Wakefield then received notification to assist the Company surveyor, Frederick A. Carrington, to return to Taranaki and select and survey the area for the new settlement. In February 1841 the survey ship “Brougham” was sent from Port Nicholson for this purpose, carrying about 60 people on board as well as a cargo of prefabricated houses (New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator 13 February 1841: 2). The surveyors noted the potential in the fertile soils around the Waitara river. Carrington stated his initial idea to have the town situated there but for the rough surf at the bar of the river. Instead he decided to situate the town at “a beautiful spot” between the Huatoki and Henui rivers (New Zealand Company West of England Board 1841: 10; Wells 1878: 58). A statement in the New Zealand Gazette suggested the 60 people on board the Brougham were enough for Taranaki to be “considered as colonized” (New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator 13 February 1841: 2).

Meanwhile, even before the town of New Plymouth had been surveyed, the Plymouth Company was making plans to send the first ship of emigrants aboard the William Bryan. To this end a dinner was held for the emigrants at which Edward Gibbon Wakefield was present, and the emigrants were all promised the gift of a town section upon arrival (Rutherford and Skinner 1940: xvii; Wells 1878: 59). The William Bryan set sail on 19 November 1840,
finally disembarking on 31 March 1841 (Weekes 1841 cited in Rutherford and Skinner 1940: 40). Houses had been constructed by Māori in preparation for the immigrants arrival, and were described as being between 90 and 140 feet long, 18 feet wide, with the longest having seven doors, with a “crude verandah” in front (New Zealand Company West of England Board 1841: 13). The construction of these buildings, which are illustrated below in a drawing by Charles Heaphy in 1843 (Figure 3), were in a European barracks style, and the construction of them was said to have distracted Māori to the point of neglecting their own gardening activities (New Zealand Company West of England Board 1841: 13).

Between 1841 and 1842 a further five ships left the port of Plymouth bound for New Plymouth. After the William Bryan, the Amelia Thompson departed Plymouth on 25 March 1841, arriving 3 September 1841; the Oriental departed 22 June 1841, arriving 7 November 1841; the Timandra, departing 2 November 1841, arriving 23 February 1842; the Blenheim, departing 2 July 1842, arriving 19 November 1842; the Essex, departing 3 September 1842, arriving 20 January 1843 (Rutherford and Skinner 1940: 236-47). The 920 passengers on these ships, together with those from the survey ship Brougham, formed the core population around which the new settlement was focussed.

However, from the early stages of the colonial settlement of New Zealand, concerns were raised regarding the nature of the land sale agreements. In response to doubts about the New Zealand Company land titles received from Governor Hobson, William Spain was appointed land claims commissioner in 1841, and was sent from England to investigate the claimed purchases of land by the New Zealand Company. He began working from Wellington in May 1842 and eventually, in 1844, after finding the only valid purchases were those for New Plymouth and Manawatu, nevertheless awarded all the claimed land to the New Zealand Company, with compensation to Māori. The only lands he did not award to the New Zealand Company were the Manawatu and Porirua districts due to increasing Māori resistance (Burns 1989: 170; Lambert and Henry 2000: 33; Tonk 1990: 402).
It is probable that Māori that had “sold” their lands had an expectation of Pākehā settlement similar to that which had gone before – one of positive mutual benefits along the lines of the relationship between Dicky Barrett and Ngāmotu hapū of Te Āti Awa (Boulton 2004: 55). Wharepouri, a Ngāmotu chief, upon seeing large numbers of settlers arriving at Port Nicholson and hearing of large numbers arriving back to his tribal lands in Taranaki to which he was about to return, expressed his concerns with William Wakefield at the reality of the unfolding situation:

“I know that we sold you the land, and that no more White people have come to take it than you told me. But I thought you were telling lies, and that you had not so many followers. I thought you would have nine or ten…… I thought that I could get one placed at each pa, as a White man to barter with the people and keep us well supplied with arms and clothing; and that I should be able to keep these White men under my hand and regulate their trade myself. But I see that each ship holds two hundred, and I believe, now, that you have more coming. They are all well armed; and they are
strong of heart, for they have begun to build their houses without talking. They will be
too strong for us; my heart is dark. Remain here with your people; I will go with mine
to Taranaki.” (Wakefield 1845: 202-3)

The upholding of the Company purchase of Taranaki’s original 60,000 acres was
supported by the settlers in New Plymouth, unsurprisingly however it upset Māori. The chief
protector of aborigines, George Clarke was supportive of Māori in this cause, and was
concerned enough to write to recently appointed Governor Robert FitzRoy expressing his
concerns that Māori may resort to fighting for their land. Clarke also encouraged Wiremu
Kingi of Te Āti Awa to write to FitzRoy in protest. FitzRoy, who had been dealing with war
in the Bay of Islands, then proceeded his own investigation of the claims. In August 1844 he
reversed Spain’s ruling, and after negotiations with Māori, decreased the purchase to a block
of land of 3,500 acres around New Plymouth, known as the Fitzroy Block (Burns 1989: 272-

In 1845 Robert FitzRoy was replaced as governor by George Grey (Adams 1986: 44),
who was instructed to reassess Commissioner Spain’s awards and deal in a firm manner with
Māori. Grey hastily abolished the Protectorate Department in 1846, believing it to be an
impediment to quick land purchases (Waitangi Tribunal 1996) and authorised repurchasing
from Māori as much of the original land as possible, while depositing Māori onto native
reserves (Boulton 2004; Lambert and Henry 2000: 33).

The first two purchases after the Fitzroy Block was acquired were of the Tataraimaka
Block and the Omata Block to the south west of New Plymouth (Figure 4) in 1847. This was
in land that was part of the original Taranaki transaction (Waitangi Tribunal 1996). The
Omata block of 12,000 acres was purchased from Taranaki iwi on 30 August 1847 for £400
cash and a cask of tobacco (Turton 1878: 12). This purchase was followed by the purchase
from Ngāmotu hapū of Te Āti Awa iwi of the Grey Block of 9,770 acres for £390, and in
1848 Te Hua (Cooke’s Farm) Block, 100 acres, purchased for cattle. The 1500 acre Bell
Block was purchased in 1848 for £200 from the Puketapu hapū of Te Āti Awa iwi by Francis
Dillon Bell as the New Zealand Company agent (Carrington 1848; Turton 1878: 20). It was
subsequently surveyed and subdivided by Carrington in 1849 (Carrington 1849), although, as
the land purchase was subject to dispute, the Bell Block was not opened for sale until 10
January 1853 (Taranaki Herald 8 December 1852: 1).
Figure 4 1850 Plan of Taranaki Land Purchases and Native Reserves 1844-1847 (Turton 1878)
3.4. The Emigrants 1840-1843

Most of the first wave of emigrants to New Plymouth between 1840 and 1843 came from the south-western counties of Britain, particularly Devon, Cornwall and Dorset (Dalziel 1991). Potential migrants were sold the notion of New Zealand as being a place where their lives could only get better, meaning for those that chose to make the move, Improvement was a significant motivating factor (Hudson 2001). As discussed previously, the theoretical basis for systematic colonization of New Zealand divided potential emigrants into three classes - the Gentry classes to provide the moral backbone of the new society, the landowners, who would employ the labourers, and the labouring classes. The idea was that land would be sold at a “sufficient price” that meant only some could afford to buy it. The labourers would work for the land owners for a number of years with the lure being that they could eventually buy their own land - a situation that was near impossible for labourers in Britain.

Emigration, as part of the Improvement project, was widely promoted and advertised as a solution to the ills of British society (Figure 5). However, it was not about “shovelling out paupers”, rather there was often a strong element of active choice in making the decision where to go (Haines 1997). In addition, the immigrants to New Zealand under the Company emigration schemes, mostly from Wakefield’s labouring and “uneasy” middle classes, would already have been well versed in the Enlightenment concept of Improvement. As discussed in the previous chapter, from the 18th century the notion was well established in Britain that it was possible to make Improvements in commerce, manufacturing, transport, towns, houses, arts, agriculture, and in ‘improving’ conditions of the poor (Girouard 1990: 86). Improvement in the 19th century was considered a moral duty and the responsibility of improving your personal conditions and moral self was regarded as an “ethical imperative” (Tarlow 2007: 16).

The subjects of the research presented here, the Jury family and the Autridge family, were both from an area of North Cornwall that was targeted by the Plymouth Company for emigration recruitment. Cornwall in particular experienced large numbers of people migrating overseas throughout the 19th century, with New Zealand being a chosen destination for many (Phillips and Hearn 2008: 96). The Cornish had already established themselves as a mobile culture through mining in England and Wales in the 18th century and had developed what Philip Payton describes as a “culture of mobility” (Payton 2005: 17). The Cornish especially were ready to embrace the newly constructed culture of emigration brought about through British colonial expansion and they left in huge numbers for overseas
shores in what became known as the “Great Emigration” spanning from 1815 until after World War One (Payton 2005).


Preferred emigrants for the Plymouth Company were generally not recruited from the poorest social groups in Britain – only 67 parish-assisted pauper emigrants immigrated to New Zealand up until 1847 (Payton 2005: 76) - but were married younger couples, under 40, with proof of marriage, trade, health and good character (Plymouth Company of New Zealand 1840). Requirements and acceptable trades were outlined in advertising material of which an example is illustrated below in Figure 6. In Cornwall, emigration was considered to be a significant improving cause by government agents and officials. This belief in Improvement provided justification for taking a liberal approach towards interpretation of regulations for assisted emigration, allowing and even encouraging applicants to provide misleading information regarding particular attributes such as occupation or age, and “bending the rules” to fit when necessary (Payton 2005: 76).
EMISSION TO NEW ZEALAND.—The Directors of the Plymouth Company of New Zealand hereby give notice, that they are ready to receive applications for a free passage to the intended settlement of New Plymouth in New Zealand, from Agricultural Labourers, Shepherds, Miners, Gardeners, Brickmakers, Mechanics, Handicraftsmen and Domestic Servants, being married, and not exceeding forty years of age—also, from Single Females under the care of near relatives, and Single Men accompanied by one or more adult sisters, not exceeding, in either case, the age of thirty years. Strict enquiry will be made as to qualifications and character.

The Directors have appointed Capt. Henry King, R.N., their principal superintendent and agent in the Colony, and will despatch their first expedition of emigrants under his charge not later than the last week in October next.

Further particulars, and printed forms of application, may be obtained at the Company’s Office, No. 5, Octagon, Plymouth, or of any of the agents.

By Order of the Board,

THOS. WOOLLCOMBE, Secretary.

Dated 18th July, 1840.

Figure 6 Emigration Recruitment Notice (New Zealand Journal, London, Saturday 18 July 1840: 172)

The Plymouth Company recognized the importance of emigrating together and potential immigrants were recruited from a limited number of villages by the Plymouth Company so that they had “the pleasure of improving their circumstances among their own family and friends” (Plymouth Journal, 5 November 1840, cited in Dalziel 1991: 116). The four major areas of recruitment by the Plymouth Company within Cornwall, Devon and Dorset are illustrated in Figure 7. The result of drawing recruits from this narrow area was that many of the emigrants travelling together in the first six ships were either from family groups, or would have known each other as friends and neighbours. A letter published in the New Zealand Journal giving an account of the passengers on the Amelia Thompson to New Plymouth reported how most of the steerage passengers were known to each other, and how gratifying it was to “see so good a company of useful tradesmen and labourers leaving our shores under such favourable auspices” (New Zealand Journal 27 March 1841: 81).
Both the Jury family and the Autridge family came from the area of North Cornwall marked as (1) in Figure 7, and this area on the Cornwall/Devon border was the first major area of recruitment for the Plymouth Company (Dalziel 1991: 116). The Jury family were residing in the town of Launceston, and the Autridges in the nearby village of Boyton in North Cornwall. Figure 8 shows the numbers of people that emigrated from each village or town in this North Cornwall area, and how many of these were on each ship. The village of Boyton had the highest number of migrants from this area. The Street family, who were the subject of previous archaeological research in Taranaki, also came from Boyton (Adamson and Bader 2008).
The head of the Jury family was Justinian Jury, born in 1798, baptised in Ashburton in Devon, and was married to Elizabeth Hoskin in 1825 also in Ashburton. While he was baptised with the name Justinian he also used the name Jefsetus, and was known more commonly as Jesse. When he married Elizabeth his occupation was recorded as “sojourner”, but on the baptism of his first born son John in 1826 his occupation is recorded as a soldier based at Warehorn in Kent. The second surviving child born was Elizabeth Ann, born in 1829 (Jury n.d.: 10), and then Richard was born in 1832 in Launceston, Cornwall. James Jury was born and baptised in Launceston in 1835 and Thomas Jury was born in 1837 in Launceston, and on both these baptism records Jesse’s occupation given as “labourer” (Cornwall Online Parish Clerks). Henry Justin Jury was born in 1839 also in Launceston (Jury n.d.), but not baptised until 1840. By this time Jesse’s occupation was listed as being a
sawyer. The place of residence for these births in Launceston is listed as being at Back Lane (Cornwall Online Parish Clerks).

The market town of Launceston, with its Norman castle now in ruins, was the ancient capital of Cornwall until 1835 (Robbins 1888). The area was surrounded by a number of small villages, and intermarriage and movement between the towns and villages of the area was common (Dalziel 1991: 119). The town was described in 1830 as being unimportant, but “respectable and flourishing” with a much improved appearance and “materially augmented” conveniences (Pigot & Co. 1830: 146). Back Lane, where the Jurys resided, was later named Tower Street (Robbins 1888), a name it retains today (Figure 9 and Figure 10). The lane was close to the centre of the town and seems to have been a lively, largely working class, area. In 1830 the Jurys shared Back Lane with carpenters, blacksmiths, a rope and twine maker, as well as with the gentleman Robert Knott (Pigot & Co. 1830: 147). A Wesleyan chapel (Robbins 1888: 283), and a “pleasure house” also occupied the lane between at least 1831 and 1841, later becoming the site of the Tower Street Bible Christian Chapel (Launceston Methodist Circuit 1841; Methodist Archives and Research Centre 1831). The Anglican parish Church of Saint Mary Magdalene was (and still is) situated on the corner of Back Lane (Tower Street) and Market Street.

Figure 9 "Back Lane" now Tower St, 2012. Photo by Heather Jury
The Jury’s religious following was Church of England rather than Methodist, as many from Cornwall were. Being Church of England was not unusual for this part of Cornwall, as Methodism and its non-conformist offshoots were mostly restricted to the west of the county where there was a strong following amongst the Cornish miners. Despite the best efforts of the Bible Christians to gain a following, the Anglican church still had a firm hold in the rural eastern areas of Cornwall due to the strong structure of the parish, (Hempton 2005: 27). Launceston had a history of carrying out “useful social and religious work” (Robbins 1888: 289) and it was here in 1801 where the dissenting minister Reverend Richard Cope, LL.D. founded the first Sunday School in Cornwall, the Castle Street Union of Sunday Schools (Robbins 1888: 290).

Very little is known about the lives of the Jury family during their residence in Launceston. It is likely, given the occupation of Jesse Jury as labourer or sawyer, and the place of residence of the family, that they lived in the type of overcrowded housing that was causing concern to the medical officers sent to report on the sanitary conditions of the labouring poor. Much of the housing in the Launceston area, as discussed in the previous chapter, was sub-standard with as few as one in ten being weather proof (Gilbert 1842: 11).
However a snippet of information from a family bible gives a glimpse into what the family’s values and aspirations may have been. The bible, in possession of the Jury family in New Zealand today, has the inscription, dated 1831, “Presented to John Jury, Launceston Sunday School” (Jury n.d.: 15). John would have been about five years old at the time. The Anglican church, St Mary Magdalene, had its own Sunday School (Robbins 1888: 292), and it was most likely here, just around the corner from home in Back Lane, that John received the education that taught him to read and write. This situates the labouring class Jury family firmly within the ideology of this time of Improvement through education.

Clearly the balance between conditions in England and the promise of a better life to be achieved through emigration was weighted enough for Jesse and Elizabeth Jury to choose the offer of a free passage to one of the new colonies. Jesse was recorded on 3 September 1840 as applying first to South Australia. His occupation is listed as a sawyer, and his age is given as 40, with his wife as aged 31 (Public Records Office Colonial Office 1840-1841). Being born in January 1798 means that Jesse Jury would actually have been 42 years old at the time of this application, so there is an age discrepancy here that may have contributed to him not embarking to South Australia. It is possible the New Zealand option appealed more to the family, although Jesse’s age on the passenger list for the ship William Bryan that took him to New Plymouth in November 1840 listed his age as 37 and his wife as 32 years (New Zealand Company [Plymouth Company] 1840). It seems possible he was considered to be too old for South Australia, applied for New Zealand and reduced his age, either by lying about it, or it was reduced by the agent in charge of recruiting emigrants. However others on board the William Bryan were older, with one man recorded as being 50, and his wife 47, but even these ages may have been understated (New Zealand Company [Plymouth Company] 1840). Dalziel gives an example of William and Jenefer George who gave their ages as 50 and 49 to the Company when they were at least 58 and 57 respectively (Dalziel 1991: 123). This is a good example of “bending the rules” in order to promote Improvement through emigration as described previously (Payton 2005: 76).

3.4.2. The Autridge Family

Charles Autridge was baptised in December 1813 in the parish of Boyton, a village about 10km north of Launceston close to the River Tamar and the border with Devon. Most of Boyton was within Cornwall, although the hamlet of Northcott crossed into the county of Devon (White 1850: 780). The village, like most around the area, had a focus on farming, even though the soil was poor (Dalziel 1991: 119). In 1831 there were 452 people recorded,
and despite migration it has had a reasonably stable population with a 2001 population count of 378 people (GENUKI 2012).

Charles’ parents were Humphry and Susanna Autridge, and at the time of Charles’ baptism, Humphry’s occupation was listed as a Yeoman (Cornwall Online Parish Clerks). Charles married Ann Box in Boyton on 2 April 1835 (Cornwall Online Parish Clerks), and son John was baptised in November 1835. At this time Charles’ occupation is listed as Labourer residing in Boyton (Cornwall Online Parish Clerks). Charles first wife Ann died in 1838 aged just 26 (Cornwall Online Parish Clerks). Like the Jurys, the Autridges religious affiliation at the time was Church of England, and Ann is buried in the parish church in Boyton.

Charles remarried on 7 March 1841 shortly before he, his new wife Frances (nee Palmer) and son John departed for New Zealand on the Amelia Thompson on 25 March 1841. At the time of Charles’ marriage to Frances, his occupation was still listed as an agricultural labourer, but his father Humphry was by then a Victualler in Boyton (Cornwall Online Parish Clerks), and later 1841 and 1851 census records show that he was the Innkeeper at the Duchy Arms in Boyton (Cornwall Online Census Project 2006). It is not known where Charles and his son John were living, but they would have been either with his parents in the Duchy Arms (Figure 11), or in a labourer’s cottage either in or on the outskirts of the village (Figure 12).

That Charles married Frances Palmer just two weeks before they departed on the Amelia Thompson was not particularly unusual. Dalziel states that ten couples of those travelling on the first six ships were married at least two months before their departure, with the closest being just four days before setting sail (Dalziel 1991: 123). Two weeks before leaving however is cutting it fine by any standards, and although being married was an important consideration for emigration officials, it is difficult to know whether Charles and Frances were marrying for this reason, or whether the opportunity to emigrate and start a new life coincided with their wedding, as was the case with many young emigrating couples (Dalziel 1991).

Like many of the migrants, the Autridges left England surrounded by kin and friends. Accompanying Charles and Frances for the voyage on the Amelia Thompson was the man who was a witness at both Charles’ marriages, Richard Grylls, and who had married Charles’ sister Ann. Clearly the two families were close, and an example of the types of family and friendship groups favoured by the Company for emigrating (Dalziel 1991).
Figure 11 The "Duchy Arms" now known as "Temperance Farm" in Boyton village 2008.

Figure 12 Boyton village cottages 2008.
Charles’ occupation is listed on the emigration list for the *Amelia Thompson* as agricultural labourer (New Zealand Company [Plymouth Company] 1841). This was the main category of occupation amongst male migrants to New Plymouth, but the preference by the Company for agricultural workers could have led to some over-reporting of this occupation if one did not have any other skills. Dalziel (1991) records two men who had described themselves as “gentlemen” on their wedding certificates two months before emigrating from Devon, who were then listed as agricultural labourers on the emigration passenger lists. She makes the point that, with their father being a captain in the Royal Navy, it “seems certain their farming skills were recently acquired” (Dalziel 1991: 128). It is probable that many of those with occupations as agricultural labourers had little or no farming skills. A labourer could have also been working in an urban, rather than rural environment, and there were complaints from Australia that many of the labourers who secured free passage had little or no agricultural experience, and instead were probably unskilled general labourers (Erickson 1990: 27). Most of the other male emigrants to New Plymouth that were not labourers were recorded as having skills as craftsmen, such as sawyers (such as Jesse Jury), blacksmiths, wheelwrights, shoemakers. Women’s occupations were rarely described, and when done so were usually listed as domestic or farm servants. Charles’ friend Richard Grylls was listed as carpenter (New Zealand Company [Plymouth Company] 1841), as were nearly 10% of the male immigrants (Dalziel 1991: 128).

### 3.5. The Journey to New Plymouth

Even with a free passage there were still considerable financial costs associated with migrating. While children of parents seven years and under received a free passage along with their parents, older children could only be accepted for emigration after their parents, friends, or the Parish had paid three pounds per child before embarkation. For families such as the Jurys, with 4 children aged between 7 and 15, this would have been a substantial amount of money. While some would have received parish assistance with these costs, the Jurys probably met the cost of the children’s travel themselves, as stated in their first application for emigration to South Australia (Public Records Office Colonial Office 1840-1841).

In addition the migrants also had to make their own way to the port of Plymouth in Devon, accommodate themselves until they could embark, as well as provide themselves with a full “emigrants’ outfit”, and a scaled down outfit for any children (Figure 13). The outfit,
including regulation bedding, had to be purchased from a Company outfitter, and again the costs would not have been inconsiderable. In total, each adult was allowed to take half a tonne, or twenty cubic feet, of baggage, including their own tools of trade – this is essentially a large crate, measuring only $0.57m^3$, enough for a few personal items on top of the outfit but probably not much more (Plymouth Company of New Zealand 1840: 16-9). A simple brass candlestick, now in the Puke Ariki collections, travelled in steerage with the agricultural labourer Samuel Revell and his wife Elizabeth on board the William Bryan and is evocative of a desire to bring to New Plymouth what small personal items one could (Puke Ariki, New Plymouth, accession number PA2006.307).

**Figure 13 Scale of Emigrants’ Outfit** (Plymouth Company of New Zealand 1840: 18-9)

By 1841, as a result of concerns that people of the labouring classes were missing out on the opportunity of a free passage to New Plymouth due to the costs of providing the outfit, other fundraising efforts were undertaken by the philanthropic community of Plymouth. As the New Zealand Company had made it clear they would not supply clothing, a group of people sent on the Timandra a quantity of linen that was to be made into clothing by women during the voyage with the intention that, as a reward for being so industrious, they be able to retain some of what they have made, thereby easing their financial burden. The remainder of the clothing was to be sold in New Plymouth to fund Improvement projects such as setting up
a “Mechanics’ Institute, a Library, and Schools for the working classes, and for the gratuitous education of native children” (West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser 26 November 1841). In December 1841 a New Zealand ball took place, at the Theatre Royal in Plymouth. This was to celebrate the first anniversary of the departure of the first settlers to New Plymouth, as well as to raise funds for those labourers who could not take up the offer of a free passage because of the costs of an outfit (West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser 26 November 1841). The ball featured a raised “Moving Diorama”, which showed various “objects of interest” including the site of New Plymouth, which was greeted with loud applause. Dancing to the newly composed “Taranaki Waltzes” continued until two in the morning (West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser 31 December 1841).

Shipboard diaries from the first voyages to New Plymouth are few and far between, with most accounts unsurprisingly being written by paying cabin passengers rather than steerage passengers. Surgeon-Superintendent on the William Bryan, Dr Henry Weekes, wrote an account of his voyage to New Plymouth, commenting upon embarkation on the woeful state of many of the emigrants upon arriving at Plymouth. He questioned how they were possibly going to fit with all their luggage and on average four children per couple into the “little dark places called berths” (Weekes in Rutherford and Skinner 1940: 11). The Jurys must have fitted into this scene, with their six children in tow. Ships surgeons were given the task of ensuring the wellbeing of the passengers both steerage and cabin, and Dr Weekes was paid for every passenger who disembarked successfully, with extra for every birth on board, and money deducted for every death. Adult steerage passengers were given ½ lb of meat per day, plus other items such as dried biscuit, flour, sugar, potatoes, tea, coffee, butter and pickled cabbage (Plymouth Company of New Zealand 1840: 21). The emigrants on the William Bryan spent Christmas on board, with steerage passengers receiving extra rations of raisins, flour, preserved meat and alcohol. Cabin passengers had six courses, and ate “daily like princes” (Weekes in Rutherford and Skinner 1940: 23).

Many of the emigrant ships had informal schools on board, and a school was started on the William Bryan, with the Cabin passengers assisting the schoolmaster to teach the emigrants’ children. Boys were learning to read and write with books and slates, and the girls were sitting in a circle with their needlework. There was some illness on board, however the journey was a success for Weekes, with the loss of no people, apart from a child at birth who was buried at sea (Weekes in Rutherford and Skinner 1940). The journey had taken 140 days and upon arrival at New Plymouth, which was without a harbour, boats were sent from shore.
to collect the emigrants. Weekes records they were somewhat reluctant to leave the security of the ship, and had to be enticed by placing the children into the boats first (Weekes in Rutherford and Skinner 1940: 40).

Cabin passengers on the *Amelia Thompson* were treated to a farewell dinner on 19th March 1841, and to celebrate the departure the poem “God Speed the Ship”, was written by Mr Henry Sewell Stokes of Truro, from which the quote earlier in this chapter is taken (*West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser* 30 April 1841). John Newland, who was a builder and travelled with his wife Frances and four children in steerage on the *Amelia Thompson*, wrote a shipboard diary in which he recorded mostly births, deaths and the weather. The *Amelia Thompson* took over five months to reach New Plymouth, and stopped for a time at Bahia in Brazil for refreshment of supplies (Rutherford and Skinner 1940). The landing of the passengers from the *Amelia Thompson* was fraught with difficulty as two of the boats carrying the emigrants travelled to shore in the dark, and came upon rocks. The passengers were rescued by local Māori, although some money and goods were lost (Rutherford and Skinner 1940: 102).

Many of the comments made by diarists regarding the steerage passengers were patronising and often quite disparaging. Sydney Wright was a cabin passenger on board the *Blenheim* and writes of observing the emigrants singing hymns and psalms as “a most pleasant sight amongst so many rough men to find them so religiously disposed” (Wright 1842). Charles Armitage Brown, friend of the poet Keats, who sailed on the *Oriental* had many observations to make regarding the steerage passengers. He seemed to have a concern with sloth and laziness amongst them, while not doing much himself aside from observing his fellow passengers:

“I often notice from my seat on the poop the proceedings of the free emigrants and speculate on the probable consequences. With few exceptions they are slothful to excess. Having nothing to do it is evident they think themselves suddenly transformed into ladies and gentlemen and as such, always becoming to be slothful…….. When I further amused myself in observing that the exceptions consisted of the most respectable emigrants, who continued to find occupation, some in acting as servants, some as tailors, work women, or shoe-maker, some in keeping clean and well polished the Captains firearms - for all which they were paid, some in one way, some in another, besides being relieved from the unhappiness of sloth.” (Brown 1841)
Rutherford and Skinner recorded recollections by Sarah Hellier who travelled in steerage with her parents on board the *Oriental*. She recalled the emigrant’s area being divided into three, with the single men and single women separated by the married quarters. The quarters consisted of tiers of bunks around the walls of the ship with a central table which was pulled up to the ceiling when not being used. There seemed to be little privacy apart from curtains around the bunks, and she thought the food was good for the time (Rutherford and Skinner 1940: 170).

It would seem the worst voyage on these first six ships was experienced by those passengers travelling on the *Timandra*. Two weeks into the journey the ships surgeon reported difficulties amongst the emigrants relating to foul language and insubordination. Denominational divisions arose between non-conformists and Church of England passengers that set the groups against each other, and there was substantial upset and conflict regarding the surgeon conducting post-mortems on passengers that died (Dalziel 1986). Dalziel argues the order for post-mortems may have lain with Edward Gibbon Wakefield’s utilitarian beliefs where post-mortems were argued essential to advance medicinal and scientific knowledge – the desire for reason and progress countermanded any fears and hostility based upon deeply held beliefs and rituals surrounding death expressed by the migrants. However protest by the *Timandra* emigrants eventually stopped the post mortems being carried out, and further burials were carried out at sea without the bodies being dissected and examined (Dalziel 1986: 9-10).

### 3.6. Life in the “New” Plymouth

As mentioned previously, passengers from the *William Bryan* had arrived to pre-built accommodation houses, although these were for short term use only. Labourers were allotted a small section of land at a low rental, with permission to have it for two years, after which they had to either give it up or pay an increased rent to the Company (New Zealand Company. West of England Board 1842: 27). By the time the *Amelia Thompson* and the *Oriental* arrived, most of the first emigrants were living in whare in their allotted sections in part of New Plymouth then called Devonport, which is the area around the junction of Queen Street and St Aubyn Street (Wells 1878: 71). Most of the passengers off the *Amelia Thompson* were housed with other families in the short term until accommodation was built (Rutherford and Skinner 1940: 102).
Wages were set for the labourers at 5 shillings per day, and 7 shillings per day for the skilled mechanics (New Zealand Company. West of England Board 1842: 27). Early accounts such as those by Weekes describe the building of houses and the work of cultivating wheat and other plants such as radishes, turnips and lettuces (Rutherford and Skinner 1940). The fertile and rich nature of Taranaki soil drew the comment that the “agricultural labourers say there is no gentleman's garden in England anything to surpass it” (New Zealand Company. West of England Board 1842: 29).

After representing the New Zealand Company interests in Spain’s land investigations Edward Jerningham Wakefield travelled from Wanganui to New Plymouth in 1843. He described seeing “some smiling gardens, neatly hedged and ditched; a forge; a row of labourers’ cottages; some cob houses in various stages of progress” on his approach into New Plymouth (Wakefield 1845: 350). He described the population of New Plymouth as seeming to be

“a particularly happy set of people. As they are little troubled with politics, I rarely saw many of them in the town, which is as dull a place, except to look at, as you can imagine. But on going to their little farms……I found them hard at work, delighted with the fertility of the soil which they were turning over, with hardly a complaint to make, and spending homely English evenings round a huge farm-house chimney; rising early, and not long out of their beds after their tea and pipes. I could not help reflecting……that New Zealand is just the country for people like these, the better class of English yeoman.” (Wakefield 1845: 351).

However romantic these scenes described by Wakefield were, circumstances for the first settlers in New Plymouth were far from straightforward, and there was rapid disillusionment with leadership of the settlement, access to food, and much promised employment (Dalziel 1986). As discussed previously, the counties from which the emigrants to New Plymouth originated were those with a tradition of protest and uprising, and it did not take long for the first complaints and strikes by the labourers to hit the new settlement. The responses to employment difficulties, low wages, food shortages, and the concern that promises made were not being kept were part of the suite of cultural baggage the migrants brought with them from the ‘old world’, and this continuation of the tradition of protest became prevalent during the early years of the New Plymouth settlement (Dalziel 1986: 3-4). Weekes records a strike in July 1841 for better wages than the 5 shillings per day, barely three months after landing. By the time of the petition to New Zealand Company agent
Wicksteed written by Thomas Shute in May 1842 (Figure 15) wages had increased, but still were not at the levels promised by the Company, and the situation the labourers found themselves in was, according to the petition, worse off than they were in England, and living in penury and want. Shute later declared many of the labourers desired to be speedily removed to Auckland (Shute 22 May 1842).

Figure 14 View of the Site of New Plymouth by Walmsley 1842 (New Zealand Company. West of England Board. 1842:2).

While the Company assurances of employment and wages created high expectations amongst the labourers, relief through work was given at subsistence levels only - it would seem these promises were a reflection of existing Poor Laws back in Britain. The principal Agent of the Company received instructions that no emigrant was to be allowed to become destitute, but that they should not expect more than “bare subsistence” (Dalziel 1986: 14; Ward 12 September 1839). This approach was aimed at encouraging the labourers to seek other employment from private capitalists, presumably for better conditions and wages (Dalziel 1986: 15). However the lack of capitalists in New Plymouth, and the initially high confidence the labourers had in the promises of the Company, meant that many of the first settlers were disillusioned with what was on offer. However, only 23 labourers signed
Shute’s original petition, and neither Jesse Jury nor Charles Autridge was one of those signatories. For whatever reason, clearly the avenue of protest did not cross all paths.

Figure 15 Extract from Labourers’ Petition to Wicksteed (Labourers’ of New Plymouth 14 May 1842: Archives New Zealand, Wellington, NZC308)
A transcript of the above extract from the petition is featured below.

“New Plymouth May 14\textsuperscript{th}/42

To \underline{__________} Wicksteed Esq. Principal Agent for the New Zealand Company New Plymouth District of Taranaki.

Sir, We the undersigned Labourers of this settlement having left our native land with a view of improving our condition and that of our families by reason of promises held out to us by the acting agent of the then Plymouth Company of New Zealand, that the wages we should receive on our arrival here would be 1 Pound Sterling and rations per week from the company if no better could be obtained.

We therefore beg to lay before you our sad and serious disappointment that instead of 1 Pound with rations it is only 16 Shillings and rations which on taking an average of the families of Labourers to be 4 children coupled with the high rents clothing tools and medical aid places the Labourer in worse circumstances than in England.

We most earnestly hope that by your kind interference which we humbly entreat, may save us from approaching distress and that by leaving the case in your Hands we may gain redress and be enabled to live in credit and respect rather than penury and want.

Signed……..”

The author of the petition, Thomas Shute, seems to have developed a reputation in the settlement – in 1848 his wife was described as “earning a good deal” but he was seen as being “very lazy”. The document this comment occurs in states that of 67 labourers who were given a town section on 3 April 1843, 28 had left the settlement by 1848, and provides a list of those who had built and fenced their property and were therefore most likely to pay for their section. Julien [sic] (presumably Richard Julian) was described as “a very good labourer, and constant employ”; Richards was “working on the beach, wife earns a deal of money”; Parker “a Sawyer - wife keeps a school - well off”. The comment relating to Street (Joseph) was that as a mechanic (he was a wheelwright and “rough carpenter”) no section was allotted to him, which would suggest differences in assistance by the Company dependent on whether one had skills or not (New Zealand Company 18 January 1848).

The personal comments described in the above document regarding the labourers and their wives positions make interesting reading – it is one of the few documents available that states what labourers wives were doing in their own right, and suggests that there was an expectation that women of the labouring classes had an active role to play in contributing
financially to the family’s position. For working-classes, the reality was that women sometimes had to work outside the home, and in a colonial situation like New Zealand, women tended to help with whatever work was available and necessary. Working hard and earning money ensured respectability within the settlement and fitted with the key tenets of the New Zealand Company’s route to upward mobility through industriousness and thriftiness. No doubt many of the labourer’s wives of New Plymouth were also doing double the work duty in the domestic role as well as that of earning money by whatever means.

Labourers’ letters also offer insights into the early days of the new settlement. Many of these were published in Britain by the New Zealand Journal, a newspaper published between 1840-1852 and not owned or run by the New Zealand Company but definitely with Company interests – so much so it was described by the contemporary newspaper The New Zealander as “a paper notoriously unscrupulous in its advocacy of the interests of the New Zealand Company” (The New Zealander 22 August 1846: 2). The purpose of the New Zealand Journal was explicitly to inform about colonisation, and one of the objectives was to publish original contributions from people in the colonies, so the occurrence of the emigrants’ letters in this publication is in accordance with this aim (Middleton 2010: 64). The New Zealand Company then published some extracts from these already published letters in two publications “Latest Information from the Settlement of New Plymouth” (New Zealand Company. West of England Board 1842) and “Letters from Settlers and Labouring Emigrants” (New Zealand Company 1843). While private letters sent home to Britain were often widely circulated and passed around, and the contents show they were often intended to be shared, whether they were expecting them to be published is unclear (Middleton 2010).

Use of the letters in research has been subjected to criticism regarding their authorship and function, including arguments that they were written to appear as personal letters, but were used as emigration propaganda. However Middleton has found through comparing unpublished letters with letters published in the New Zealand Journal that, although the letters were subject to editorial changes in spelling, grammar and syntax to reflect the journal’s readership, authorship was secure (Middleton 2010: 69). Presumably however the published letters, particularly those in the New Zealand Company publications, were selectively chosen to reflect a positive view of emigration.

Notwithstanding these possible limitations, the published letters are however informative – a lot include prices of food and other goods, wages, and descriptions of housing and work. Generally, and perhaps unsurprisingly given the critique mentioned above, the
descriptions are positive about conditions and the ability to do well with hard work compared with similar effort back home. John Perry stated how back in “England I could not maintain my family as a tradesman ought, but here we can make every improvement that is necessary” (New Zealand Company 1843: 140); Peter Hoskin told his parents how he was given a house and garden of his own for two years, and had become a teetotaller again (New Zealand Company. West of England Board 1842: 40), and John Sheperd stated “the labouring class are as well off here as the nobs are at home” (New Zealand Company. West of England Board 1842: 44).

Jesse Jury, whilst not having a letter published, gets a mention in a letter home by Sally Giddy: “Mr J. Jury desired me when I did write to give my kind love to you, and to inform you that he would not be home again for a thousand pounds” (New Zealand Company. West of England Board 1842: 49). By the time of publication of this letter Jesse Jury was working south of New Plymouth, in Tataraimaka, where his son William was born in 1842, and daughter Emily in 1845 (Jury n.d.). As a sawyer it is likely he had ample work, and his wife and family must have been living with him in what would have been remote and hard conditions that were nevertheless what he considered to be better than in England.

The editing by the *New Zealand Journal* is clear when comparing these published letters with one written by Richard Grylls, the friend of Charles Autridge and married to his sister introduced previously. This letter was written in 1843, but a transcript was published recently (Grylls 1990 [1843]), and it is notable in this letter that everything Richard says about the settlement is positive, aside from the cost of clothing. The transcript is accurate to the writing, without editing, and although clearly Richard Grylls could write, the letter contains no punctuation and the spelling is haphazard. He writes:

“….we can always get plenty of work I git for making a Harrow 1 pound and for a Beadsteed 1 pound which I can earn a pound a week if I like and not work hard as I did in England happy Day when I left home for us and our Dear little children I have put up a house on one of Captain Kings Section I rent it for five years……I have purchest a pice of Land I gave 15 pounds for it about half a Howrs walk from Town on Devon street a plesent place…. I am thinking now of Bying a town section if I can suet my self with one as I think they will be of Great Value in a futer Day…..we have fomrd a clubb here about 1 Hundred Mimbers we pay 2d pr Months and received 1 pound pr week in sickness and its going on very prossperus we are still Increasing in number……” (Grylls 1990 [1843]: 31).
The “clubb” Richard referred to was probably similar to a friendly society, and was designed to help its members out in times of difficulty. That the “clubb” was formed so early on in the new settlement shows how ideals regarding respectability and Improvement were brought from England with the labourers, and provides evidence of their active participation in this ethos through forming the club themselves, rather than it being imposed upon them. Clearly this “clubb” was not permanent as, somewhat ironically, in 1852 Richard Grylls and his family were the subject of calls to establish a “mutual assurance friendly society” (Taranaki Herald 8 September 1852: 3) after his house in Omata was completely destroyed after a spark from his fireplace caught alight a raupō partition. Richard Grylls was seen as being an “honest and hardworking man” and as such was considered to be very deserving of assistance (Taranaki Herald 25 August 1852: 2). A subscription was raised from the community for over £21 to build a new house and replace his furniture and carpenters tools (Taranaki Herald 20 October 1852: 1).

The desire to achieve independence was high. Shoemaker Paul Inch declared to his friend in England that he never intended again “to be an English slave” (New Zealand Company 1843: 153), and this translated into a situation whereby families who had been used to domestic help in Britain found such help difficult to find in New Plymouth. Martha Adams writes, when visiting New Plymouth in 1850, of the lack of domestic help and how “the independence of those who do go to service is often very annoying” (Adams 1850-1852: 2 November 1850).

Maria Nicholson, who was the governess to Reverend Henry H. Brown’s children in Omata in 1859 wrote of her observations regarding class structure in New Plymouth:

“There are no distinctions of rank, excepting perhaps that muscular strength takes precedence of intellect and refinement because manual labour is the only road to success in a new country. There are men of high education doing the work of farm servants, whilst others who brought nothing out with them but a strong arm are now prosperous and wealthy” (Nicholson 1859-1861: 17 June 1859).

She was particularly perceptive in relation to a Mrs Leech who was “trying to introduce ‘caste’ into New Plymouth and to exclude tradespeople from public entertainment…..I should be sorry for…..society here to be destroyed by such nonsense, where all have to work alike. It is different in the old country where aristocracy is an institution and has a refining influence on the masses” (Nicholson 1859-1861: 4 September 1859).
Peter Hoskin’s pleasure in owning “a house and garden of my own” (New Zealand Company 1843: 153) was a shared driving force, and it would seem many of the labourers managed to achieve this, as well as the goal of actual land ownership, in a much shorter time frame than was originally intended by the New Zealand Company. By 1843 Charles Autridge had purchased a town section (number 610) in partnership with Peter Hoskin for the sum of £20 (New Zealand Company 1842-1843). The earliest date found for Jesse Jury owning property is 1846, when he and his family were living back in New Plymouth, and a return of that year lists those people who owned and/or occupied houses, cottages, and “warres” [whares] in the New Plymouth settlement, with Jesse Jury listed as the owner and occupier of a house (New Zealand Company 1846). The differentiation between the categories of housing leads to the presumption that a “house” was considered to be a more substantial building than either a cottage or a raupō whare, and would suggest a larger investment of time and money in construction.

Like many young colonial couples, Charles and Frances Autridge were busy having babies – William born 1843 (died 1845), James born 1844, William Cowling born 1845, Jane born 1846 and Humphry born 1848. The babies continued coming once the family was likely
to have been living in Omata with Henry born 1849, Harriett born 1850, Emma 1852, Thomas 1855, with more births after the 1860-61 war with Charles Francis born in Auckland in 1861, Frances 1863 and Louis 1864 (Aitridge family information provided by Lynton Riley 2008). Fertility rates and survivorship of infants in colonial New Zealand in the latter half of the 19th century were significantly higher than in England and Wales for the same time period (Pool, Dharmalingam, and Sceats 2007: 77), probably due to a combination of factors including better nutrition and lower population densities meaning there was less disease (Pool, Dharmalingam, and Sceats 2007: 91). The Jurys eldest son John, and his wife Sophia, had 19 children between 1852 and 1879, of whom only three died young (Jury n.d.: 24).

The New Zealand Company experienced drastic budgetary cuts in 1844, resulting in the loss of work for many of the labourers throughout New Zealand who were living in Company settlements. In New Plymouth, this was particularly unsettling and difficult for the European settlers, given the investigations regarding the early land purchases meaning delays in taking up their own sections of land (Burns 1989: 276), although most of the labourers here were privately employed by this time (Dalziel 1986: 24). New Plymouth experienced fluctuations in prosperity throughout the 1840’s, but by the mid-1850’s was relatively stable, largely due to provisioning the Australian gold rushes. Additionally, with the establishment of self-government in New Zealand from 1852 and the election of Taranaki’s first provisional government by 1853, New Plymouth saw a burst of activity and development with Improvements to roads and other public amenities that gave people a sense of optimism. However this period of stability was soon ended by conflict between Puketapu hapū in Bell Block over land sales (Lambert and Henry 2000).

3.7. Settling The Omata Block

As discussed previously, the Omata block of 12,000 acres (Figure 17), south of the town of New Plymouth was purchased from Taranaki iwi on 30 August 1847 (Turton 1878: 12). The original deed of purchase did not contain any native reserves, however, two reserves, Ratapihipihi (371 acres) and Ruataku (10 acres) were created shortly after by Donald McLean (Figure 4). These reserves were not hapū specific, and it was thought they would absorb Māori returning from the Wellington area. They were not originally requested by the Māori sellers of the land to the Crown, and it was hoped by McLean that this

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2 Henry married Harriet Jury, daughter of Jesse and Elizabeth’s eldest son John Jury, in 1883, thus connecting the two families.
seemingly generous offer would be encouraging to those Māori amongst Te Āti Awa iwi who were resisting land sales further north (Boulton 2004: 95).

Taranaki iwi had previously occupied land on the designated Omata block before leaving for the south of the country because of fears of Waikato invasions. The map below (Figure 18), indicating Māori place names around the Omata area, shows the intensity of knowledge Māori had of the area. The wider district is dense with archaeological sites, particularly along the coastal fringes, indicating intense occupation over a long period of time (Bader 2006; Prickett 2002). Omata itself takes its name from a Māori coastal pā and kāinga with evidence of pre-European settlement as well as historic period occupation. This pā, indicated below on the detail from the 1848 plan of the settlement by Wellington Carrington (Figure 19), was most likely the main area of Māori settlement at the time the Omata block was acquired for European settlement (Prickett 2001).

The “Omata Pā” was burned as a hostile act by Puketapu hapū of Te Āti Awa in September 1847, when Taranaki iwi were away receiving the first payment instalment for the Omata land purchase (Wells 1878: 142-3). Shortly after this, Carrington surveyed the road out to Omata. When the road was cut through forest in November 1847, this was reported as containing Rata, Hinau, Rimu, Pukatea, Karaka, and Koromiko trees. Evidence of the intrusion by Puketapu hapū could be seen and some trees had been marked to indicate where warriors had fallen in battle (Wells 1878: 143-4). This is the main road shown in Figure 19 below, known at the time as Omata Road.
Figure 17 1847 Plan of Omata Block showing Māori place names along the block borders (Turton 1878)
Figure 18 Part of Cadastral Map of the Paritutu Survey District, showing Māori place names, drawn by J. Homan 1879, Corrections/Additions in 1903 by W. Gordon, Dept. of Lands and Survey, Wellington. F Simpson, Chief Surveyor, Taranaki. Collection of Len and Heather Jury, Auckland.
Figure 19 Detail showing Omata Pā, from Wellington Carrington, Plan of the Settlement of New Plymouth 1848, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth ARC2004-286
For Europeans settling in Taranaki, the Omata block was considered to be valuable for agriculture, as it contained mostly fern and light bush (Hursthouse 1849: 48), making clearing relatively straightforward: “it is a beautiful district of mixed land, and a valuable addition to the settlement” (Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle 14 October 1848: 132). Reverend Thomas Gilbert, who resided in Omata before the Taranaki war, described it as:

“one of the most beautiful districts in Taranaki. It contains many meadows, pleasant homesteads, and rural scenery, unequalled by any in New Zealand. Not far from my farm, on the main southern road, lies the little village of Omata, consisting of half-a-dozen houses, a store and an inn, a small church and a Primitive Methodist chapel, a wheelwright's shop, a library of more than 600 volumes under the care of a settler in the village. A few scattered cottages and farms, with the residence of Rev. G. Bailey, formerly officiating clergyman for Omata, are situated in the neighbourhood.” (Gilbert 1861: 218).

The “scattered cottages and farms” described above by Gilbert, and illustrated by Georgina Hetley (Figure 20) are in part reflective of a Cornish settlement pattern, where “scattered hamlets” (Payton 1978: 22) rather than larger villages and towns were the preferred way of living. Also typical of Cornwall were small fields, as was the use of large furze hedges, rather than the English open field strip system of agriculture (Payton 1978: 21-2), and this pattern is also reflected in the European settlement of Omata. The settlement of Omata is featured in the detail of the Crown Grant Map below (Figure 21), showing the names of the original purchasers, and the locations of their sections. Gilbert and Hetley’s lands, among others, are shown to the left of centre on this map.
Figure 20 Hetley, Georgina Burne 1832-1898. Fernlea and Omata Village Before the War [ca1855], Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, A-175-003.
Figure 21 Detail from LINZ 1900 Parititu Crown Grant Map Roll Plan 36, LINZ Hamilton.
3.8. The Jurys at Omata

The Jurys block of land in Omata was on part of Section 23, shown above in Figure 21, lying along the Omata Road, which is now Waireka Road West. In October 1848, after the block was opened for settlement, it was reported that several settlers had moved into Omata and started work on their land (*Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle* 14 October 1848: 132). The precise date of the first European occupation of the Jurys land at Omata has not been determined, but it seems likely it would have been after the 1847 purchase by the Crown from Māori. However an original surveyors notebook, dating to circa 1847 (Nicholl pers. comm. May 2008), shows a small house on the Jurys land, with the notation “station where we found little house/place” (Figure 22). This raises the probability that a house was there before the road was surveyed. A note to the side on this surveyors notebook also makes the comment “Jury’s Hill”, therefore indicating the Jurys were probably one of the earliest settlers on their land at Omata (LINZ c1847).

![Figure 22 Surveyors notebook, indicating a house on Jury’s land, Field Book 12, LINZ Hamilton c1847.](image)

The Jury’s block of land was unusual in that it was only 16 acres and was therefore on the smaller side. At some point John Jury acquired a 30 acre part of Section 23 next to his parents, but at the time until the beginning of the Taranaki war in 1860 John was living on his small 9 acre block, Section 136, close to the coast at the end of Gardner Road in a house
probably very similar to Elizabeth Jury’s (Figure 23). John Jury’s 9 acre block is shown in Wellington Carrington’s 1848 map as being a Government Reserve, although this was not one of the Native Reserves set aside by Donald McLean as shown in Turton (1878), illustrated previously in Figure 4.

Figure 23 “Mr. John Jury's House round which the battle of the Wareika [sic] was fought”, from Gilbert 1861.

It seems that the Jurys were not entirely self-sufficient on their comparatively small block of land, with Mr Jury continuing to accept paid work. Jesse Jury, being a sawyer, was involved with the construction of the first Omata church, St John’s, which was located directly opposite their house on the corner of Omata Road and Gardener Road, section Pt 14 (Figure 21). A small piece of land had been donated by New Zealand Company agent and Omata resident John Wicksteed, who also had a role in assisting Bishop Selwyn in choosing sites for Taranaki Anglican churches (Bolitho 2003: 7). The construction of the Omata church was noted by Hursthouse in 1851: “The new little Church at Omata is being fitted-up” (Hursthouse 1851: 186). Church accounts show construction began in 1849 seemed to take some time. In August 1850 the Church accounts show that Jesse Jury provided the timber for the new building, and in April 1851 helped in levelling the ground. From these accounts it is possible to ascertain that the church was wooden with windows and a thatched raupō roof.
“Natives” provided the raupō, and Richard Grylls carried out much of the carpentry work (St Mary's Anglican Church New Plymouth 1848-1851).

Jesse Jury died on 15 December 1851 aged 53, with the official cause of death listed as a “Rupture”. His eldest son John was recorded as the informant, and John’s occupation at that time was also listed a sawyer like his father (Department of Internal Affairs Births Deaths and Marriages 1851). Deaths at that stage were not too common in the settlement and appeared to warrant reporting. Jesse’s was reported by the New Plymouth Inspector of Police Henry Halse to Donald McLean, with his death described as being caused by a “short illness” (Halse 1851).

Elizabeth Jury continued to live on in the property until the beginning of the Taranaki wars in 1860. No doubt facing difficult circumstances as a widow with children still to support, Mrs Jury took on paid work after Jesse’s death, where she was employed to clean the little St John’s Omata church opposite her house (St Mary's Anglican Church New Plymouth 1848-1851). The close proximity of the church that her husband had helped construct must have provided her with some comfort and satisfaction at the time. After her house was destroyed in the conflict of 1860 another house was not rebuilt on the same section of land, but it is likely her sons continued to farm it after the cessation of the wars. Mrs Jury stayed living in New Plymouth until her death in 1869. The family today know this section of land as “Granny’s paddock” (Len Jury pers. comm. 2007).

The most detailed historical information available regarding Elizabeth Jury’s farmstead is contained in the compensation claim for losses sustained in the Taranaki war. She had claims for both general losses caused by Māori, as well as a claim against the military. The general claim contains details regarding the size of the house, the materials the house was constructed with, types of farming equipment lost, and loss of stock and produce. The detailed claim, written by John Jury, of which an extract is shown below in Figure 24 (preceded by a transcript), states the house was built of sawn timber, with a recently shingled roof, and measured 24 by 14 feet, with a “7ft sleigh the length of the building”. A sleigh, or slay, is North Cornwall vernacular to describe an adaptation of a lean-to that follows the same

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3 Henry Sewell was appointed Commissioner to administer the Taranaki Relief Fund in June 1861, with two sub-commissioners based in New Plymouth, William Crompton and Harry Atkinson. The purpose of the commission was to assess the extent to which the settlers of Taranaki had suffered losses, and to distribute compensation based on that assessment. The losses covered by this fund were for damage sustained to settler property by Māori. A separate Military Board of Officers was set up by the British Government in 1860 under Colonel Mould to assess claims for damage sustained to settler property by the military (Archives New Zealand n.d.).
angle as the roofline, significantly adding to the ground floor space, as shown below in Figure 25 (North Cornwall District Council n.d.). The term is unique to North Cornwall, although appears occasionally in association with advertisements for house sales in the *Taranaki Herald* in the 1850’s (Figure 26). This represents a continuation of Cornish identity in the Taranaki context.

*Mrs Jury. Statement of Losses sustained by Elizabeth Jury by the late Insurrection at Taranaki New Zealand*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars of the property destroyed or damaged</th>
<th>Nature of loss or damage</th>
<th>How arising</th>
<th>Amount £</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dwelling house situated at Omata</td>
<td>Damaged and Burnt</td>
<td>By the Rebels</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Outbuildings do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dairy Utensils</td>
<td>Stolen</td>
<td>By the Rebels</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking utensils etc</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden tools and implements</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Stacks Bees @ 15/=</td>
<td>Destroyed</td>
<td>do @ 10/-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Cows £12 ea</td>
<td>Stolen</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Calves £3/ ea</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Sheep £1/ ea</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Mare in foal</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Tons potatoes £3/p ton</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do in the ground</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Chains fencing £1 per chn</td>
<td>Destroyed</td>
<td>do to build Pā</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orchard ½ acre</td>
<td>Damaged</td>
<td>By the Rebels</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garden ¼ acre</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent of 15 acres of land from March 1860 to August 1861 @ 20/ per acre</td>
<td>By non occupation on account of war</td>
<td>22 18</td>
<td>5 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

£321.10.6 £335 5 6

I John Jury acting on behalf of my mother Elizabeth Jury do hereby declare that the above is a true account of her losses to the best of my knowledge and belief.

*John Jury*

*Witness George (illegible) - Feb 1862*
Figure 24 Statement of losses sustained by Elizabeth Jury. Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions, 1861. Archives New Zealand, Wellington, IA132.
Figure 25 Example of a sleigh roof on a historic North Cornwall house (North Cornwall District Council n.d.: 10).

OWN Section 1182.—To be Let with a three-roomed Cottage and Sleigh thereon now under repair, situate in a good street, with a good well of Water fitted up with a strong frame and cover complete, and commanding a fine view of the sea and the surrounding country, being also a very healthy situation. Apply to T. W. Shute.

Figure 26 Advertisement for cottage and sleigh to let (Taranaki Herald 31 May 1856: 2)

The description of Mrs Jury’s house and farmstead goes on: “There were 2 partitions in the main building, and the sleigh was divided into 3 by 2 partitions, the whole of wood”. There was also a sawn timber wooden cow shed with a thatched roof, and a pig sty of split staff. There were dairy and kitchen utensils and cupboards, bedsteads, and garden tools.
Growing in the garden were potatoes covering 1 acre of land – approximately 5 tonnes in weight. There were 10 chains of 4 railed fence made with pūriri posts and kohekohe rails. Another 30 ½ chains were allowed in addition to this fencing in the military claim for compensation. The cows were in milk, and there were a number of calves, horses, pigs, bees, sheep, and there was also a ½ acre orchard and ¼ acre garden. This claim provides evidence that prior to the first Taranaki war Mrs Jury’s farm was being intensively worked as a mixed use small holding which probably allowed her to be largely self-sufficient whilst also generating an income, or goods to barter, from produce such as the potatoes, honey and possibly dairy products.

3.9. The Autridges at Omata

It is unclear when the owners/occupiers of the second study site, Charles Autridge, together with his wife Frances, and all their children, arrived on their coastal block of Omata land, Part Section 16, 17 and 19 (Land Information New Zealand 1891), with the house located on Section 17. Again, like the Jurys described above, it would have been sometime soon after the 1847 purchase by the Crown from Māori. Their section of land totalled approximately 51 acres and was situated at the end of Sutton Road, which would have been a rough track leading to the Omata Pā, which was essentially opposite their land.

Not a lot of historic information is available about the Autridge family during their time in Omata. Like many settlers Charles, was involved with horse racing, and his name comes up often in the contemporary newspapers in relation to this. He took part in the inaugural racing event in New Plymouth on 1 January 1849, riding his own horse Jack in the Tradesman’s Purse race, which he won by two lengths (Wellington Independent 27 January 1849: 3). He continued to do well with his horse racing – by 1855 at the Omata Races, his horse Rattler, also ridden by him, won the Farmers’ Purse, and his horse Bessy won the Ladies’ Purse.

The Autridges house was burned when it was destroyed by Māori, and this event is recorded as occurring on Saturday 18 August 1860 (Taranaki Herald 25 August 1860: 3). Charles Autridge, like Elizabeth Jury, made a claim for compensation to the Taranaki Relief Fund. An extract from the claim is illustrated below in Figure 27, preceded by a transcript. Charles’ claim is not as detailed as the one filled in by John Jury on his mother’s behalf. This is possibly a literacy issue, where John could write the claim himself and therefore provide more detail, as opposed to Charles, who did not fill out his own claim, although it is signed in
his own hand. The claim states losses of a house, dairy and stable, five bedsteads, dairy utensils and farm implements. There is also a claim for fencing, crops including 8 acres of potatoes and 10 tons carrots, as well as stock losses of a horse, cattle, pigs and poultry.

**STATEMENT**

**OF LOSSES OR INJURIES SUSTAINED IN THE RECENT NATIVE DISTURBANCES AT TARANAKI**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Particulars of the property destroyed, or damaged, in respect of which relief is claimed</th>
<th>Nature of loss or damage</th>
<th>How arising</th>
<th>Amount or Value estimated in money</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Dwelling house & furniture                                                           | Burned by the Enemy      | From the native war | 200
| Dairy & stables                                                                      | Ditto                    | Ditto       | 30
| Crops                                                                                | Transported & eaten by cattle from destruction of fences | Ditto | 222
| Stock                                                                                | Taken or (illegible) to stray by the enemy | Ditto | 111
| Poultry, fencing farm implements etc                                                 | Taken or destroyed by the enemy | Ditto | 125
| Loss of rent of land                                                                 | Ditto                    | 100
| **Total of losses**                                                                 |                          | **£788**    |

I **Charles Autridge** do, in the presence of ALMIGHTY GOD, solemnly, sincerely, and truly affirm and declare that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, the above is a true and faithful statement of my losses occasioned by the late war in Taranaki, and I make this Solemn Declaration, believing the same to be true.

*Charles Autridge (signed)*

Declared before me, at New Plymouth

This 9<sup>th</sup> day of July 1861

Resident Magistrate
Figure 27 Statement of losses sustained by Charles Autridge. Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions, 1861. Archives New Zealand, Wellington, IA132.
3.10. Life in Omata

The Omata area was popular and attracted a range of settlers – it was described as potentially an “aristocratic quarter” with the presence of a doctor, barrister, attorney, an architect, and a civil engineer (Hursthouse 1851: 186) and was said to be the most respectable neighbourhood in New Plymouth (*Taranaki Herald* 6 October 1852: 1). One of the attractions to the new settlers was the perceived acceptance by Taranaki Māori of their presence. Thomas Newsham, policeman in New Plymouth and by 1852 the owner of the Omata store, wrote to his mother in 1848 upon the purchase of his land in Omata: “a great many settlers are going out there to live immediately, it is a most delightful district and what is still better the natives there have always been so friendly to the whites…..I am much better off than I anticipated” (Newsham 1848).

Sales of properties in Omata during the 1850’s provide some information as to the nature of the small farmsteads people were living on. In 1852 “one of the most complete farms” was advertised for sale: “the improvements consist of a comfortable Wooden Cottage, Outhouse, Cattle Shed, stockyard, enclosed garden and fifty acres of grass and arable land, substantially enclosed with post and rail fencing (*Taranaki Herald* 4 August 1852: 1). However it was wealth, rather than class that determined the size and type of house that could be built, and the basic small cottage with one or two rooms and windows either side of the central door remained the standard in New Zealand throughout much of the 19th century (Salmond 1986: 73). Many of the cottages featured in illustrations were based upon this standard plan and were, by today’s standards, small. Maria Nicholson writes of the houses and gardens being on a “miniature scale” (Nicholson 1859-1861: 9 March 1859).

As an example of wealth (or rather lack of), as opposed to class, determining house size, the drawing shown below in Figure 28 of Major John Yeedon Lloyd’s home in Omata shows a simple gable roofed rectangular box cottage with a central door, windows either side, and a chimney at one end. Major Lloyd was a respected member of the New Plymouth community with landholdings in Omata. He was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1856 and was a Major of the New Plymouth Battalion of the New Zealand Militia in 1858, yet nevertheless he lived in this simple cottage.
Other notable early settlers included the artists John Gully and Georgina Hetley. John Gully arrived in New Plymouth in 1851, and settled in Omata with his family, but found he was unsuited to farming and took over the lease of the Omata store in 1854 from owner Thomas Newsham. He ran into financial difficulties after finding there were not enough settlers in the area to support the venture, eventually becoming bankrupt and returning to New Plymouth (Gully 1993: 166). Puke Ariki, the museum in New Plymouth, hold some works by Gully painted at this time including some of interest of New Plymouth town, but few of Omata itself (Figure 29). At some point during his Omata residence he encouraged the son of Reverend Thomas Gilbert, George Channing Gilbert, to take up painting (Platts 1980), and a number of his illustrations provide a record of Omata residences featured in his father’s book (Gilbert 1861), as described below.

Georgina Burne Hetley (nee McKellar) lived in Omata after arriving in New Plymouth with her family as a young woman. She married in the Omata church in 1856 but her husband, Charles, died less than a year later leaving her with a small baby. She returned to live with her family on the 50 acres of land they called Fernlea, selling her own Omata farm called Brookwood. A section with the name G.B. Hetley is shown in the Crown Grant Map (Figure 21). In reference to the clearing of fern land and bush that was occurring in the area, she wrote of Omata, “The town of New Plymouth lay far away in the distance, but we could not see it, it was hidden by the smoke of the burning ‘bush.’” (Starke 2010).
Next to the Hetley land was that of the Reverend Thomas Gilbert (Section 26), known for his publication about the Taranaki wars, *New Zealand Settlers and Soldiers*, in which he speaks out regarding the role the British played in the conflict (Gilbert 1861). Illustrations throughout this book by his son George provide an indication as to the variation in housing styles around the Omata district before the wars. His own house is shown as a simple cottage with a verandah, in a cleared section, with the remains of tree stumps visible. Describing the landscape around him using the language of aesthetic rural Improvement (Tarlow 2007), he states his house is “pleasantly situated” and the surrounding country being “rather high, above the level of the sea, being for the most part open towards the shore, with several nicely cultivated farms in the distance--having cleared bush land on all sides--still with a sufficient number of reserved spots of standing evergreen trees to be a striking feature in the landscape. We enjoyed many fine and delightful views” (Gilbert 1861: 33).
Reverend George Bayley occupied a house on Section 22, close to Mrs Jury, although across the Waireka stream and up the hill a short way but closer to the centre of Omata. From 1851 to 1858 Bayley was an associate priest of St Mary's Anglican Church in New Plymouth and from 1855 was the minister charged with the pastoral care of the Omata district. With a donation of land by leading Anglican layman and Omata landholder John Yeeldon Lloyd, and with Bayley as the officiating minister, it was decided in 1855 that the Omata church St John’s would be rebuilt so as to be more central to Omata and of easier access to Reverend Bayley (Bolitho 2003: 7). Despite the church being moved, the cemetery opposite Mrs Jury’s house remained and is still in use today.

Pastimes and social activities in New Plymouth and Omata during the 1850’s are reflective of a small rural community, with many revolving around traditional rural activities with their roots in Devon and Cornwall. Horse racing seems to have been a popular pastime, with races in Omata during the 1850’s frequented by both the Autridge and the Jury families. Races days included traditional amusements such as ploughing matches, foot racing, chasing a soaped pig and climbing a greasy pole. Māori participation on these days was often high,
with separate “Māori Stakes” horse races in which they were able to compete against each other on their own horses. On the race day of 28 December 1849, Māori participants took away most of the prizes in the amusements described above, including wrestling. Cornish, or Celtic, wrestling was a traditional sport popular in Cornwall throughout the 19th century (Payton 1978: 21), and this tradition was continued in New Plymouth. At the race day on 28 December 1849 winner of the first prize in wrestling was Māori, Wiremu Pihiti, “who threw every European, rather to the discomfiture of our good Devon and Cornish men who pride themselves on their wrestling” (New Zealand Spectator and Cook’s Strait Guardian 19 January 1850: 3).

Other social activities revolved around the Church, with the Primitive Methodists in particular conducting their alcohol free tea parties and “soirees” in the Omata chapel, which were also open to people from other congregations (Taranaki Herald 3 November 1852: 3). While the Primitive Methodists promoted wholesale abstinence from alcohol, the Church of England also supported temperance towards alcohol. In 1856 at a meeting held in the Omata School Room the Anglican Reverend Bayley was chosen to be the President of the newly created Omata Temperance Society, formed to “prevent the spreading of intemperance” in the community (Figure 31). It was possible to choose either full or partial abstinence from alcohol, and most of the many attendees signed their temperance pledge during this first meeting (Taranaki Herald 26 April 1856: 3). Omata also had a Reading Room, where a Dr Nield lectured on Temperance (Taranaki Herald 18 April 1857: 1), however there are no reports as to how well attended these types of lectures were.

Figure 31 Omata Temperance Society (Taranaki Herald 26 April 1856: 3)
Unfortunately records relating to the Omata Temperance Society including the signed pledge books are not available for research, however the Nelson Temperance Society teetotal pledge books have survived. These show that many of the younger people could sign their names whereas older people signing the pledge often used a cross, or a very rough signature (Nelson Temperance Society 1842-1871). Examples such as these provide insights into the affect of education on the community.

Education, as discussed in the previous chapter, was considered an important feature of an Improved society and increased levels of literacy were seen as a sign of progress. Education was also important to many of the settlers of New Plymouth. However no provision for education was made by either the Plymouth Company or the New Zealand Company, and learning was left in the hands of private schools and the Churches (Wells 1878: 294). The town had six privately run day schools and four Sunday schools by 1849, with an industrial school for Māori being constructed at the Wesleyan mission (Hursthouse 1849: 66). By 1851, as well as the six day schools there were two evening schools, and one more Sunday school (Hursthouse 1851: 67). Hursthouse saw the development of these privately supported educational facilities as being a good example of the flourishing “voluntary principle” in New Plymouth, where self-Improvement and taking control of one’s own Improvement was imperative (Hursthouse 1851: 67).

Education was also a feature of Omata life and from as early as 1853 there were three privately run schools in the district. One was run by Mr William Crompton, who was taking classes in his home on South Road in 1853, and in 1854 he and his wife were running their school full time. Another school was begun either in 1853 or 1854 by Miss Maria Wakefield, who with Miss E. Shaw rented a cottage close to the site where the Omata School is situated today on South Road. This two roomed cottage, owned by Thomas Newsham, was “lined and papered and ceiled with calico” (Ferens 2003: 5). In 1854 the school roll was 10 boys and 13 girls and in 1855 15 boys and 25 girls attended the school of Misses Shaw and Wakefield. Another small school was run by Mrs Frances Hart out of a cottage leased to her husband Robert Hart by Mr T. Wilkinson. Mrs Hart was teaching her own children, and gave lessons to any others that were willing to learn (Ferens 2003: 5). These small, privately run schools were additional to the Primitive Methodist school (Bolitho 2003: 7).

While statistics between the years of 1855 and 1856 in the wider province of New Plymouth show an increase in those who could both read and write this is not the case for Omata, where, between 1855 and 1856, fewer people of both sexes could read and write.
This most likely reflects the rural nature of Omata where children were needed to work on the family farm, as well as the cost involved in sending children to private schools. For many there was a reliance on Sunday Schools. However a number of children received no educational instruction at all until they were sent to Nelson during the wars, when they were able to attend Government schools opened especially for them or they attended already established Nelson public schools (Wells 1878: 294).

3.11. The Māori Economy 1845-1860

It took some time for many Māori to understand the full implications of their land sales and that they were expected to restrict themselves to their allocated reserves, and there were instances of complaints by settlers when there was a continued Māori presence on their land. While some Te Āti Awa hapū formed strategic alliances with Pākehā through marriage of settler men with Te Āti Awa women, there were, however, also cases of negotiation to share the use of land in a spirit of cooperation between Māori and European settlers in economic activity (Boulton 2004: 109-10). There are a number of instances of settlers leasing customary Māori land, and Boulton records one case concerning a lease of a Te Āti Awa native reserve, and notes this was a way in which “Te Āti Awa individuals and communities continued and strengthened their position as allies of the settlers” (Boulton 2004: 247). Archaeological evidence from the Street homestead in Bell Block suggests a merging of Māori and European practices, indicating cooperation between Māori and European settler on this site (Adamson and Bader 2008).

Between the years of 1845 and 1860 many Māori were participating actively in the new economy that came with European settlement in New Plymouth. By 1859, just before the outbreak of war in 1860, the state of Māori agriculture was described by Wells as “flourishing” (1878: 177). Ngāmotu hapū, in particular, was thriving, with Te Āti Awa iwi generally doing well under a market economy (Boulton 2004). By 1854, Te Āti Awa were cultivating increasing areas of land in wheat, oats, maize and potatoes, and their success in this enterprise had George Cooper describing them as being “by far the richest of all the neighbouring tribes” (Cooper 1854: 45). As well as their cultivations Te Āti Awa owned stock, farming equipment and were building European style wooden housing. Some Māori also purchased town sections (Cooper 1854: 46-7).
Taranaki iwi, however, at least according to Cooper, were not in as good an economic position as Te Āti Awa. They owned less property and agricultural equipment, earning only small amounts from selling produce and pigs at the New Plymouth and Wanganui markets (Cooper 1854). Taranaki hapū, Ngā Mahunga and Ngāti Ruanui, had, however, taken advantage of the opportunities presented by the new economy in Taranaki and developed flour mills as well as purchasing horses and cattle. As a consequence they were determined not to sell their land off (Waitangi Tribunal 1996). After Cooper and McLean visited Patea in South Taranaki in 1852, Cooper expressed his one-sided opinion that the lack of good fortune for Taranaki iwi lay in their reluctance to conform to European ideals of land Improvement, stating that “hundreds of thousands of acres of the finest land in the island lies unproductive, and the inhabitants remain in a state of poverty and ignorance on account of their objection with being colonized by the English” (Cooper 1854: 52).

Much of the individual income raised by members of Taranaki iwi was through clearing settler’s land and working on farms on a seasonal basis, and other iwi groups also participated in this type of paid work (Cooper 1854: 52). This entailed clearing fern and bush through “burning off” (Hursthouse 1851: 61), as well as supplying agricultural labour for planting, harvesting and driving bullock carts (H.R. Richmond to C.W. Richmond 20 April 1851 cited in Scholefield 1960: 93). Participation by Māori in the labour force was to the extent that it was suggested they essentially replaced the role the English labourers were supposed to assume in the original Wakefield plan for the settlement. Hursthouse stated that “owing to the rapidity with which the English labourers rise into the ‘small farmer class’, and become themselves employers of labour, all our farming operations would be seriously crippled but for the powerful assistance of the natives” (Hursthouse 1851: 61).

In 1852, Thomas Good of Omata wrote positively, in the language of Improvement, to the Taranaki Herald about the changes in Māori since first European settlement in New Plymouth in the 1840’s:

“The majority are now clothed like ourselves; they possess cattle and implements for husbandry; they plough, sow, reap, and employ machinery for threshing their corn; theft is not common amongst them, and not a single instance of murder has occurred since the formation of this settlement….Ask the shopkeeper who is his best customer, and he will tell you, the Māori; or the farmer, upon whom does he depend for the harvesting the crops the ensuing season, his answer will be the Māoris [sic]” (Taranaki Herald 24 November 1852: 3).
3.12. War and Omata

However, for many Māori, concern regarding land sales never went away, particularly for those associated with Wiremu Kingi of Te Āti Awa. Rumblings of discontent had featured at Omata as early as 1850, when chief of Taranaki iwi Tamati Wiremu Te Ngāhuru wrote to Donald McLean, of a discussion he had had with Wiremu [Kingi], telling him “trouble has begun at Omata, at the land of the major, at Waireka” (Te Ngāhuru 1850). Te Ngāhuru was a signatory on the land sale deed to the Crown for the purchase of the Omata block, and appeared to be generally supportive of the Crown and Pākehā settlers in Omata. By 1852 Te Ngāhuru wrote to Donald McLean regarding his position, “I am staying here at Omata with my Pākehā friends. And there are no problems with the Pākehā living at Omata, there are no problems [for] us in our settlement” (Te Ngāhuru 1852). Full of optimism for the future, Cooper, in 1854, somewhat blithely stated “never since its foundation in 1841 has the settlement of N.P. been in so prosperous a condition as at present. H.M. [Her Majesty’s] subjects of both races are living in a state of perfect tranquillity and security, and old feelings of mutual animosity and distrust are gradually dying away” (Cooper 1854: 63).

However, the situation for the settlers changed as conflicts over land issues with Māori, and between Māori, heightened particularly after 1854. Settlers placed pressure for more land in Waitara, an area to the north of Bell Block, where north Taranaki Māori were having success with cultivating their land. Divisions between Te Āti Awa hapū over land sales eventually led to the Puketapu feud in 1854 (Lambert and Henry 2000: 47). The inter-tribal divisions led Te Āti Awa chief Te Teira in 1859 to offer to sell 600 acres of land at Waitara, known as the Pekapeka Block, although this land was not his alone to sell. Despite continued opposition to this land sale led by Wiremu Kingi, the Crown completed the land purchase at Waitara in early 1860 with surveying of the block beginning on 20 February of that year. Faced with obstruction by Māori, the survey party returned to New Plymouth, demanded an apology and withdrawal of opposition, which was not forthcoming. Subsequently, on 22 February 1860, martial law was declared in Taranaki. While stockades had been erected in early 1860 by settlers in both the Omata and Bell Blocks, it was not until the point martial law was declared that many of the settlers began the move into town from their farmsteads, and the process of fortifying New Plymouth began (Cowan 1955: 159).

The outlying settlers were given some time to move themselves and possessions into town. What they took with them was dependent on whether there was room where they were
staying, and what they could carry. Some of the settlers buried non-perishable goods in the hope it could be recovered later – Grace Hirst writes of leaving behind bedsteads, bedding, cooking utensils and making holes in the garden to bury the crockery and anything else that would not spoil (Hirst 1860: 27 February 1860). It is likely Mrs Jury and her three younger children, and the Autridges, left their farms also at this time. The families were accommodated in town, often in crowded conditions, until the order was given in August 1860 for many of the women, children, and male settlers not recruited into the Militia, to be evacuated to Nelson (Marjouram et al. 1990: 60).

The first conflict of the 1860-61 Taranaki war took place on 17 March 1860 at Te Kohia pā, named by settlers as the “L pā” for its shape. The pā was erected overnight in a corner of the Waitara land under dispute but Māori had abandoned it before the British went in the next day (Prickett 1994: 23, 2002: 60-1).

South of New Plymouth, iwi supporting Wiremu Kingi’s stand on further land sales were also gathering. On 26 March 1860 it was reported that 500 members of Taranaki and Ngāti Ruanui iwi were gathering and preparing to approach Jurys hill in Omata (Taranaki Herald 31 March 1860: 2). The next day Wellington Carrington reported 61 Māori from Patukai hapū had settled at Ratanui4, a little above Mrs Jury’s house (Taranaki Herald 7 April 1860: 2). On 27 March 1860 five Omata settlers, including two boys, were ambushed and killed, and there were concerns for the few settlers who remained in their homesteads. One of these was Reverend Thomas Gilbert who was at home with two of his sons when “five armed Māories, headed by Manual [sic], a Portuguese, came up towards the house” (Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle 7 April 1860: 3)5. He was told to leave immediately, as fighting had begun and five Europeans were dead. One of Gilbert’s spades was taken by a Māori, who also wanted Gilbert’s gun, but his son had buried it hurriedly under the house (Gilbert 1861: 68-9). After packing up a few bits and pieces he left with the two boys and went to the house of Reverend Henry Brown, where other settlers, Touett, Somers, Keeler and Manuel de Castro (Gilbert 1861: 66), were waiting also with their wives and children. That night they were told by a visiting Māori that there were 70 Māori at Mrs Jury’s and many more surrounding them, but were reassured they were safe as their lives and property were tapu. The next day, 28 March, the group of men were escorted to what Gilbert described as the “pā at Mrs Jury’s” to see if they could safely bury the dead Europeans.

4 This refers to an area on the corner of Sutton and Omata Roads and is indicated in the plan shown in Figure 18
5 This is taken from a “private letter” with no author acknowledged, but is clearly written by Reverend Thomas Gilbert.
They were told to make their faces known to the Māori on the pā, who by that time numbered 350 by Gilbert’s estimate⁶, so that they would not be killed in a massacre. Three of the bodies of the Europeans had already been removed to the Omata Stockade, so the group was escorted to remove the two remaining. After taking the bodies to the Omata Inn, Henry Brown and his son went on to the stockade while Gilbert and the remaining settlers returned to the pā on Mrs Jury’s hill and then back to Henry Brown’s house to wait. On 29 March a number of Māori arrived at Mr Brown’s house “with plunder, as a general break into all the houses, except our own, had taken place. Guns were constantly going off, and with a glass we could see to the Oakura hill, natives retreating in all directions with plunder at their backs; we knew then that they had suffered a defeat” (Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle 7 April 1860: 3).

The pā at Mrs Jury’s referred to by Gilbert is Kaipopo, on the Waireka hill, just above the cemetery, and very close to Mrs Jury’s farmstead. It is likely to have been erected either on the 26th or the 27th of March, with the spade taken from Gilbert’s house probably used in its construction. Gilbert, while visiting the pā on 28 March took the opportunity to look at its construction and noticed the rifle pits “burrowed into the earth; first covering their square holes with rails, doors and boards, and putting the earth thrown out over them…The pā itself was made of rails and posts cut from the fences near, tied with flax and some wire, from a wire fence close at hand, occasionally twisted in” (Gilbert 1861: 104). Mrs Jury’s claim for compensation described previously lists the fencing as being taken to build the pā, and it is probable the doors and boards from her house ended up covering the rifle pits.

The somewhat overstated event known as the “Battle of Waireka” occurred on the 28th of March, after concern was raised regarding the group of settlers still remaining in their homes at Omata. A call was made to send out troops, under Colonel Murray, from the 65th regiment, militia and Taranaki Rifle Volunteers to either rescue the settlers, or learn their fate (Grayling 1862: 25). However in the first of a number of blunders, the troops did not set out till 1 p.m. and had orders to return to town before dark and, as a result, had little time to achieve their goal (Wright 2006: 94). The civilian force of the militia and volunteers went along the coast intending to ascend from there, but were met by Māori descending from Kaipopo pā. The soldiers marching along the main road fired on the pā, but with orders to return to town by nightfall, turned around, leaving the militia and volunteers preparing to hole

⁶This number had gone up to 400 by the time Gilbert wrote his published account “Settlers and Soldiers” in 1861. Wright (2006: 94) records there were 500 toa from Ngati Ruanui, Nga Rauru, Hgati Haumia and Ngarangi, and others as gathering at Kaipopo pā.
up for the night in John Jury’s house. Around dusk this group saw their potential assailants leaving for the pā, and were then able to make their way back to the Omata stockade (Wright 2006: 95). The reason they were able to do this, although unknown to them at the time, was that 60 sailors and marines from the HMS *Niger* under the command of Captain Cracroft had marched towards Omata. They passed the soldiers returning to New Plymouth and stormed Kaipopo pā (Grayling 1862: 25-6). Naval seaman William Odgers was first into the pā, taking down the flag. He later received £10 and a Victoria Cross for his efforts. However, the pā was largely deserted, and at least one contemporary report disputed the conventional accounts (Grace 1899). Many reports of the “battle” are generally understood now to be exaggerated in what Wright calls a “triumph of propaganda over reality” (Wright 2006: 95-6).

On Friday 27 July 1860, after information was received that members of Ngāti Ruanui and Taranaki iwi were looking to return to Waireka to build a pā, a force of artillery was sent to Omata to check on their movements (*Taranaki Herald* 28 July 1860: 2). That day the troops, under Major Hutchins, constructed a large redoubt on Jury’s Hill, a little above the site of Kaipopo pā, and all were encamped there within these defences by nightfall (Grace 1899: 42; Prickett 1994: 41). Mrs Jury’s claim for compensation against the military details how her house suffered further destruction at the hands of the troops, who removed whatever useful materials they could to construct the temporary cookhouses in this camp (*Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions* 1861). The camp site had neither water nor wood, and daily expeditions were sent out to gather these necessities, as well as potatoes from abandoned farms nearby. Dr Morgan Grace, who was the doctor in charge at the Waireka Camp wrote of initially doubting “the existence of the enemy” after these excursions (Grace 1899: 43), but soon the group found themselves engaged in regular skirmishes with Māori who were starting to construct more earthworks nearby. Grace records “In a few days the Māori erected earthworks to our left front 800 yards distant, to our left 600 yards distant, and to our left rear about 500 yards……The effect of this siege was to restrict our liberty” (Grace 1899: 47-8). However after a couple of days Grace reports a lack of animosity between them and their potential assailants and these Māori left their positions, leaving the soldiers free to enjoy “our liberty prodigiously” (Grace 1899: 49).

One of the skirmishes the troops faced during the few weeks the Waireka Camp was occupied occurred at the homestead of Charles Autridge. It is probable the house had not been used by the Autridge family since the outbreak of war. However, according to a report in the *Taranaki Herald* on 11 August 1860 it was being used by Māori, who were there when
Charles’ eldest son James Autridge\(^7\) arrived, accompanied by three soldiers from the Waireka camp, to milk his father’s cows. The report states a “slight affair” followed where 15-20 Māori rushed out of the house firing at the party and one soldier was wounded. At the sound of firing, 50 soldiers left the Waireka camp, but by that time the Māori who had been at Autridge’s farm were leaving. The only evidence of injury to Māori was a blood stained mat left at the scene (\textit{Taranaki Herald} 11 August 1860: 3). The house site would not have been visible from the site of the Waireka redoubt, and its location was probably a good, well hidden, spot for Māori. Once discovered, with no further use for the house, it was burned a few days later on 18 August 1860. Charles’ friend Richard Grylls house had been burned the previous day, along with Miss Shaw’s school, Newsham’s store, the Omata Inn, and the house of Captain Burton of the Taranaki Militia, causing the \textit{Taranaki Herald} correspondent to report “the Village now has completely ceased to exist” (\textit{Taranaki Herald} 25 August 1860: 3).

Māori had been using the Autridge house as shelter, and this was not an unusual scenario. W.I. Grayling, who was the Omata correspondent for the \textit{Taranaki Herald}, described Māori as being ungrateful for burning Captain Burton’s house “after having rested beneath its sheltering roof so long” (\textit{Taranaki Herald} 25 August 1860: 3). However, it was not just Māori burning settler houses. Military claims for compensation show not only destruction of houses and fencing to reuse materials by the Military, such as that which occurred at Mrs Jury’s property, but also burning of houses, including the home of William Crompton (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861), presumably so Māori could not use them as shelter.

On Friday 24 August it was reported in the \textit{Taranaki Herald} that the troops at the Waireka Camp noted all Māori had left their entrenchments. Māori had constructed six fortified positions “of the most ingenious construction” (\textit{Taranaki Herald} 1 September 1860: 3) of rifle pits and small residential whare. The works were extensive and covered rifle pits were found on Grayling’s farm, the Reverend Henry Brown’s property, Wilkinson’s farm, Harrison’s, and close to Mr Crompton’s residence. The report states that “The works of the enemy extend as far in the rear of the camp as Autridge’s farm near the sea coast” (\textit{Taranaki Herald} 1 September 1860: 3), which would likely explain the occupation of Charles Autridge’s house. Major Hutchins reported there were about 500 Māori occupying these

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\(^7\) James Autridge was an original member of the Taranaki Rifle Volunteer Company (Penn 1909), and as such would have been based at the Omata Stockade.
fortifications, and given the complexity and extent of them, Prickett states it was probably a wise decision not to attack (Prickett 1994: 44). The Waireka camp was abandoned on 7 September 1860, although was reused briefly in the early part of the second Taranaki war (Prickett 1994: 42).

During August 1860, 480 refugees from Taranaki had arrived in Nelson. However, those remaining in New Plymouth were reluctant to leave (Elliot-Hogg 1999). In September another three steamers, each carrying at least 200 women and children, left for Nelson. Some of those who had received notice to leave refused to go, in some instances resorted to tactics such as going into hiding (Marjouram et al. 1990: 67). By mid-October however there were 824 women and children still in New Plymouth with justification for this being that they were not receiving rations from the provincial government and were therefore supporting themselves (Elliot-Hogg 1999: 22).

Not all the refugees went to Nelson, although government support was not necessarily given for those that went to other settlements (Elliot-Hogg 1999: 33). Charles Autridge’s family went to Auckland with his wife and 8 children and applied for rations, to be told they had to provide certification they had been sent to Auckland (Autridge, Silcock, and Longman 28 August 1860). The family does appear in a list of people receiving assistance from the Taranaki Provincial government, so clearly they were successful in this (Taranaki Provisional Government n.d.).

Quality of life for the families in Nelson depended upon personal situations, with those that were able to support themselves living a similar life to that they had left behind although without their menfolk. Others were reliant on government rations and charitable assistance of local hosts, but generally they mostly managed on the rations they received, supplementing their income when work was available (Elliot-Hogg 1999: 44). For some, life in Nelson was unbearable and they were desperate to get back to New Plymouth to reunite their families. There were cases of groups hiring boats in an attempt to get back, and one did successfully land in January 1861 with a Mrs Jury and her 6 children (Elliot-Hogg 1999: 62). This is likely to have been John Jury’s wife Sophia and their children.

Towards the end of December 1860 it was reported that members of the Ngāti Ruanui and Taranaki tribes, together with some from Māori from Waitotara and Wanganui intended to move back north (Taranaki Herald 29 December 1860: 3). By early January 1861 this group, together with some from the Waikato, had reoccupied the Waireka area (Taranaki
By February it was reported that the group had “strengthened their position materially. Rifle pits are dug over the adjacent lands, and a pa and rifle pits command the road up the Waireka hill. Two pas are erected on the ridge commanding Jury’s ground, and for some distance in rear defences have been made” (Taranaki Herald 16 February 1861: 2). The first Taranaki campaign of war continued until March 1861 when negotiations brought about a settlement of peace. Ngāti Ruanui and Taranaki Māori left Waireka for the south of Taranaki on 21 March 1861 (Taranaki Herald 23 March 1861: 2), and peace agreements were signed shortly after with Te Āti Awa chiefs, although Wiremu Kingi did not sign, and no settlement was made with southern iwi (Prickett 1994: 78). While the war had ended, neither side had achieved a victory (Prickett 2010: 90). This uneasy truce was however short lived and the “cold war ended and hot war resumed” in March 1863 (Prickett 2010: 90). While this period is often described as the “Second Taranaki War” Belich describes the fighting during this period as of low intensity and sporadic, and therefore inappropriate to call it such (Belich 1986: 120).

Many of the settlers returned to Taranaki between April and July 1861 and continued to receive Provincial Government assistance. In September 1862 Charles Autridge was still receiving rations for three adults in his family, and was working under a Public Works scheme and living in town (Taranaki Provisional Government 1862-1863). By 1863 Mrs Elizabeth Jury was still receiving rations for her and her three dependent children (Taranaki Provisional Government 1863).

Despite the relatively low level of armed conflict, the losses during the 1860-1861 war in Taranaki were widespread for both Māori and European settlers. For the families featured in this research the impact of war was devastating, with the loss of homesteads, property and livelihoods. Grayling lists 187 European properties destroyed between 17 March 1860 and 31 March 1861 (Grayling 1862: 108-12). The homesteads that were destroyed are featured on a plan by Octavius Carrington drawn in 1862, which is shown below in Figure 32, and in greater detail in Figure 33. With a focus solely on the destruction of European property, the plan by Carrington does not show the losses sustained by Māori due to the systematic destruction of Māori settlements and crops by British and colonial forces. This plan however provided the starting point for locating the archaeological remains of the homestead sites that are central to this research.
Figure 32 “Province of Taranaki from Waitara to Oeo in 1862, showing buildings destroyed by natives since the commencement of the war, lands acquired, location of blockhouses, military positions unoccupied, native pas and sawmills”, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth, ARC2004-306.
Figure 33 Detail from Carrington 1862, Puke Ariki, New Plymouth, ARC2004-306. The location of each destroyed homestead is marked by a small cross.

Mrs Jury did not return to Omata after the war, and her paddock was never built upon again. Mrs Jury died in New Plymouth in 1869 (Taranaki Herald 6 October 1869: 3). For Charles and Frances Autridge, whose portraits are shown below in Figure 34, life after the war was at least initially positive. By the mid-1860’s, Charles had risen in social class to the ranks of “esquire” (Taranaki Herald 11 March 1865: 1), and continued to farm his land. Shortly after he followed in his father’s footsteps and was granted a new publicans’ licence for the Imperial Hotel on the corner of Devon and Currie Streets in New Plymouth (Taranaki Herald 21 April 1866: 3). Probably after the payment from his claim for compensation (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions), another house was built on his farm property, and while to date the location of this is unknown it is probably situated near to the current homestead, closer to Sutton Road. Charles Autridge’s fortunes did not last long however. The Autridge farm property was advertised for sale in 1867, with a dwelling house and outbuildings built upon it. His thoroughbred race horses were also for sale, as well as one pony that was “accustomed to carry a lady” (Taranaki Herald 4 May 1867: 2). Clearly the property did not sell, as it was advertised again in June 1868 (Taranaki Herald 20 June 1868: 1), and by December 1868 was advertised as a mortgagee sale (Taranaki Herald 5 December...
The property was advertised for sale again in 1870, and at that stage it was rented to a Joseph Hart (Taranaki Herald 7 May 1870: 3). Charles Autridge appears in Auckland in the 1870’s as the licensee of the Queen’s Hotel, Karangahape Road (Daily Southern Cross 13 June 1872: 3). The family must have hit hard times, as Charles Autridge made an application to have his bankruptcy discharged by 1872 (Taranaki Herald 28 September 1872: 3). However ownership of the Omata property is unclear at this time, and in 1882 the property “known as Autridge’s” is advertised again for sale as “a bargain” (Taranaki Herald 30 October 1882: 3). Charles Autridge died in November 1891 in Wanganui (Wanganui Herald 2 November 1891: 2), just a few months after the Crown Grant in recognition of his original purchase of the land from the New Zealand Company was granted to him (Autridge Crown Grant 1891).

Figure 34 Charles Autridge (left) and Frances Autridge (right). Photos provided by descendents of the Autridge family.

3.13. Discussion

This chapter has traced the movement through time and place of the Jury and the Autridge families, and examined the nature of European colonization of New Plymouth, and more specifically, the settlement just south of the town, Omata. For the two families studied here, emigrating to New Plymouth represented an opportunity to improve their situation in a
material sense, but also in a moral sense, as they were actively engaging in their own self-
Improvement. That the Jury and the Autridge families took advantage of the opportunity to
emigrate to New Zealand provides a clear indication that they were motivated to better their
lives through this route. However poor they may have been neither family were paupers in
England, and we know Jesse and Elizabeth Jury had to meet not insubstantial costs to
emigrate with their large family.

While the families were members of the structured class system in Britain that had
them labelled as the ‘labouring classes’, this turned out to be currency when it came to
applying for a free passage to New Plymouth with the Plymouth Company. The free passage
came with conditions, such as general or specific skills, age and marital status, and in some
instances the potential migrants manipulated their situation in order to ensure acceptance of
their application. However in some cases, such was the belief in Improvement as a just cause,
applications were adjusted by authorities to make sure applicants met the set criteria for the
free passage.

While conditions were not necessarily easy for the immigrants, especially when
viewed through the lens of life today, it seems that at least for these two families, once in
New Plymouth life quickly improved in a material sense, evidenced by Jesse Jury’s
comments about not wanting to return home for £1,000, and Charles Autridge’s rapid
purchase of a town section. Perceptions regarding the amount of Improvement in conditions
made however seemed to vary between the labouring settlers in the initial years of settlement,
with strikes and protests featuring regularly at the conditions faced under the control of the
New Zealand Company.

While the Jurys and the Autridges emigrated as members of the ‘labouring classes’,
governess Maria Nicholson pointed out that in New Plymouth attempts to transfer the class
structure present in Britain was met with resistance by the general European populace.
Omata was seen as a respectable settlement and after the families moved to their own farms,
they were no longer considered members of the rough paid labourers, but were self-employed,
industrious landowners and farmers, employers of others, particularly Māori, who in many
cases fulfilled the role of the labourer workers crucial to Wakefield’s emigration scheme.
While the members of the ‘labouring classes’ in New Plymouth may have felt “Jack was as
good as his master” (Belich 2009: 157), and that they had left class differentiation behind
them in England, their actions in the process of Improvement were carried out in conjunction
with the colonial annexation of Māori from their traditional lands, and the cost of this was war, and the losses to property and lives on both sides.

The following chapter investigates the archaeological remains of the two farmsteads belonging to the Jury and the Autridge families. The archaeology is a record of the development of the farms, from the clearance of bush and fern and the time when they were used by Māori, to the time they were destroyed during the first Taranaki war. The archaeology is also a record of the houses – the building structures themselves, their destruction, but most importantly to this thesis, the archaeology contributes to the story of the lives of the people living within them in a way that the history cannot. As with the historical record, some of the archaeological record is incomplete – one of the impacts of war on the archaeology was the removal of material and goods from the site, but “absences may be as telling as the material preserved” (Middleton 2005: 141), and documents, such as the claims for compensation, contribute to fill in some of the gaps to create an extra depth of knowledge about the families and their lives.
4. Archaeological Investigations of the Jury and Autridge Farmstead Sites

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents results of archaeological investigations carried out on two recorded archaeological sites (P19/292 and P19/270) in Omata, Taranaki (Figure 35). Excavations were conducted on site P19/292 (described here as Mrs Jury’s, or Jury’s farm) from 7 to 21 December 2007, and on site P19/270 (described here as Autridge’s farm) from 1 to 15 February 2008. These excavations were undertaken as the fieldwork component of this doctoral research through the Anthropology Department, University of Auckland. Permission to excavate was gained from the landowners, Len and Heather Jury, and from Iwi, Nga Mahanga A Tairi Society Incorporated. Excavations were carried out under Section 18 of the Historic Places Act, authority number 2008/139.

Figure 35 Location of sites under investigation on an overlay of a historic plan with a modern map. Image by Briar Sefton, Anthropology Department, University of Auckland.
This chapter begins with a brief overview of the wider archaeological landscape of Taranaki, and then focuses on sites in the Omata area. The Taranaki region has a high density of recorded pre-European Māori archaeological sites as well as a range of historic period sites and European historic sites. However most of these have not been investigated archaeologically. Many sites, particularly those away from the coastal zone, are still being discovered and recorded, generally as a result of oil and gas resource exploration now occurring in the region. These newly discovered sites consist mostly of Māori horticultural areas. Other site types, such as the European settler farmsteads under study here, have only recently been recognized for their research potential and consequently only a few are recorded in the New Zealand Archaeological Association national archaeological site recording scheme.

The background to the archaeological research is described as this project did not occur in isolation but was based on prior historical and archaeological research into pre-war European settler farmstead sites in Taranaki. In addition, the process by which sites suitable for research were selected is also discussed here. Today these archaeological sites are mostly located in paddocks that show little indication of what was once there. Often the only hint of where a homestead once stood is a scattering of ceramics and glass that is uncovered when the earth is turned in preparation for planting by disk ing or ploughing. Given their ephemeral nature and contemporary farming practices, such sites are at risk and this also was a factor in choosing this type of site for investigation.

As described below, the excavations themselves were carried out over targeted areas identified through prior geophysical survey with a focus on identifying features. This allowed for rapid excavation and the detailed recovery of data required for later identification and artefact analysis with 100% artefact recovery in the areas chosen for excavation. The farmsteads, with all adjacent buildings and associated elements, covered large areas. To excavate these in their entirety was beyond the time and budget constraints of the project. As a result, excavation was directed towards finding a balance between artefact and feature documentation and excavating as large an area as possible.

Each site is then discussed separately, first with a description of the excavation areas and the types of features recorded, followed by an interpretation of the features. This final section discusses activity phases identified at each site; pre-European Māori activities, European occupation and the farmstead complex, and, finally, Taranaki war Māori occupation. The detailed recording of artefacts and features was crucial for delineation of
deposition relating to occupation, destruction, post-destruction clean-up, and post-war use was an essential part of the excavation methodology to allow development of these interpretive analyses.

These archaeological sites were unusual in that they were occupied for such a short period of time. A number of factors contributed to a greater understanding of the archaeology and in some cases raised new lines of inquiry concerning land use. Firstly, prior historical research and landowner knowledge allowed tight chronological control over when and by whom the sites and were occupied; secondly, when they were destroyed; and thirdly, whether they were rebuilt upon.

4.2. The Archaeological Landscape

The historical evidence for the intensity of pre-European Māori settlement within the wider Taranaki region was presented in the previous chapter. This history has translated into a richness of archaeological sites, testament to Māori occupation from the earliest period into the historic period following European settlement, relating to both Māori and European occupation and interaction between the two communities. The wider archaeological landscape of the area has been previously reviewed by Buist, who focussed on North Taranaki (Buist 1964), Prickett (1990) and more recently Walton (2000). Prickett has also carried out detailed archaeological surveys regarding fortifications in the area looking at pre-European Māori fortified sites (Prickett 1980), sites relating to the Taranaki wars and later fortifications (Prickett 1981, 1994, 1999, 2002, 2010). As a consequence of Prickett’s efforts, the fortified sites of Taranaki, particularly those constructed by the British and Colonial forces are well identified, however, only rarely are they investigated through archaeological excavation (e.g. Prickett 1981, 1994).

Māori sites recorded in the Taranaki region include not only fortified pā, but non-fortified occupation sites and those that are related to gardening, such as storage pits and terraces both for horticulture and occupation. Many Māori gardens were also located inland, a feature that developed particularly during the musket wars when Māori across Taranaki were concerned about invasions from the Waikato and other tribes. Diffenbach, on an overland journey to Mount Taranaki, wrote of coming across gardens hidden in the forest often known only to the person working on them (Dieffenbach 1843: 144). Most of these types of garden sites were not identified and recorded until recently as a result of resource
exploration. As a result the nature of these inland gardens are only now being investigated and understood archaeologically.

In the 150 years since European settlement, the Taranaki area has been subjected to wholesale transformations of the landscape through farming and agriculture. The Taranaki wars in the 1860’s and later have also left their mark on the landscape as many Māori pā, village and garden areas were destroyed by colonial forces during conflict. Recorded historic sites in the area include farmsteads, flour mills, and sites associated with the Taranaki wars, including redoubts and stockades. Military sites alone make up approximately 45% of recorded historical archaeological sites in the Taranaki and Wanganui region (Walton 2000: 42), accentuating the impact of the wars during the 19th century on the landscape, but also highlighting the gaps in the systematic recording of other types of historical sites, such as the farmsteads destroyed during the 1860-1861 Taranaki war. It is documented historically that 177 European properties were destroyed during the 1860-61 war period. The majority of these were homesteads, but in addition, sawmills, a flour mill and a public house were destroyed (Grayling 1862). Most of these sites remain unrecorded archaeologically. The Omata area of Taranaki has a range of archaeological site types and recorded sites close to the study area are illustrated below in Figure 36, with site details shown in Table 1.

Figure 36 Recorded archaeological sites within the surrounds of the study area. The sites under study, P19/292 and P19/270, are shown highlighted in yellow. NZ Archaeological Association Archsite site recording scheme, available at www.archsite.org.nz
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NZAA Site Number</th>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Type</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>Māori Defence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P19/18</td>
<td>Pā</td>
<td>Māori Defence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P19/20</td>
<td>1863 Redoubt</td>
<td>Military – non Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P19/24</td>
<td>Pā</td>
<td>Māori Defence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P19/32</td>
<td>1864 Blockhouse</td>
<td>Military – non Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P19/35</td>
<td>Omata Stockade (not shown)</td>
<td>Military – non Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P19/36</td>
<td>1860 Waireka Redoubt</td>
<td>Military – non Māori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P19/85</td>
<td>Pā</td>
<td>Māori Defence</td>
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<tr>
<td>P19/86</td>
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<td>Kaipopo Pā</td>
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<td>P19/147</td>
<td>Petroglyph</td>
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<td>Petroglyph</td>
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<td>P19/266</td>
<td>Pā</td>
<td>Māori Defence</td>
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<td>P19/267</td>
<td>“Omata Pā” /Kāinga</td>
<td>Māori Habitation</td>
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<td>Terrace</td>
<td>Māori Habitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P19/269</td>
<td>Homestead pre-1860</td>
<td>European Farming</td>
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<tr>
<td>P19/270</td>
<td>Homestead pre-1860</td>
<td>European Farming</td>
</tr>
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<td>P19/271</td>
<td>WW2 Rifle Pits</td>
<td>Military – non Māori</td>
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<td>P19/272</td>
<td>20thC Dam and power plant</td>
<td>Industrial</td>
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<td>P19/275</td>
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<td>P19/276</td>
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<td>Māori Habitation (historic)</td>
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<td>Māori Habitation (historic)</td>
</tr>
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<td>P19/284</td>
<td>Terraces</td>
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<td>Karaka Grove</td>
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</tr>
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<td>P19/286</td>
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<td>P19/288</td>
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</tr>
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<td>P19/290</td>
<td>Farmstead</td>
<td>European Farming</td>
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<td>Homestead pre-1860</td>
<td>European Farming</td>
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<tr>
<td>P19/292</td>
<td>Homestead pre-1860</td>
<td>European Farming</td>
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<tr>
<td>P19/295</td>
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<td>Homestead pre-1860</td>
<td>European Farming</td>
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<td>Pit</td>
<td>Māori Horticulture</td>
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<td>Terraces</td>
<td>Māori Habitation</td>
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<td>European</td>
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<td>Homestead pre-1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>P19/326</td>
<td>Homestead pre-1860</td>
<td>European Farming</td>
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</table>
Excluding site surveys, previously reported archaeological investigations in the Omata area are largely limited to Nigel Prickett’s significant excavations at the Omata Stockade as part of his doctoral research (Prickett 1981). The Omata Stockade was an important site in Taranaki’s history and was unusual in that it was a fortification built by settlers as defence for their homes and farms and as a place of refuge. The excavation at the Omata Stockade had a focus on understanding the defences, accommodation quarters, and the artefacts, which had a range representing the civilian “settlers turned soldiers” nature of the fortification (Prickett 1994: 127). The only other comparable site was the Bell Block stockade on the northern side of New Plymouth (Prickett 1981, 1994).

A number of settler’s homes in the Bell Block were also destroyed during the initial stages of the Taranaki war. One of these was a settler homestead site on Devon Road that was destroyed in 1860. This site, the home of Romulus Street, has been excavated and reported on (Adamson and Bader 2008). It differs to the Jury and the Autridge farmsteads under study here in that this was largely a bachelor’s residence. The excavation on this site, the Street homestead, revealed a number of artefacts and features that allowed an insight into the economics and domestic arrangements of this household, whilst providing evidence for cross-cultural interactions and cooperation between the European Street brothers and Māori working and living within the same setting. The archaeology provided evidence of this level of cooperation and coexistence between Māori and European through the presence of knapped bottle glass in association with other artefacts during Romulus Street’s time of occupation. In addition, a storage pit, or “potato house”, was uncovered and excavated and this was considered to be an example of a crossing of Māori and European ideas regarding construction, where the cobbled floor and slab construction drew on Romulus’ Cornish roots, and the sunken pit draws on Māori traditions of root vegetable storage. Significant numbers of alcohol bottles on the site, together with older styled ceramics, were considered to be in keeping with the young single male nature of the household (Adamson and Bader 2008).

4.3. Project Background

As described in the previous chapter, the approximate location of European homesteads destroyed during the first Taranaki war between 1860 and 1861 were recorded with a cross on Octavius Carrington’s (1862) plan. A section of this plan is shown below in Figure 37, highlighting the Carrington crosses that represent the two sites being researched.
here, P19/270 Autridge’s farm, and P19/292 Mrs Jury’s farm, as well as the location of Romulus Street’s homestead in Bell Block.

The potential archaeological value of these site types was initially identified by Dr Nigel Prickett who was commissioned by landowners Len and Heather Jury to undertake an archaeological assessment of their 52 ha farm property in Omata. Three sites were previously recorded on the property, including two significant sites relating to the Taranaki war - P19/36 Waireka Camp and P19/120 Kaipopo Pā, as well as a cliff top Māori pā P19/86 first recorded by Tony Walton in 1978. While Kaipopo Pā is now no longer visible on the surface, the Waireka Redoubt earthworks are still visible, and largely unchanged since Prickett first recorded them in 1975 (Figure 38). Prickett reported that both these sites have high historical and archaeological significance (Prickett 2002). During his assessment, Prickett recorded another seven archaeological sites relating to both Māori and historic occupation on the Jury property. These are P19/87 (Māori pā), P19/266 (Māori pā), P19/267 (Omata kāinga/pā), P19/268 (Māori terrace), P19/269 European house site, P19/270 (European house site and Autridge’s farm), P19/271 (World War 2 rifle pits) and P19/272 (dam and power plant) (Prickett 2002).
In March 2003 Nigel Prickett revisited the Omata area, and using the 1862 Carrington plan, focussed on relocating and recording more of the destroyed homesteads as archaeological sites. Prickett contacted land owners and found few had seen Carrington’s map, but many knew where the location of old wells were on their properties and, as wells tend to leave a depression in the paddocks, these were relatively easy to locate. He then recorded these by GPS. However, recognising that many wells were dug later in the 19th and 20th century, Prickett then made a search for glass and ceramic fragments in areas of little grass cover. His subsequent identification of the potential for discovering the pre-1860 homestead sites was based on this combination of historical and archaeological evidence, together with knowledge of the landowners who in some cases had a multi-generational connections with the land (Prickett 2003).
During this site survey Prickett recorded another nine potential pre-war homestead sites in the Omata area and surrounds - P19/290, known at the time as Swiss Cottage and illustrated in Gilbert (1861); P19/291, known as Brookwood, this was the residence of Reverend Henry Brown and was previously occupied by the Hetley family, also illustrated in Gilbert (1861); P19/292, site of Mrs Jury’s; P19/293 and P19/294 in Hurford Road owned by Edward Touet; P19/295, owned by T. Wilkinson; P19/296, owned by Frederick Greaves; P19/297 and P19/298 in Cowling Road, Hurford. During another survey of part of the Jury property commissioned by Len Jury in 2006, Hans Bader also recorded the line of the old South Road as site P19/319, and another homestead site was recorded, evidenced by a ceramic and glass scatter, and given the site number P19/320 (Figure 39). A homestead on another landowner’s property was also recorded by Bader in 2007 as site P19/326.

Since their destruction in the first Taranaki war the homestead sites across the region recorded by Carrington in 1862 have been subjected to a number of post-depositional processes, including rebuilding, ploughing, disk ing and other more destructive farming processes.
activities. As such, many archaeological remains are likely to have been compromised if not destroyed. However it has been shown that ploughed sites still offer significant research potential (Brooks et al. 2009). Such homestead sites are considered to be a significant, fragile and often ephemeral archaeological resource, important not only to Taranaki but on a national level, with their short duration of occupation adding to their significance (Bader 2006).
Figure 39 Area of 2006 assessment on the Jury property, outlined in blue, showing the extent of recorded sites as well as the line of the old South Road P19/319 in red (Bader 2006)
4.4. Identifying the Study Sites

Focussing on the present day Jury farm property, and taking Prickett’s site recording information, including the proximity of historic wells in relation to the approximate areas identified on Carrington’s 1862 plan, the next step in this project was to narrow down the location, and archaeological remains, of the homesteads into those that retained a high level of research potential. Based on the supposition that Octavius Carrington, as a surveyor, would have marked his 1862 plan as accurately as he was able to, the area of this plan covering the present day Jury farm was overlaid onto a current aerial photograph and georectified by Hans Bader. The author and Hans Bader then conducted a geomagnetic survey to assess the potential of these identified locations (Adamson and Bader 2007).

Seven sites were chosen for geomagnetic survey (Figure 40). These were recorded sites P19/269, P19/270, P19/292, P19/295, P19/296, P19/320, and an unrecorded area in Gardner Road in the location of one of Carrington’s crosses. Prickett had noted one piece of ceramic from site P19/269 and he also recorded finding ceramic and glass at site P19/270 (Auttridge’s farm), but he could not relocate the well although the approximate area of this had been pointed out to him. This site also had a flattened area on the knoll that was a possible house platform (Prickett 2002), shown in Figure 41. Prickett recorded a single piece of ceramic and one piece of bottle glass at site P19/292 (Mrs Jury’s), and noted the location of the well, visible by a depression in the land despite later cultivation (Figure 42) (Prickett 2003). I also recorded another piece of ceramic on the site in a site visit in 2006. A small scatter of glass and ceramic was recovered from site P19/295, and the landowner, Len Jury, recalled filling in the well which was on the high point of the land, the depression of which was visible when Prickett recorded the site in 2003 (Prickett 2003). Site P19/296, (Frederick Greaves homestead) had a small quantity of ceramic eroding from an adjacent scarp when recorded by Prickett in 2003. The well had been covered by a farm race built by Len Jury in the early 1960’s, who could recall its location (Prickett 2003). A large amount of ceramic had been found along the bank to the south of the survey area, and this had been collected by the landowners. This ceramic, currently in the author’s possession, is consistent with a mid-19th century occupation. P19/320 had also been recorded as having scatters of historic glass and ceramic (Geometria Ltd 2004).
Figure 40 Overlay of areas of geomagnetic survey. Sites numbers surveyed are in yellow. The circles represent one of Carrington’s 1862 crosses, and the grey areas are the extent of the geomagnetic survey grids.
Figure 41 Autridge's farm P19/270, flattened knoll of the homestead site. Excavations later revealed the water trough cut through the footprint of the house.

Figure 42 On Mrs Jury's the only evidence for the homestead was a slight depression and uneven grass growth where the well was situated, shown in the centre right of the image, close to the modern water trough.
In 2007, in conjunction with Hans Bader, approximately 5 hectares in total was surveyed using a Ferex 4.032 Fluxgate Gradiometer in grids of varied sizes (Figure 43). Transects were walked across these grids at 0.5 metre intervals, and recorded data was normalized to reduce errors resulting from uneven ground surfaces. The survey area was found to be well suited for a gradiometer survey as there was low background noise from the geological matrix. The soil profile at Omata has a volcanic ash base, commonly called ‘clay’. Due to the magnetic properties of volcanic ash the gradiometer records a low level of background noise that permits detection of culturally induced deposits showing different magnetic qualities. These deposits can be either overlying the volcanic ash or dug into it (Adamson and Bader 2007: 7).

While all sites showed anomalies, the results of the geophysical survey showed the sites of P19/270 Autridge’s farm and P19/292 Mrs Jury’s to have the clearest features consistent with the pre-1860 homesteads, each consisting of several buildings, pits and wells. In addition is was thought that P19/296 had historic archaeological features relating to a homestead potentially still in good condition (Adamson and Bader 2007: 18), but in the end it was decided to focus research on the sites of Autridge’s farm and Mrs Jury’s.

Figure 43 Grid for geomagnetic survey laid out on Mrs Jury’s P19/292. This level area was shown to be the location of the house, and the later rifle pits and trenches, although the paddock showed no surface evidence aside from the location of the well.
4.4.1. P19/270 Autridge’s Farm

The geomagnetic survey on the site of Autridge’s farm survey, P19/270, shown in Figure 44, was separated by a large boxthorn hedge, and in the eastern half of the survey grid, in the south corner was a concrete floor of a modern milking shed, together with an iron pipe leading north from this feature. Most of the features thought to be associated with the homestead appeared to be centred on the south western end of the survey grid, where features were indicated on the high point. There were a number of geomagnetic anomalies here, and this suggested the presence of a large quantity of subsurface iron, a well, possibly with a structure around it, and the potential for further small buildings (Adamson and Bader 2007). The location of the geomagnetic anomalies was close to where Carrington had marked his cross in 1862 for this site, and consequently this site was considered a suitable option for excavation.

Figure 44 P19/270 Autridge's Farm geomagnetic survey. Purple outlines indicate areas of anomalies with potential for investigation.

4.4.2. P19/292 Mrs Jury’s

On P19/292, Mrs Jury’s homestead site, shown in Figure 45, a number of anomalies were identified indicating areas of disturbance. There were also at least two strong anomalies indicating large amounts of metal which, on investigation, were found to be fire features with metal in them. The surmised location of the well was visible in the geomagnetic survey, and was consistent with the depression in the ground surface (Adamson and Bader 2007). Again,
as with Autridge’s farmstead, the location of the anomalies was close to the cross marked in Carrington’s 1862 plan.

Figure 45 P19/292 Mrs Jury’s geomagnetic survey. Purple outlines indicate areas of anomalies with potential for investigation. Red circular outline indicates the location of the historic well.

Historic survey plans held at LINZ Hamilton provided a further aid in pinpointing the location of Mrs Jury’s homestead. As the property was located adjacent to a main road at the time of occupation it was included in some surveys, including the c1847 surveyor’s notebook illustration shown in the previous chapter in Figure 22. Another plan, shown below in Figure 46, although undated, was probably compiled using this original surveyor’s notebook and shows two buildings on the property, one directly on the side of Omata Road (Waireka Road West), and the other set slightly off the road (Land Information New Zealand). It seemed that the structure illustrated on the side of the road was partly open, possibly a cow shed. The other structure is shown set back from the road, but angled towards it and was probably the house. Another image, not shown here, is part of a plan showing positions during the Waireka battle, with the roads named and the location of Mrs Jury’s house shown (Great Britain Parliamentary Papers 1861).
4.5. Excavation Methodology

The two chosen homestead sites were each excavated over a two week period in the summer of 2007-2008 giving a total of four weeks excavation. Both sites were documented in an identical manner. The excavation teams consisted of myself and Dr Hans-Dieter Bader, together with volunteer archaeology students from both the University of Auckland and the University of Otago, as well as occasional professional input, such as Dr Nigel Prickett. These volunteers are acknowledged at the beginning of this thesis.

A mechanical digger was used to remove the surface grass layer on all areas (Figure 47). Artefacts exposed at this point had their location recorded as coming from “Surface”, and their position shot in using a Leica 1200 robotic total station. Remaining topsoil, to a depth of approximately 10-15 cm, was removed firstly using spades and hoes, and then features were exposed using trowels. All artefacts exposed during this activity had their precise location recorded using the total station and artefacts recovered from this level were described as coming from “A Horizon”. Features were then excavated and recorded along
with their associated artefacts. Features (post holes, pits etc) were identified and given a sequential number, and written with a description into a feature book unique to each site before being digitally recorded using the total station. Finds had their location marked and were sorted as to find class (i.e. ceramic, glass, metal etc), bagged in situ, and given a sequential find number. This was then entered manually into a finds book, before the location was recorded digitally using the total station. This methodology meant each find number could potentially contain a number of individual artefacts from the same material class, and this was dealt with later when entering individual artefacts into the finds database, discussed in the following chapter.

![Image of excavation site](image.png)

**Figure 47 Mrs Jury’s, Area B.** Removing the topsoil on the first day of excavations quickly revealed the presence of artefacts, which were marked with a skewer then recorded and bagged.

### 4.6. Excavation of P19/292, Mrs Jury’s Farmstead

For Mrs Jury’s farmstead, excavated in December 2007, a total of approximately 564 square metres was excavated over 10 areas (A - J) during the two week field period. The areas were selected based upon the results of the geophysical survey described previously.
The extent of the excavation areas is shown below in Figure 48. Below is a description of the excavation of these areas, followed by an interpretation of the archaeological features recorded.

Figure 48 Overall extent of excavation areas for site P19/292 Mrs Jury's farmstead. Outlines of features are shown, but not features numbers.
4.6.1. The Excavation Areas

Area A

This area was located close to Waireka Road West, to the north west of the site, and is potentially recorded in the survey book drawing shown in Figure 46, and thought to be a cow shed.

Using the above methodology, a 9m x 5m area was excavated here (Figure 49). This area had few artefacts with a total of 10 find numbers allocated. Hand clearing using spades, hoes and trowels revealed an area of hard packed surface. This surface surrounded 2 postholes (Features 172, 173), and a small shallow pit (Feature 175) with a circular feature (Feature 176).

Figure 49 Mrs Jury's, Area A extent of excavated area (includes Area I)
Area B and B Extension

This area showed the most disturbances in the geophysical survey and is the area in which a building is pictured in the survey drawing shown above in Figure 46. It is situated on levelled ground, close to the well and seemed to have the highest potential for recovering the remains of the house.

The original area cleared first by mechanical digger, then by hand, measured 20.5 m x 5m, and this was extended to incorporate more area (called B extension), making the total area excavated in Area B and B extension approximately 175 m² (Figure 50). There was no evidence of burning in the topsoil layer of this area, and this is consistent with the historical record of destruction by demolition rather than fire. Recording of the A Horizon artefacts showed the distribution of finds to be concentrated around the location of potential features rather than occurring throughout the surface of the site. It was initially unclear how this patterning of the artefacts related to these potential features (Figure 51). However, this later became clear when the artefacts were concentrated within a war period Māori “gunfighter” rifle trench system. A total of 139 features were recorded in this entire area. Features excavated in this area that relate to the house structure include rows of square, spade cut postholes, together with a large square fire feature (Feature 123.1).
Figure 50 Mrs Jury’s, Area B, B extension, Area C and Area H
Figure 51 Mrs Jury’s, Area B after topsoil removal. It was initially observed that distributions of finds in this layer were restricted to features. Only later did the reason for this become clear.

Inter-cutting many of the postholes relating to the house were features relating to a previously unknown land-war period Māori rifle pit and trenching system, or “gunfighter pā” (drawn in grey in Figure 50). The features relating to this were clearly constructed after the house was destroyed in 1860, and are made up of a number of interconnected rifle pits/bunkers and trenches. To the north east and south west of the pits and trenches were lines of palisade stakeholes. The rifle pits and trenches contained a high density of artefacts as a result of backfilling and this was the reason for the unusual finds distribution observed early on in the excavation. All features in Area B and B extension, including rifle pits and trenches, were excavated by hand. One rifle pit had a small fire scoop on its base. As these features associated with Māori occupation were unexpected and went beyond the Authority provided, permission was granted from the Historic Places Trust to continue excavation. Iwi were notified, who blessed the site and subsequently maintained a regular presence.
All artefacts were recovered, with find numbers totalling 511 in this area (although actual vessel counts were much higher)\(^8\), and included ceramics, glass, metal, as well as wood. Remains of wood were present in a larger quantity than was expected based upon previous experience of limited wood preservation in acidic Taranaki soils that were not swamps. The presence of the wood in Mrs Jury’s was probably due to good preservation conditions within the rifle pits.

**Area C**

This area measured 2.6m x 6.1m and incorporated the area thought to include the farmhouse well indicated by a surface depression and evidenced in the geophysical survey. This area was eventually surrounded on two sides by Area B extension, and is shown above in Figure 50. Removal of the topsoil layer revealed an area where it was likely the well would be. The well was cut into a slightly wider area, meaning there was a step down into the well area (Figure 52). The well was round and unlined, and measured approximately 1.1m in diameter. It was excavated by hand to a depth of 2m, and then the side was removed by mechanical digger. The well was then excavated by hand to a total depth of 4.8m. The bottom of the well was not found, and probing revealed it was still nowhere near. A conversation with the sharemilker on the property, Hamish Logan, revealed the well at the Omata school was 40 feet deep (approx. 12 metres). We stopped excavating at that point. Very few artefacts were recovered from the well, with only 24 find numbers recorded. There was no reason to believe the well had been dug out previously, and therefore, has a high potential for retention of a number of artefacts closer to the bottom than those we recovered.

Area C also had evidence of the continuation of the rifle pits and trenching system (Figure 52 and Figure 53) found in Area B and B extension. These were excavated completely, however the artefact density was less in these trenches, as they were constructed outside the bounds of the house, where most of the artefacts were most likely to have come from during the destruction process. Aside from the artefacts taken from the well, Area C only had 18 find numbers recorded.

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\(^8\) Each find number contained all artefacts sherds or fragments of the same material class recorded from the same location. This meant ultimately there was a greater quantity of individual artefacts than was represented by the find numbers. However the final artefact sherd and minimum vessel counts were not determined until artefact processing was carried out later in the laboratory.
Figure 52 Mrs Jury’s, Area C showing the pit leading to the capped well. The trench leading to this area is unexcavated in the centre of the image, with the entrance under the plastic bag.

Figure 53 Mrs Jury’s, Area C showing a circular outline of the well once the cap was removed.
Area D

The area excavated in Area D measured 15m x 5.5m. This area also showed a number of anomalies in the geophysical survey. After the mechanical digger had removed the grass layer, the topsoil layer was removed by hand revealing 8 distinct features to the south of the area and a number of postholes to its north. Excavation also revealed features potentially related to a continuation of the gunfighter trenching system.

Six of the 8 large features were excavated by hand and all were pit features with postholes in their base (Figure 54). Feature 19.1 was the largest, and extended into the baulk on the eastern side. A fragment of clay tobacco pipe was found in the top layer of this pit feature. There were three postholes in the base of the feature, and stratigraphic recording of the profile in the baulk was undertaken. A soil sample was taken from the base and this was analysed for microfossils by Mark Horrocks of Microfossil Research Ltd, the results of which are described below.

Feature 110.1 had a later rifle trench cut into it on the western baulk side (Feature 4), and had two postholes in its base. Features 20.1 and 22.1 also had a later trench feature cutting into them on the eastern side of the baulk. Feature 23.1 was a pit with one posthole and a small hāngī feature (Feature 23.2) dug into the fill near the base, shown in Figure 55. Feature 115, in the South West corner of Area D, was the corner of a pit which extended into the baulk on two sides. Two features, 118 and 119 (which extended into the baulk) were left unexcavated as it was felt a large enough sample of pits had been recorded, given the time and labour constraints of the excavation (Figure 56).

The north-western corner of this area had what was probably another palisade row relating to the gunfighter pā (Feature 9). A decision was made, on advice from Historic Places Trust, not to excavate the rifle trench (Feature 4) and palisade in this area, as it was outside the conditions of the archaeological authority relating to this excavation. However a small part of the Feature 4 trench was excavated where it connected with the pit Feature 110.1. Area D had few artefacts with 14 find numbers recorded.
Figure 54 Mrs Jury’s, Area D showing all features
Figure 55 Mrs Jury's, Area D Feature 23.2 hāngi in base of pit. At this stage the pit was a half section only, and was so shallow due to later earthworks.

Figure 56 Mrs Jury's, Area D facing west showing eight pit features. The pit feature 23.1 has been excavated fully, leaving the hāngi stones in the base as requested by the hapū. The two unexcavated pits are in the centre of the image.
Area E

This location showed a number of anomalies in the geophysical survey, and an area 10.3 x 5.3 was opened up (Figure 57). After excavation of the area by mechanical digger, hand excavation revealed areas of burn off and fire scoops, together with a number of posthole features, totalling 31 features in this area. Some of the postholes are clearly spade cut, however at this stage it is not clear how these relate to the house and the farm complex. Area E had 21 find numbers recorded. This area was excavated completely.

![Figure 57 Mrs Jury's, Area E excavated features](image)

Area F

This area was chosen again on the basis of anomalies in the geophysical survey. An area of 9.6m x 10m was first excavated by mechanical digger, and then excavated by hand. However this area had few features, consisting 3 fire scoops only (Figure 48). A significant burned area possibly affected the geophysical survey results in this area. There were a few artefacts scattered throughout this area, with 17 find numbers being recorded.

Area G

This area measured 15m x 5.3m. The area was cleared using mechanical digger, then the topsoil removed by hand. Two posthole features were excavated in this area, and six find
numbers recorded. However, what appears to be a continuation of the trenching system recorded in other areas described above was recorded in the lower south-eastern corner of this area. This feature was left in situ, and remains unexcavated (Figure 48).

**Area H**

This area was a test trench measuring 1m x .5m just to the west of area B and B extension and is illustrated above in Figure 50. This area was chosen as a test in response to a small magnetic anomaly recorded in the geophysical survey, and it was thought it could possibly be a rubbish pit connected to the house. It was excavated by hand, and revealed a small pit feature, but is probably connected to the rifle pits and trenches of the gunfighter pā. No further excavation was undertaken here.

**Area I**

This area on the roadside of Waireka Road West, outside the present fence of the property, was chosen for exploration as there was already a cut in the soil to make way for the grass verge, and we wanted to explore this boundary. A horizontal trench measuring 8.2m x .5m was made and 3 evenly spaced postholes were discovered in the trench profile. The extent of this excavated area is shown above in Figure 49. The postholes here appear to be spade cut, rather than modern rammed postholes, probably relating therefore to earlier farm activities. No artefacts were found in this area.

**Area J**

This area measured approximately 6m² and was excavated by hand to investigate a linear anomaly recorded in the geophysical survey that may have related to a fence feature (Figure 48). One posthole was found and this was determined to be rammed construction and therefore modern, and an area of disturbance was also recorded as belonging to a tree root. One find number was recorded.

4.6.2. *Interpretation of Archaeological Features*

**Pre-European Māori Activities**

The pit features that were identified in Area D provide evidence of Māori gardening activities nearby that resulted in the need to store tubers in these structures (Table 2). With storage pits of this nature it would be expected there would be associated hāngī and other signs of Māori occupation present such as dwelling structures. Aside from the one hāngī recorded in the base of one pit (Feature 23.2) these were not present, although there are Māori occupation sites recorded nearby. It is possible some of the undetermined postholes in areas
D and E relate to this earlier activity period than the Jury occupation. Some of the pits towards the south end of Area D were shallow, but this part of the site had been subjected to modern earthworks in the course of farming. Aside from microscopic charcoal identified by Horrocks (2008), eight wood charcoal samples out of some of these pit features in Area D were suitable for analysis by Dr Rod Wallace (Wallace 2008). These samples provide an indication as to the type of vegetation in the area at the time the pits were filled (Table 3).

Table 2 Mrs Jury’s, features associated with Māori gardening activities

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<th>Feature</th>
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Table 3 Mrs Jury’s, wood charcoal identification from pit features Area D

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<td>421.1</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>FT110.01</td>
<td>Storage Pit</td>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>618.2</td>
<td>Rata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>FT110.01</td>
<td>Storage Pit</td>
<td>Māori</td>
<td>618.1</td>
<td>Tawa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Results of Microfossil Analysis of Pit Feature 19.1

A soil sample was taken from the base of the eastern baulk of this pit feature to determine the nature of the surrounding vegetation and environments, and this was analysed for pollen grains and spores, microscopic charcoal, phytolith particles, and starch grains and other residues by Dr Mark Horrocks of Microfossil Research Ltd (Horrocks 2008). The full report is attached as Appendix A. The results provide insights into the vegetation present in the area at the time of use, as well as determining the likely use of the pit itself.

Pollen results are dominated by tall trees rata (*Metrosideros*) and rewarewa (*Knightia*), Cyathea tree ferns, as well as significant amounts of bracken (*Pteridium*). There are small amounts of rimu (*Dacrydium*) and other podocarps, and small amounts of pine (*Pinus*) tree pollen (Figure 59). The presence of pine raises the possibility the pit was open and used during European times, although the pine pollen may have percolated through the feature into earlier deposits if the site was free draining (Horrocks 2008: 3). Given the volcanic nature of the soil, and the lack of artefacts in the lower levels of the pit fill, it seems unlikely that the pit was open in European times, although it is probable that depressions in the land were still visible during the occupation by Jesse and Elizabeth Jury. The presence of podocarps and fern, including bracken in the pollen sample, as well as fragments of microscopic charcoal, reflects clearing of vegetation by burning. The invasive bracken fern, often present in abundance in New Zealand pollen assemblages, represents large scale, repeated burning events of forested areas by people (Horrocks 2008: 3).
Phytoliths in the sample also provide indications as to local vegetation, but are predominantly spherical spinulose from nikau palms (*Rhopalostylis*). There were also small quantities of sponge spicules which, given the distance from the sea, probably represents use of marine resources in the site. There were numerous degraded starch grains and xylem cells identified, and these are consistent with kumara tubers confirming the pit was used for storing this cultivated root vegetable (Figure 60).

**European Occupation and the Farmstead Complex**

As discussed previously, the house was constructed by Jesse Jury sometime circa 1847. After Jesse died in 1851 his widow Elizabeth Jury continued to live in the property with her family until 1860 when they would have moved into New Plymouth town for safety,
eventually shifting to Nelson for the duration of the war. The house was not rebuilt after the Taranaki war, but has been farmed by the Jury family to the present day.

In her claim for compensation, Mrs Jury described her house as being burnt and destroyed by Māori, although there was no clear archaeological evidence of burning, such as a burn layer or molten glass, uncovered during excavation. It seems probable therefore that the house was deconstructed by Māori, with parts ending up at Kaipopo Pā as described in the previous chapter. The military claim by Elizabeth Jury also describes what remained of the house being taken away by soldiers and used to build temporary cookhouses at the nearby British Waireka camp. If the house had been burned this would not have been possible.

Recorded archaeological features consistent with the period of historic occupation by the Jury family up until their departure at the beginning of war in 1860 include postholes associated with the house, together with a fireplace, well, and another structure that most likely was the wooden cowshed mentioned in the claim for compensation (Table 4). The archaeology of the house largely falls into that covered by excavation Areas B and B extension, with the well appearing in Area C and the cowshed in Area A, and Area I.

Table 4 Mrs Jury’s, features associated with the pre-war Jury occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT172</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>Cow shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT173</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>Cow shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT175</td>
<td>Pit</td>
<td>Cow shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT176</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>Cow shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT123.01</td>
<td>Pit/fire feature</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT123.02</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT123.03</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT123.04</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT123.05</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT131</td>
<td>Burn Area</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT102</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT103</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT104</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT105</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT106</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT107</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT125</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT127</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
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<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
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<td>Posthole</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT130</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Excavation of Area B and B ext. revealed clear linear alignments of well-defined spade cut postholes. The measurements between these are consistent with the description of the size of the destroyed house listed in Elizabeth Jury’s claim for compensation (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions). The house was described by John Jury as measuring 24 feet by 14 feet with a 7 foot sleigh (lean to) running the length of the building. This converts to metric measurements of 7.3 metres long by 4.27 metres wide, with a sleigh 2.1 metres wide. The actual measurements of the structure defined by the postholes are 7.5 metres long by 4.4 metres wide, with the sleigh (lean-to, shed) measuring a further 2.0 metres wide. It would appear from this that John Jury’s description of the size of the house was startlingly in line with the archaeological remains recorded. It also appears there was a verandah structure at the front of the house, facing north-east, and extending a small way along the eastern side of the house. An illustration of the excavated area of the house, with a drawn line across the house posthole alignments is shown below in Figure 61.

A number of postholes relating to the house structure had the later feature of rifle pits and trenches, associated with the previously unknown Māori gunfighter pā, cutting through them. The features related to the Taranaki war period of activity are discussed below. It is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>European</th>
<th>FT</th>
<th>Posthole/Postcast</th>
<th>House</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT132</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT133</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT134</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT141</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT142</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT143</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT147</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT149</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT150</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT152</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT157</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT162</td>
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<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT167</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT168</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT169</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT180</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT187</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT003,02</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT120</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Cow shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT121</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Cow shed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT122</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Cow shed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
possible that, due to this later event, some of the house postholes are missing, but the extent of the house has been able to be determined and the majority of postholes recorded.

Figure 61 Mrs Jury's, drawn blue line shows alignments of postholes relating to the house structure
The excavated fireplace feature is quite substantial. A quantity of sheet metal was found within, so it was possibly an iron fireplace, although could well have been cob, or a combination of the two. The fireplace was situated between the main house and the sleigh lean to. There was a burned area recorded in front of the fire feature.

Figure 62 Mrs Jury’s, fully excavated fireplace feature, looking west

The well area was clearly defined, and in close proximity to the house structure. As described previously, the well appears to have been very neatly dug, but was unlined (Figure 63). Very few artefacts were recovered, and the entire well was not excavated as it was thought to be very deep and beyond the scope of this excavation. Morgan Grace, the surgeon stationed up the road at the Waireka Camp during the first Taranaki war, wrote of the search for water on site: “Next day we commenced sinking wells. We continued this operation for days. The deeper we sank, the drier the ground, and never once did we turn up either gravel or stone. The soldiers began to think that the devil was in the country” (Grace 1899: 42). Unfortunately the relationship between this reference and predicting what we might encounter in the archaeology was not made until we actually started digging it. Due to the presence of deep layers of volcanic ash and lahar soils, the depth of the Omata wells is
extraordinary. Considering that most of the homestead sites found by Nigel Prickett had a well, they must have had water in them or it would not have been worthwhile expending the energy to dig them. The effort to dig the well, together with the close proximity of it to existing fresh water supplies nearby, in a gully about 150m down the slope south of the house, raises questions regarding notions concerned with hygiene and access to clean water that were prevalent in Victorian times - a point that has been discussed previously (Chapter 2).

Figure 63 Mrs Jury's well, before the side was removed by a digger.

As well as losing her house, Mrs Jury’s claim for compensation also included losses of two horses, cattle, sheep and pigs. The cattle were housed in a wooden, thatched roofed cowshed, and it is thought the features found in Areas A and I, on the north western corner of the site, relate to an outbuilding that was this structure. A building is indicated here in the historical image shown previously in Figure 46, showing an open structure. The archaeology in this area is consistent with this description, with a hard packed surface and postholes having been excavated. Chapter 2 discussed housing reform in Britain and the separation of animals from the house as being an indicator of Improvement, and it would appear in Mrs Jury’s farmstead that the animals were kept away from the living quarters.
The relationship of the farmstead to the burned areas in Areas E and F are unclear. Farm activity up till the present day would appear to have had little impact on the integrity of the features on the entire site and horizontal artefact distributions do not appear to have been affected significantly by ploughing or disking. One posthole related to modern farming was recorded in Area J, investigated due to a geophysical anomaly.

Material culture recovered from the excavation areas is analysed and discussed in the following chapter, and includes ceramics, glass, metal, numbers of nails, and wood. It is considered that all of the historic artefacts relate to the occupation and structure of the destroyed house, aside from the ammunition which could relate to the period when Māori subsequently used the land to construct the trenching system, although there are no accounts of the Māori defences at Mrs Jury’s ever being actively used. The artefacts were concentrated throughout the features relating to the rifle trench system as a result of backfilling these features with debris and surrounding soil at the site, probably very shortly after John Jury came back to his own farm. The backfilling of the trenches affected the positional integrity of the artefacts, almost making point data recording of each artefact seemingly redundant. However it is still interesting to note the distribution of the material still relates to the overall footprint of the house, with very little occurring outside this. In addition, the distribution of window glass, an artefact category that can become highly fragmentary, indicates the sleigh lean to did not have windows in the rear, and this then informed the reconstruction of the house as illustrated in the following chapter. The construction of the rifle pits and trenches however had a positive effect on the archaeology with the recovery of wood samples. Finding wood in such quantities was unexpected due to the acidic nature of the soil, and it is probable the construction of the pits and trenches aided in its survivability well below the surface.

Features that were not found on the excavation site can also inform regarding attitudes to Improvement by the Jury family. In this case no rubbish pits for the specific discard of household refuse were found on the site. Likewise there was no evidence found of an outdoor latrine area, and this was probably situated quite a way from the house and the water supply. As with the animals being contained away from the house, this is consistent with ideals of cleanliness, hygiene and Improvement through housing reforms. As discussed previously in Chapter 2 one of the concerns in Devon and Cornwall as late as the 1840’s was the tendency for the working classes to dispose of rubbish in manure pits close to the house. Stopping the practice was considered to be a part of the Improvement ethos (Gilbert 1842).
The Jury’s must have disposed of their rubbish somewhere, but it was not within the boundaries of this excavation, nor did any clear geomagnetic anomalies appear that might have indicated rubbish pits within the wider area of geophysical survey beyond that excavated.

**Taranaki War Māori Occupation**

As described in the previous chapter Kaipopo Pā (P19/120), a site of significance associated with Māori during the first Taranaki war, is located 50m north-west up Waireka Road West, on the opposite side of the road to Mrs Jury’s property. After Kaipopo Pā was taken by the British, the Waireka Camp was constructed, but this was only occupied for a matter of months, after which the troops were called to fight at Waitara. It was at this time that Māori from the Taranaki tribes returned to the Waireka and the Omata areas and began refortifying it in places. Contemporary news accounts in the *Taranaki Herald* of 1860-61 discuss this refortification. It is highly probable therefore that small gunfighter pā similar to the one at Mrs Jury’s occur throughout this area. However it was not expected to find rifle pits/bunkers and trenches extending to the site of the homestead – literally crossing the footprint of the house. Nevertheless, there is not much known about the extent of Māori gunfighter pā systems during this time period so the discovery of the pit and trench system was a significant occurrence.

The rifle pits, trenches and palisade rows are in the same alignment as the house, which was in a strategic position facing north east towards Omata village and allowed coverage of the adjacent road. The extent of this trenching system in relation to the excavation is shown below in Figure 64. Figure 65 below shows the final state of the excavation in Areas B and B ext., with the layout of the pit and trench system. The fortification consists of a series of rifle pits which are connected with trench systems to allow movement between the pits. An escape trench, to the left of the image, curves around, intersecting with the square fire feature. This trench then connects to an escape trench around the site of the well, in the lower left of the image. An alignment of postholes relating to a palisade row can be seen in front of the rifle pits. In the top left of the image the trench divides leading to the left to another bunker at the rear, and to the right to another firing position. The pit in centre right of the image, to the left of the spoil heap, has a step down into it from the escape trench. This can be seen in more detail in Figure 66. The pit and trench system extends further in the direction of the road, probably in order to protect the thoroughfare, and also extends into the storage pits in Area D, where it seems to stop.
Figure 64 Mrs Jury's, extent of Taranaki war period Māori gunfighter trench system (in green)
Figure 65 Mrs Jury’s, Area B and B extension fully excavated, showing rifle pits, trenches, and palisade row crossing the footprint of the house which is represented by an alignment of mostly square postholes. The square fire feature, situated between the house and the sleigh lean to, is shown in the left centre of the image.
Figure 66 Mrs Jury’s, partially excavated rifle pit feature 97.14, looking northwest, showing steps down into the bunker from the escape trench, shown in the centre left, also partly excavated. Excavation of the palisade row is continuing in the top right of the image. The square postcast and posthole in the upper centre right of the image relate to the house.
Most of the wood was found in the base of the rifle pits, and this was probably left over from the house destruction and later used by Māori to cover the pits for protection. Some of this wood has been burned. Two fired percussion caps were recovered, but it is not known whether any fighting occurred on the site. As described previously, there are no contemporary accounts of the features being used actively in defence. However Iwi oral traditions, mentioned when blessing the site occurred after discovery, describe the pits protecting women and children until they could escape (Reverend Albie Martin pers. comm. 12 December 2007), but there is little archaeological evidence to either particularly support or negate this. One rifle pit did have a small fire scoop in the base indicating Māori occupation of at least one pit for a short period of time (Feature 97.15). As described above, most of the artefacts relating to the house, such as ceramics, glass, nails etc, were recovered from the rifle pit and trench features, and it is probable that this was due to a cleanup process when the gunfighter pā was destroyed and the pits and trenches were filled.

The Māori trench system built in the strategic position across the footprint of Mrs Jury’s house was probably a statement of possession. Similarly, the backfilling of the trenches and restoration of the land after the war, likely to have been carried out by members of the Jury family and local community, was probably a statement of re-possession. These features associated with the wars, while not contributing to the specific questions concerning the Jury family and Improvement, are nonetheless a significant discovery that epitomises the complex relationship between Europeans, Māori and the land that contributed to shaping the colonial history of Taranaki.
4.7. Excavation of P19/270, Autridge’s Farmstead

For Autridge’s farmstead, a total of approximately 398 square metres was excavated over 8 areas (A - H) during the two week field period in February 2008, (Figure 67). Descriptions and illustrations of the areas excavated follows, together with an interpretation of the recorded archaeological features.

Figure 67 Overall extent of excavation areas for site P19/270 Autridge's farmstead. Outlines of features are shown, but not features numbers.
4.7.1. The Excavation Areas

Area A

This was the area opened up on the first day of excavation, and measured 8.5m x 4.7m. The mechanical digger was initially not available and so removing turf began by hand. Soon after de-turfing started a modern plastic water pipe was uncovered and burst (Figure 68). Two sherds of ceramic were found in the surface layer, one Abbey pattern from the 19th century. The mechanical digger then began to remove the topsoil layer, below the turf layer, and a 20th century brown beer bottle was recovered, as well as a metal pipeline. The share-milker did not know of the existence of this pipe, but it was decided it was from 20th century farming activity, and was the cause of the geomagnetic anomalies picked up in the geophysical survey. The digger backfilled the area and the turf was restored by hand.

Figure 68 Autridge's farm, Area A, Otago University student volunteer Hamish Williams utilising the burst farm water pipeline
Area B

Area B was located approximately 3.5m in from the fence line to the south of the site. An area of 3.5m x 4.5m was initially cleared by mechanical digger. Hand excavation to the level of the features revealed a hard packed surface, a row of four postholes and a number of other postholes and depressions. The area was extended by another 2m x 3.4m to the east of the initial area opened up to follow these features, and investigate a further anomaly highlighted by the geophysical survey. This anomaly was a fireplace feature (Feature 3), enclosed on one side by a piece of metal, hence the strong geomagnetic signature (Figure 69). A number of postholes were also recorded in this extended area. Seventy find numbers were recorded for artefacts recovered from Area B. An excavation plan is illustrated below in Figure 70, and an overview photograph of the area shown in Figure 71.

Figure 69 Autridge's Farm, Area B extension Feature 3.
Figure 70 Autridge’s Farm, Area B showing all excavated features
Area C

The area opened up by mechanical digger in Area C measured 5m x 3.5m. Directly below the grass level, the digger began to scrape down on large stones. The mechanical digger was stopped at that point, and excavation continued by hand. The topsoil was removed with hoes and spades, and a shallow stone feature was revealed. This feature had a number of postholes around it towards the south west of the feature. The feature was initially thought to be a Māori hāngī. However after it was half-sectioned it was discovered to consist of only a single layer of stones and may have been used as a cooking surface. A number of metal artefacts (nails) were recovered from this feature. Twelve find numbers were allocated to artefacts recovered from Area C.
Figure 72 Autridge’s Farm, Area C (in centre of plan with the fire feature shown in red)
Figure 73 Autridge's Farm, Area C stone feature (Feature 2).

Figure 74 Autridge's Farm, Area C stone feature (Feature 2) half sectioned and excavated postholes.
Area D

This area recorded the most anomalies in the geophysical survey, and was therefore expected to be where the house and well were located. The total area opened for excavation here was 226.6 m², measuring approximately 11.2m x 20.7m, and leaving an area of 5.2 by 4.8m containing a modern concrete cattle trough. A modern plastic water pipe (Feature 1) also ran through this area from north to south. After removal of the grass layer by mechanical digger, the topsoil was removed using hoes and spades to the level of the features, approximately 30cm below the grass surface (Figure 75). This area had the highest density of artefacts, with most being recovered from the A Horizon layer, and all had their location recorded by total station. There were 1463 find numbers allocated to artefacts from Area D.

Figure 75 Autridge's Farm, Area D north end, clearing down after topsoil removal.
Figure 76 Autridge’s Farm, Area D showing excavated features
Features recorded in Area D included alignments of large spade cut postholes thought to be associated with the house structure. Some of these postholes had been intercut by other spade cut postholes, and excavation of some of these proved to be difficult (Figure 77). One posthole associated with the house structure still had a post in situ (Figure 78). While this disintegrated on attempted removal, a wood sample was able to be collected and retained for later identification and is discussed in the following chapter. Immediately to the south west of the postholes associated with the house is a trench and posthole complex of features, thought to make up the fireplace of the house. Behind this area was a hard packed surface. Another area of hard packed ground was identified towards the southern border of Area D, continuing into the baulk, and again in the south east corner of the area (Feature 5), outside the boundaries of the posthole alignments relating to the house (Figure 79).

Area D also had a concentration of postholes in the northwest corner of the area. Some are spade cut, and there were also a number of stakehole alignments. One very small bell shaped pit feature (Feature 172) was recorded, measuring approximately 20cm diameter on the surface, and 48cm deep. Also in this area was a burial of a piglet (Feature 195).
Figure 78 Autridge's Farm, Area D Feature 82 posthole with extant post.
Figure 79 Autridge’s Farm, Area D alignments of postholes relating to house structure, looking west. In the top right of the image the postholes and small trench relating to the fireplace at the rear of the house can be partly seen. In the bottom left corner a hard packed surface (Feature 5) can be seen.

The well was recorded in the south west corner of Area D. Once the topsoil was removed in this area, a large dark circular area appeared measuring approximately 3m in diameter (Figure 80). The outline of the well appeared clearly with a mottled soil cap within this dark circular area, towards the northern edge. The well itself was excavated by hand to a depth of approximately 2m. Few artefacts were recovered from the well, with 5 find numbers recorded. Once 2m was reached, probing showed the bottom of the well was nowhere near and, given the experience at Mrs Jury’s, a decision was made not to excavate any deeper (Figure 81 and Figure 82). The large dark circular area surrounding the well was then excavated. This revealed a sloping area leading into the well. Three postholes and channel-like depressions were recorded leading into this sloping area (Figure 83).
Figure 80 Autridge's Farm, Area D showing the large dark area surround the partially excavated well.

Figure 81 Autridge's Farm, Area D well, probing to estimate worth of further excavation.
Figure 82 Autridge's Farm, Area D well, probe results between 140-160cm depth from the excavated level showed fill still present, at which point it was decided not to excavate any further.

Figure 83 Autridge's Farm, Area D excavated surrounds of the well revealed a sloping surface and postholes.
No clear indication of a burn horizon was noted, however it was this from this area that pieces of molten glass were recovered, some from the A Horizon, and some from features associated with the house structure. Burned ceramic was a little more widely distributed, with a piece occurring in each of Areas B and C, four pieces in Area E, however most occurring in Area D with some being found in posthole features associated with the house structure. The lack of a burn horizon in the soil profile is probably the result of disturbing the topsoil through ploughing or disking over nearly 150 years.

**Area E**

This area was north of the main area (Area D), just where the property starts to slope away slightly from the levelled area of the house platform, but showed enough anomalies in the geophysical survey to warrant being investigated. The mechanical digger cleared the grass layer of an area of 6m x 14.3m, and topsoil was removed using hoes and spades to reveal features (Figure 84). Artefacts were still quite dense in this area, although artefact distribution dropped off towards the northwest corner. Most artefacts were recovered from the A Horizon and a total of 303 find numbers were recorded. Postholes and stakeholes were the feature types recorded in this area, although there were three small areas of hard packed surface (Figure 85).
Area F

This area, only measuring 2.5m x 2.1m, was investigated due to a high geomagnetic reading in one particular spot. An excavation plan of this area is shown below in Figure 86. Initially opened by hand, using a spade, to approximately 1m x 1m, at a depth of approximately 25cm the cause of the high geomagnetic reading was discovered as a metal plate was struck. This area was then left for investigation by Dr Nigel Prickett. The area surrounding the metal plate was excavated out by hand, and the metal plate was uncovered, shown below in Figure 87. Surrounding the metal plate were large stones, postholes, and a clear area showing where a cut had been made into the subsoil to construct this feature. Also within the feature was an area of hard packed surface. Four find numbers were recorded here.
Figure 86: Autridge's Farm, Area F showing excavated features.
Area G

This area was a .5m x .5m test pit, following a small geophysical anomaly, however, no finds or features were recorded. The location of this area is shown above in Figure 67.

Area H

This last area in the southwest corner of the site was another .5 x .5m test pit, and no finds or features were recorded here. The location of this area is shown above in Figure 67.

4.7.2. Interpretation of Archaeological Features

Pre-European Māori Activities

The homestead site is close in location to the historic period Omata kāinga (NZAA site number P19/267) and two other pā sites (P19/87 and P19/266), however little evidence of Māori occupation or activities were identified through this archaeological excavation. A small circular bell shaped pit in Area D (Feature 172) seems to have the appearance of a rua storage pit but at only 48cm depth, this seems very small to satisfactorily store root vegetables so the purpose of this initially seemed unclear. However, archaeologist Dr Louise Furey has found similar small sized rua in a context of a Māori gardening site where other pit
features were present, and believes they could have been used to temporarily store food to keep it away from rats (Furey pers. comm. 25 October 2012). The circular bell shape seems characteristically Māori, and probably relates to gardening areas nearby that have not been identified and recorded. In addition a small flake of obsidian was found in the fill surrounds of the well in Area D.

**European Occupation and the Farmstead Complex**

Unlike the claim by Elizabeth Jury discussed previously, Charles Autridge’s claim for compensation for the loss of his property during the Taranaki war is not very detailed. As shown in the previous chapter, there are no details about the house, aside from the description of the loss of a “dwelling house”, stables and dairy (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions). However the excavations were able to shed light regarding the structure and size of the house and some of the surrounding structures.

During the excavation, the location of the house was identified in Area D, and many of the postholes relating to the structure were excavated. It would seem there were two periods of building, or at least repairs to the existing structure, as many of the postholes have been intercut by other postholes. Some of the earlier postholes are very large, and most are irregular in size. It is possible the first attempt at building the house was not very successful, making repiling necessary. There is nothing in the material culture recovered to indicate this was done after the war, suggesting that the rebuilding of the house was carried out before 1860.

Alignments of postholes indicate the house measured approximately 5.8m x 10.2m (or 19ft x 33ft) (Figure 88). This is longer than the Jury house, but not as wide, as the Jury house definitely had a lean to or “sleigh” at the rear. The fireplace was situated along the rear wall of the house. It was possibly a cob, or wooden framed, fireplace, as there are very little in the way of structural remains, only postholes inside a trench. The house had a small porch area at the front, measuring 2.2m across. The main density of artefacts was recovered from the back of the house area, suggesting this is where most the household materials and ceramics were stored when the house was destroyed. A very shallow irregular depression just outside the front of the house (Feature 68) is thought to be associated with gardening activities. Recorded archaeological features associated with the structure of the house and the fireplace are presented below in Table 5 and Table 6.
Figure 88 Autridge's Farm, Area D showing drawn alignment of postholes relating to the house (in blue)
Table 5 Autridge's Farm, features associated with the pre-1860 house

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT012</td>
<td>Depression/stakeholes</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT295</td>
<td>Hard surface</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT296</td>
<td>Hard surface</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT011</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT015</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT022</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT082</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT085</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT284</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
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<td>FT287</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT288</td>
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<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT009</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT010</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
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<td>FT016</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT017</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
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<td>FT020</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT023</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT024</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT069</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT070</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT071</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT079</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT081</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT083</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT084</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT109</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT113</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT115</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT116</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT117</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT137</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT190</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT191</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT073</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast (2)</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT072</td>
<td>Postholes (2)</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT068</td>
<td>Shallow Pit</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT286</td>
<td>Slot</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT285</td>
<td>Stakehole</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT014</td>
<td>Trench/Postholes/Stakehole</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 Autridge's Farm, features associated with the pre-1860 house fireplace

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT179</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT182</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT183</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT174</td>
<td>Slot</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT175</td>
<td>Slot</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT178</td>
<td>Slot</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT177.2</td>
<td>Stakehole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT177.3</td>
<td>Stakehole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT315</td>
<td>Stakehole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT316</td>
<td>Stakehole</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT176</td>
<td>Stakeholes (2)</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT177.1</td>
<td>Trench</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>European</td>
<td>FT181</td>
<td>Trench</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The well was located behind the house, in the south west corner of Area D. This feature also seems to have had two construction attempts. The large dark area of soil surrounding it was excavated away to reveal what looks like an attempt at digging the well that went wrong. This was then filled in, and the circular well was more competently dug into this.

There were areas of hard packed surface occurring around the house (Figure 89). These are probably walking surfaces, the largest of which runs around the back of the house, between the house and the well.
The outbuildings mentioned in the claim for compensation have not been identified definitively during this excavation. There are posthole alignments to the rear of the house in Area D (Features 302-309) that could relate to outbuilding structures, and it is possible the some of the larger postholes appearing in Area E (Features 31, 32, 26 and 34) relate to the dairy, which was probably close to the house. This also seems a likely area as there are areas of hard packed surface that would indicate an area that was frequently walked. Fragments of an earthenware milkpan relating to dairying were also found in this area, although they do appear throughout the site. There is clearly a structure in the north western corner of Area D, where there are a number of postholes and stakeholes, some of which have been clearly spade cut (Figure 90). This is possibly animal housing, and could have been for either poultry or pigs, as both were claimed for compensation by Charles Autridge after the war. The presence of a piglet burial (Feature 195) in the middle of the area between the house, well and animal housing area suggests pigs were housed nearby, although to have been buried in this way would indicate this was probably a pet piglet of one of the children.
Figure 90 Autridge's Farm, Area D post holes to the rear of the house associated with outbuildings, possibly animal housing.
The following series of images show the excavated areas relating to the house from above Area D, moving left to right across into Area E (Figure 91, Figure 92, Figure 93, Figure 94).

Figure 91 Auttridge's Farm, Area D postholes associated with the house structure. The fireplace is in the middle right of the image.
Figure 92 Autridge's Farm, Area D showing fireplace at rear of house, slightly darker large walking surface can be seen in the top centre of the image, just to the left of the well shown in the top right.

Figure 93 Autridge's Farm, Area D overview to the rear of the house structure showing a cluster of probable outbuildings represented by postholes to the right of the excavation area.
A fire feature was identified in Area F, located some way from the house. This feature is a stone fireplace, and the sheet of metal found would originally have been behind the fireplace, possibly as a windbreak, and on destruction, the metal had fallen over the stones. While the fireplace in Area F is located some way from the house, it is however significantly out of the wind, being positioned down a slope towards the gully, to the south east of the site. The few ceramics found in this area are similar mid-19th century ones to those found elsewhere on the site.

A number of features in Area B seem to be related to a later, post-war, small hut structure, and those features thought to relate to this are shown below in Table 7. The evidence for this being later is based upon dating of two artefacts recovered - on a hard packed surface in this area there was the base of a glass bottle dated to after the wars, post 1868 (Toulouse 1971: 141). Also found here was a piece of ceramic that is of a post 1860’s style. However, Feature 3, the fireplace feature in this area, contained two pieces of ceramic identical to others found elsewhere in the site, and no other definitively later artefacts were identified. The presence of artefacts relating to the pre-war hut in this area is not to be entirely unexpected, as this small structure was dug into a surface littered with remains from
the house destruction. The artefacts are discussed further in the following chapter. The hard packed surface seems to relate to an external shelter or covered area outside the structure itself, and there are three postholes (Features 203, 229, 230) that may be associated with this.

When the Autridge family left the farm the property was leased before being sold, and it is quite possible this small hut structure is from this period, perhaps being occupied by a worker on the farm. It is not known however where on the property the post-war dwelling was built, but it is probable it was built closer to Omata Rd (now Waireka Rd West).

Table 7 Autridge's Farm, features associated with a post-war structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Activity</th>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Post-war</td>
<td>FT003</td>
<td>Fireplace</td>
<td>Post-war hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Post-war</td>
<td>FT184</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>Post-war hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Post-war</td>
<td>FT202</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>Post-war hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Post-war</td>
<td>FT203</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Post-war hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Post-war</td>
<td>FT204</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Post-war hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Post-war</td>
<td>FT205</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Post-war hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Post-war</td>
<td>FT228</td>
<td>Trench</td>
<td>Post-war hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Post-war</td>
<td>FT229</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Post-war hut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Post-war</td>
<td>FT230</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>Post-war hut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The location of the pre-war Autridge homestead was on an exposed knoll, close to the coast, meaning it would have been buffered by the predominant south westerly winds in the area. The two outdoor cooking areas provide an indication of how difficult conditions must have been on this site, so close to the coast, and exposed to the elements. A wind reading reported to us by a neighbour during our excavations measured winds to 120 knots, and we nearly lost our tent that night. It does not seem surprising the house needed re-piling in these conditions, nor that the external fireplaces needed windbreaks and shelters. The extra little hut was nestled down the slope and would have been somewhat sheltered from the wind, although still exposed. Like the Jury site described above, no features were encountered that could have been rubbish pits or outdoor latrines, meaning the discard of rubbish and toileting were conducted away from the house. However, the burial of a piglet close to the house, and the probable animal housing to the rear indicates animals were being kept in relatively close proximity to the house, in contradiction of sanitary advice given by the likes of Gilbert (1842) back in England.
Taranaki War Māori Occupation

Unlike the site of Mrs Jury’s, there is no archaeological evidence of Māori fortifications related to the Taranaki wars on this part of the Autridge farm. It is however likely there are Māori gunfighter fortifications on part of the 50 acres of land that belonged to Charles Autridge, as the Taranaki Herald published reports of Māori refortifying the Waireka area, describing how “the works of the enemy extend as far in the rear as Autridge’s farm, near the sea coast” (Taranaki Herald 1 September 1860: 3). It seems unlikely however these would have crossed the gully to where the homestead once stood, particularly as the house itself was relatively isolated.

This isolation and lack of visibility from the main road probably led to utilisation of the house by Māori as a hide out during the first Taranaki war period. As discussed previously in the background to this site, contemporary newspaper accounts discuss how Māori were occupying the Autridge house before it was destroyed. In addition, an Enfield rifle bullet and a musket ball were recovered from the Autridge site, providing tangible archaeological evidence of the “slight affair” that was fought here on Thursday 9 August 1860 (Taranaki Herald 11 August 1860: 3). These artefacts are discussed in the following chapter. The house was destroyed by burning soon after at about 3pm on Saturday 18 August 1860 (Taranaki Herald 25 August 1860: 3), as it was probably no longer useful as a refuge. Māori using settler houses for refuge during the war was not uncommon - James Richmond’s house in Hurworth is an example of one that was used as a resting place and survived the war, while Harry Atkinson’s house, Hurworth cottage, narrowly escaped a burning attempt and still stands today (Wagstaff 2008).

The fire feature in Area C looks like a Māori hāngī, but is only one layer of stones. A hāngī made by Māori for cooking is usually in the form of a depression or pit (Walton 1999: 65), and this fire feature appears to be a cooking surface or surface oven. Nails were also found on the stone surface, indicating the burning of wood on the feature during the historic period. Similar features have been recorded in Taranaki associated with Māori horticultural sites without the association with historic artefacts (Bader 2013; Phillips 2013). Phillips feels these may be a Taranaki variant of a Māori cooking feature (Phillips 2013). The fire feature has postholes around it, possibly to act as a wind shelter. James Autridge, accompanied by soldiers, was known to visit his father’s farm to milk the cows during the war (Taranaki Herald 11 August 1860: 3). It is possible a campfire was made to be used during one of these
visits, however a more likely explanation, given the size of the feature, is this was constructed by the Māori who used the house as shelter during the war.

### 4.8. Discussion

The success in recovering extant archaeological remains from sites as ephemeral and exposed to farming activities over nearly 150 years as these sites are reinforces the evidence that ploughing and disking of farm land over time does little to damage the integrity of feature based archaeology, even though any evidence of burning remaining in the soil profile may have been destroyed. This has been an important result for these excavations from an archaeological resource management perspective, and one that other archaeologists working in similar situations may like to take note of. While this is a significant outcome in itself, this was not the purpose of these excavations, which were designed to retrieve the maximum amount of detailed data in a restricted amount of time, all while addressing the overall research question regarding the ethos of Improvement as exemplified by these early European settlers of the Taranaki province.

The excavations were able to precisely record the location of each of the homesteads, as well as record their size. In the case of Mrs Jury’s it was possible to confirm the historic record in terms of the measurements of the house which in turn confirmed the accuracy of her claim for compensation (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861). Additional details regarding the house were also able to be discovered such as the verandah at the front of the house. A verandah was considered a respectable addition to the presentation of a house, and as described by Charles Hursthouse “A good peach-and-rose-covered verandah is both a great ornament and a great protection and improvement to a New Zealand cottage” (Hursthouse 1857: 457). In the case of the Autridge house the excavations were able to provide additional information that was not included in his claim for compensation such as the size of the house (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861).

There were subtleties in the postholes relating to the two houses that could be attributed to differences in building ability and experience. Jesse Jury, as a sawyer, is likely to have been experienced with wood, and this shows in the regularity of the postholes relating to the house in this site. Autridge’s on the other hand are irregular in size and show an episode of rebuilding, where the house was probably re-piled at some point before the first Taranaki war.
The layout of the farm properties, in regards to the areas immediately surrounding the houses, showed that access to clean drinking water close to the house was a priority, even though digging the wells would have been difficult, and probably costly. It seems likely Charles Autridge did not have experience in constructing wells, as the first attempt at building the well seemed quite messy, and the second attempt more professional meaning he probably hired somebody to dig it for him in the end. Given the availability of fresh water on both farm properties, located close to each house, it seems that there was a preference for constructing and using a well over utilising a stream source for water. It is likely that constructing a well was an outward show of respectability indicating that the family had the means and the ability to provide themselves with clean water, separated from that which the animals were drinking from. This was probably a culturally mandated desire and indicates contemporary concerns with hygiene and therefore Improvement.

In both cases, the families did not dispose of rubbish in pits close to their homes, and did not have toileting facilities in the immediate proximity either. Mrs Jury’s cattle were probably housed a little way from her house, whereas it seems at least some of the Autridge family’s animals were housed in the rear yard area. This is not to say Mrs Jury did not have smaller animals close to her house, such as chickens and pigs, but that we did not find clear evidence for housing them in the areas we excavated.

Aside from alignments of small postholes present in the rear yard of the Autridge homestead, there was no other archaeological evidence for the fencing that was described in both claims for compensation. Charles Autridge claimed for 100 chains of fencing, while Mrs Jury claimed for 10 chains, said to have been taken to build Kaipopo Pā. It is likely Mrs Jury’s fences were boundary fences as an ordinance was passed in 1852 requiring a “sufficient fence” between properties. A “sufficient fence” was one that was four railed with pūriri posts (Taranaki Herald 8 September 1852: 4), exactly the same as that claimed by Mrs Jury (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861). Charles Autridge’s fencing style was not described in his claim, however the amount would suggest that as well as boundary fencing, he utilised fences around the farmstead.

The excavations revealed information regarding site formation processes surrounding the destruction of the houses themselves and probable differences regarding burning versus demolition. While the construction of the gunfighter trench system through the footprint of Mrs Jury’s house impacted upon the site, particularly with the artefact distribution, it surprisingly missed many of the house postholes which were then able to be recorded. These
could then be compared with those from Autridge’s, and differences were discovered that related to site formation. Once the extant pūriri post was found at Autridge’s farmstead, the question was raised as to why wood not was recovered from the house postholes at Mrs Jury’s? In addition the Autridge site had more postholes with postcasts (the remnant of the hole left behind by the post). It is felt that this could show the difference between a house burning such as at Autridge’s and one where the posts were removed and reused such as at Mrs Jury’s. In Autridge’s it would appear that while the house burned to the extent glass became molten, some of the posts did not burn out completely, but were left in the ground to rot. As this rotting process occurred, then artefacts such as molten glass, ceramic and nails, then fell into the holes.

The excavations also revealed extra details that were previously unknown, particularly as to the later use of the land - in the case of Mrs Jury’s the Māori gunfighter features, and in the case of Autridge’s particularly the presence of a small hut. As will be described in the following chapter, both of these events added few artefacts to the archaeological record. In Mrs Jury’s the building and backfilling of the gunfighter trenches disturbed the distribution of artefacts, but did not alter their composition and may have assisted in their preservation. In Autridge’s the only evidence of artefacts of a date later than those relating to time of Autridge’s first occupation came from the area of the small hut, meaning this later structure had little impact in the nature of the artefacts recovered. To this end, it would appear the artefacts relate to the occupation of the Jury and Autridge families before the war and the destruction of both houses, aside from the small number in the hut structure on Autridge’s farm. Thus they can safely be used in analysing the daily lives of these families. The following chapter presents the results of the analysis of these recovered artefacts.
5. Artefacts of Improvement

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis and interpretive details of the artefacts recovered from the archaeological excavations described in the previous chapter. Materials from Mrs Jury’s and the Autridge farm are described separately. While this chapter documents the types of artefacts that were found in the archaeological excavations, the focus here is on the indicators of Improvement that were determined in Chapter 2, leaving out that of emigration, which does not have specific archaeological correlates and was covered in the historical background in Chapter 3. The artefacts are analysed within the framework of categories established in previous chapters including: improving the land, improving the house and home, education, attitudes to alcohol and tobacco, and health, hygiene and personal grooming.

Material culture plays a central role in historical archaeology, evidenced by the sheer abundance of artefacts such as ceramics, glass, clay tobacco pipes, amongst other material classes that are frequently recovered from historic sites. To move away from just identification and quantification, an interpretive approach to material culture brings forward many strands of evidence, and recognizes material culture is “an integral component of our personalities and our social lives, deeply implicated in how we construct social relationships” (Beaudry 2006: 7). Studying material culture can reveal unexpected patterns and increase understanding of the ways in which people shaped their world through the production, acquisition, collection, use and discard of goods (Cochran and Beaudry 2006).

The first step in interpretation of archaeologically recovered material culture is producing an accurate catalogue (Crook, Lawrence, and Gibbs 2002). Accordingly details of all artefacts recovered were entered into a Microsoft Access relational database for each site, including provenience and detailed identification and quantification information.

Quantification of artefacts involved calculation of the minimum number of vessels, to create a minimum vessel count, or MVC (Brooks 2005), and is an essential component of artefact analysis (Crook, Lawrence, and Gibbs 2002; Miller 1986; Sussman 2000). Minimum vessel count for ceramics was determined using Brooks’ methodology, where vessels were separated by ware, decoration, form, pattern and decorative style, arriving at a “sensible minimum” (Brooks 2005: 23). Due to the abundance of ceramic artefacts, cross mending was only attempted where obvious, and instead sherds were allocated a vessel identification number when it was determined possible sherds had come from the same vessel,
even if they did not cross mend. Where ceramic sherds did not cross mend they were examined closely for subtle variations of transfer printed colour, size and form in order to determine a minimum vessel count. This was particularly the case for sherds of Willow transfer printed pattern. Glass was sorted by type and colour, and the minimum vessel count for glass vessels was determined through the presence of tops and bases, taking the larger number of the two. Window glass was counted and weighed. Metal fasteners such as nails were sorted by portion, with the MVC taken by the presence of the nail head, whether the nail itself was complete or incomplete. Spikes were generally determined as such by length, generally over 100mm long if complete, although incomplete ones were shorter, but width usually assisted in determining form. Clay tobacco pipes were counted by unique parts, in both sites determined by the presence of the stem/bowl junction.

The database was also established to catalogue artefacts according to interpretive categories adapted from Praetzellis (2004) and South (1977), as tabled below (Table 8). This is based upon primary function, and does not take into account fluidity between categories, for example alcohol that was used for medicinal purposes, which was sometimes the case particularly with schnapps (Low 2005: 8).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Artefact Group</th>
<th>Artefact Category</th>
<th>Artefact Type</th>
<th>Examples of Descriptive Vessel Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Activities</td>
<td>Animal Husbandry</td>
<td>Horseshoe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>Coins</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Entertainment</td>
<td>Music</td>
<td>Harmonica Dominoes; Gaming Piece</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Games</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Firearms</td>
<td>Guns</td>
<td>Musket Ball; Bullet; Enfield Bullet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ammunition</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Landscaping/Gardening</td>
<td>Garden Edging</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Flower Pots</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Painting</td>
<td>Brushes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Paint cans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pets</td>
<td>Container</td>
<td>Bird feeder</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>Agriculture/Farming</td>
<td>Plough; Scythe; Shears; Shove; Fork; Spade</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>General</td>
<td>File; Axe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>Carriage parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Harness parts</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Implements</td>
<td>Pens; Pencils; Slate Pencils; Writing Slate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Ink Bottle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic</td>
<td>Beverage (Non-Alc)</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Ginger Beer; Aerated Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Storage</td>
<td>Water Filter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Clothing/Footwear Maintenance</td>
<td>Sewing</td>
<td>Needles; Thimbles; Scissors</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Feeding Bottle; Plate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Category</td>
<td>Items</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kitchen</strong></td>
<td>Baking Dish; Bowl; Colander; Milkpan;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Serving</strong></td>
<td>Bowl; Jug; Platter; Tureen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tableware</strong></td>
<td>Bowl; Plate; Side Plate; Soup Plate; Stemware; Tumblers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tea/Tableware</strong></td>
<td>Bowl; Cup/Bowl</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Teaware</strong></td>
<td>Cup; Saucer; Side Plate; Sucier; Can; Mug; Bowl; Teapot;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Food/Food Storage</strong></td>
<td>Container</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Condiment</strong></td>
<td>Crock; Preserves</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Furnishings</strong></td>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Vase</strong></td>
<td>Handle; Knob</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ornament</strong></td>
<td>Figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Heating/Lighting</strong></td>
<td>Lamps; Candle Holder</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Indeterminate Use</strong></td>
<td>Multiple Use</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Identified items with more than one potential use</strong></td>
<td>Chinese coins, ceramic gaming discs etc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Misc. Beads</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Misc. Closures</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Misc. Containers</strong></td>
<td>Unidentified Contents</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Misc. Metal Items</strong></td>
<td>Hardware Metal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hardware Metal</strong></td>
<td>Wire; Sheet Metal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Industry</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Machinery</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Accoutrements</strong></td>
<td>Jewellery</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Spectacles</strong></td>
<td>Bead</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Children’s Play</strong></td>
<td>Toys</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tea Set; Dolls; Marbles</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Clothing</strong></td>
<td>Fasteners</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Garments</strong></td>
<td>Buttons; Hooks; Buckles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Footwear</strong></td>
<td>Shoes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Shoes</strong></td>
<td>Buckles; Eyelets; Hobnails</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Grooming/Health/Hygiene</strong></td>
<td>Toiletry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Medicinal</strong></td>
<td>Chamberpot; Ewer; Perfume Bottle; Hair Brush; Toothbrush Medicine bottle;</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Drugs</strong></td>
<td>Smoking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Alcohol</strong></td>
<td>Pipes; Opium</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Smoking</strong></td>
<td>Beer Bottle; Wine Bottle; Gin Bottle; Schnapps Bottle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structural</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Fixtures</strong></td>
<td>Sinks</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Toilets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Hardware</strong></td>
<td>Hinges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nails</strong></td>
<td>Forged; Wire; Machine Made</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brackets</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Materials</strong></td>
<td>Flat Glass</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Brick</strong></td>
<td>Window</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Undefined Use</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Unidentified items</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Melted glass, slag etc</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This chapter, divided into a separate section each for Mrs Jury’s and the Autridge farm site, firstly offers a brief introduction to the recovered finds including the overall distribution and density of finds. Artefacts relating to Improving the land are then discussed with the focus being on any relationship to European land clearance, farming activities and gardening. The concept of Improving the land was introduced in Chapter 3, which examined
the European settlement of the Omata block and the Jury and Autridge families arrival on their sections. That chapter also examined the European perspective of land Improvement in relation to Māori, and discussed the reluctance of Taranaki iwi to conform to European ideals of land use. Land use was then examined archaeologically through excavations, and the structural and contextual evidence at both sites was presented in Chapter 4. The study of the artefacts in this chapter relating to using and Improving the land is hampered by the limited amount of archaeological material culture in this category that was recovered. Due to the value and portability of tools, the archaeological record relating to farming equipment is reduced. Many were the subject of claims for compensation, and it is this historical record that provides the main evidence for the type of tools and farming equipment that was lost.

Discussion of the artefacts then addresses Improving house and home, or “Building a house – making a home”. A comfortable home was considered an important aspect of respectable family life – it was said to improve families by keeping men safely away from pubs and taverns (Roberts 2004), while also allowing women to express their sense of domestic respectability, both to their families, and to visitors coming in to the home (Masters 2010). Artefacts relating to the houses themselves are examined through looking at the structural artefacts that went into construction of the house, such as building materials and hardware, and provide ideas as to the way the houses may have appeared. For the Jury house, the distribution of the window glass led to the conclusion the rear sleigh lean-to did not have windows, and for the Autridge house plotting distributions of some of the structural artefacts – nails and window glass specifically – has led to further understanding into the destruction of this structure.

The analysis then moves on to the domestic artefacts that would have been contained within the house and were probably largely used on an everyday basis. The analysis of the domestic artefacts included categories of non-alcoholic beverages, food preparation and consumption artefacts which encompassed kitchenware, serving, table and tea wares, food and food storage and furnishings.

As discussed in Chapter 2, settler Martha Adams commented that while the houses of the European settlers in New Zealand were generally furnished in a simpler manner than back in England, “civilized” houses still had fine furnishings and decorations (Adams 1850-1852), while Maria Nicholson in Omata noted how even a small house still had a refined air about it (Nicholson 1859-1861: 4). The juxtaposition between the refinement in possessions and construction of houses was also noted by Martha Adams when she described arriving in New
Plymouth in 1850 and staying at the home of an emigrant where “on the tables and couches round the room are spread evidences of taste and refinement in books needlework and flowers……As you sit amidst all this refinement below, you cast your eyes upwards, and are astonished to see the thatched roof and wooden rafters across the building” (Adams 1850-1852: 143).

The next theme for analysis and discussion of the artefacts looks at those relating to children and education. The presence of writing slates and slate pencils also indicate literacy and education, not only amongst children. Writing slate with mathematical calculations etched on it was recovered from the Omata Stockade (Prickett 1994: 86), and the presence of slate was also recorded at the Māori site of Te Oropūriri in Bell Block (Holdaway and Gibb 2006). As discussed in Chapter 2, reformers of the working classes in Britain advocated education as a key means through which people could actively help themselves to Improve their manners, morality, and place in society. Being literate indicated participation in the shared values of a respectable and polite society (Tarlow 2007). For the working people themselves, becoming educated, whether through formalised schooling, or church based Sunday Schools, gave them the means to empower and control their own lives, and therefore their own Improvement and ensuing respectability (Laqueur 1976). Children’s toys, as well as being playthings, were also considered informal educational tools, assisting parents to define acceptable gender and behavioural roles. In addition, the presence of children’s “moralising china” has been argued to indicate “a clear interest in the education of children and in providing them with the principles of morality, self-control, self-improvement and hard work” (Murray 2006: 405), and therefore are an example of how ceramics can not only indicate simply the presence of children, but also how the values of the parents are reflected, and taught through the use of material culture.

Alcohol and tobacco related artefacts that were identified are then discussed for each site. Temperance towards undesirable habits or “vice” was a key feature associated with respectability – this included not only the consumption of alcohol but also the use of tobacco, which was seen in some circles as just as bad a vice as drinking. The early stages of the temperance movement saw voluntary, rather than legislated, abstinence as the way to improving the condition of the working classes, as giving people the personal choice as whether or not to drink was seen as empowering and encouraging of self-discipline (Eldred-Grigg 1984). However, attitudes towards tobacco use amongst the working classes were a little more ambiguous with smoking retaining widespread popularity. While attitudes to
alcohol and tobacco consumption became a way for the middle classes to distinguish
themselves from those they considered beneath them (Reckner and Brighton 1999), they were
also became a way for the working classes to distinguish themselves as respectable members
of society (Himmelfarb 2005). For the settlement of New Zealand, temperance and
emigration went hand in hand, with the preferred emigrant being sober of habits and
color, and success in the new colony of New Zealand promoted as being achieved
through such means as frugality, temperance and industry (e.g. Earp 1853: 237).

The final section for analysis examined artefacts associated with health, hygiene and
personal grooming and presentation. While these types of artefacts were not found in great
numbers in either site they do point to such issues as use of medication, which often had a
high alcohol content, hygiene and use of toileting equipment, as well as styles of clothing and
personal ornamentation. The presence of sanitary items such as chamber pots is seen as
being reflective of concerns towards cleanliness, and items such as those associated with self-
medication reflects the pre-occupation with improving personal health (Low 2005).

Just as keeping a clean, orderly and comfortable house was an important display of
respectability, this was also the case with presenting a respectable appearance through neat,
tidy and clean clothing. Wearing clean presentable clothing separated the manual worker,
with grubby clothes, from the middle-classes (Young 2003: 107), and it is probable the
families kept a set of clothing for “Sunday best” for this very reason.

5.2. Mrs Jury’s

This section details the artefacts recovered from site P19/292, Mrs Jury’s, and is
structured according to the interpretive, functional, categories the material was catalogued
under, as discussed previously in the database methodology.

The artefacts were most concentrated in the area relating to the house (Figure 96).
However, the construction, and destruction, of the rifle trenches during the war phase of
occupation meant much of the contextual information relating to specific artefact location had
been disturbed, with many artefacts being found within the rifle trenches as a result of
digging and later backfilling. This is not considered to be an issue in this particular site, as
the archaeology reinforced the historical knowledge that there was only one phase of
European occupation, meaning the majority of artefacts relate to the time the Jury’s were
living there. A couple of exceptions could be the ammunition, discussed below, which
possibly relates to the war period, as well as one fire cracked rock from outlying Area E and is probably related to pre-European occupation.

The entirety of the excavated area relating to Mrs Jury’s farmstead contained 2995 items, comprising a minimum vessel count (MVC) of 465 artefacts (Table 9). These figures do not include any recovered wood or charcoal samples. Due to difficulty in assessing the functional specificity of the wood samples identified, the wood will be examined separately after the artefacts are discussed, aside from one piece of wood and zinc lined furniture, which is discussed under the Domestic artefacts category. It is generally assumed that wood remains found inside the rifle trenches relate to the Jury occupation. Recovered wood/charcoal relating to the Māori occupied storage pits were discussed in the previous chapter.

The largest number of sherds recovered relates to glass, constituting mostly window glass which has not been quantified to be included in the MVC, as it is extremely difficult to determine what sherds represent an individual glass pane. However, 999 sherds of window glass were recorded in the sherd count. Clay tobacco pipes, although technically ceramic, have been accorded a separate material class for ease of analysis and interpretation. Stone was collected where it occurred to provide a representative sample of the types of stone in the site. Stones that formed part of a hāŋgī feature within a storage pit (Feature 23), were left in situ, at the request of the hapū. Slate, although technically stone, was catalogued separately.

Table 9 Mrs Jury’s, number of artefacts by material class

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Sherd Count</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brick</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic - Clay Tobacco Pipe</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>1294</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>1078</td>
<td>348</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slate</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood/Zinc</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>2995</strong></td>
<td><strong>465</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

216
Figure 96 Mrs Jury's, overall finds distribution and density.


5.2.1. Using and Improving the Land

As described in the previous chapter the land the Jury’s settled upon in Omata had archaeological evidence of pre-European Māori gardening activities identified through the discovery of a complex of pit features found during the excavation. The microfossil results from analysis of a soil sample from one pit feature showed tall forest trees and tree ferns as well as bracken and charcoal from burning to clear the land. As discussed in Chapter 2, when Carrington surveyed the road out to Omata in 1847 he reported forest containing Rata, Hinau, Rimu, Pukatea, Karaka, and Koromiko trees (Wells 1878: 143-4). However the kumara storage pits found on the Jury’s land together with charcoal would suggest Māori had previously cleared this section of land of bush for gardening. Clearing by burning growth by Māori was done in a repeated and systematic method, leaving bracken fern to colonize after clearance (McGlone, Wilmshurst, and Leach 2005: 175). While the bracken rhizome (aruhe) was used as a staple part of the diet by Māori, and was managed as such through these repeated burnings of land (McGlone, Wilmshurst, and Leach 2005: 176), for the European colonizers fern was a sign of unproductive land, waiting to be cultivated – land not being put to productive use was officially termed “waste” land, whilst land converted to agriculture was determined “improved” land (Banner 1999: 835-6).

It is likely therefore that the Jury’s had to clear their section of land at least of bracken fern and possibly some larger trees. Hursthouse describes the majority of farms in Taranaki as being on land that was covered in tall fern “six to eight feet high…. The surface is a vegetable decomposition of from seven to ten inches, matted together by the fern-root, with a light yellow subsoil, of many feet in depth, entirely free from stones, shells, gravel, or clay” (Hursthouse 1851: 52). Hursthouse described the process in cultivating fern land with the first step clearing the fern in dry weather, firing the fern, and then cutting the stalks with a hook or scythe. After leaving for a few days, these stalks and branches are burnt, and then the stumps dug out and removed. Then the land should be ploughed using a strong plough with a wrought-iron plough share and four oxen. After this first plough the soil should be left to dry the remaining fern root, and then ploughing should be repeated. The land, after about six months is then ready to grow any crop (Hursthouse 1851: 81).

Aside from an orchard and a ¼ acre garden, the only crop being grown by Mrs Jury that compensation was claimed for was potatoes. These were still in the ground and covered 1 acre of her land, and she claimed for the loss of 5 tonnes of this root vegetable (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861). Charles Hursthouse stated that for potatoes grown on
Taranaki fern land without added manure, a yield of about seven tons per acre was considered a fair crop (Hursthouse 1851: 89). Artefacts recovered from the excavations of Mrs Jury’s farmstead relating to using and Improving the land are shown below in Table 10.

**Table 10 Mrs Jury’s, artefacts related to land improvement**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Landscaping/Gardening</td>
<td>Container</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Pot</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>Agriculture/Farming</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Spade?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>Agriculture/Farming</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Scythe blade</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>Handle</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>File</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Landscaping/Gardening Activities**

One sherd was found from a coarse redware pot that was glazed with a clear glaze both internally and externally. This was identified as a garden pot, probably for outdoors use rather than being for decorative indoors use. Mrs Jury’s claim for compensation states she had ¼ acre in garden, and it is probable she had her kitchen garden in close proximity to her house, similar to Thomas Potter Lister’s garden illustrated below in Figure 97.

![Figure 97 Thomas Potter Lister and Family c1874. Puke Ariki PHO2004-185. It is probable the families had kitchen gardens similar to this in close proximity to the house.](image-url)
Tools

Identified tools include part of a scythe blade (Figure 98) and part of a metal file (Figure 99). The steel scythe blade was broken and very corroded. The file was an integral handle or socket type file (Ross and Light 2000: 21). Another unidentified shaped piece of metal was possibly from a spade. Mrs Jury’s claim for compensation identified the loss of garden tools and implements consisting of a shovel, a hoe and a rake valued at £1-15s-0d (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861). It is possible these tools were already broken when the war commenced, and any other complete and more useful tools were salvaged by Māori or the military. However, they still give an indication as to the activities that were carried out on the farm, as scythes were used for cutting hay (Tresemer and Vido 2001) and clearing fern, and files used for sharpening blades (Ross and Light 2000).

Figure 98 Mrs Jury’s, scythe blade
Mrs Jury’s claim for compensation also stated the loss of a ½ acre orchard, which was damaged by Māori. Reverend Thomas Gilbert writes of heading back to his house in Omata to find his “peach trees converted into the shape of umbrella frames” (Gilbert 1861: 151). However Māori were not the only ones destroying orchards – soldiers were destroying Māori crops as well in retaliation, and Dr Morgan Grace recalled when he was stationed at Waitara of destroying Māori food sources: “We cut down all the peach trees, dug up the potatoes, devastated the country (as far as its nature would permit), and returned to our camp at Waitara.” (Grace 1899: 101). Mrs Jury’s orchard however was not permanently destroyed, merely damaged, and the landowner Len Jury recalled throwing rock hard pears from the remaining trees of an orchard on the property as a child. It is possible these pears may have been a variety used for cooking or preserving.

5.2.2. Building a House, Making a Home

This section makes up the bulk of the artefacts recovered during the excavation of Mrs Jury’s homestead, firstly describing the evidence the artefacts provide about the more structural attributes of the house and then discussing the domestic artefacts. Creating a comfortable house and home was an important feature of Improvement as this engendered a view of self-respect for the individuals within the family unit and also presented the family as respectable to the outside world.

Mrs Jury’s House – Structural Artefacts

To have been able to build and own one’s own house was a feature of life in New Plymouth commented on by the labourers upon settlement. Owning a “house and garden of
my own” seems to have been a significant motivating factor for emigration, and a goal that many achieved relatively quickly (New Zealand Company 1843: 153). The size of the house does not seem to have been an issue – the importance lay in ownership.

Certainly the Jury house was small by modern standards, but seems to have been similar in size to others in Omata at the time, and as described above, was about standard for a mid-19th century New Zealand settler’s cottage. The claim for compensation describes it as being built of sawn timber, 24ft by 12ft, with a 7ft sleigh (lean to) the length of the house. The house had been recently shingled while the cow shed was thatched and also of sawn timber, and the pig sty was of split staff. John Jury, in writing his mother’s claim, was clear the house had two partitions (thus making three rooms) and the sleigh was also divided into three by two partitions (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861). While the house was probably not any larger than the standard settler two roomed house, it was divided up to allow for separation between working, sleeping and living areas where visitors could also be received. This section discusses the artefacts recovered that are associated with the structure of the building, most of which relate to the house. These artefacts are divided into sub-categories of fixtures, hardware and materials.

Structural materials accounted for a total sherd count of 1640, representing a MVC of 316 vessels. Flat glass associated with windows, while counted in the sherd count, is not represented in the MVC, as is roofing slate, or sheet metal. However these items are listed in Table 11 below with the sherd count in parentheses. The descriptions of structural artefacts below are divided into hardware – doors and fasteners – and materials used in the building itself, such as window glass. The structural artefacts provide archaeological evidence, through the presence of nails and spikes, that the house was constructed from wood rather than raupō. The artefacts however add more detail than the historic record provides through the presence of window glass, sheet metal, and in particular, early adaptations of nail heads to provide extra waterproofing by the addition of a lead surround, long before the first patented manufacture of lead headed nails in New Zealand (Isaacs 2009).
Table 11 Mrs Jury’s Structural Artefacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fixtures</td>
<td>Door Lock</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Key</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>Door</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Pintle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Nail</td>
<td>295</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Nail/Pin?</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Nail/Sheet Metal</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Spike</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Fireplace?</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Sheet Metal</td>
<td>0 (30)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Misc.</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Sheet Metal</td>
<td>0 (328)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Roofing</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Lead nail head surround</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Window</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Putty?</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Roofing</td>
<td>Slate</td>
<td>Roofing Slate</td>
<td>0 (10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Flat Glass</td>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>Window</td>
<td>0 (999)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>316</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hardware - Doors**

One hand forged pintle from the hinge of a door was identified (Figure 100). A pintle is a pin attached to, or driven into, the wood of the door frame, and strap hinges hang and pivot on the pintle (Priess 2000: 54). A pintle required a heavy framework for mounting such as those on outside doors (Kauffman 1966: 68), and it is highly probable this pintle is from such a door on the Jury house. Due to corrosion however it was difficult to determine whether this was a two-piece pintle or one piece with reinforcing. It is probable the door was a ledged and braced style that was most common for this time period (Salmond 1986: 70-1).

One 90mm complete iron door key was also identified (Figure 101). This key is large enough to have been associated with an outside door lock, possibly relating to the door from which the pintle came from. The key seems to be a standard key typical to a Victorian door lock (Monk 1999: 53). No other components relating to the actual door lock were identified and it is possible the lock itself was salvaged at some stage during or after the house was destroyed. The key was found just outside the boundaries of the postholes relating to the house. It is possible Mrs Jury locked up the house when she was ordered to leave for New Plymouth at the beginning of the war, but hid the key outside so that anybody coming back to the house to check on it and the stock, probably milking the cows, could gain access.
Fasteners included nails, spikes and pins. All these fasteners were iron. Nails were fragmented, with a total fragment count of 576, representing 297 nails. These nail counts do not include nails intact in the wooden and zinc piece of furniture described under Domestic furnishings below. Nine spikes were positively identified. Only two of these were complete,
measuring 135mm and 140mm in length. There were 101 complete nails, ranging in length from 28mm to 106mm. A further 194 nails were incomplete, consisting of the head and part of the shaft. Manufacturing technique was dominated by machine cut nails (n=159), with only 6 hand forged nails identified. The remainder of the nails could not have the manufacturing technique positively identified due to corrosion.

No wire nails were present, which is consistent with the date of the house, as wire nails were not commonly manufactured for use in construction until the 1870’s (Isaacs 2009: 85). Most of the nail heads could not be identified, however 18 were determined to be rosehead nails. One nail was clearly a brad, identified due to its ‘L’ shaped cut head, and was 67mm in length. This type of nail was commonly used in furnishings or flooring, and the length of this particular example would indicate that it was possibly used rather as a flooring nail than for furnishings (Isaacs 2009: 86). However, with only one found, it seems unlikely brads were used in great quantities for the floors. In addition five nails of varying sizes between 40-50mm were associated with wood, identified as Tawa. Tawa was considered to be good durable flooring but not long-lasting outdoors and was said to be chiefly used as firewood (Seffern 1869: 69). However this is clearly not the case here. One 65mm nail was used to fasten zinc, part of which is still intact, and a 40mm nail is fastened to a piece of sheet metal (Figure 102). One other nail was also attached to sheet metal. A total of 54 nails were recorded as coming from the fire pit feature (FT123.01). As it seems as if the structural material relating to the base of the fireplace had been removed, these nails are probably related to the destruction of the house, and possibly the structure that was surrounding the fireplace itself.

Nails were mostly used in construction in early New Zealand wooden houses for nailing boards, claddings and linings, rather than for framing, as there was more of a reliance on connections such as mortise and tenon joints which reduced the need for nails which were still an imported and expensive item (Isaacs 2009: 88; Salmond 1986: 58-9). Large numbers of nails were being imported into New Zealand throughout the 19th century and New Zealand never really developed a strong nail manufacturing industry. While no import data is available prior to 1862 for nails, the types of nails being imported can be found through perusing advertisements and shipping lists in newspapers of the time before this (Isaacs 2009).
Sheet metal was mostly fragmented and a count of 358 pieces, weighing a total of 5805 grams, was recorded. The house itself was shingled shortly before the war, and the cow shed was thatched, meaning this sheet metal was not used for roofing these larger buildings. However, a quantity of sheet metal was recovered from the base of the fireplace, meaning metal could have been used for lining the chimney. Grace Hirst, at Brackenhirst in Bell Block, describes her house as having an iron chimney, in the middle of the house (Hirst 1855), thus increasing the likelihood of a similar style of chimney in the Jury house. The sheet metal could also have been used for roofing the verandah of the house. While corrugated iron was shipped to New Plymouth in the 1850’s, Charles Hursthouse suggested that new emigrants bring their own out from England for the verandah of a house, as it gave a nicer look than shingle or thatch (Hursthouse 1857: 457).

Clearly some means of waterproofing the iron was used, as a number of lead pieces were recovered that had been used to surround something, most likely a nail head going through a piece of iron (Figure 103). From later in the 19th century in New Zealand, lead-headed nails were used to fix corrugated roofing steel as they could be hammered flat to ensure weather tightness (Arden and Bowman 2004: 156). It is not clear when the first nails were manufactured in New Zealand but the first factory made nails were lead-headed and, while these were patented, it is likely plumbers were making their own versions of lead.
headed nails before these factory produced models (Isaacs 2007). In New Zealand a nail specifically designed for use with corrugated iron was developed by Stokes in Christchurch and in use from 1883. This Stokes nail was patented in Britain in 1887 (Lewis n.d.). Lead-head nails were also advertised as being manufactured in Wanganui in 1882 by plumber J.H. Keesing (Wanganui Herald 11 July 1882: 3), and were for sale in Taranaki by 1883 (Taranaki Herald 5 February 1883: 1). In England, lead-headed nails were used in roofing earlier than these dates however, with Joseph Gwilt describing securing lead hips and ridges in roofs with lead-headed nails (Gwilt 1842: 617). While the lead objects recovered at Mrs Jury’s are not lead-headed nails, they have been used around another object, probably a large nail and therefore used as a flashing or waterproofing. It is probable that this type of waterproofing was the precursor to the later factory produced lead-head nails and are an example of adaptation and innovation towards use of materials by the Jury’s, and other settlers. This kind of settler adaptation is now intrinsically part of New Zealand culture through the concept of “Kiwi ingenuity” and the New Zealand “number 8 wire” mentality (Bridges and Downs 2000).

Figure 103 Mrs Jury’s, lead pieces used to surround nails for waterproofing

Ten fragments of roofing slate were identified. Roofing slate differs from writing slate in that it is thicker and does not have predetermined lines etched into it, as some writing
slates did. While catalogued here under structural materials, it is unlikely the roofing slate recovered was used in roofing, as compensation would have been claimed for a slate roof rather than a shingle roof, and a much larger quantity of slate would have been found archaeologically. While no writing was recorded on the slate found at Mrs Jury’s, Nigel Prickett recorded roofing slate being used for writing upon at the Omata Stockade (Prickett 1994: 86).

Window glass weighing 2246 grams was recovered. Other than weight, quantification of flat window glass was limited to a sherd count. Extracting meaningful data is difficult with window glass, although plotting distribution has been found to be useful in understanding the location of windows in a structure (Holdaway and Gibb 2006). However, due to the backfilling of the post house destruction rifle trenches, the distribution in this case was felt to be generally of limited use. Given that limited window glass was recovered from along the back of the structure, this has informed understanding of the layout of the sleigh lean-to, which was probably windowless along the rear, with a window to one side, and a door way to the outside on the other (Figure 104).

Figure 104 Proposed internal structure of Mrs Jury’s house based upon John Jury’s description in the claim for compensation, and showing a verandah in front, and sleigh lean-to at rear with the sleigh divided into three. Drawn by Raysan al-Kubaïsi for Janice Adamson 2011.

Twelve-light double hung sash windows were widely used from the 1850’s up until the 1870’s in New Zealand, probably due to the early importation of crown glass which was manufactured into small square panes (Salmond 1986: 68). The illustration by H.H. Arden
shown below in Figure 105 shows a small house in 1850’s New Plymouth with twelve-light double hung sash windows of the sort thought most likely to have been in the Jury house. The best windows, including French casement doors, were commonly on public display at the front of the house leading to the verandah, with the smaller hinged casement windows towards the rear service area of the house, where they were not visible to visitors and passersby (Salmond 1986). George Curtis’s house in Omata is illustrated with French casement doors leading on to the verandah, even though the house is constructed of raupō (Figure 106). Imported doors and windows such as these were sometimes used in less permanent housing, and then removed once a more permanent structure was built (Salmond 1986).

Figure 105 Hamar Humphrey Arden, 1850’s. "The Old House on the Cliff". Puke Ariki A65.915.
Figure 106 Joseph Jenner Merrett, 1851-1852. George Curtis's House Omata. Puke Ariki A92.157
Based on this historical information regarding types of cladding and windows, together with the archaeological remains identified, an artistic reconstruction of the exterior of the house is shown below in Figure 107 and Figure 108. Board and batten cladding was chosen for this reconstruction as it was the simpler and more economical method than using horizontal weatherboards. The roof, as per the claim for compensation, was constructed with wooden shingles, and the windows were likely to have been twelve-light double hung sash windows at the front, while the windows at the sides were likely to have been hinged casements. It is most likely the house was painted, rather than the bare boards shown in the illustrations. Martha Adams described the houses in New Plymouth mostly being painted white (Adams 1850-1852). The divisions in the sleigh, as described in Mrs Jury’s claim for compensation, created very small spaces and it is hard to see how these could have been practically used aside than for storage. However, as discussed in Chapter 2, the number of rooms a house had was associated with Improvement, and it is possible John and Mrs Jury were attempting to emphasise the spaciousness of the house for this reason. It should also be noted here that the post and rail fences illustrated in the reconstruction below were not found archaeologically, although this type of fence was claimed for in Mrs Jury’s claim for compensation.

Figure 107 Artistic reconstruction of Mrs Jury’s house. Drawn by Raysan Al-Kubaisi for Janice Adamson and Puke Ariki 2011
Figure 108 Artistic reconstruction of Mrs Jury's house showing door at the side of the sleigh. Drawn by Raysan Al-Kubaisi for Janice Adamson and Puke Ariki 2011.

Creating a Comfortable Home - Domestic Artefacts

For women the home and the domestic environment was the place where they could display their respectability, and this was especially the case for working class women, who sometimes had no other means of expressing their place in the world but through their home and family (Masters 2010). Purchase and display of consumer goods also allowed women to participate in consumer culture and display their choices and taste, thus reinforcing their position as respectable members of society (Yamin 2001).

Mrs Jury was still responsible for three of her children when she left her house at the beginning of the war (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions)\(^9\). The little Jury house in Omata would have undoubtedly been a hive of activity with four people, nearly all adults, living within its walls. Daily life for the family would have revolved around the use of everyday items, many insignificant in their own right, but capable of providing an insight into how the Jury’s lived their lives. It is these, the domestic artefacts from Mrs Jury’s home, that are discussed in this section.

The artefacts here are divided into containers for non-alcoholic beverages; preparation and consumption of food; food and food storage; and household furnishings (Table 12).  

\(^9\) These were likely to have been Henry who was 21, William who was by then 18 and the youngest Emily who was 15.
Most of the domestic artefacts are ceramics and these fall under the sub-category of food preparation and consumption. A more detailed discussion of ceramic decoration is carried out at the end of this section. Considering the size of the house and the occupying household, quantities seem large, particularly of table plates, cups, and saucers. Cutlery is under-represented, probably because of its durability and portability, meaning it was possibly either removed by the Jury family upon leaving their house, or taken, either by Māori or possibly the military, later. Although no features for rubbish disposal were found, some of the ceramics possibly represent breakages through everyday use prior to the land-wars, although it is not possible to quantify this.

Table 12 Mrs Jury’s Domestic Artefacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beverage</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Baking Dish</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Serving</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Jug</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Serving</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Sauce Pot</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Serving</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Tureen</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Soup Plate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Unidentified Flat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tea/Tableware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tea/Tableware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Unidentified Flat</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Teaware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Teaware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Teaware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Teaware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Teapot</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Teaware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Teapot (spout)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Lid</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Cutlery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food/Food Storage</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>Salad Oil</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings</td>
<td>Bedding</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Bedstead Knob</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings</td>
<td>Bedding</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Bedstead</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings</td>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Knob</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furnishings</td>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>Wood/Zinc</td>
<td>Cupboard</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>81</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Beverages – Non-Alcoholic**

Only one ceramic bottle was identified from the neck of a buff bodied salt-glazed bottle, and was probably a ginger beer bottle. Non-alcoholic beverages were readily
available in New Plymouth during the 1850’s. Many were manufactured, bottled, and sold from the same site, and one such manufacturer in New Plymouth was George Williams, who advertised ginger beer as a refreshing summer beverage. Bottles were reused, and had a value, as George Williams advertises that “money paid for bottles will be returned when the bottles are returned sound” (Taranaki Herald 14 February 1855: 2). This thriftiness could explain why only one such bottle was found in Mrs Jury’s site.

**Food Preparation/Consumption**

Mrs Jury’s claim for compensation listed the loss of cooking utensils of a “boiler, crotches, saucepans, frying pan, pie [unreadable] etc”. Also lost were dairy utensils consisting of a churn, milk pans, and cream basins (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861). None of these utensils were identified in the archaeological remains recovered, and although ceramic vessels dominated this find category, these also do not appear in the claim. Some other claims for compensation are more detailed, such as those by Reverend Thomas Gilbert and Reverend George Bayley, and although Gilbert listed the loss of domestic items such as “earthenware” these were not paid out upon. It would seem items associated with generating a livelihood, such as dairy utensils and garden tools, were compensated for, whereas domestic everyday items, such as ceramic tableware, were not.

Most of the artefacts in this category would have been the kinds of items in everyday use, with some for display and special occasions. The food preparation and consumption artefacts identified in Mrs Jury’s amounted to a total of 74 vessels, with 2 metal items and the remainder of vessels being ceramic (n=72). Most of the ceramic vessels in this category were white bodied earthenware, known here as whiteware (n=62 or 86%), and of these whiteware vessels the majority (n=43) were transfer-printed in blue. Other transfer-printed colours were brown (3 vessels), grey (1 vessel) and red (1 vessel). Other decoration is discussed below within each sub-category. Teaware dominates this category of food preparation and consumption related artefacts (n=36), followed by ceramic tableware (n=27), serving wares (n=6) and kitchen wares (n=4) (Figure 109).

---

10 There is the possibility of a difference in the way the compensation process was handled depending on the status of the individual claimants, as some people such as surveyor Frederick Alonzo Carrington itemised in his claim the loss of domestic items in detail, for example the 18 champagne glasses, 18 liqueur glasses and 3 wine carafes that were “known to be stolen” (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861). The image of Māori “rebels” sitting around supping champagne in Carrington’s glasses seems a little ludicrous viewed through today’s eyes, however undoubtedly Frederick Carrington himself saw the notion as a real possibility. In reality it is more likely Carrington’s glasses were destroyed and make up part of the archaeological record today.
Kitchen artefacts consisted of one ceramic baking dish, two ceramic bowls, and an iron lid, possibly from a small cooking pot 12.5 cm in diameter. The ceramic kitchen wares were utilitarian, with the baking dish being a plain-glazed yellow ware vessel, and the bowls both industrial slipware, one being whiteware with a mocha dendritic style design and the other being annular yellow ware decorated with bands of cream and brown.

Yellow ware and industrial slipware items commonly occur in utilitarian vessel forms such as the types of kitchen wares found here. Yellow ware was a partly-vitrified earthenware made from buff coloured clay and covered with a clear glaze. These items were always made for food preparation and storage or else were toilet wares such as chamberpots (Sussman 1997: 77). Annular wares are decorated with regular horizontal bands of coloured clay slip. This type of banded decoration is the one most commonly found on industrial slipwares (Sussman 1997: 68), and is also usually found on bowls (Brooks 2005: 36). Yellow ware generally dates to post-1830, while mocha dendritic wares date to pre-1840 (Miller 2000: 12). Enough vessels with mocha dendritic decoration appear relatively regularly, albeit in limited quantities, on earlier New Zealand archaeological sites to suggest continuing, but reducing, production in Britain for a limited period after 1840. However, the decline in “fancy” dipped industrial slipwares occurred after about 1820, and by around 1840 decorations were becoming less varied and cheaper. The fact that industrial slipwares were
never made in dinner services for formal dining suggests the mostly humble and utilitarian role in everyday life these types of vessels played (Sussman 1997: 75).

![Figure 110 Mrs Jury’s, kitchen bowl, whiteware with a mocha dendritic decoration (scale = 1mm)](image)

**Serving**

Six vessels catalogued as serving wares were identified, all ceramic (Table 13), including two porcelain sauce pots of Chinese origin that, as described below, were probably more for decoration rather than usefulness.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Decorative Technique</th>
<th>Decorative Colour</th>
<th>Pattern Name</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jug</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Flown Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Whampoa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jug</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Canovian</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sauce Pot</td>
<td>Chinese Porcelain</td>
<td>Painted - Underglaze</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tureen</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>MJ002</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Serving wares identified were quite decorative as well as being useful both in the kitchen and on the tea or dining table. Wares for serving food, such as the transfer-printed tureen in an unidentified pattern MJ002 (Figure 111), indicates that Mrs Jury had a set table where she served food and dined, rather than serving straight from a cooking pot onto plates. The two jugs would also have been used for serving liquids, most likely milk, on the table also. These jugs were both transfer printed, one in the Canovian pattern (Figure 112), and one in flow blue chinoiserie styled Whampoa pattern. Canovian is an early design, with illustrated examples being manufactured by James and Ralph Clews (Snyder 1997: 47; Williams 1978: 216-7; Williams and Weber 1986: 599), whose pottery partnership ended in 1834 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 151). This could therefore have been an item brought by the family from England, or purchased second hand in New Plymouth.

However, the flow blue jug in Whampoa pattern would have been considered a more modern item on Mrs Jury’s tea table. Although production of flow blue transfer printed wares began around 1835-1840, Miller gives an earliest date for importation of these types of decorated items into North America of 1845 (Miller 2000: 13). Mrs Jury’s flown transfer printed jug was therefore almost definitely purchased in New Zealand, possibly either from the local Omata Store, where earthenware was advertised for sale (Taranaki Herald 10 October 1855: 1), or from one of the trading stores in New Plymouth. Flow blue wares, while criticised by the potting industry in England, were hugely popular and very fashionable in the countries they were exported to. For the potters, the technique was ideal for hiding potting imperfections yet they still allowed the consumer to believe they were purchasing first rate products (Snyder 1994).

Figure 111 Mrs Jury’s, blue transfer printed tureen, unidentified pattern MJ002 (scale = 1mm)
Mrs Jury also owned three Chinese porcelain pots that have been identified as sauce pots, and date to the 19th and early 20th century (Yeo and Martin 1978: 286). Whether Mrs Jury used them for serving sauce is unknown (Figure 113). They are also described elsewhere as jarlets (Willetts and Poh 1981: 79). These are exceedingly rare in the New Zealand archaeological context with no other examples being identified. They have not been seen before by Chinese material culture expert Dr Neville Ritchie (pers. comm. 11 July 2008) nor in the author’s experience in the archaeological analysis of a large Chinese assemblage recovered from an Auckland site (Bader and Adamson 2011).

Chinese preserves were being imported into New Plymouth, and it is probable these vessels held some type of preserve when originally purchased. However, while these items have been catalogued as serving vessels in keeping with their primary use, it seems more likely Mrs Jury held on to them as curios and items for decoration and display. Fascination by westerners with Chinese design and chinoiserie products occurred from the 18th century as a response to trade with the East in goods such as tea, spices and porcelain. This resulted in imitations of Chinese porcelain ceramic bodies, as well as blue and white underglaze printed decoration on ceramics, of which the most abiding is the Willow ceramic pattern. In the last quarter of the 19th century the craze for the Oriental turned to Japanese inspired design as part of the aesthetic movement of decorative design (Samford 2000).  Mrs Jury’s sauce pots
are of Chinese origin, and possibly lent a sense of the exotic to her home furnishings and display.

![Figure 113 Mrs Jury's, Chinese sauce pot (scale = 1mm)](image)

**Tableware**

Tableware from Mrs Jury’s were restricted in form to whiteware ceramic plates, including a soup plate (n=27) and one metal cutlery handle from either a spoon or a fork (Figure 114). The ceramics are tabbed below in Table 14. The lack of cutlery is indicative of its durability and portability, meaning cutlery could have been either taken by the family when they left at the beginning of the war, or it was taken during, or salvaged after, the house was destroyed.

![Figure 114 Mrs Jury's, cutlery handle from a spoon or fork](image)
### Table 14 Mrs Jury’s, ceramic tableware

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Decorative Technique</th>
<th>Decorative Colour</th>
<th>Pattern Name</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Flown Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>MJ016</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Flown Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Plain Glazed</td>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Shell Edged</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Isola Belle/Bella</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>MJ010</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>MJ014</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>PD003</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Peruvian Hunters</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Rhine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Wild Rose</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>WICB001</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>Rhine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soup Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>27</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The 27 table ware plates consisted of a range of largely non-matching transfer printed patterns and designs and included one soup plate. Twenty two of the transfer printed plates were blue. Blue Willow pattern was the most frequent transfer printed design, occurring in 11 plates and one soup plate. Sizes of these Willow pattern plates are 18 cm in diameter (3 vessels), 20 cm (1 vessel), 25 cm (7 vessels) and one 26cm soup plate. The varying sizes and shades of blue present in the Willow pattern plates, while providing a first impression of being matching, were probably purchased individually, but with the addition of the soup plate could be considered a complementary set (Crook 2008: 237). An “assortment of soup, dinner and other plates” in Willow pattern was advertised in New Plymouth in 1854 (Taranaki Herald 20 December 1854: 1), and another selling “Willow-pattern plates, dishes and mugs” in 1860 (Taranaki Herald 4 February 1860: 1). These advertisements suggest availability and sale was individually rather than by the set. Willow patterned china marketed in this way was probably done so to appeal to those who might not have been able to afford a complete set of matching china, but who possibly wanted to provide the impression of a set. Sold in
this way, willow pattern was easy to add to as afforded. Clearly the ceramic manufacturers in Britain produced willow pattern in large quantities to meet this market, as Kowalsky and Kowalsky (1999: 519-20) list 117 known makers of Willow pattern, and there are undoubtedly others as yet unrecorded.

Two shell-edged plates were 25cm diameter, and other transfer-printed plates included one 26cm Wild Rose pattern, a 26.5 cm Peruvian Hunters pattern, and a 26.5 Isola Belle/Bella pattern plate. Two Rhine pattern plates, one blue and one grey, were present, together with seven unidentified patterns. One plate was plain undecorated whiteware. While the larger (25-26.5 cm) plates were for the dinner table, the smaller plates (18-20 cm) fall into the category of twiffler (Brighton 2001: 19), and were associated by the Staffordshire pottery industry with serving of desserts (Coysh and Henrywood 1982: 372). However, as argued by Susan Briggs (2006: 92), plates of this size could have been used as side plates or for serving breakfast. It is also possible that, in the absence of dedicated “children’s china”, these smaller sized vessels also could have filled that role, although by the time of the war, Mrs Jury was only supporting older children at home. Given the large numbers of teawares, these smaller sized plates could also have been used as part of the tea ceremony.

The two shell edged plates in Mrs Jury’s assemblage were decorated with a blue edged design, one had impressed curved lines, and the other had impressed straight lines. The rims were slightly scalloped. Shell-edged wares, known in the 19th century simply as “edged”, were produced and exported in large quantities between 1780 and 1860, although production went into the 20th century. Shell edged wares occur mostly in blue or green, but other colours have been noted. Most of the wares were made as plates and dishes rather than other forms. It is possible to date the wares reasonably accurately through the changing rim shapes and decoration. Earlier designs have a scalloped edge, which became more even and symmetrical over time and incorporated straight or impressed curved lines. By the 1840’s the scalloped rim was being replaced by simple impressed lines, and by the 1860’s and 1870’s impressed lines gave way to underglaze painted blue decoration with no moulding whatsoever (Hunter and Miller 1994; Miller 2000). Using this chronology, Mrs Jury’s two plates were of a pre-1840 style. Initially shell edged wares were marketed to upper middle-class families however they quickly became a common product for most households. Shell edged wares in North America have appeared in nearly every late 18th or early 19th century archaeological site, appearing in houses of the wealthy as well as in slave cabins (Hunter and Miller 1994: 440). As the least expensive ceramics with a coloured decoration that were on
the market in Britain and North America between 1780 and 1860, shell edged wares were an extremely successful product.

Isola Belle/Bella transfer printed pattern occurred in one plate (Figure 115). It is a romantic design, probably introduced about 1850 (Furniss, Wagner, and Wagner 1999: 82). There seems to be some confusion in the literature as to whether the pattern is Isola Belle or Isola Bella. Some authors call it the latter (e.g. Furniss, Wagner, and Wagner 1999; Snyder 1997: 21; Williams 1978: 299; Williams and Weber 1986: 203-4) even though an illustrated mark by manufacturer William Adams & Sons clearly shows the word “Belle” (Furniss, Wagner, and Wagner 1999: 82; Williams and Weber 1986: 204). Kowalsky and Kowalsky call the Adams marked pattern Isola Belle, and list Davenport as making Isola Bella (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 493). Either way, the pattern as it occurs in this assemblage is consistent with the Adams version illustrated in the above described literature.

The transfer printed pattern Peruvian Hunters consists of an exotic views design, and was found in one plate. This pattern is illustrated in Snyder (1997: 64), and Williams and Weber (1986: 156), and is identified as being produced by Goodwin & Ellis, giving it a manufacturing date of 1839-1840 (Godden 1991: 280). Coysh and Henrywood discuss another version with the same name but a different border, made by R.A. Kidston (Coysh and Henrywood 1989: 156) who operated between 1834 and 1841 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 252). However the border design of the example identified in Mrs Jury’s assemblage is consistent with the Goodwin & Ellis design (Figure 116).

Figure 115 Mrs Jury’s, Isola Belle/Bella transfer printed patterned plate sherd (scale = 1mm)
The blue transfer print named PD003 was previously identified in the homestead site of Romulus Street in Bell Block, where it was found in a waste or slops bowl as well as a saucer. In Mrs Jury’s it was found in three sherds from a table plate. The design features a marley with scenic vignettes (Figure 117).

The fact that most of Mrs Jury’s table wares were transfer printed, rather than cheaper plain or shell edged, indicates her desire to have a decorative table. The wide range of patterns over this assemblage suggests individual purchase by the piece was carried out, rather than purchasing at one time a set of ceramics for the table, however there was some consistency in colour (blue) and pattern (Willow). As noted above Willow pattern had the
advantage of being produced by many manufacturers and was easy to form a semblance of a matching set, which was seen as being a desirable aim for the respectable Victorian household. It is interesting to note the number of plates in the assemblage. Perhaps Mrs Jury was exhibiting one of the defining characteristics of the Victorian era – that of developing consumerism and acquisition of possessions (Cohen 2006).

**Teaware**

As shown in the above figure (Figure 109) vessels described as teaware dominated this category in Mrs Jury’s assemblage. All teawares were ceramic, and consisted of 3 bowls, 18 cups, 11 saucers, 3 teapots, and 1 unidentified flat vessel (Table 15). The bowls were classified as teaware, as opposed to kitchen bowls, because their size and decoration indicated them as being waste or slop bowls with the primary use being to receive the slops from the cups of tea in preparation for another cup. It is however possible these were put to other uses.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Decorative Technique</th>
<th>Decorative Colour</th>
<th>Pattern Name</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>MJ001</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>Fibre</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Black Basalt</td>
<td>Engine Turned</td>
<td>Black</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>Bone China</td>
<td>Plain Glazed</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Blue</td>
<td>BB21</td>
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<td>MJ015</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Arcadian Chariots</td>
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<td>MJ012</td>
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<tr>
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<td>MJ013</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Red</td>
<td>MJ018</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saucer</td>
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<td>Flown Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>MJ017</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saucer</td>
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<td>Painted - Underglaze</td>
<td>Polychrome</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>HM228/ PD014</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Arcadian Chariots</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Carroll</td>
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</tr>
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<td>Saucer</td>
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<td>Saucer</td>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
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<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>36</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
One bowl was a glazed black basalt engine-turned hemispherical shaped vessel with a cross hatch type pattern (Figure 118), and was the same design as the black basalt teapot also identified and discussed below. Glazed black basalt is said to be of Scottish rather than English origin (Kelly 1999: 8) but Brooks calls this into question (Brooks 2005: 27). Black basalt was produced through most of the 19th century, although Miller lists the production dates of 1750-1850 (Miller 2000: 10), and its lack of later production suggests it was therefore unfashionable in the second half of the 19th century. Brooks states that examples from archaeological sites usually take the form of teawares (Brooks 2005: 27), as is the case of the two vessels in this assemblage. However, in New Zealand, wares made of black basalt are not commonly found in archaeological sites, or possibly not identified. However a teapot and a coffee pot were recovered from the Taranaki settler homestead site belonging to Romulus Street (Adamson and Bader 2008), and these are now in the possession of Puke Ariki museum. One sherd of unglazed black basalt was also found in Chancery St, Auckland (D.O.C. Ceramic Reference Collection; Macready and Goodwyn 1990: 6).

Figure 118 Mrs Jury’s, black basalt bowl (scale = 1mm)
Another bowl was London-shaped blue transfer ware in an unidentified blue transfer printed pattern (catalogued here as MJ001), and also present was a brown transfer printed bowl in the botanical Fibre pattern, commonly found in archaeological sites in New Zealand.

All the tea cups were whiteware, aside from one bone china vessel. This bone china cup was undecorated, as were two of the whiteware cups (Figure 119). The remaining 15 cups were transfer-printed and occurred in 14 different transfer printed patterns. One transfer print was red (MJ018) and the remaining transfer printed cups were blue, including two that were flow blue transfer. While one of the flow blue cups was of an unidentified pattern (MJ015), the other, shown below in Figure 120, (known as BB21) has occurred previously in the Taranaki archaeological sites of the Omata Stockade (Prickett 1981), and Te Oropūriri in Bell Block (Holdaway and Gibb 2006), and was also found in Autridge’s farmstead, described below. This was the largest cup in the assemblage with an 11 cm rim diameter.

Figure 119 Mrs Jury’s, undecorated whiteware cup, cross mended vessel ID 37, scale = 5mm
Another cup was identified in blue transfer printed Erica pattern (Figure 121 and Figure 122). This design was manufactured by Davenport (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 485) and the mark as shown on the cup base below dates to between c1820’s to the 1860’s (Godden 1991: 190). An illustrated example has an impressed mark dating to 1844 (Williams and Weber 1986: 99). Erica pattern is described in Coysh and Henrywood (1989: 77) as a "typical romantic scene". The name comes from shrubs with bell-shaped flowers (Coysh and Henrywood 1989: 77), and the marley design features this style of flower, shown in the interior view of the rim in Figure 122 below. However Williams and Weber (1986: 99) categorise this pattern as Oriental, and it does feature some chinoiserie elements including oriental style buildings and pagodas.
Another transfer-printed pattern identified in the teaware was that of Arcadian Chariots, with a MVC of two cups and three saucers, therefore constituting matching sets of teaware (Figure 123 and Figure 124). This pattern is a classical design, and was identified from Williams (1978: 60), where a small vase is illustrated. The wreath style named pattern mark on this vessel is illustrated in Williams and Weber (1986: 512), and one sherd of this pattern from Mrs Jury’s assemblage had a small part of this mark present. A later, slightly different, version is illustrated with a similar central motif but with a different border and
mark in Williams and Weber (1986: 511). They suggest this later version is a "re-issue of the original pattern by John Ridgway Bates or Brown-Westhead Moore and Co. as Cauldon [who made this later version] succeeded these firms" (Williams and Weber 1986: 511). John Ridgway Bates & Co operated between 1856-1858 (Godden 1991: 535), and Bates, Brown-Westhead & Moore between 1859-1861 (Godden 1991: 59). Brown-Westhead Moore & Co. succeeded this firm in 1862 until 1904 when it became Cauldon Ltd (Godden 1991: 133). However, classical motifs such as this enjoyed peak popularity between 1827 until about 1847 when the fashion for these styles began to wane (Samford 2000: 68). Arcadian Chariots seems typical of this period of 19th century design, and it seems likely the pattern was manufactured by earlier of the two firms – John Ridgway Bates & Co - which would fit in with the date of occupation of the site.

Sherds from a cup and saucer in Arcadian Chariots pattern were also recovered at Te Oropūriri, but the pattern was unidentified and was named "BB29" (Holdaway and Gibb 2006: 295). Another sample of this pattern was also recovered from the other site being discussed here, Autridge's Farm, and these examples of the occurrence of this pattern in the Taranaki region are probably meaningful in the context of ceramic availability in New Plymouth. It is possible it could have been recovered from other archaeological sites within New Zealand but not identified, although to date a search through local and international literature found no other examples of this pattern.

Figure 123 Mrs Jury's, Arcadian Chariots transfer printed cup sherd, exterior view (left) and interior (right) (scale = 1mm)
While Arcadian Chariots pattern occurred in cups and saucers, none of the remaining eight saucers matched any of the cups. Two saucers were hand painted underglaze in polychrome colours, in a sprig style decoration. One of the hand painted saucers recovered, illustrated below in Figure 125, had darker green leaves, while the second painted saucer had leaves of a brighter green. The examples occurring here fit with the description in Majewski and O’Brien, who describe this type of decoration as consisting of “small floral elements scattered over a plain background. A typical motif is a black hairline stem with small green leaves and stylized red and blue flowers and berries” (Majewski and O’Brien 1987: 157). Underglaze hand painted floral decoration was generally popular in the North American market between 1840 to after 1860 (Majewski and O’Brien 1987: 159), and while Brooks (2005: 41) cautions against using these dates in the Australian context, ceramics with this type of decoration do tend to appear in limited quantities in New Zealand archaeological sites that date to this period, such as Mrs Jury’s.
Another saucer was identified as Ceylonese pattern and another in Carroll pattern, both transfer printed designs in blue. Ceylonese pattern, shown below in Figure 126, is a romantic design with the central motif generally featuring a peacock and an urn, and the rim design featuring the distinguishing feature of a semicircular feather (Snyder 1997: 136; Williams 1978: 614). The manufacturer George Phillips is the only known maker of this pattern, and this company operated in Longport, Staffordshire, between 1834 and 1848 (Godden 1991: 492; Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 303).

Carroll pattern, shown below in Figure 127, is a floral design, and was identified from the illustrated example in Williams and Weber (1986: 341). The example was manufactured by Samuel Alcock & Co., and this maker is the only named producer of this pattern in Kowalsky and Kowalsky (1999: 476). This pattern was also present in Te Oropūriri, in Bell Block, but appears to have been wrongly identified as "Scroll" as the last three letters "..oll" are present of the pattern name mark (Holdaway and Gibb 2006: 285). The pattern was most likely made for the American market, as the name “Carroll” was well known in the early 19th century. Coysh and Henrywood list a number of famous references to the name including that of the signatory of the Declaration of Independence Charles Carroll who died in 1832 (Coysh and Henrywood 1989: 47). Samuel Alcock operated a number of Staffordshire manufactories between c1826 and 1859 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 92).
Three teapots were identified, all quite different in style. One was manufactured from black basalt ceramic material, as discussed above in relation to the matching bowl (Figure 118). These two items were probably part of a set that would have also at one time consisted of a small jug, or creamer, and a sugar container. A second teapot was a buff-bodied brown Rockingham style teapot, and the third teapot was manufactured from refined redware with a hand-painted polychrome and lustred design (Figure 128). This type of decoration on refined redware commonly appears in post-1840 sites overseas (Brooks pers. comm. 2 July 2008). Although polychrome floral enamelled and lustred wares appear in sites in New Zealand, it would seem that refined red earthenware examples, rather than whiteware, are uncommon.
refined red earthenware teapot completely covered in silver lustre (platinum) occurred in the Wellington Inner City Bypass assemblage (Adamson 2006), but no other similar examples have been found in a perusal of archaeological excavation reports. Klose and Malan (2000) report occurrences in 19th century archaeological sites from Capetown in South Africa.

Figure 128 Mrs Jury’s, refined redware hand-painted teapot sherd (scale = 1mm)

Mrs Jury’s teaware occurred in a wide range of patterns and although the black basalt teapot and bowl were part of a set of tea serving ware, there were very few matching sets of cups and saucers (n=2). Nevertheless, it is clear that she participated in providing tea to her family and to visitors. Three teapots would suggest that she served tea to relatively large numbers of people at any one time. Mrs Jury’s paid job cleaning the Omata church indicates she had a role to play in church life (Omata Church Accounts 1849-1852). Given the location of her house opposite the Omata Church, until it moved in 1855 (Bolitho 2003), she probably also had visitors to tea on a Sunday on a regular basis and, although she could not provide “fine china” in terms of quality and matching patterns, she clearly participated in this ceremony that was such an important part of Victorian life for a respectable woman.

Food Preparation and Consumption Related Ceramics – Manufacturing Marks

Manufacturer marks were limited, with only one mark recorded and positively identified in this sub-category - a Davenport mark on one transfer printed blue cup, together
with the pattern name “Erica”. This mark is similar to Godden mark number 1186, which is dated to c1820’s-1860’s (Godden 1991: 190). An example is illustrated in Williams and Weber and has an impressed mark dating to 1844 (Williams and Weber 1986: 99). One other positively identified manufacturer (William Ridgway) is discussed below, under the category Personal, sub-category grooming, health and hygiene, ceramics.

A number of vessels occurred in transfer print patterns that are recorded as only having been manufactured by one or, in one case, possibly two, makers. These have been allocated a status of having an “attributed manufacturer”, allowing for a reasonably assured estimation of manufacture. The approximate dates of manufacture occur mainly prior to 1860. The plate by William Adams in Isola Belle/Bella pattern that was introduced c1850, but with no mark present, the end date of production is unknown but presumed from known marked examples (Furniss, Wagner, and Wagner 1999: 82). The dates of manufacture are therefore largely consistent with the dated occupation of Mrs Jury’s homestead, although Peruvian Hunters, and possibly Ceylonese, predate this. A summary of dating information is shown below in Table 16.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mark/Attributed Manufacturer</th>
<th>Pattern Name</th>
<th>Initial Date (TPQ)</th>
<th>Final Date (TAQ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John Ridgway</td>
<td>Arcadian Chariots</td>
<td>c1856</td>
<td>c1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Alcock &amp; Co.</td>
<td>Carroll</td>
<td>c1828</td>
<td>1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Phillips</td>
<td>Ceylonese</td>
<td>c1834</td>
<td>1848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davenport</td>
<td>Erica</td>
<td>c1820</td>
<td>c1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Adams</td>
<td>Isola Belle/Bella</td>
<td>c1850’s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwin &amp; Ellis</td>
<td>Peruvian Hunters</td>
<td>1839</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ceramics relating to food preparation and consumption show variability both in vessel form and decoration. Variability, particularly in transfer printed decoration, is linked to ceramic purchasing patterns, and an indicator that ceramics were purchased individually, rather than in a matching set. It is likely Mrs Jury attempted to provide a well set table with Willow patterned tableware that gave the appearance of being matching.

Food and Food Storage

Condiment Bottle

Only one glass bottle that would have once contained salad oil was identified as relating to food and food storage (Figure 129). Condiments such as salad oil and vinegar were available in New Plymouth during the 1850’s, and were used in colonial society
cooking and to enhance the flavour of foods. Condiments could also have helped disguise the unpalatability of meat that was not so fresh due to a lack of refrigeration (Turner 1998: 90). Condiment bottles such as salad oil, vinegar, and pickles were generally of decorative design, as they were intended to be placed directly on the dining table (Prickett 1994: 47).

However, importing prepared foods and condiments in expensive clear and aqua coloured glass bottles was considered a semi-luxury trade (Boow 1991: 18-9). While these types of goods appear in the comparably dated historical site of the homestead of Romulus Street in Bell Block (Adamson and Bader 2008), they certainly do not appear as frequently, for example, as black glass from alcohol bottles do. This supports the restricted use of bottled condiments, which was probably based upon cost. This lack of condiment bottles in Mrs Jury’s assemblage could indicate a rather austere approach to the addition of flavourings to food by Mrs Jury, or that she could not afford, nor desired, these more luxury types of goods.

Figure 129 Mrs Jury’s, salad oil bottle
Diet and Faunal Remains

This section provides an analysis of the faunal remains that were found in Mrs Jury’s site. Taranaki soils, being acidic, do not generally well preserve organic materials including faunal remains, and it is probably the presence of the gunfighter pits and trenches that allowed a limited preservation where otherwise this would not have been the case. Identification of the faunal remains was undertaken by University of Otago postgraduate student Sarah Mann.

Faunal material was limited (NISP = 77) with many unidentifiable fragments recorded. Three sheep (*O. aries*) molars, and three pig (*S. scrofa*) molars were identified. Three fish vertebrae were identified, but not to species. Shellfish fragments (NISP = 34) included unidentified gastropod shells (NISP = 20), *Perna canaliculus* (New Zealand green-lipped mussels) (NISP = 13) and Ostreidae (oysters) (NISP = 1). The faunal material was distributed throughout the site rather than occurring in a specific area that could be described as a midden. The gunfighter trenches contained an NISP of 42. The well and well surrounds contained an NISP of 20. Feature 19, an earlier Māori occupation related kumara storage pit, contained an NISP of 14, however these were recovered from the upper layers where European artefacts were also found.

The distribution of the faunal material is similar to the distribution of the artefacts associated with the Jury occupation, and is therefore consistent with the occupation of the site by the Jury family. It is possible some of the shellfish remains were related to the time when Māori constructed the gunfighter trenches, however it would be expected that a more clustered distribution would be found that would be consistent with a single meal inside the rifle pits. Therefore, in addition to what is known from the claims for compensation regarding the animals being farmed on the property that were lost, it is probable that the Jury’s also supplemented their diet with fish and shellfish. This may have been purchased or exchanged for other goods from local Māori, as there is no other evidence of fishing on the site, such as the fish hooks that are present in some Māori sites such as Te Oroporuri (Holdaway and Gibb 2006).

Furnishings

Four furnishing items were metal and were identified as one cast iron bed knob (Figure 130), 2 incomplete metal bars, probably from the bedsteads listed in the claim for compensation (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861) (Figure 131), and one other small
knob possibly from a cupboard or drawer (Figure 132). Although the iron bed knob has degraded in places, it is clear that it is quite decorative. While labourers emigrating under the free passage scheme were required to provide a mattress, there was no requirement to bring a bedstead, and total baggage for each adult travelling in steerage was restricted to 20 cubic feet (New Zealand Company, West of England Board and Great Britain Colonial Office 1840). If Mr and Mrs Jury did not bring their bedstead with them, or needed extra beds, they would have been able to eventually purchase them in town. Iron bedsteads are advertised for sale in New Plymouth in 1852, under the category “hardware – assorted”, but no price is given (Taranaki Herald 18 August 1852: 1). The bedsteads were a high value item to Mrs Jury, as three bedsteads, and a sofa, were part of the claim for compensation. This value Mrs Jury placed on bedsteads continued into her later life, with her bedstead and bedding being itemised in her will dated 1868: “….I give and bequeath to my daughter Emily my feather bed, bolsters, pillows one pair of blankets and one pair of sheets I give and bequeath to my sons William and Henry the bedstead and mattress on which I lie and the beds and bedding blankets and sheets they are accustomed to use….,” (Jury n.d.: 5).

Figure 130 Mrs Jury’s, cast iron bed knob, artefact 342.1 (scale = 5mm)
Figure 131 Landowner Len Jury with Janice Adamson, holding a piece of iron thought to be from his great-great-grandmother’s bedstead.

Figure 132 Mrs Jury’s, small knob, artefact 748.1

A piece of tongue and groove wood with zinc attached by small nails was found (Find number 682) buried in the rifle trench (Figure 133). The wood collapsed when it was lifted, and intact pieces were collected together with one large piece remaining intact (Figure 134, Figure 135, Figure 136, Figure 137). This item has been categorised as furnishings as it is
probably what remains of a zinc lined cupboard. The claim for compensation lists, under “Kitchen and Cooking Utensils”, “talles” being “2/shelves, cupboards” (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861), which would indicate two kitchen dresser type units with a cupboard base and shelves on top. One of these may relate to the tongue and groove wood and zinc items found. Wood samples were taken from this item for analysis, with the results shown below in Table 17. The wood was identified as being adzed exotic conifer, possibly pinus sp. with zinc, tānekaha and zinc, and sawn pukatea (Wallace 2008). This zinc lined object must therefore have been locally made from both native and imported timbers. It is possible some of the exotic timber may have been reused from another item, for example a pine packing case. It is clear that the person manufacturing it would have had some skill to put the tongue and groove together, and was possibly made by Mr Jesse Jury, the sawyer. The zinc lining was used to keep rodents out, so the item would have been used to store food.

Table 17 Mrs Jury’s, identified wood from zinc lined cupboard, artefact 682

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Find Number</th>
<th>Sample ID Number</th>
<th>Species</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>682</td>
<td>682.1</td>
<td>Pukatea (sawn timber)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>682</td>
<td>682.2</td>
<td>Tānekaha with Zinc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>682</td>
<td>682.3</td>
<td>Exotic Conifer (adzed wood and zinc)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>682</td>
<td>682.4</td>
<td>Exotic Conifer (pinus sp?) timber</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 133 Mrs Jury’s, zinc lined cupboard remains being excavated from the rifle trench
Figure 134 Mrs Jury's, zinc lined cupboard

Figure 135 Mrs Jury's, zinc lined cupboard, side view showing the zinc nailed around the side

Figure 136 Mrs Jury's, zinc lined cupboard, close up showing nailed zinc
5.2.3. **Children and Education**

Education was a feature of the Jury life from the time they lived in Launceston where John Jury received a Sunday School education. This desire for education by the European settlers is then reflected upon settlement in Omata where by 1853 there were at least three privately run schools, not including Sunday Schools (Ferens 2003). Participation in education is indicated in the archaeological material from Mrs Jury’s farmstead through the presence of writing slates and pencils (Table 18).

**Table 18 Mrs Jury’s, education related artefacts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Implements</td>
<td>Slate</td>
<td>Slate Pencil</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Implements</td>
<td>Slate</td>
<td>Writing Slate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Twelve fragments of writing slate were recovered representing a MVC of 1 writing slate. Some pieces had lines etched into them, and the bevelled edge where the slate was placed in to a frame. None of the writing slate had any remnants of writing, although one fragment appeared to have the lines remarked a number of times, and had possibly been used and reused a number of times. Two slate pencils were also identified. As discussed previously, roofing slate was also identified, this being coarser and thicker, and it is probable this was used for writing upon as was found in the Omata Stockade (Prickett 1994: 86).

It is unclear whether Mrs Elizabeth Jury could write, although there seems to be some evidence for her being able to write her name at the very least. Whilst, her claim for compensation was completed by a third party and signed by her eldest son John Jury, with
another signed by William Jury, one declaration authorising John to receive all money payable to her was signed “Elizabeth Jury” (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861). In addition, her entry in the Register of Marriages is signed with her name, in a similar hand to the later signature, rather than using a mark (Jury n.d.: 5). However her last will, dated 1868, was signed with “her mark” of an X (Jury 5).

Learning to write had a high value placed upon it, and was considered an important part of improving the future prospects of yourself and your children. Many of the first European settlers to New Plymouth would not have been able to write. Those that could were encouraged by the Plymouth Company to send letters quickly back home (New Zealand Company 1843; New Zealand Company. West of England Board 1842). The claims for compensation provide a record of those people who could, and those who could not, write. Romulus Street, in Bell Block, arriving in New Plymouth when he was three, benefited from the emphasis on education and later was able to fill out his brothers claim forms, while his brothers could only sign their names with an x (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861).

As Mrs Jury’s eldest son John, and youngest son William, could write, it is probable the other children also had the benefits of an education. The writing slate and pencils probably therefore were most likely used by the three children still living with their mother in Omata at the time of the war, and perhaps by Mrs Jury herself (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861).

There was not any secure evidence of the presence of children’s toys. Two metal items consisting of a small copper-alloy finial and a tiny copper hook could possibly be from a child’s toy, but these were not positively identified as to the type of item they were originally from.

5.2.4. Consumption of Alcohol and Tobacco

The archaeological evidence from Mrs Jury’s shows she appears to have had a careful approach to the consumption of both alcohol and tobacco, with very little evidence of the use of either of these products present in the site.

Alcohol Bottles

Forty seven sherds from glass bottle of forms associated with alcohol as their original contents were identified from the site. These made a MVC of six bottles (Table 19). These figures do not include pharmaceutical bottles where the contents may also have comprised large percentages of alcohol. One gin bottle was identified from a base with a plain ground
circular pontil mark. The other alcohol bottles were identified from the finishes, which were all hand applied with visible horizontal marks from the use of a finishing tool (Figure 138). This places these bottles firmly in the 19th century (Boow 1991: 65).

Table 19 Mrs Jury’s, alcohol bottles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Gin</td>
<td>Dark Olive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine/Champagne</td>
<td></td>
<td>Light Olive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spirits</td>
<td>Aqua</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ale/Beer</td>
<td>Dark Olive</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>6</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 138 Mrs Jury’s, bottle finish showing horizontal marks consistent with use of a finishing tool (scale = 1mm)

Clay Tobacco Pipes

A small number of clay tobacco pipes were recorded, with a total of 24 sherds recovered, representing a MVC of five pipes. Four of these were partial bowl/stem fragments, and one was a complete bowl and stem fragment. Four tobacco pipe fragments had manufacturer marks present (Figure 139, Figure 140 and Figure 141). Marks identified are listed in Table 20 below.

Table 20 Mrs Jury’s, clay tobacco pipe manufacturer marks

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sherd Type</th>
<th>Mark</th>
<th>Manufacturer</th>
<th>TPQ</th>
<th>TAQ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Partial [BA]LM[E]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incomplete Bowl/Stem Fragment</td>
<td>THO. / GH</td>
<td>Thomas White, Edinburgh</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td>1876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole Bowl/Stem Fragment</td>
<td>TD</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In this case the identified marks shown in Table 20 do not add to existing knowledge regarding dating their use on the site as they were manufactured over extended periods of time. Five manufacturers used the Balme name out of Mile End in London between 1805 and 1876 (Oswald 1975). Pipes with the mark of Thomas White, Edinburgh, are commonly identified on clay tobacco pipes from New Zealand historic sites. Walker (1983: 20) states this company operated between 1823 and 1876, although pipes marked with an “& Co.” indicate a date after Thomas White’s death in 1847 (Gallagher 2010: 57). “TD” marked pipes are possibly the most common mark found on clay tobacco pipes (Bradley 2000), and is not identifiable as to a particular maker.

Figure 139 Mrs Jury’s, Balme Mile End, London, clay tobacco pipe bowl fragments (scale = 1mm)

Figure 140 Mrs Jury’s, Thomas White, Edinburgh, clay tobacco pipe bowl/stem fragment (scale = 1mm)
Bradley argues the ratio of bowl fragments to stem fragments can indicate whether the pipes were used by the occupants of a site or by transient visitors to the site. This is based upon the principle that in transient use bowls were removed from the site to be discarded elsewhere (Bradley 2000: 127). Commonly stems do appear more frequently than bowl fragments, however Mrs Jury’s bowl to stem ratio is 5:1 – this contrasts markedly with Bradley’s “typical” ratio of 1:1.5-2, and would therefore suggest the pipes were used by occupants of Mrs Jury’s. The distribution of the pipe fragments shows most were associated with the rifle trenches, pits, and well area (Figure 142). Only one pipe sherd was found in the working areas of the farmstead, in the top layer of one of the storage pits in Area D. While this is consistent with the general artefact distribution, it does raise the possibility that the pipes were brought in during the short Māori presence during the war period. However, this is a very small sample and such ratios might not be useful in this case.
Encouragement of temperance towards vice began early in New Zealand’s European settlement, with the first Temperance Society being formed in the Bay of Islands in 1835 (New Zealand Temperance Society 1836). Promotion of temperance was tied to New Plymouth society from the very beginning of the settlement, with temperance society dinners and tea-drinking occasions part of the social fabric of life reported upon as early as 1843 (New Zealand Company 1843: 208). This was reflected in the eventual development of societies such as the Omata Temperance Society, the Omata Auxilliary Band of Hope, and the Total Abstinence Society, all with their basis in religion, and varying in degrees of required abstinence.

Nonetheless people in New Zealand were still drinking. Colonial settlers were large consumers of alcohol and on a per capita basis between 1840 and 1860 were drinking more than the British (Eldred-Grigg 1984: 77). While drunkards were discouraged from emigrating to New Plymouth, with the general emigration rhetoric being along the lines of the statement by William Bayly that “teetotalers are the men for this place” (New Zealand Company 1843: 148), imports of alcohol into New Plymouth suggest that a certain level of consumption continued despite the efforts of the temperance movement. The evangelical Total Abstinence Society of New Plymouth, whose aim was to check drunkenness and drinking provided statistics as to the amount of alcohol being consumed in New Plymouth in 1856. The population at this stage, they stated, including troops was 2413. Of these 927
were children under 14 years, and 520 were females over 14 years, and these two groups were not included in the figures due to their perceived low consumption of alcohol. Of the remainder, 45 people belonged to the Total Abstinence Society, leaving 811 people to consume an estimated 21,467 gallons of imported spirits, wine and locally brewed liquor. These figures did not include any “illicit distillation” of which there was evidence for this practice being carried out in the region (Taranaki Herald 25 October 1856: 3).

Generally in New Zealand colonial society the bulk of alcohol was consumed by men, with Pākehā women and children drinking only relatively small amounts (Eldred-Grigg 1984: 75), and it seems that this was the case in New Plymouth also. This could explain the limited quantities of alcohol bottles at Mrs Jury’s if it was not for the fact that her husband Jesse Jury lived on the site until his death in 1851, and she had two grown sons, Henry and William, still living with her up until the war. In addition, the older sons, particularly John who lived close by, would have been regular visitors to her farm.

It seems however possible that Mrs Jury did not encourage alcohol to be consumed at her home. Given Mrs Jury’s relationship with the first Omata Church that was located opposite her house until 1855, as described previously, it is seems likely Mrs Jury participated in the temperance group associated with the later Omata Church set up in the Omata schoolroom in 1856. The Omata Church Temperance Society had a liberal view of temperance, where one could partially or totally abstain (Taranaki Herald 26 April 1856: 3), and possibly this approach led to a larger group of participants than would have committed to the cause otherwise. The lack of artefacts associated with the consumption of alcohol and tobacco suggests she supported a view of moderation in regards to these activities. This is consistent with the view that Improvement and success in the new colony could be achieved through frugality, hard work, and temperance. The presence of larger quantities of teawares, including three teapots, means it seems more likely that drinking of tea rather than alcohol was happening at her home. However her children did not necessarily support this view, as Richard was granted a publican’s bush license for the Oakura Hotel in 1866 (Taranaki Herald 21 April 1866: 3).

5.2.5. Health, Hygiene and Personal Grooming

This section discusses identified artefacts that relate to concerns with health and hygiene, as well as personal grooming and presentation, and includes clothing and footwear remains. As discussed in Chapter 4, the archaeological excavations did not find any evidence
of structural remains of toileting facilities and it would appear as if animals were housed some distance from the house. This indicates a concern with health and hygiene and is reflective of wider concerns regarding the relationship between disease and living conditions in Britain (Chadwick 1965 [1842]).

**Health and Hygiene**

The ceramic vessels in this sub-category were limited to one of an undecorated whiteware chamber pot. It is probable Mrs Jury used the chamber pot in conjunction with an outdoor toilet located well away from the house, as this was commonly the case before indoor bathrooms and lavatories became a standard feature.

Five glass bottles related to medicinal/pharmaceutical use were also identified. One of these bottles was a large light blue bottle with an applied patent lip. This bottle was recovered from a single context within the rifle pit feature 97.6, and was able to be refitted into a complete bottle (Figure 143). This indicates the bottle was discarded into the fill of the pit while it was complete. Two other small aqua pharmaceutical bottles were represented by near identical oblong and octagonal shaped bases, and two other small medicinal or toiletry bottles in clear glass were also identified. One of these bottles was complete, 7 cm height, and a base measuring 3.8 cm diameter. This bottle was two piece moulded, with a blowpipe or “open” pontil scar (ref) and an applied bead finish (Figure 144). The other bottle was represented by a round base that measured 2.8 cm in diameter and was probably a pill bottle or vial. One closure was recovered in the form of a complete stopper in clear glass (Figure 145). This had a flat oblong head with a ground shank and was probably for medicine or pharmaceutical bottle (Jones and Sullivan 1989: 154).
Figure 143 Mrs Jury’s, refitting the pharmaceutical bottle, modern beer bottle for scale

Figure 144 Mrs Jury’s, complete medicine/toilet bottle (scale = 1mm)
It is likely pharmaceuticals contained in the large light blue bottle had original contents that were high in alcohol. Taking medicines that had an alcoholic content was generally considered socially acceptable, even if drinking alcohol in the form of, for example, beer or wine, was not. Even if Mrs Jury was a member of the Omata Temperance Society, she could still be respectably self-medicating with the alcohol contained in these medicines. Given the small quantity of pharmaceutical bottles present however, it seems unlikely Mrs Jury was consuming this medicine specifically for its alcohol content.

**Personal Grooming and Presentation**

Identified in this category was a ceramic dresser (dressing table) box in the grey transfer-printed pattern “Western Star”. This item was given the vessel form "dresser box" after finding an illustration of one of a similar shape, size and age, manufactured by Adams (c.1835) in Snyder (1997: 17). It was a lidded dish but no lid was recovered, and it is made from finely potted whiteware (Figure 146 and Figure 147). The dish has the mark of William Ridgway who are the only known manufacturers of this pattern (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 518). The mark occurs on the base of the vessel as the initials “WR”, together with the pattern name, “Western Star” and this mark is shown below in Figure 148. An example of this pattern is also illustrated in Williams (1978: 678). The mark is the same as Godden mark number 3301 dating to 1830-1834 (Godden 1991: 538). This manufacturer continued this
date with the addition of "& Co." used in the mark after 1834 until 1854 (Godden 1991: 538; Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 323). This is a comparatively early date of manufacture and means it is probable this special and decorative item, was brought out from England by Elizabeth Jury when she left in 1840.

Figure 146 Mrs Jury’s, William Ridgeway manufactured Western Star pattern dresser box, side view

Figure 147 Mrs Jury’s, William Ridgeway manufactured Western Star pattern dresser box, top view (scale = 5mm)
Personal presentation through clothing and footwear artefacts were limited. Two metal heel plates from boots or shoes were identified, one of which still had the small nails attaching it to the heel visible. Three fasteners were recovered and identified as porcelain Prosser buttons. Two were four holed sew-through dish type buttons being 9mm and 14mm in diameter, and the third was a 10mm 'hobnail' sew-through moulded type button.

Prosser buttons are commonly described as porcelain, small chinas, or mistaken for glass (Lindbergh 1999: 52; Sprague 2002: 111). These china buttons provide a TPQ of 1840, which is when the manufacturing process was introduced, and Sprague describes this as one of the "more precisely dateable events in the area of common personal items" (Sprague 2002: 111). While porcelain buttons were produced from 1830, the process introduced by Prosser made them much cheaper to produce and, therefore, more common (Lindbergh 1999: 52). The diagnostic attributes are a smooth top side, and a rough under side and a side seam (Sprague 2002:111). Although porcelaneous buttons occur regularly in NZ sites (e.g. Macready and Goodwyn 1990; Middleton 2005; Prickett 1994) the term “Prosser” (and
associated earliest date) is not commonly used in New Zealand. However Sprague suggests it is the correct term to use and should be utilised to describe china buttons.

These clothing related artefacts do not provide much insight into the types of clothing worn by the family. The types of small buttons found in Mrs Jury’s were functionally interchangeable, being used on shirts, undergarments or even pillowcases (Lindbergh 1999: 51).

5.2.6. Other Finds

Firearms

Ammunition consisting of a musket ball (Figure 149) and a percussion cap (Figure 150) were identified. The percussion cap was found in the backfill of the well, and the musket ball was recovered from an area of the rifle trench. The musket ball was a 0.62 inch calibre musket ball, 'carbine bore' ball, from a carbine or smaller bore musket, not a Brown Bess musket (Rudd 2008). The percussion cap was a Top Hat" type percussion cap, used on percussion muskets and rifles and it had been fired (Rudd 2008).

Figure 149 Mrs Jury's, musket ball
While there is no record of the Jurys owning a firearm, many of the settlers did own one or more, even before the threat of war, and it is possible the Jurys also possessed one. The drawing of George Curtis’ interior of his Omata residence illustrated below shows two weapons above the fireplace (Figure 151). Thomas Gilbert, also of Omata, writes of his gun being a valued possession, and how his son had buried it under his house just the day before the 27th March 1860, the day that five residents were killed in Omata by Māori (Gilbert 1861: 68-9).

No historical evidence has been found for fighting occurring on Mrs Jury’s land specifically. In addition given the construction of the rifle trenches occurred after the battle of Waireka, it is likely the unfired musket ball represents accidental loss, either by Māori during construction of the trenches, or during the time of the Jury occupation. The percussion cap although fired was probably a result of similar circumstances.
Wood/Charcoal

Seventy seven wood/charcoal samples were recovered from areas other than the storage pits in Area D (Table 21). Forty eight of these samples were taken from features in the rifle pit/trench, six were taken from the well, five from the fireplace in the house, two from postholes relating to the house structure and a further two from undefined postholes. The remainder were not located in features but in the main were from the general finds horizon in Area B. The lack of wood/charcoal in postholes associated with the house probably relates to the deconstruction of the house and removal of useable wood. Wood/charcoal samples from contexts associated with the Jury house are tabled below in Table 22. Analysis of the wood/charcoal samples was undertaken by Dr Rod Wallace.

Table 21 Mrs Jury's, wood/charcoal samples by species

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species</th>
<th>No. of Samples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bracken</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exotic Conifer</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Species</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exotic Conifer (adzed wood and zinc)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exotic Conifer (pinus sp?) timber</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exotic Conifer (tongue and groove?)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grass</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangehange</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahikatea</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahikatea (sawn timber?)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauri</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohekohe</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kōwhai</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māpou</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataī</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Monocotyledon tissue (Cabbage tree or supplejack)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porokaiwhiria</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pukatea</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pukatea (sawn timber)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūriri</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rewarewa</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tānekaha with Zinc</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tawa</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tāwheowheo</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unidentified Conifer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>77</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 22 Mrs Jury’s, wood/charcoal from contexts associated with the Jury house**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity Phase</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Feature Number</th>
<th>Species</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>FT003.02</td>
<td>Kohekohe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>Well</td>
<td>FT003.02</td>
<td>Rewarewa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Pit/fire feature</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
<td>FT123.01</td>
<td>Pukatea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Pit/fire feature</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
<td>FT123.01</td>
<td>Kauri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Pit/fire feature</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
<td>FT123.01</td>
<td>Tāwheowheo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Pit/fire feature</td>
<td>Fireplace in house</td>
<td>FT123.01</td>
<td>Exotic Conifer (pinus sp?) timber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House</td>
<td>FT130</td>
<td>Tāwheowheo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House</td>
<td>FT132</td>
<td>Māpou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>Undetermined</td>
<td>FT151</td>
<td>Hangehange</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of this wood would have been utilised in construction of the house and for fencing around the farm. Some would have arrived in the rifle pits and trenches in the form
of larger pieces that were able to be used to cover the trenching system in places. This is probably the case of the samples with the zinc that formed the cupboard discussed previously.

Some of the wood species identified had particular characteristics that made them suitable for specific purposes. It is likely that Jesse Jury, as a sawyer, was well aware of the various characteristics of the different types of woods available to him when constructing the homestead, fencing and outbuildings.

Pūriri, which provided the largest number of recovered samples, was known as iron wood, as it is durable in moist situations. Uses included house piles and posts as well as fence posts (Hursthouse 1849: 16; Late resident in the colony 1848: 14; Seffern 1869: 68-9). None of the pūriri samples were associated with postholes relating to the Jury house. However this is unsurprising as few of the postholes had wood/charcoal remains within them. The second largest number of samples recorded was for kohekohe. Kohekohe is a wood that splits well and because of that was recommended for use by settlers mainly for shingles, as well as fence rails (Hursthouse 1849: 17; New Zealand Company 1843: 187). Pūriri, or iron wood, posts and kohekohe rails were both advertised as available for sale in New Plymouth (Taranaki Herald 6 April 1853: 1). Pukatea, a soft wood tree and easily worked, was used for weatherboards and outbuildings (Hursthouse 1849: 17; New Zealand Company 1843: 187). The large forest tree kahikatea was used for general building purposes, particularly indoors, as well as for making packing cases (Hursthouse 1849: 15-6; Late resident in the colony 1848: 15; New Zealand Company 1843: 187). Mataī was considered to be good for making furniture and cabinets, as it polished up well (Hursthouse 1857: 142; Late resident in the colony 1848: 14). Tawa, was said to be useful for making good sturdy flooring, and also made good firewood (Hursthouse 1849: 17; Seffern 1869: 69). Māpau, or māpou, was said to be good for use in chair making and carpenter’s tools (Late resident in the colony 1848: 15). The inclusion of kauri in one sample is of interest. Kauri did not grow as far south as Taranaki (Steward and Beveridge 2010: 40), so this must have arrived in the site as either imported timber or furniture. Kauri as sawn timber was occasionally advertised for sale in the Taranaki Herald in the 1850’s but, it would appear, not in large quantities. Kauri was also commonly used in the construction of furniture such as tables.

Artefacts of Indeterminate Use

A further 32 artefacts were identified that could not be catalogued according to probable function. Most of these artefacts were metal, such as pieces of metal band, or unidentified as to form. Of note however were the adaptation of a large construction spike
that had been bent into the shape of a hook (Figure 152), a large metal pin (Figure 153), and a metal eyelet (Figure 154). It is probable most of these items had uses around the farmstead related to equipment such as a horse or bullock drawn plough or cart.

Figure 152 Mrs Jury’s, large spike shaped into a hook

Figure 153 Mrs Jury’s, iron pin (scale = 5mm)
5.2.7. Discussion – Mrs Jury’s

The archaeological material remains uncovered from the Jury farmstead provide an insight into the domestic life of a family originally from the labouring classes in Britain beyond that which the limited documentary record can offer. The artefacts show little separation between work and home, spanning the boundaries of the family farm and the work involved upon it, as well as the building and structure of the house, and the everyday, domesticity, contained within it.

While many of the items relating to farm work were listed as lost in Mrs Jury’s claim for compensation, a glimpse of this activity was provided through the remains of a scythe and a file, together with a garden pot indicating Mrs Jury had some smaller outdoor potted plants.

The house, while small, had the sleigh at the rear and seemed to have a verandah in the front. It had a shingled roof, and the amount of window glass present indicates a number of windows to let the light in. The house showed some innovations – arguably an early example of “Kiwi ingenuity” – with lead wrapping around nails to provide extra waterproofing. The door pintle was possibly from one of the exterior doors, which was probably in a ledged and braced style. The key, perhaps to fit in a lock on this same door, is evocative of events that led Mrs Jury to lock up and leave her little house at the start of the war.

Inside the house, the wooden furnishings identified were homemade from both native and imported woods, also showing resourcefulness, ingenuity and skill in being able to construct tongue and groove from mismatching pieces of wood. Mrs Jury’s bedding appears to have been extremely important to her, and the loss of her highly decorative iron bedstead must have been keenly felt. The artefacts from Mrs Jury’s farmstead express a frugal and
cautious approach to consumption, but she appears to have still liked to display objects of interest, such as the Chinese pots, and to present tea from the Arcadian Chariots pattern cups and saucers. The ceramic tableware and serving ware vessels were restricted in variety and complexity of forms suggesting a simple table was set, rather than formal tables with a number of different courses of food. While the Willow pattern tableware gave an impression of being matching, most of this was likely to have been purchased on a piece by piece basis. Almost all of the ceramic domestic items were of rather ordinary quality with only one bone china cup of a higher quality present.

Most of the dateable ceramics fall within the period between the arrival of the Jury family in New Plymouth and the time they occupied the Omata homestead, giving the impression that Mrs Jury purchased some items when they arrived in New Plymouth and some once they were settled on their own farm. Many of the transfer printed designs fall stylistically within this period also, and include some flow blue designs that were probably considered reasonably modern. The exceptions are the dresser box which was dated earlier to between 1830 and 1834, and was possibly a special item brought from England on the boat in their luggage allowance. Also dating to the late 1830’s or early 1840’s was the Peruvian Hunters transfer printed plate. The date of this item would suggest it was purchased in New Plymouth, either new sometime shortly after arrival, or on the second hand market some time later. This could be considered an old fashioned design to be still using by the 1850’s, and it does stand out somewhat in Mrs Jury’s assemblage because of this, as the remainder of the ceramics appear to be stylistically consistent with the 1850’s occupation. A number of older plates were found at the site of settler Romulus Street in Bell Block, however in this case it was attributed to either as the result of hand-me-downs from his parents, or purchasing on the second hand market (Adamson and Bader 2008).

However the Arcadian Chariots pattern dates to a period after Mrs Jury’s husband Jesse had died. Possibly Mrs Jury found it important to be able to present tea on matching cups and saucers as a way of maintaining respectability amongst her social group even though she was a widow. The dates of these matching ceramics coincide with the 1856 date of the beginning of the Omata Temperance Society. It is possible she belonged to this group of partial or full abstainers and enjoyed serving tea to guests instead at her home. However, regardless of whether she signed the pledge or not, the limited number of alcohol bottles identified indicated she had a moderate and temperate approach to drinking alcoholic beverages.
The presence of writing implements indicates it is likely Jesse and Elizabeth Jury’s children participated in education at home, and probably also attended a local Sunday School, as eldest son John did back in Launceston. If education was a priority for the parents it seems provision of children’s toys were not, as the children did not leave any evidence of toys or child specific artefacts. While it is probable the children were expected to contribute economically and work on the farm rather than play, the lack of toys archaeologically does not mean they did not create their own social networks with neighbouring children and manufacture their own forms of play through homemade toys rather than mass produced consumer items.

Mrs Jury was concerned with hygiene and there is no evidence either that animals were kept close to the house, or toileting occurred close to the house. She also had a plain white chamber pot, no doubt to use at night. She clearly had some concern with either her health or the health of her family as a small number of non-patent medicine bottles were identified. These were probably high in alcohol, but the alcohol component in these medications was generally overlooked in favour of its medicating effects.

Based upon advice to new settlers to New Zealand that success in the new colony could be gained through such attributes as frugality, thrift, temperance and hard work, it would appear from the artefacts that the Jurys exhibited these characteristics.
5.3. Auttridge’s Farm

This section details the archaeological artefacts recovered from the second site excavated for this research, Auttridge’s farm, site number P19/270. Again, the section is structured according to the interpretive, functional, categories under which the material was catalogued. A total of 4270 individual items were recorded, with a minimum vessel count of 593 artefacts in all areas. As Area B largely relates to a post-landwar structure, the artefact counts for all areas excluding Area B are presented separately below (Table 23). The artefact counts for Area B are also presented in Table 24. Window glass is not quantified to a MVC, but is included with the sherd count, accounting for 231 of the sherds. These figures do not include any recovered wood or charcoal samples. The largest number of sherds found were ceramic, significantly more than in Mrs Jury’s, while the number of glass sherds, which were in the main window glass, was significantly less than that recovered from Mrs Jury’s. Seventy glass artefacts had melted during the house destruction and were consequently unidentifiable as to form, although many of these were probably from windows. These molten glass items are included in the sherd count, but not the minimum vessel count.

Table 23 Auttridge's Farm, number of artefacts by material class all areas excluding Area B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Sherd Count</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>2735</td>
<td>141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic – Clay Tobacco Pipes</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>582</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>625</td>
<td>377</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slate</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>3988</strong></td>
<td><strong>552</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 24 Auttridge's Farm, number of artefacts by material class Area B post-landwar structure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Sherd Count</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brick</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ceramic – Clay Tobacco Pipes</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>282</strong></td>
<td><strong>41</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All artefacts had their location data recorded, and general artefact distribution densities are shown below in Figure 155 and Figure 156. As with Mrs Jury’s site, the artefacts were located in the general area of the house, although unlike Mrs Jury’s the rear yard area was able to be excavated, and artefact distribution extended out where a number of
outbuildings were probably located. The main density of artefacts was recovered from the back of the house area, suggesting this is where most of the household materials and ceramics were stored when the house was destroyed. A limited number of ceramic artefacts were cross mended. These were obvious cross mends only and artefacts were not exhaustively checked for this. However these cross mends suggest that there was some limited site disturbance that moved artefacts horizontally since the time of destruction, although generally the artefacts remained within the location of the house structure (Figure 157). The impact of farming through disking would have disturbed vertical location, and cattle trampling may have damaged and also moved some artefacts, particularly glass and ceramics.

Area B presented a slight problem for analysis, in that this structure was dug into an area in which artefact remains were still scattered from the pre-war Autridge house occupation and destruction, making separation between phases from the artefacts difficult. Just because an artefact appears within the bounds of this structure does not necessarily mean it belongs to that period of occupation. As described in the previous chapter some of the ceramics from this area were identical to others found in the rest of the site, and stylistically are of a time period consistent with an 1850’s occupation. However, the artefacts from Area B are limited in number compared with the remainder of the site, and do not impact greatly on the interpretive analysis, although there are a couple of unique artefacts in this area, specifically brick, and a tension coil spring. Because of the small number of finds out of this area, the tables in the following sections include vessel counts from Area B, although these will be pointed out and discussed where considered relevant.
Figure 156 Autridge's Farm, artefact distribution and density, other areas
Figure 157 Autridge's Farm, cross mended artefacts
5.3.1. Using and Improving the Land

Tools

As described previously, Charles Autridge’s claim for compensation was less detailed than Mrs Jury’s. At the time of the first Taranaki war Charles Autridge had 8 acres of his land in potatoes, he was growing 10 tonnes of carrots and mangelwurzels and he had at least 12 head of cattle (some branded CA), 10 pigs, poultry and a horse. He was also renting out some of his land, probably to neighbours for grazing, and claimed the loss of this income. He stated the “loss of implements” was at least £28, and the Statement of Losses describes briefly “Poultry Fencing Farm Implements etc etc etc taken or destroyed by the enemy”. He also lost a bullock yoke and chains, a wheelbarrow, hoes, axes and spades to the total cost of £125, and 100 chains of fencing (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861).

As described in the previous chapter, the Autridge farmstead was very close to the Māori kāinga of Omata, and although Māori would have been utilising this land, probably for growing crops, very little archaeological evidence of this pre-European presence was found. Once on his section of land, along with most of the other European settlers in Omata, Charles Autridge, probably assisted by his eldest son John, would have had to clear their land of bracken fern and the occasional tree before planting their own crops.

Only two tools were recovered archaeologically, both from Area D (Table 25). These were part of a stone file used for sharpening, and an item identified by David Rudd as a home-made copper or brass ‘shaft hammer’ which had been improvised from an unknown object (Figure 158). This narrow headed brass hammer would have been used to knock shafts out without deforming the steel (Rudd 2008).

Table 25 Autridge’s Farm, identified tools

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>Copper alloy</td>
<td>Hammerhead</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tools</td>
<td>Stone</td>
<td>File</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.3.2. Building a House, Making a Home

As with Mrs Jury’s most of the artefacts recorded come under this category of analysis. Structural artefacts relating to the house are discussed first, followed by an analysis of domestic artefacts.

The Autridge’s House – Structural Artefacts

The limited detail in the Autridge claim for compensation means there is little historical information regarding the structural details of the house. However, the archaeology of the site, as described previously, has provided enough information to determine the size of the house and to elaborate on details, such as the lack of a lean to, the positioning of the fireplace and the rebuild of the house, constructing better formed postholes at some stage prior to the war. As described in the previous chapter, the excavations of the Autridge house revealed a structure that measured approximately 5.8m x 10.2m (or 19ft x 33ft), with a cob or wooden framed fireplace at the rear, and a small porch area at the front of the house. This house was longer than the Jury’s but not as deep, as the Jury’s had the sleigh lean to attached at the rear. It is not possible to know the room divisions or partitions within the house, but given that there were at least eight children (not including Charles’ eldest son John) to be accommodated within this space, it seems likely the house was divided into rooms. Artefacts
relating to this structure and that of Area B are shown below in Table 26. Of these artefacts, only 19 nails were found in Area B, together with 60 of the 231 total sherds of window glass and the one brick.

Table 26 Structural Artefacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>Door</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Hinge</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>Door</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Pintle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Nail</td>
<td>359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Nut</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardware</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Spike</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Flat Glass</td>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>Window</td>
<td>0 (231)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materials</td>
<td>Roofing</td>
<td>Slate</td>
<td>Roofing Slate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>374</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distribution of the window glass and nails relating to the house structure shows density of both these items relate to the house structure itself, with few relating to out buildings. In addition the direction the house fell when it was destroyed through burning may be determined through the presence of large amounts of nails and window glass towards the rear yard behind the house structure. These indicate it was towards the south-west of the site that the house collapsed (Figure 159).
Figure 159 Autridge's Farm, distribution of nails and window glass, main areas
Hardware – Doors

One door pintle (Figure 160), similar to that found in the Jury house, was identified, found in Area D along with a door hinge from Area E (Figure 161). It is probable the door was the common ledged and braced style (Salmond 1986: 70-1).

![Image of door pintle](image1)

Figure 160 Autridge's Farm, door pintle (scale = 5mm)

![Image of hinge](image2)

Figure 161 Autridge's Farm, hinge (scale = 5mm)

Hardware - Fasteners

Nails formed the majority of this artefact category, with a minimum vessel count of 359. Of these 165 were complete, that is, showing the head and complete shaft, with lengths ranging between 30mm and 110mm. The two 110mm nails were classified as nails rather than spikes as they were thinner than the spikes. 194 nails were catalogued as incomplete, being the head and part of the shaft. The number of nails and spikes present (Table 26) confirms the house that was burned in the war was of wooden construction, however the earlier house may have been raupō, as was commonly used for first dwellings (Isaacs 2005: 103; Salmond 1986). The 19 nails recorded as coming from Area B indicates a lack of nails in construction of this small post-war building.
Where manufacturing technique could be identified, 166 were cut nails, and only one nail appeared to be hand forged. The nails were mostly corroded, and determining head type was difficult, with only one rosehead nail being positively identified and one possible brad. One broken copper nail was also identified. As with the Jury homestead, no wire nails were present, and this is consistent with the time frame of occupation of the Autridge house (Isaacs 2009: 85). Ten spikes were also recorded, 9 of which were complete. The lengths of these ranged from 11mm to 215mm (Figure 162).

![Figure 162 Autridge's Farm, 215mm long spike](image)

**Materials**

Building materials were limited, consisting of fragments of a handmade brick (found in Area B), one roofing slate, and 231 sherds of flat window glass. The window glass weighed 495 grams – significantly less in both sherd quantity and weight than the window glass recovered from the Jury homestead. Sixty sherds of window glass were from Area B, possibly representing a window or two in the post-landwar structure. Given that the excavations of the Jury and the Autridge homesteads covered similar sized areas, including the footprint of the houses as well as identical artefact collections methodologies, the expectation would be that similar amounts of window glass would be recovered. The presence of melted glass that was most likely window glass excludes the possibility that the windows were removed before destruction, and it seems probable that the Autridge home simply had fewer windows than the Jury house.

Window glass was readily available in 1850’s New Plymouth, as well as readymade “English made” doors and windows (Taranaki Herald 10 August 1853: 1). The first
imported windows were usually hinged casements, with double-hung sash windows popular by the 1850’s (Salmond 1986: 68). The small quantity of window glass recovered from this site would suggest the Autridge’s continued with either casement windows, or a double-hung sash window, hung singly, similar to those illustrated in the raupō dwelling of Thomas Potter Lister, shown above in Figure 97, and most likely with little or no windows to the rear of the house.

Four fragments of roofing slate were recovered, representing one slate, none out of Area B. Again, as was the case with the Jury house, the limited quantity of roofing slate means it is likely the roof was not slate, but that this piece of roofing slate was used for writing. Unlike the Jury house no sheet metal was recovered, therefore all roofing at the Autridge house was likely to have been thatch or wooden shingles. Unlike in the Jury claim for compensation, the roofing materials of the Autridge house are not described.

**Creating a Comfortable Home - Domestic Artefacts**

The quantity and variety of domestic artefacts recorded seems extraordinary when the size of this house is taken into account. The majority of these are ceramic (Table 27). The archaeological excavation of the Autridge house revealed no evidence for an additional “sleigh” or lean-to structure attached to the rear of the house, meaning the house was smaller in size than the Jury house, with more people living in it.

**Table 27 Autridge’s Farm, Domestic Artefacts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beverage</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Ginger Beer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverage</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>Aerated Water</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beverage</td>
<td>Serving</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Water Filter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Dairy</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Milkpan</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Baking Dish</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Dish</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Serving</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Dish</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Serving</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Jug</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Serving</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Platter</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Serving</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Tureen</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>Drinking Glass</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>Glass</td>
<td>Stemware Drinking Glass</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tableware</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Cutlery</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tea/Tableware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Mug</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Prep/Consumption</td>
<td>Tea/Tableware</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Beverages – Non Alcoholic

Consumption of prepared beverages was indicated through the presence of a stoneware ginger beer bottle, and a fragment of an aerated water bottle of which the style is undetermined. Ginger beer and soda water were available for purchase in 1850’s New Plymouth. In 1853 both were advertised for sale as imports (*Taranaki Herald* 7 September 1853: 4), and in 1855 emigrant Thomas Shute, whom we met in Chapter 3, announced his intention to open a small shop that would always have “good ginger beer” for sale (*Taranaki Herald* 3 January 1855: 2). It appears that it was only later that locally produced ginger beer and aerated water was available for sale by manufacturer Henry Shuttleworth (*Taranaki Herald* 30 November 1861: 2).

A rare and significant find from Autridge’s homestead site were 44 sherds from a stoneware water filter, the largest, most decorative of which is illustrated below in Figure 163. All the sherds from this vessel came from within Area D and Area E. Few of these water filters have been found archaeologically, and those that have were associated with public houses, such as from the Victoria Hotel in Auckland (Brassey and Macready 1994), and Piper’s Old Corner Bar in Virginia City (Dixon 2005), rather than in a domestic environment, such as at Autridge’s farm.

Stoneware water filters were produced in response to increased awareness of the dangers of drinking polluted water, particularly out of the Thames River (Eyles 1965). In 1835, Queen Victoria commissioned Doulton & Watts of Lambeth, London, to produce stoneware water filters for the Royal Household. These were gravity fed stoneware units, artistically hand crafted, with a clay filter for bacteria removal and were endowed with the Royal Crest (Doulton USA 1996-2011). The photograph below in Figure 163 shows part of the British royal coat of arms, with the word “patent”. Unfortunately a manufacturer has not been able to be positively identified. Other identified sherds from this vessel included part of
the filtering system of pierced flat stoneware inserts, together with fragments of the decorative exterior and handle (Figure 164). An 1853 Ransome’s descriptive leaflet describes and illustrates the filtering process in these types of filters, shown below in Figure 165.

Figure 163 Autridge's Farm, stoneware water filter
Figure 164 Autridge's Farm, water filter fragments including side handle

Figure 165 Extract from Ransome’s descriptive leaflet of 1853 describing their patent stone filter and purifier and illustrating the purification and filtering system (Ransome's October 1853)
Water filters would have been a high status item in New Zealand, particularly in the 1850’s, and would have been expensive both to purchase and transport to New Zealand. Two were advertised for sale in Auckland auctions of goods from gentlemen and officers leaving New Zealand. One of these water filters for sale was in 1852 as the property of Captain Laye, Officer of the 58th Regiment, was auctioned at his residence in Princes Street upon his departure from the country (Daily Southern Cross 6 January 1852: 1). A second was advertised in 1858 in the sale of “handsome furniture” belonging to Mr Solomon of Eden Crescent, Auckland. Other items in this sale included a statuette of Venus, carved rosewood chairs and sofa with silk covers and matching curtains, as well as a whole library of books (Daily Southern Cross 26 January 1858: 2). Another similar Auckland auction sale in the early 1860’s also included a water filter, although advertisements for water filter sales by general auction become more frequent through the 1860’s. These sales provide a social context for the water filter as a prestige item associated with elite members of society during the 1850’s and early 1860’s. Their use within a public house setting is also confirmed historically during the 1860’s with the sale of items from the Exchange Hotel in Queen Street, Auckland, in 1866, where a large water filter was advertised as part of the items belonging to the Lower Bar (Daily Southern Cross 16 November 1866: 2).

It is possible a number of factors contribute to the appearance of the water filter at Charles Autridge’s homestead. Having grown up the son of a publican, he may have had a long term ambition to run his own public house. Charles’ father, Humphrey Autridge, was the licensee of the Duchy Arms in the village of Boyton, Cornwall (Cornwall Online Census Project 2006), and it is probable Charles grew up within a public house environment, as he was born and christened in Boyton. Family history records a letter of administration in which “a pub” is given to Humphrey Autridge in 1806 from the family of Samuel Autridge (Launceston Court Letter of Administration 1806), and although it is not stated which public house this is, it seems likely to have been the Duchy Arms in Boyton. Charles eventually become a licensee of his own premises when, after the war, he was granted a new publicans license for the Imperial Hotel on the corner of Currie and Devon Streets in New Plymouth, along with his friend, Richard Grylls, who was granted the licence of the South Road Hotel. Richard Jury, Elizabeth Jury’s son, was also granted a “bush licence” for the Oakura Hotel, at the same hearing (Taranaki Herald 21 April 1866: 3). From this it is evident not all members of the Omata community embraced the temperance movement.
Charles may have therefore purchased the water filter in preparation for becoming a licensee, being aware that a water filter was a desirable object in a well-run establishment. While this heavy, decorative, item was ensconced on the property at Omata, he may well have used it to impress guests to his home with a glass of refreshing clean water, which would have been quite a novelty at that time in New Plymouth, as well as being a symbol of his aspirations towards upward mobility.

**Food Preparation/Consumption**

The minimum vessel count in this category is 143 items, with teawares dominating at 80 items (Figure 166). There was little in the way of household items, aside from dairy utensils, itemised in Charles Autridge’s claim for compensation. The archaeology however provides insights into the kinds of everyday material culture that was being used in and around the home. Similar to the Jury artefacts, this category is dominated by ceramics, with a minimum vessel count of 141 items, and these will be discussed in detail below. There were also two drinking glasses that are catalogued as tableware.

![Figure 166 Autridge's Farm, food preparation and consumption related artefacts](image)

**Dairy**

As described previously, Charles Autridge indicated on his claim for compensation that dairy utensils were lost during the war. The only items associated with dairying recovered archaeologically were 157 sherds from a minimum of two coarse redware milk
pans with an interior yellow glaze (Figure 167 and Figure 168). The sherds were highly fragmented and cross mending was not attempted, therefore it is possible more than two vessels are represented. Some of the sherds had clearly been affected by burning (Figure 169).

Distribution of the milk pan sherds show two distinct clusters, one outside the rear of the house in the north west corner of Area E where it is thought animals were housed and the dairy may have been. The other cluster was just outside the house structure in the south east of Area D (Figure 170). While there were no postholes found here indicating a structure, there was an area of hard pan indicating a frequently walked surface. Possibly a milk pan was dropped here at some point, although the large number of sherds would indicate it was not cleaned up, and probably relates to abandonment and destruction.

Figure 167 Autridge's Farm, rim of milk pan, showing interior light yellow glaze (left) and rough unglazed exterior

Figure 168 Autridge's Farm, milk pan glazed interior (left), exterior (right)
Figure 169 Autridge's Farm, milk pan, burned sherds
Figure 170 Autridge's Farm, distribution of milk pan sherds, shown as yellow dots
Milk pans were broad shallow dishes, designed to allow the cream to separate from the milk and rise to the surface, ready to be skimmed off to be churned into butter and cheese (Figure 171). They were made from either ceramic, described in the 1850’s as stoneware - either Wedgewood or common ware - coopered wood, or metal (Stephens and Skinner 1852: 306). “Common stoneware” dishes were round, shallow with a wide mouth and tapering sides to the bottom, with brown exteriors and were glazed yellow inside, and no mouth to pour the milk out (Jewell 1975 [1876]: 99). During the 1850’s ceramic versions were favoured over metal, for both cleanliness and price, although it was recognized that stoneware was more frangible (Stephens and Skinner 1852: 306). By the 1890’s Stephens and Macdonald (1890: 479) describe how this long traditionally used method, once “almost universal”, shallow-pan system, was outdated and superseded by improved methods such as the “Jersey Creamer” and the “Speedwell creamraiser”.

Figure 171 "The Dairy", showing the use of milk pans (Taylor 1834: 96)

Milk pans are not commonly found in New Zealand archaeological sites, although that could be due to a lack of identification, rather than them not being present in sites. Three others have been identified by the author from other archaeological contexts – the Albert Barracks (Fraser 2002), the Wellington Inner City Bypass (Adamson 2006), and in the Bell Block homestead site of Romulus Street (Adamson and Bader 2008). All were coarse redware with an interior yellow glaze similar to those found at Autridge’s farm.
Kitchen

Utilitarian kitchen ware consisted of three baking dishes, four bowls and one undecorated whiteware dish (Table 28).

Table 28 Autridge's Farm, ceramic kitchen ware

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Decorative Technique</th>
<th>Decorative Colour</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baking Dish</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Plain Glazed</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baking Dish</td>
<td>Yellowware</td>
<td>Plain Glazed</td>
<td>Yellow</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Cut Sponged</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Industrial Slipware</td>
<td>Blue bands, green rouletted rim</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Plain Glazed</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Sponged/Painted</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dish</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Undecorated</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>8</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the yellowware baking dishes had an impressed mark on the base for “Standley & Harding”, with the number 10 placed between the two names (Figure 172). This manufacturer does not appear in the ceramic marks references of Godden (1991) or Kowalsky and Kowalsky (1999) or Jewitt’s history of Great Britain’s pottery works (Godden and Jewitt 1972 [1878]). However, the company is listed in online extracts taken from 19th century trade directories. Entries for Standley & Harding (Swadlingcote) appear in Slater's Directory 1850 Derbyshire under Ironstone and Coarse Earthenware Manufacturers, White's Directory 1857, and Harrison's Directory 1860 Earthenware Manufacturers (Payne 2003). This gives the approximate date of manufacture for this item as between 1850 and 1860.
The kitchen bowls included 25 sherds from one whiteware vessel decorated with a spiral cut-sponged motif (Figure 173). Two of these sherds were recovered from Area B and B ext. indicating the spread of artefacts from the Autridge homestead into the area of the later post-war structure. Also identified were an industrial slipware bowl decorated with blue bands and a green roulette decoration on the rim (Figure 174), one carinated industrial slipware bowl decorated with blue and brown bands, and a blue spongeware bowl with blue bands.

Figure 172 Autridge's Farm, Standley & Harding yellow ware baking dish

Figure 173 Autridge's Farm, cut-sponged decorated kitchen bowl
Serving

Eight items of serving wares were identified, all ceramic (Table 29). These consisted of five jugs, one platter, one tureen, and one dish. These wares would have been used to present an attractive dining or tea table, with the jugs serving milk or other refreshments, the dishes used for serving vegetables, and the platter used for serving large cuts of meat at the table.

Table 29 Autridge's Farm, ceramic serving wares

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Decorative Technique</th>
<th>Decorative Colour</th>
<th>Pattern Name</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dish</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jug</td>
<td>Dyed Body Ware</td>
<td>Plain Glazed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jug</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Flown Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>AF016</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jug</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Industrial Slipware</td>
<td>Blue/Green</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jug</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Abbey (Edwards)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jug</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Arcadian Chariots</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Platter</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tureen</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Flown Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Mulberry</td>
<td>AF010</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The jugs were decorative, and were probably in regular use. A large number of sherds (n=95) came from a minimum of one industrial slipware jug, decorated with blue, green and black bands (Figure 175). Another 21 sherds came from one jug of an octagon shape with relief moulding and decorated with a flow blue transfer printed design of an unidentified pattern (AF016), shown below in Figure 176. A handle from one relief moulded blue dyed body ware jug was identified, as well as two more transfer printed vessels, one of which was identified as the pattern “Arcadian Chariots” (Figure 177), present also in Mrs Jury’s and discussed in detail in the above section. Two more sherds thought to be from this jug were found eroding out of the cattle track immediately to the east of the excavated area (Figure 178).

The other jug was identified as “Abbey” pattern. This is the version of "Abbey" pattern illustrated in Williams (1978: 173) and Williams & Weber (1986: 539), manufactured by Thomas Edwards between c1841 and 1847 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 185). Other items found occurring in this pattern from Autridge’s farmstead are a tableware plate, and cups and saucers, and these are described below. An example of this pattern was also identified in the Wellington Inner City Bypass ceramics assemblage (Adamson 2006).

Figure 175 Autridge’s Farm, sherds from an industrial slipware jug
Figure 176 Autridge's Farm, rim sherds (left) and partial base and side view of an octagon shaped flown transfer printed jug of an unidentified pattern AF016

Figure 177 Autridge's Farm, rim from an Arcadian Chariots transfer printed pattern jug, exterior (left) and interior view (right)

Figure 178 Autridge's Farm, Arcadian Chariots jug sherds collected from eroding cattle track, showing detail of central design
Twenty five sherds were from one oval shaped serving platter in blue transfer printed Willow pattern. Two sherds from this vessel were found in the location of Area B extension, reflecting the spread of artefacts from the Autridge pre-landwar homestead site into the area of this later structure. Another three sherds from one Willow patterned dish, possibly used to serve vegetables, were also identified. The presence of variation in forms of serving dishes in the same Willow transfer printed pattern indicates Mrs Autridge was attempting to present a matching set of serving wares on her dining table.

Ten sherds were from one large, round tureen, which was probably a soup tureen in a flown mulberry (purplish black) unidentified floral scroll transfer printed design, named here as AF010 (Figure 179). Two sherds from this vessel were also present in Area F, a fireplace area lying some way from the main homestead. Two uncatalogued additional sherds from this vessel were also recovered from the cattle track alongside the excavation site. This was the only vessel identified in this pattern.

![Figure 179 Autridge's Farm, tureen base, unidentified pattern AF010](image)

**Tableware**

Tableware was dominated by whiteware ceramics, with 249 sherds from 40 plates identified (Table 30). Also present were two drinking glasses, including one stemware glass, as well as a metal cutlery handle from either a spoon or a fork.
### Table 30 Autridge's Farm, ceramic tableware

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Decorative Technique</th>
<th>Decorative Colour</th>
<th>Pattern Name</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Plain Glazed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Shell Edged</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Sponged</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Black</td>
<td>AF001</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Abbey (Edwards)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>AF005</td>
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</tr>
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<td>AF018</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>AF003</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>Vignette</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>Rhine</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Grey</td>
<td>Tivoli</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plate</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Purple</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total** 40

The table wares, aside from five of the plates, came mostly from the main homestead areas D and E. Two of the Willow pattern 25cm plates were from Area B, as well as a 26cm Rhine pattern plate which also had a sherd from Area F, and a 25cm unidentified purple transfer printed plate. Also present in Area B were two sherds from one brown plate in unidentified transfer printed pattern AF003 (Figure 180). None of these vessels had manufacturer marks present and are not specifically diagnostic, and hence cannot help to identify the date of occupation of the small structural remains identified in Area B. As described below, one sherd from the Abbey pattern plate was found in the surface of Area A and was probably the result of human transfer.
Of the remaining 35 plates recorded from areas D and E, 22 were decorated in blue transfer printed Willow pattern. As in Mrs Jury’s, these were probably purchased individually, as this seems to have been how they were advertised for sale in New Plymouth at the time (Taranaki Herald 20 December 1854: 1; 4 February 1860: 1). The quantities recorded of Willow patterned china reflects this ready availability in New Plymouth although, as represented in the archaeology here and in other historic Taranaki sites (e.g. Adamson and Bader 2008; Holdaway and Gibb 2006; Prickett 1981), many other patterns and styles were also available. Perhaps Willow pattern wares were less costly than others, and the numbers of manufacturers making this pattern would indicate provisioning for the mass market rather than exclusive production. Nonetheless, acquisition of Willow pattern wares on a mostly piecemeal basis still would have given the impression of owning matching pieces. There is one example where two plates have the same manufacturer mark of Stanley and Lambert (Figure 181 and Figure 182) indicating purchase together however. Stanley and Lambert operated the Newtown Pottery in Longton, Staffordshire, between 1850 and 1854. The mark found in the two examples here is the same as that illustrated in Godden (1991: 593), where it is described as being typical for the company. A Willow pattern plate with this mark was also found in the Street homestead in Bell Block, and the more complete mark is illustrated in the archaeological report for that site (Adamson and Bader 2008: 60).

Another Willow pattern plate had the manufacturer’s mark of John Lythcoe (Figure 183). John Lythcoe was a pottery manufacturer located in Burslem, Staffordshire, operating between 1852 and 1856. The company was previously Lythcoe & Corn operating only in 1851. The name is occasionally misspelt, with Henrywood’s listing of Staffordshire potters recording it as John Lythgoe (Birks n.d.; Henrywood 2002: 171).
Twenty one sherds of ceramic were from shell edged decorated plates representing a MVC of four 26 cm plates. The sherds were mostly from Area D with nine in Area E. Three decorative styles were identified – impressed bud motif, and impressed curved lines with and without a scalloped rim. The sherds with the impressed bud motif had an evenly scalloped rim, and this type of shell-edged earthenware had a mean production date ranging between 1813 and 1834 (Miller 2000: 3). Two of the vessels with impressed curved lines had an unscalloped rim, and one had an evenly scalloped rim. The production for shell edged wares with impressed curved lines and evenly scalloped rim was between 1802 and 1832 (Miller 2000: 3). Generally, an unscalloped rim has a later production date of post-1840, as reducing the scalloping in favour of just the impressed lines probably cut manufacturing costs (Hunter and Miller 1994: 437).

Figure 181 Autridge's Farm, Stanley & Lambert manufacturer mark on Willow pattern plate
One 26cm plate was identified in the Abbey pattern by the manufacturer Thomas Edwards. This pattern was also found in this site as a jug and in a cup and two saucers, described respectively in serving ware above and teaware below. These Edwards Abbey pattern sherds came from Areas D and E, apart from one sherd from the blue plate that
appeared some distance away in the surface of Area A, the first area opened up that was not excavated further as it had modern finds in it.

Other identified patterns of interest found in the tableware include those of Isola Belle or Bella, found here in a 26cm plate, which was also found on a plate in Mrs Jury’s where it is illustrated above in Figure 115. The Vignette transfer printed pattern in green was found in 28 sherds, representing a MVC of one 26cm plate, all from the homestead areas of Area D and Area E. Three sherds had parts of the maker’s mark on the reverse, two of which could be cross mended (Figure 184). This pattern was also identified in four soup plates from Romulus Street’s homestead in Bell Block, of which two of the plates were complete. One of these complete vessels is illustrated below in Figure 185 with the corresponding maker’s mark shown in Figure 186 (Adamson and Bader 2008). The marks show the plates were made by Thomas Dimmock, who manufactured in Staffordshire between 1828 and 1859 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 176). There are subtle differences between the central design motif on the Autridge plate and those from the Street homestead. This could be due to the different vessel form, with the Autridge version definitely being a table plate, rather than a soup plate. However these variations seem typical for the pattern, but all feature some form of castle ruins in a rural setting (Transferware Collectors Club 2005-2012).

Romantic styled patterns such as Vignette featured picturesque imagined landscapes that are reflective of an idealised romanticism surrounding distant travel and exotic views that were otherwise inaccessible to most people during the 19th century (Pulver 1998: 49). In ceramics the designs were quite formulaic, featuring natural elements of water, human figures, trees, mountains as well as imagined rather than real buildings, all designed to capture the Victorian capacity for romanticising the natural world. The peak production period for this style of ceramic design was between 1831 and 1851 (Samford 2000: 68-9).
Figure 184 Autridge's Farm, Vignette transfer printed pattern plate manufactured by Thomas Dimmock

Figure 185 Complete Vignette pattern soup plate from Romulus Street’s homestead in Bell Block. Image reproduced from Adamson and Bader (2008: 82)
Tivoli pattern in grey occurred in a large number of sherds (n=78), however the MVC could only be ascertained as one 26cm plate (Figure 187). Most sherds came from within the area of the homestead in Area D, with two recorded from Area E. Two cross-mending rim sherds had a maker’s mark on the reverse (Figure 188), and this was the same pattern and floral cartouche manufacturing mark illustrated in Snyder (1997: 129) relating to that of Charles Meigh who produced pottery in Hanley Staffordshire from 1832 until 1850. After this date he added “ & Son” to his mark, until 1861 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 278-9). Charles Meigh and Son are also recorded as continuing to produce Tivoli design (Kowalsky & Kowalsky 1999: 514). With the absence of the manufacturers name on the sherds from Autridge’s farm, the possible date of production falls to between 1832 and 1861, although as all the sherds were found from the homestead area in Area D, clearly this particular vessel must have a TAQ of 1860.

Tivoli was a popular country residence of the ancient Romans located north of Rome. Its ruins are famous for the Emperor Hadrian’s villa and the temples of Tiburtus and Sibyl (Coysh and Henrywood 1982: 365). Classical designs such as this were inspired by archaeological reports from sites such as Herculaneum and Pompeii, and peaked in popularity on ceramics between 1827 and 1847. The classical motifs were particularly popular in North America during the first decades of the 19th century, but by the 1840’s popularity for classical furnishings by the growing middle classes was waning (Samford 2000: 67-8).
Britain’s newer colony of New Zealand may well have provided a new market for these older styled designs that no longer were popular in the larger export market of North America.

Two drinking glasses were also recorded. One was the base of a stemware glass (Figure 189), and one was the base of a moulded drinking glass. If enough of a stem was present, it may have been possible to date the glass by style (Jones 2000), however this was not the case with this artefact. While no stemware or other drinking glasses were identified from Mrs Jury’s, the bachelor household of Romulus Street in Bell Block had three stemmed glasses, as well as a lacy styled pressed glass dish, both surprising given the male dominated context (Adamson and Bader 2008: 102). However stemmed drinking glasses tend to be associated with drinking wine or other alcoholic beverages (Jones 2000), and there was clear
evidence for alcohol consumption by Romulus Street, both historically and archaeologically (Adamson and Bader 2008).

Cutlery was under represented, as in Mrs Jury’s, and this could be due to both the durability and portability of the items. One handle from either a fork or a spoon was found (Figure 190).

Figure 189 Autridge's Farm, base of stemware glass

Figure 190 Autridge's Farm, cutlery handle

Where able to be determined, sizes of the plates are varied, ranging between 15cm diameter (one Willow plate), 18cm (one Willow plate), 20cm (seven plates), 21cm (one plate), and 26 plates between 25-26cm (dinner plate size). It is possible some of the plates of this size may be considered soup plates, but if the appropriate diagnostic piece of the bowl is not
present showing extra depth it is not possible to distinguish the two, and the plates were considered to be standard table plates. The smaller plates may have been used as children’s wares, as no table plates specifically for use by children were present, or they may have been used as side plates either for a main meal or with tea. In comparison with Mrs Jury’s, this assemblage of plates (and the ceramic assemblage in general) is even larger. This possibly reflects the larger household with more children in residence, as well as the Victorian capacity for acquisition of consumer goods.

Teaware

Items catalogued as teaware make up the largest category in food preparation and consumption related vessels with 866 sherds making a MVC of 83 items. While described here as “teaware” vessels could potentially be multi-functional, for example some of the mugs, particularly the larger ones, were probably used at the dining table in the consumption of beverages other than tea. The teaware vessel types consisted of 37 saucers and 35 cups, as well as 4 bowls, 5 mugs, 1 small child’s mug, and 1 lid, probably off a teapot, but possibly from a sugar container. These are itemised below in Table 31. Only 12 sherds out of 865 catalogued as teaware came from Area B, the area of the post-war structure. These 12 sherds represented a MVC of four vessels, and included sherds from patterns that were also found in the homestead areas of Area D and Area E.

All teaware items were ceramic and mostly whiteware, but there was also a bone china saucer, another saucer with a semi-vitreous body type, as well as a buff-bodied mug. An unusual industrial slipware large mug or tankard was also identified that was possibly pearlware. Pearlware was a form of refined earthenware with a blue tint to the glaze developed in the late 18th century as an imitation to Chinese porcelain. It is rarely identified in New Zealand archaeological sites as the peak production period was between 1780 and 1840 (Sussman 1997: 65) prior to major immigration to New Zealand. This means it would tend to be restricted to the earliest British colonial archaeological sites (for example 1830’s Browne’s Spar Station, Fraser 2004), as is the case in Australia (Brooks 2005: 31). However industrial slipware tankards, such as the one from this site, were more commonly manufactured in pearlware than in whiteware (Sussman 1997: 71-73).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Decorative Technique</th>
<th>Decorative Colour</th>
<th>Pattern Name</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Flown Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>Fibre</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Painted</td>
<td>Light Blue</td>
<td>AF017</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bowl</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue AF004</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Childs Mug</td>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Cut Sponged</td>
<td>Polychrome</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Black Unidentified</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Blue AF013</td>
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<td>Flown Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue AF032</td>
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<td>Blue Amherst</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Painted</td>
<td>Polychrome</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td>Whiteware</td>
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<td>Blue BB21</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue Abbey</td>
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<td>Blue AF006</td>
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<td>Blue Euphrates</td>
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<td>Whiteware</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Purple/Pink Unidentified</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>AF017</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Mug</td>
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<td>Rockingham-Type</td>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mug/Tankard</td>
<td>Pearlware?</td>
<td>Industrial Slipware</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>Whiteware</td>
<td>Transfer Printed</td>
<td>Blue AF030</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Unidentified</td>
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<td>Sprigged</td>
<td>Blue</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>Semi</td>
<td>Painted</td>
<td>Gilt Tealeaf</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The teawares were all decorated, aside from an undecorated base of a small mug, however the rest of the mug may have been decorated. Most of the teawares were transfer printed (n=53) and flown transfer printed (n=14). The variation in transfer printed patterns in the teawares is large compared with the tableware, with most (n=49) patterns or designs occurring only once in single items. However 34 vessels matched at least one other item as a cup and saucer set, and in two cases - in the pattern Fibre and unidentified pattern AF017 - there was also a matching bowl, although the Fibre bowl was flown blue transfer printed.
These matching patterns are tabled below in Table 32. The presence of such a range of cup and saucer sets indicates the items were probably sold and purchased together.

Table 32 Autridge's Farm, teawares with matching transfer printed patterns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern Name</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
<th>Pattern Name</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abbey</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abbey (Edwards)</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbey</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abbey (Edwards)</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbey (Edwards)</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Euphrates</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbey (Edwards)</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Euphrates</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF017</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Fibre</td>
<td>Bowl</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF017</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Fibre</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF017</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Fibre</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF032</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hong</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AF032</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hong</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst Japan</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Two Temples</td>
<td>Cup</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amherst Japan</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Two Temples</td>
<td>Saucer</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>34</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Many of the transfer printed patterns are unusual occurrences in New Zealand archaeological assemblages with most not having been identified through literature searches. These previously unidentified patterns are recorded here with numbers prefixed with AF. However some such as Fibre, Forest, and Two Temples, occur relatively frequently meaning they were easily identifiable. Fibre pattern occurred in 139 sherds, representing a MVC of one blue transfer printed cup and saucer and one flown transfer printed bowl. Two Temples pattern was identified in 43 sherds from a minimum of two saucers and one cup. This pattern is also known as Broseley or Temple (Copeland 2000: 20).

Two different designs named “Abbey” were identified in the teawares. One was the version manufactured by Thomas Edwards, occurring in this assemblage as a jug and a table plate in addition to the one cup and two saucers described here. However, the one cup and one of the saucers were in brown transfer print (Figure 191), rather than the blue of the jug, plate and the other saucer.

The other Abbey pattern appears to be a more common one, and was found here in one cup and one saucer (Figure 192). This pattern is illustrated in Williams (1978: 174) and Coysh and Henrywood (1982: 15). This particular Abbey design is known to have been manufactured by a number of potteries operating in the mid-19th century (Coysh and Henrywood 1982: 15). Examples have been found at the archaeological sites of the Auckland Gaol (Best 1992), Fort Ligar (Brassey 1989) and the Victoria Hotel (Brassey and Macready 1994).
A large number of sherds (n=137) were from an unidentified blue transfer printed pattern named here AF017 (Figure 193). These represented a matching set of teawares, with a MVC of three cups, two saucers, and one slops bowl with a 15cm rim diameter.
Eighty one sherds representing a MVC of two cups and two saucers were in the chinoiserie styled pattern named Amherst Japan (Figure 194, Figure 195 and Figure 196). These sherds were all recorded as coming from the homestead areas of Area D and Area E. Two partial marks were present on both saucer bases. Although Kowalsky and Kowalsky state there are four known manufacturers making an Amherst Japan pattern (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 470), the mark on the vessels found here is consistent with one from the company Minton dating 1824-1836 (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 287). While the pattern title includes the name Japan in it this pattern draws on Chinoiserie motifs, including the blossom type flowers and the fencing, and the early date of the mark is consistent with a Chinese inspired design (Samford 2000: 63). Minton reissued a pattern in this name in the 1920’s (Snyder 1994).
The transfer printed pattern referred to here as BB21 is one that has been found in other Taranaki sites, occurring in the Omata Stockade, where it was found as a black plate (Prickett 1981), in Te Oropūriri as a flown blue saucer (Holdaway and Gibb 2006), and was also identified in Mrs Jury’s as a flown blue saucer. There was also one vessel in purple found in the Wellington Inner City Bypass assemblage where it was recorded as WICB014 (Adamson 2006). In Autridge’s farmstead, it was found occurring in 19 sherds, representing one cup and one saucer, both in black and found mostly in Area D, with four sherds from Area E. One saucer sherd found here provides a tantalising glimpse of a maker’s mark however it offers no further information regarding the name of this pattern (Figure 197). The
openness of the design of this pattern however suggests a date that is heading towards the later 1850’s and 1860’s (Pulver 1998). It seems likely teawares in this pattern were available to purchase in New Plymouth, and it would possibly have been considered quite a modern design for the time, which could explain its relatively regular occurrence in archaeological sites dating to a similar period.

Another pattern of interest that occurred in 97 sherds, representing a MVC of three cups and three saucers was that named Euphrates. Only one of these sherds was found outside Areas D and E in Area B. The pattern involves exotic scenes of mosques with domes set among palm trees near what is presumably meant to be the Euphrates River in western Asia on what was the western border of Mesopotamia (Figure 198 and Figure 200). William Ridgway is the only known manufacturer of this pattern (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 485). One of the saucer sherds had a partial mark present (Figure 199). William Ridgeway manufactured in Staffordshire using the maker’s mark “W. Ridgeway” as illustrated below in

Figure 197 Autridge's Farm, BB21 cup (top) and saucer (below) showing partial mark on reverse (right)
Figure 200 between 1830 and 1834. From 1834 to 1854 “& Co.” was included in the mark (Godden 1991: 538). As the example from Autridge’s farmstead is incomplete and it is unknown whether “& Co. was incorporated into it, a broad date range of manufacture for this vessel is given here of between 1830 and 1854. Exotic styled views such as Euphrates contained motifs of architecture from foreign places that were either taken from published engravings or romanticised interpretations of known places. They reflected the Victorian desire for knowledge about foreign lands when the travel to such places was prohibited by the cost for most people apart from the very wealthy. Exotic views on transfer prints were mostly produced between 1820 and 1842 (Samford 2000: 67).

Figure 198 Autridge’s Farm, Euphrates transfer printed pattern cup, exterior (left), interior (right)

Figure 199 Autridge’s Farm, Euphrates transfer printed pattern saucer sherd showing partial mark (right)
The flown blue transfer printed pattern Hong was identified on 16 sherds from a minimum of one cup and two saucers. Two of the saucer sherds have partial marks on the base (Figure 201 and Figure 202). The mark illustrated in Figure 202 probably says "Ironstone" under the pattern name. The maker of these vessels, however, is unidentified as Hong pattern was known to have been made by four manufacturers in the 19th century (Kowalsky and Kowalsky 1999: 491-2).
Other transfer printed teaware vessels of interest include two patterns on single vessels that were found previously in the homestead site of Romulus Street in Bell Block. They had not been identified prior to this excavation, and were given the numbers PD004 and PD013 (Adamson and Bader 2008). In the assemblage from Autridge’s farm, PD004 was found on sixteen sherds from a single saucer and PD013 on three sherds from one saucer. In the Street homestead PD004 was found on two blue saucers and PD013 on one blue cup. The vessels out of the Street excavation were good examples of the pattern, and are illustrated below in Figure 203 and Figure 204.

Figure 202 Autridge's Farm, partial “Hong” pattern name with “Ironstone” underneath
Figure 203 Street homestead, Bell Block, PD004 transfer printed saucer. Reproduced from Adamson and Bader 2008: 76

Figure 204 Street homestead, Bell Block, PD013 transfer printed cup. Reproduced from Adamson and Bader 2008: 79
There were also matching items decorated using techniques other than transfer printing. Three vessels also considered matching were whiteware decorated with a sprigged floral design. These consisted of one cup, one saucer, as well as the lid of the teapot/sugar container (Figure 205). Another sprigged saucer was identified, however this was bone china, and was decorated with a different thistle design. The semi-vitreous saucer was painted with a gilt tealeaf/banded design, and probably dating to after the mid-1850’s (Abrams 1996: 15).

![Image](image-url)

**Figure 205 Autridge's Farm, whiteware sprigged lid**

Other wares that could be considered matching or complementary included 32 sherds from two bowls and two saucers occurring in variations of a banded design painted with underglaze enamel decorated in two tones of blue – a wider light blue band with a thin line of dark blue below. The bowls had a 14cm rim diameter, making them too large to be considered cups, however no cups in this decoration were identified. The bowls and the saucers have a different banded design but are decorated with the same colours (Figure 206, Figure 207, Figure 208, Figure 209). These items do not appear to be very good quality as quite a bit of the glaze has chipped off on many of the sherds.
Figure 206 Autridge's Farm, painted bowl, exterior (left), interior (right)

Figure 207 Autridge's Farm, painted saucer
Other painted vessels included two polychrome painted cups. One of these was six sherds from a cup decorated with a blue and green thick line floral design with a single black band on the inner rim (Figure 210 and Figure 211). All sherds from this vessel were found in Area E. The other consisted of 16 sherds, found in Area D and Area E, from a London shaped cup which was decorated with a bright blue, red and green thick line floral design with a single thin red painted band on the inner and outer rim (Figure 212). As described in the section relating to Mrs Jury’s above, underglaze hand painted floral decoration was generally popular in the North American market between 1840 to after 1860 (Majewski and O’Brien 1987: 159). In addition, two sponge decorated vessels were also found. One of these
consisted of 10 sherds from a blue sponged saucer found in Area D and Area E, and the other a cup with a polychrome cut sponged floral decoration found in Area B (Figure 213).

Figure 210 Autridge's Farm, two sherds from a polychrome painted cup showing exterior painted decoration (left) and rim sherd interior (right) with black banding, vessel id 40

Figure 211 Autridge's Farm, polychrome painted cup rim sherd exterior (left) and interior (right), vessel ID 40

Figure 212 Autridge's Farm, polychrome hand painted cup with red banding exterior (left), interior (right), vessel ID 41
Of the six mugs identified, three were transfer printed, in unidentified patterns, and one was a child’s mug with some writing, albeit indecipherable (Figure 214). Children’s china is linked with attempts at education within the home, particularly used to encourage good behaviour, discipline and respecting the rights of others (Brighton 2001; Praetzellis and Praetzellis 1992; Riley 1991). Most of the subjects on this type of children’s china were enthusiastically educational utilising themes from source images that were mainly improving and didactic (Riley 1991: 17).

Two sherds from another mug found in Area D could be described as a tankard, as it was large (10cm rim diameter) and was probably not used primarily as teaware. This vessel was cylindrical shaped, industrial slipware decorated black with a blue band and white dots (Figure 215). As described previously, it was possibly pearlware as it had a slight blue tint to the interior glaze, and industrial slipware mugs were more common in pearlware than whiteware (Sussman 1997: 71-3). One mug (from Area B) was buff-bodied earthenware
with a mid-brown Rockingham-type glaze on the exterior with impressed leave-type design around the exterior rim. This type of glaze commonly appears on teapots, and occasionally on mugs (Brooks 2005: 28-9), but does not help date Area B (Figure 216).

Aside from the teapot/sugar container lid, there were no other remains of teapots identified. This contrasts with the assemblage from Mrs Jury’s, where there were three teapots, and the assemblage from the Street farmstead, where two teapots were identified (Adamson and Bader 2008). Given the large number and range of ceramics, including cups and saucers, present in the site it seems unusual that teapots were not recorded, as teapots were a necessary item to brew tea. It is possible that other drinks were being consumed out of the tea cups, although another explanation would be the teapots were made out of non-breakable material, such as copper, which would not be as visible in the archaeological record, as they would have probably been salvaged.

Figure 215 Autridge’s Farm, two sherds from an industrial slipware large mug or tankard
Food Preparation and Consumption Related Ceramics – Manufacturing Marks

Nineteen sherds had full or partial marks present with many, but not all, able to be identified. As with Mrs Jury’s assemblage of food preparation and consumption ceramics
some vessels with patterns with only one known maker were given an attributed manufacturer status with production dates based upon this information. A summary of the information regarding dating appears below in Table 33 below.

While some of the known marks and makers are discussed above in relation to the transfer printed patterns and vessels they occurred upon, two maker’s marks appeared on individual sherds that did not contribute quantitatively to the minimum vessel count. These are discussed below.

A base of a saucer of an unidentifiable transfer printed pattern had the mark of Copeland Late Spode (Figure 218). This was the manufacturing mark of W.T. Copeland of the Spode works in Stoke, who used this mark between 1847 and 1867 (Godden 1991). A vessel with an Spode mark dating to between 1822-1833 was found in the Street homestead in Bell Block (Adamson and Bader 2008: 58). Similar marks are regularly found on archaeological sites in New Zealand, including Te Oropūriri in Bell Block (Holdaway and Gibb 2006: 319). Like Spode before him, Copeland produced ceramic breakfast, dinner, dessert, tea and toilet wares said to be of the highest quality (Godden and Jewitt 1972 [1878]: 110).

Figure 218 Autridge's Farm, Copeland Late Spode maker’s mark

One other maker’s mark was present on an unidentifiable undecorated sherd. This mark was impressed “ADAMS” on the reverse of what was probably a saucer (Figure 219) and was used by William Adams and sons on general earthenware between 1800 and 1864 (Godden 1991: 21). No signs of transfer printing are present on the sherd, and it is likely the piece was from a hand painted saucer. A similar mark occurs on a hand painted polychrome cup and saucer in the author’s personal ceramic collection.
Figure 219 Autridge's Farm, Adams maker’s mark

Table 33 Autridge's Farm, food preparation and consumption related ceramics – manufacturing dates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mark/Attributed Manufacturer</th>
<th>Pattern Name</th>
<th>Initial Date (TPQ)</th>
<th>Final Date (TAQ)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Edwards</td>
<td>Abbey (Edwards)</td>
<td>1841</td>
<td>1847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minton</td>
<td>Amherst Japan</td>
<td>1824</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Ridgway</td>
<td>Euphrates</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Adams</td>
<td>Isola Belle/Bella</td>
<td>c1850’s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Adams (&amp; Sons)</td>
<td>Undecorated</td>
<td>1800</td>
<td>1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Charles Meigh (&amp; Son)</td>
<td>Tivoli</td>
<td>1835</td>
<td>1861</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W.T. Copeland</td>
<td>Unidentified</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>1867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standley &amp; Harding</td>
<td>Undecorated</td>
<td>c1850</td>
<td>c1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Dimmock</td>
<td>Vignette</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stanley &amp; Lambert</td>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Lythcoe</td>
<td>Willow</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>1856</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Food and Food Storage**

**Storage Containers**

Two ceramic food storage containers were identified. One of these consisted of 14 sherds from a large salt glazed stoneware crock and the other one an undecorated sherd from a whiteware container, possibly for jam or preserves. All sherds were from Areas D and E. The large crock measured at least 30cm in diameter and had attached moulded handles in a similar style to those that were found in the stoneware water filter described previously. One sherd from this vessel had a mark of an impressed "6" or "9" – it was probably a 6 that refers to a 6 gallon capacity (Figure 220).
Condiment Bottles

Two glass vessels consisted of 11 aqua coloured sherds from two moulded pickle bottles of an unidentified shape. In addition one aqua coloured stopper from a salad oil bottle was identified embossed with the manufacturer’s name “George Whybrow”. George Whybrow manufactured condiments in Minories Lane, London, between approximately 1840-1880 (Davies 2006: 349). Whybrow’s mustards and pickles were being imported and advertised for sale in New Plymouth in the Taranaki Herald from 1857 (Taranaki Herald 5 September 1857: 1).

As discussed above regarding Mrs Jury’s condiment bottle, food items stored in these glass bottles were considered a semi-luxury import (Boow 1991: 18-9). While no pickle bottles were identified out of Mrs Jury’s, six were found in the homestead site of Romulus Street in Bell Block (Adamson and Bader 2008: 95). These differences in quantities of ready prepared food and condiment items possibly relate to personal attitudes to adding flavourings to food, or to cost, where the families were more restricted as to what they could provide, whereas the bachelor Romulus Street was not so constrained and was able to enjoy these additions to the table.

Figure 220 Autridge’s Farm, two cross mended sherds from a large crock
**Furnishings**

The only indication of furnishings found in the Autridge farmstead was one small 2cm tack with a pointed tip and a flat head which seemed to be an upholstery tack, found in Feature 22 which was one of the postholes associated with the house (Figure 221). This would indicate the presence of comfortable upholstered furniture, probably in the form of a chair or a footstool. Soft furnishings, such as upholstery, curtains and carpets are unlikely to survive archaeologically, and often the only tangible evidence remaining are durable items such as upholstery or carpet tacks (Quirk 2008: 82). This is the kind of refinement and comfort in a house that Martha Adams was referring to when contrasting this with the basic thatched roofs and rafters of the houses in New Plymouth, as described in the introduction to this chapter (Adams 1850-1852).

![Figure 221 Autridge's Farm, upholstery tack](image)

**Diet and Faunal Remains**

This section looks at the analysis of the faunal remains found in the surrounds of the Autridge homestead. Identification of the faunal remains was carried out by University of Otago postgraduate student Sarah Mann. Like the Jury site described above, the remains were fragmented, probably due to the nature of the acidic soil in Taranaki. However, a contributing factor would have been the lack of rubbish pits within the area excavated, meaning animal and food refuse would have been discarded well away from the homestead site.

The NISP was 148, including a NISP of 127 from one fully articulated juvenile pig, buried in the rear yard area behind the house, in Feature 195 which was cut into a small pit feature thought to be a rua, and therefore post-dates any earlier Māori presence on the site. The remainder of faunal material consisted of a molar from another pig, two cattle molars and
a sheep and a horse molar. An NISP of 11 unidentified gastropods were also found, mostly from within postholes relating to the house structure.

Aside from the shellfish, the faunal remains are consistent with the known stock on the property as described in the claim for compensation by Charles Autridge (Taranaki Relief Fund Commissions 1861). However the burial of a juvenile pig at the rear of the house would suggest this animal was a pet of one of the children that died and was deliberately buried. While identifying animals kept as pets from other stock is problematic (Thomas 2009), factors such as the burial in close proximity to the house and in its own burial pit, articulation of the skeleton and lack of butchering all point to the potential that this piglet was a pet to a family member for a short time. Archaeological evidence for keeping as pets stock animals that would ordinarily have been used for food on farmstead sites is limited, although there is evidence for burials of animals, such as a juvenile pig, peacock and other fowl in the back yards of farm houses in Canada, that were possibly pets (James pers. comm. 15 January 2013). Historically, English born Canadian author Susannah Moodie wrote a memoir, published in 1852, of her experiences as a settler in Ontario in the 1830’s entitled “Roughing it in the Bush”, and describes keeping a pet pig:

“Mrs. — had given to Katie, in the fall, a very pretty little pig, which she had named Spot. The animal was a great favorite with Jacob and the children, and he always received his food from their hands at the door, and followed them all over the place like a dog.” (Moodie 1852: 95-6).

In New Zealand, there are historical accounts of Māori keeping pigs as pets (e.g. Angas 1847: 274; Brees 1849: 30; Buller 1878: 34), as well as European settlers (St. John 1873: 63). In Europe and North America, pet ownership did not become widespread amongst the middle classes until the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Increasing pet ownership is closely connected to Improvement both through the idea of taming the natural world by controlling wild animals, such as fish, through to teaching animals, such as cats and dogs, manners so they are well behaved in a domestic environment (Thomas 2009). Pets were also a way of shaping children’s morality, and families were encouraged to participate in Improvement through pet ownership for the educational opportunities they offered children in teaching them about responsibility and kindness to others (Solari 2004).
5.3.3. Children and Education

As discussed above, in relation to Mrs Jury’s and previously in Chapter 2, education of children was an important means through which people could participate in Improvement. Education of children took place not only in formal institutions such as church or school, but by the mid-19th century the domestic environment, and particularly the role of the mother, was considered key to shaping and children’s values and morality (Wall 1994). The presence of artefacts of childhood such as toys and educational items such as slates, represent an investment by parents in their children in being children, rather than just as workers, and show these changing attitudes to children’s place in the world (Yamin 2002: 118).

During the first part of the 19th century mass production of toys specifically marketed towards girls or boys began in earnest. Dolls, and other toys such as tea sets, were given to girls of wealthy families to encourage maternal indoors based play and for teaching appropriate etiquette. Adult looking dolls were used to reinforce ideals of beauty, elegance and etiquette, while baby and child dolls were promoted to instil mothering and nurturing behaviour in girls (Wilkie 2000: 102). For boys, toys like marbles, were intended to be used outdoors in competitive play with other boys preparing them to be men like their fathers, in contrast to their housebound sisters (Yamin 2002: 123).

Some of the finds from Autridge’s farmstead have already provided an insight into domestic education, with the presence of children’s china, and the possibility of a pet piglet, described above. However other artefacts described below in this section consolidate the assemblage into one that reflects the value placed on educating children both through formal means and within the domestic environment. These artefacts also reflect the investment that Charles and Frances Autridge placed into their children through the purchase of toys and allowing them time for play, which was likely done in between helping around the house or outdoors on the farm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Play</td>
<td>Games</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Marble</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Play</td>
<td>Toys</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children’s Play</td>
<td>Toys</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Doll</td>
<td>0?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Penny Ink Bottle</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Implements</td>
<td>Slate</td>
<td>Slate Pencil</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Writing</td>
<td>Implements</td>
<td>Slate</td>
<td>Writing Slate</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Three items associated with children’s play were identified. These included two sherds from a china head doll. One sherd is from the front of a face, and the other from the rear, and it is unclear whether the two sherds are from the same or different dolls, so a MVC of one doll has been allocated. The front face sherd shows finely painted detail with the inner eyelid outlined in a fine red line (Figure 222). This red line, painted to give greater depth to the eye area, dates the doll to the period of between the middle of the 19th century and the 1880’s, even though the usual method of dating china head dolls is by the hairstyle (Fainges 1992: 12). The sherd from the rear of the head, shown below in Figure 223, still has remnants of a moulded and painted hairstyle. The hair would have been dark, and the style seems to have been curled with short curls at the bottom of the hairstyle. Probably the top, where the parting was, was straight, and I believe the style to be similar to that illustrated below in Figure 224. Fainges dates this kind of doll to between 1840 and 1860 (Fainges 1992: 12).

Figure 222 Autridge’s Farm, sherd from face of a china head doll. Image on left is to scale. Image on right was taken in the field during excavation and is not to scale.
Figure 223 Autridge's Farm, sherd from rear of a china head doll.

Figure 224 China head doll with a hairstyle similar to that found on Autridge's Farm. Image reproduced from Fainges 1992: 12.

The other artefact associated with children’s play was a simple undecorated unglazed marble (Figure 225). This type of marble appears to be a common brown-bodied earthenware marble which were also known as “commies” (Gartley and Carskadden 1998:
50), generally produced in both Europe and America from the late 18th century throughout the 19th century. Yamin describes how for working class boys in the Five Points area of New York the flexibility of playing marbles fitted well into their daily lives, where they could gather with other boys in the neighbourhood, set up a game, and leave it just as quickly when work called (Yamin 2002: 123).

Figure 225 Autridge's Farm, stoneware marble

The presence of children’s toys in the archaeological record is usually the result of accidental loss, deliberate discard or destruction, often by the child itself, and sometimes children’s long cherished and much loved dolls were deliberately buried when no longer able to be fixed (Wilkie 2000). However the doll from Autridge’s Farm possibly met a more inauspicious ending as Benjamin Wells, after the battle at Waireka in Omata, records seeing children’s dolls being “derisively hung up by the neck on the fences” (Wells 1878: 202). The two doll sherds, separated by about six metres, were located close to southern border of the excavated Area D, just outside the boundaries of the house structure and there may have been a fence along this side of the house.

A MVC of five items of writing equipment were also identified. These consisted of seven fragments of slate pencils including three slate pencil tips, three fragments of lined writing slate, and two sherds from a penny ink bottle. The fragments of slate did not have any writing visible. The slate was all from Area D aside from one fragment of writing slate from Area E.

Two sherds from one “penny ink” bottle were recorded. Penny ink bottles were small stoneware ink bottles that received their name from the original cost of purchase. These ink bottles have been described by that name in British newspapers approximately from the early 1850’s (e.g. Daily News 23 June 1852: 6), although the term was probably in general circulation prior to this. Ink was advertised for sale from 1840 in New Zealand newspapers (New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator 23 May 1840: 2), although it was available for purchase from stores such as the Kerikeri store earlier than this (Middleton 2005: 243),
and was probably available from first settlement from stores in New Plymouth. The bottles are described in New Zealand newspapers as “penny inks” from approximately the early 1860’s (e.g. Wellington Independent 26 November 1863: 2).

Aside from John, the children of Charles and Frances Autridge were mostly younger than the Jury children and probably experienced a certain amount of formal schooling, at least through Sunday School or at one of the Omata schools. The Autridge children did not make claims for compensation, probably due to being too young to own property, unlike the older Jury children, so it is not possible to see their writing ability from the historical record. However, the presence of the slates and the ink bottle also suggests some education in the home environment and a level of literacy within the Autridge family, making it probable that the children could read and write. For the parents however it was different. Charles Autridge’s claims for compensation do not appear to have been written by him and the brevity of the claims possibly indicates having to pay a writer per word. However they are signed by him in his name albeit in a shaky hand which would suggest some level of literacy.

5.3.4. Consumption of Alcohol and Tobacco

As described in Chapter 3, Charles Autridge’s father, Humphry, was a victualler and innkeeper at the Duchy Arms in the village of Boyton in Cornwall, where Charles was born. It is probable Charles grew up in an environment surrounded by the consumption of alcohol. Based upon this background, it is reasonable to assume that Charles Autridge came to New Zealand with an attitude to alcohol consumption that was not in line with the controls towards drinking promoted by the temperance movement11. The evidence that Charles Autridge was granted a publicans’ licence after the wars in 1866 (Taranaki Herald 21 April 1866: 3) also gives strength to the argument that he was not involved in the temperance movement, but saw alcohol as a viable means by which to make a living. His family background in the trade means this was probably a relatively logical step for him to take, although, as described in Chapter 3, he was not very successful in his ventures into running public houses.

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11 Somewhat ironically, the Duchy Arms in Boyton was converted into a Temperance hotel in the late 19th century by a staunch Methodist. This was done to the dismay of many local church goers, especially the bell ringers, who would nip across the road for a drink after ringing the bells (Cornwall Federation of Women's Institutes 2000). The property is now known as Temperance Farmhouse and is a Grade II listed property with English Heritage (English Heritage).
Alcohol Bottles

Glass totalling 223 sherds were catalogued from bottle forms that would have originally contained alcohol. These sherds contributed to a MVC of 21 bottles, which are tabled below by excavation area (Table 35).

Table 35 Autridge's Farm, alcohol type bottles by excavation area

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area Number</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>Colour</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Ale/Beer</td>
<td>Amber</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Ale/Beer</td>
<td>Dark Olive</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Cognac/Brandy</td>
<td>Green</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Gin</td>
<td>Olive</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Ale/Beer</td>
<td>Blue [Dark Olive]</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Ale/Beer</td>
<td>Dark Olive</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Gin</td>
<td>Olive</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Bottle</td>
<td>Gin</td>
<td>Olive</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two sherds from an amber coloured beer bottle of 20th century origin were identified in the first excavation area, Area A, and this contributed to the decision to discontinue work in this area.

Area B was the area of the post-war structure, and 92 sherds, representing eight of the alcohol bottles were from this area. Eighty nine sherds from a MVC of twelve alcohol bottles were identified from Area D and Area E, the main areas relating to the house and outbuildings. Two sherds of olive coloured alcohol bottle glass were found in Area C at the front of the house, however, these did not contribute to the minimum vessel count.

The ratio of sherds to MVC of bottles is, across the entire site, higher than the 47 sherds to six alcohol bottles found at Mrs Jury’s. However the ratio of sherds to MVC of bottles just from Areas D and E is similar to Mrs Jury’s. This raises interesting questions regarding alcohol consumption in a household so closely connected with the provision of alcohol, a point which is discussed further below.

One of the bottles from Area B was complete and provides dating criteria for this excavated area (Figure 226). This bottle was made in a three piece mould, with a double collar and a sand pontil mark. Three piece moulding on “black” alcohol bottles is the most common form found on this type of bottle. These bottles were generally produced in a three piece mould between c1860 and c1900 (Boow 1991: 49). The double collar is finished with a finishing tool, which continued until machine manufacture of bottles in the 20th century.
(Boow 1991: 64). However the sand pontil on the base of the bottle, consisting of the glass dipped lightly into sand and then shaped often leaving a rough surface and sand particles, narrows the date down further. This type of pontil is most often found in these alcohol bottles dating between c1720 and 1870 (Boow 1991: 33-4). A rough estimate of dating this bottle would therefore be between 1860 and 1870, which would date the structure to the post-war period, but prior to when the Autridge farm was finally sold sometime around 1882. Interestingly, this intact bottle was not found within a feature in Area B, but was in the horizon consisting of the general layer of finds below the topsoil layer, and is remarkable in that it survived years of farming activity.

Figure 226 Autridge’s Farm, Area B, complete bottle

Another bottle base from Area B provides some support for a post-war date for this structure. This base is marked with the moulded mark around the base of “R. Cooper & Co. Portobello”. This company was The Portobello Factory in Scotland, who manufactured between 1829 and 1968 with various name changes throughout. The period of Richard Cooper & Co. began in 1866 and continued until 1926 (Andrews and Basterfield 2008 [1966]). However, Toulouse states this mark dates to post-1868 until the company’s end in 1928 (Toulouse 1971: 141-3). The remaining three ale/beer bottles consisted of double collar finishes, including one with a flat collar with a bead and one a curved collar with a bead (Figure 227).
Figure 227 Autridge's Farm, Area B, bottle finishes, flat collar with bead (left), curved collar with bead (right)

Other alcohol bottles from Area B included two bases from green cognac or brandy bottles, both with high kickups, and similar to those identified in the Omata Stockade by Prickett (1981, 1994). One single collar string rim from one of these bottles was also present. As well as the quantity of cognac/brandy bottles recorded from the Omata Stockade, these types of bottles were additionally recorded in Te Oropūriri (Holdaway and Gibb 2006), and a single sherd of glass identified in the Bell Block homestead of Romulus Street (Adamson and Bader 2008). The base from a case gin bottle was also present. This base has four distinct corners, giving it a likely pre-1870 date (Lindsey 2010).

The twelve alcohol bottles from Area D and Area E are much less complete than those described above, probably due to the destruction of the property. This meant the detail regarding the form of the vessels was unable to be determined, aside from basic information such as colour which indicates vessel form. Of the eight dark olive “black” ale/beer bottles four were able to have the finishes identified as a double collar. Two fragments of glass from these bottles had been burned to a point where the glass changed colour to blue (Figure 228). This is consistent with the destruction by burning of Charles and Frances Autridge’s homestead in August 1860 (Taranaki Herald 25 August 1860: 3).
The other four bottles from Area D and Area E consisted of sherds from case gin bottles, and included three “pig snout” finishes. In addition, one base had four distinct corners similar to that found in Area B, giving it a likely pre-1870 date (Lindsey 2010) (Figure 229). The “pig snout” flared finish is typical of earlier (pre 1880) case gin bottles (Lindsey 2010) and Best states that a higher proportion of this type of finish compared to a cone collar generally indicates an earlier dated site in New Zealand (Best 2002: 60). Romulus Street’s homestead in Bell Block had nine of these tops compared with three cone collars on gin bottles (Adamson and Bader 2008: 92). Tasker states the typical square shaped and tapered case gin bottle with an applied “pig snout” top was the earliest type found in New Zealand, and was used until the mid-1870’s when it began to be regularly replaced by a cone shaped top (Tasker 1989: 48).

Figure 228 Autridge’s Farm, burned dark olive glass sherd

Figure 229 Autridge's Farm, "pig snout" gin bottle finish and base
While there is a presence of alcohol bottles in the areas associated with the Autridge house, they do not occur in large numbers. There are, however, more than in Mrs Jury’s, and as a percentage of the minimum vessel count, alcohol bottles account for 3.5% of the total assemblage, whereas in Mrs Jury’s they account for 1.3% of the MVC. Removing all finds from Area B means alcohol bottles just in the main areas associated with the Autridge homestead account for just 2.2% of the assemblage from these areas (Area D and Area E). These are relatively low numbers, especially when considered against the alcohol related artefacts found in Romulus Street’s homestead in Bell Block, where 61 alcohol bottles were found which made up approximately 8.3% of the total vessel count.

Other archaeological evidence for alcohol consumption by the Autridges was discussed previously in relation to the presence of the stemmed drinking glass. However, the low levels of alcohol related artefacts provide an interesting line of inquiry into the amount of alcohol consumption at the Autridge farmstead. The family’s attitude towards moderation in drinking may be indicated, even though it is most likely they were imbibers of alcoholic beverages, and were prepared to profit from the industry. This would however be consistent with the attributes of industriousness and sober habits desired by the Plymouth Company in emigrants wanting to settle in New Plymouth.

**Clay Tobacco Pipes**

Only a small number of clay tobacco pipe artefacts were recorded. These amounted to 25 sherds from a MVC of four pipes. Only two of these 25 sherds were recorded from Area B, and neither of these contributed to the minimum vessel count. Fifteen sherds included part of the pipe bowl, and ten were stem fragments only.

One of these pipes was part of a decorated bowl with the decoration consisting of a spear and tassel motif. This pipe had maker’s initials just above the spur reading M / G on each side (Figure 230). These initials stand for the Glasgow pipemaker Malcolm Galbraith who operated between 1848 and 1854 (Oswald 1975: 205). The presence of a spur on this pipe bowl is consistent with this date as by the mid-19th century, the presence of spurs was being phased out and consequently were not present on many pipe forms (Gojak and Stuart 1999). An incomplete bowl with the same decoration was found in the Auckland archaeological site of the Mechanics Institute, however only the G on its side is recorded (Macready and Goodwyn 1990).
A second pipe consisted of part of a decorated stem with a spur that was of a plant or branch type design (Figure 231), similar to a 19th century pipe illustrated in Ayto (1987: 15) and described as “Two Acorns”. No manufacturer could be identified.

A third pipe consisted of a partial stem with the pipemakers mark THO. WHITE & [CO.]/[E]DINBURGH (Figure 232). Walker (1983: 20) states Thomas White & Co. were recorded in business from 1823 to 1876. However it seems that Thomas White pipes with the addition of “& Co.” date to after Thomas White’s death in 1847, when the business carried on as a company (Gallagher 2010: 57).

Figure 230 Autridge's Farm, Malcolm Galbraith pipe bowl

Figure 231 Autridge's Farm, pipe stem fragment
As with Mrs Jury’s, the clay tobacco pipe artefacts are few in number. However, it would seem from the manufacturing date of the Galbraith pipe that this pipe at least is clearly consistent with the Autridge occupation of the farmstead. It is possible some of the tobacco related artefacts relate to visitors to the farmstead after the Autridge’s left, such as the military who accompanied James Autridge to milk the cows during the war. Alternatively they could have been associated with the Māori presence at the farm before the house was burned. However, distribution of the smoking artefacts shows a cluster in relation to the fireplace (Figure 233). While these are mostly located outside the fireplace structure, this is consistent with the collapse of the house towards this side. In addition, the distribution plan shown below also highlights the writing slate, which is also clustered in the vicinity of the fireplace. A scenario of an evening fireside ritual could be argued, where the father, Charles, is smoking, and the children practicing their writing. It does seem however that whatever the scenario, tobacco consumption, like that of alcohol consumption, did not play a large role in the lives of the family during the time they occupied their farmstead. The lack of smoking related artefacts in the excavated areas outside of the house suggests the activity of smoking may have been relegated therefore to a leisure activity rather than one carried out whilst working around the farm.
5.3.5. Health, Hygiene and Personal Grooming

Apart from the water filter discussed above, no artefacts associated with health or hygiene were identified in the assemblage from Autridge’s farmstead, unlike in the Jury assemblage where a chamber pot and pharmaceutical bottles were identified. In addition, as
with Mrs Jury’s the archaeological excavations did not find any evidence of toileting facilities, suggesting they were located some way from the house. As discussed in Chapter 4, the presence of a small structure in the rear yard suggests smaller animals may have been contained relatively close to the house. The proximity of animal housing to the water supply from the well may indicate less knowledge regarding hygiene and water supply, even though the relationship between disease and water was beginning to be understood by this time (Chadwick 1965 [1842]). However this evidence is juxtaposed with that of the water filter, suggesting a concern with water purification.

**Personal Grooming and Presentation**

Items in this category consisted of four fasteners for clothing (Table 36). These included two porcelain buttons similar to those found in Mrs Jury’s assemblage (Figure 234). These buttons were both four hole sew through Prosser buttons that have, as described previously, a TPQ of 1840 (Sprague 2002: 111). The other button was a metal button, 15mm in diameter, which was very corroded and no further identification was possible. The hook was copper alloy and was quite substantial, measuring 40mm in length (Figure 235). Rose Young, Curator of History at Auckland Museum, provided images of military costumes with similar hooks, including some with hooks at the waist, the neck, and front opening of a tunic. However as she pointed out, the hook could be from either military or civilian clothing as both were likely to have used similar kinds of fastening. In civilian clothing she would expect hooks like this to have been used on garments that were tailored of heavy cloth, particularly if they required fastening at the waistband (Young pers. comm. 17 December 2010).

**Table 36 Autridge's Farm, personal grooming and presentation related artefacts**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Material Class</th>
<th>Vessel Form</th>
<th>MVC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>Ceramic</td>
<td>Button</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Button</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing</td>
<td>Fastener</td>
<td>Metal</td>
<td>Hook</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As with Mrs Jury’s buttons, the types of small buttons found here were functionally interchangeable and could have been used on shirts, undergarments or even pillowcases (Lindbergh 1999: 51). The hook is an interesting find and is possibly related to the military presence during the war, although it was found in Area D in the location of the house structure. Otherwise it could relate to a heavy skirt, probably worn by Frances Autridge who, given her portly frame as shown in her portrait photograph in Chapter 3, possibly needed a substantial hook fastening around her waistband.
5.3.6. Other Finds

Firearms

Identification and specialised information regarding the ammunition was carried out by militaria expert, David Rudd (2008). The Enfield bullet was identified as an unfired Metford-Pritchett (1853) pattern 0.58 inch minie bullet (Pattern 1 Terry and Calisher Carbine) for an Enfield rifle (Figure 236). This bullet is considered unusual in the New Zealand context with Stowers and Binsley arguing the carbines that were used here were the 0.539 calibre pattern 2 and 3 (Stowers and Binsley 1996: 273). These would therefore have been in the very first wave of ammunition that arrived here with the rifles, as the first Enfield’s arguably arrived in NZ in 1855. This type of bullet was initially used as is, relying on inertia to engage the rifling. In 1855 an iron cup was added to the base, and then the cavity was altered to create the 1855 pattern bullet. Later in 1855 this pattern switched from iron cups to wooden plugs (Roads 1964: 142-3). These have not been identified in the New Zealand context to date, and the most common Enfield round found in New Zealand is the 1859 pattern, used extensively in the New Zealand wars (Rudd 2008). In 1856 people joining the Taranaki Volunteer Corps were issued with Minie rifles (Taranaki Herald 28 June 1856: 1). Charles’ eldest son John Autridge was an original member of the volunteer corps (Penn 1909: 8) and may have therefore been issued with an earlier model rifle.

Also identified was a 0.68 inch calibre musket ball, as used in land pattern (Brown Bess) muskets (Figure 237). This had been fired and had impacted upon something (Rudd 2008).

Figure 236 Autridge's Farm, unfired Metford-Pritchett (1853) pattern 0.58 inch minie bullet
As described in Chapter 3, there is historical evidence for gunfire at the house of Charles Autridge during the first Taranaki war. On Thursday 9th August 1860, nine days before the Autridge house was burned, son James Autridge was accompanied by three soldiers from the Waireka Camp, one was armed, to milk cows at his father’s farm:

“…they had barely commenced operations when some fifteen or twenty natives rushed from Autridge’s house and fired on the party, the soldier with the rifle received a flesh wound in the thigh and another in the knee. Immediately on the alarm being given, fifty men started from the camp to the rescue, and commenced firing on the already retreating natives” (*Taranaki Herald* 11 August 1860: 3).

The distribution of the Enfield bullet and the musket ball lends some support to this historical account. The musket ball was found in the area close to where the animals were thought to be and where there was probably a milking shed and dairy, and the Enfield bullet appears to have fallen close to the rear of the house, although this bullet was unfired (Figure 238).
Figure 238 Autridge's Farm, distribution of ammunition (musket ball yellow dot, enfield bullet green dot)
Wood/Charcoal

Analysis of the wood/charcoal samples was undertaken by Dr Rod Wallace. A lesser amount of wood/charcoal samples (n=22) were recovered from Autridge’s farmstead than were recorded in Mrs Jury’s, and this was most likely due to the better preservation conditions in the rifle pits and trenches for organic materials that were present in that site. The range of species is smaller and is restricted to natives, with no exotic species present as were identified in the wood/charcoal from Mrs Jury’s (Table 37).

Table 37 Autridge’s Farm, wood/charcoal samples by species

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Species</th>
<th>No. of Samples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hebe</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kohekohe</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahoe</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mapau</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataī</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mataī (board?)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngaio</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pūriri</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rata</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrub sp.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>22</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table below shows the location of the samples where they relate to features and, where possible, interpreted phase of activity (Table 38). In addition four samples (two pūriri, one mataī and one hebe) were not from features but from the general A horizon in Area D, and one pūriri sample was from the surface area of Area B. It is interesting to note that while there were fewer wood/charcoal samples available for collection than in Mrs Jury’s, more came out from in-situ features. This would relate to site formation processes where the burning of the Autridge house left remains of piles in-situ, to slowly rot away. In one example in particular, in Feature 82 and illustrated in Chapter 4 (Figure 78), the post, which was identified as pūriri, was extant.

Table 38 Autridge’s Farm, wood/charcoal from recorded features

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Activity Phase</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Feature Number</th>
<th>Area Number</th>
<th>Species</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Posthole</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
<td>FT082</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Pūriri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
<td>FT010</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Hebe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>Posthole/Postcast</td>
<td>House pre-1860</td>
<td>FT010</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Ngaio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As discussed above in relation to Mrs Jury’s pūriri was considered good wood to use for underground piles as it was durable, an attribute which gave it the alternative European name of ironwood. The presence of a pūriri post in relation to the Autridge house not only confirms this wood was used for piles, but that the historical descriptions in relation to its durability were correct. All the other samples were also identified in Mrs Jury’s aside from a sample of ngaio found in Feature 010, a posthole associated with the house. Ngaio was considered a hard durable wood, growing well close to the sea and providing valuable shelter in that environment (Taylor 1855: 455). One reference describes it being used for gun stocks in the 19th century (Morris 1972: 320).

**Artefacts of Indeterminate Use**

Seventy four pieces of glass that had burned and melted mostly into unidentifiable lumps were catalogued. Unidentified pieces of glass ordinarily would not rate a mention, however these relate specifically to the destruction of the house, and are a poignant reminder of the losses incurred in war. Most of the pieces were opaque coloured, and could have been window glass. Most were found in the finds horizon (A) of Area D, and one large piece was found in the fireplace feature of the house (Figure 239).
Sixty seven metal pieces were also of indeterminate use, such as part of a tension coil spring found in Area B, or were unidentified as to form. The spring was incomplete and had one end present with part of original hook, although this was mostly broken off. The fireplace feature in Area B also revealed a 3kg piece of iron plate, and Area F had a small piece of lead. There were also eight pieces of metal bar of various lengths and widths. One of the postholes relating to the Autridge house had a tiny copper alloy hook 8mm in length. A small hook was found also in Mrs Jury’s, and these could relate to a child’s toy, but this is not a positive association. One miscellaneous u-shaped metal item was found. This looks to be a bent, very long (34cm) building spike with one tapered chisel end (Figure 240).

Figure 239 Autridge's Farm, molten glass
5.3.7. Discussion – Autridge’s Farm

The artefacts from Autridge’s farm allow a deeper understanding into the everyday domesticity and lives of a family who arrived from Britain as labourers and were amongst the first Europeans to settle in New Plymouth. Like Mrs Jury’s the artefacts show lives lived where there was little separation between the work on the family farm and domestic life – the presence of the ceramic milk pans are evocative of this connection to traditional farm life.

The house was small, measuring 5.8m x 10.2m, with a cob fireplace at the rear and a small porch at the front. It is not known whether the roof was thatched or shingled. No evidence of waterproofing innovations were found as in the Jury’s where pieces of lead were moulded around nails. The door pintle suggests a strong hinged front door that was probably in a ledged and braced style. The quantity of window glass was significantly less than that recorded from the Jury house, suggesting the house had fewer and smaller windows, which probably lent a rather gloomy air to the interior. As discussed previously in Chapter 2, the presence, or absence, of window glass is an indicator of changing values associated with Improvement and a desire to have lighter brighter interiors, and in Britain were linked to wealth and status due to the imposition of a window tax (Tarlow 2007). Lack of windows in houses of the labouring classes was one of Gilbert’s concerns in his report on the state of housing in Cornwall and Devon (Gilbert 1842).
The domestic artefacts from this assemblage however are plentiful in number and indicate the family was consumption orientated. Aside from an upholstery tack no other indication of furnishings were recovered, however this is probably due to the length of time between leaving their house and final destruction, which would have allowed time for removal, together with the lack of deep features to aid in preservation, as was the case in Mrs Jury’s site. However, the tack suggests the presence of upholstered furniture which lends an image of comfort in contrast to the basic structure of the house.

In addition, the water filter was a particularly expensive and high status item that does not often occur archaeologically and rarely, if ever aside from this example, within domestic environments. It is easy to imagine Charles and Frances Autridge inviting people in to their home, proudly showing off their water filter and inviting guests to taste the resulting purified water. This item provides an interesting juxtaposition to the description of the house above.

The presence of large numbers of Willow patterned transfer printed plates, together with a serving platter and serving dish shows that presentation of the dining table was a consideration, probably for Frances Autridge as the wife and domestic influence on the household. The Willow patterned table wares give an impression of being the same, and show there was an attempt to present a matching set of table ware. While most of the Willow patterned wares were made by different manufacturers and were probably bought piecemeal, there were some plates with the same makers mark, indicating they were purchased together. However, as discussed previously, Willow pattern plates were advertised for sale by the piece in New Plymouth in the 1850’s.

The complexity and variety of ceramic tableware and serving ware vessel forms was generally restricted, particularly when compared with the known “established middle class” household at Viewbank Homestead in Melbourne, which had a wider variety of tableware vessel forms, including ladles, egg cups and drainers (Hayes 2011). This suggests the Autridge’s were accumulating goods based on quantity of items, rather than by the desire to present a formal table setting requiring a large range of specialised dishes for a range of different courses.

Teaware were also present in matching sets, with 34 of the transfer printed vessels being part of a cup and saucer set, including two instances where a matching bowl was also present. It is probable however that the cups and saucers were purchased together, and each set was purchased individually or there would have been larger numbers of items present with
less variation in pattern and design. It is interesting that there was an Arcadian Chariots patterned jug present in the assemblage as Mrs Jury possessed the matching cups and saucers. This is probably the result of a set being separated up for sale in New Plymouth, as this pattern was also present in the site of Te Oropūriri in Bell Block.

Most of the ceramics were common white earthenware, with only one bone china saucer present, suggesting a focus on quantity rather than quality. The bone china saucer was decorated with a sprigged design. The sprigged wares present gave at first glance an impression of being matching although only the one item was made from higher quality bone china, the other two pieces being whiteware. However sprigged wares such as these were often manufactured in bone china, and the presence of these items as a set may have indicated a perception of quality in a set that seemed to be matching but was not.

Some of the ceramics were of an older style, such as the four shell edged plates, and were possibly either brought from England or purchased on the second hand market in New Plymouth, many were clearly bought new and were contemporary in style and design. This would have been the case for the flown blue wares which were considered very fashionable in the countries they were exported to.

The limited quantity of alcohol and tobacco related artefacts provide an interesting contrast to the known historical information regarding Charles Autridge. He clearly supported the alcohol industry (his family background in Cornwall and being granted a publican’s licence attest to this), and alcohol bottles were present in the site together with a stemware glass associated with consumption of alcohol. However the small number of items would indicate a moderate approach to his and his family’s alcohol consumption, and little participation, if at all, in tobacco smoking. This picture fits with that of one of the desired attributes of sober habits for emigrants encouraged to apply to come to New Zealand. In addition, if Charles Autridge’s long term aim upon settlement in New Plymouth was to gain the licence on a tavern, following in his father’s footsteps, it is likely this goal encouraged respectable behaviour and working towards building a certain standing in the community to enable achieving this, which he did after the wars.

The Autridge children were also included in the family’s desire for Improvement, with evidence for education present in writing slates, slate pencils and an ink bottle, as well as child specific china and toys. While the toys were items used in children’s play and indicates the family’s investment in this, they are also reflective of socialization of children in
mid-Victorian culture (Yamin 2002). The china headed doll reinforced values for girls regarding domestic nurturing roles and it is probable the marbles were used by the boys and encouraged competitiveness and outdoor activity. It seems the children may have also been encouraged to keep a pet which was increasingly in the 19th century considered to be an opportunity to educate children about responsibility and kindness to others (Solari 2004).

However, the family had little in the way of artefacts related to health and hygiene. It may have been they toileted some way from the house, which would be hygienic and probable given the excavations did not reveal any latrine features nearby. However, out of the entire assemblage of ceramics, none were associated with toilet wares, and this seems unusual in an assemblage this size. While toilet wares generally do not occur in large quantities archaeologically, they do appear relatively regularly in limited numbers. Even the bachelor household of Romulus Street in Bell Block had one item of toilet ware. The middle class post-1860 households across nine allotments in urban Wynyard Street and Grafton Road in Auckland had between them three chamber pots, three ewers, two washbowls, two soap dishes and a toothbrush case which, while highlighting the variety of toilet wares available at the time, also shows that archaeologically these wares appear in limited numbers (Bickler et al. 2007). It seems unlikely items of this nature would have been removed when the Autridge family abandoned the farm as more valuable items, such as the water filter, were left behind.

The small size of the house, with little in the way of light through the windows gives an impression of a gloomy interior, however the number of children in the family would ensure the house was lively at all times, and the large numbers of domestic artefacts meant the interior was ordered with matching sets of tableware and comfortable upholstered furniture, together with the latest high status item, the stoneware water filter.

Finally, although the distribution of artefacts was wide, it was related to the general location of the house structure, and can shed some extra light on various aspects of the farm and daily life. It would appear the dairy and milking area was to the rear of the house, as this is where one of the milk pans was found. It would also seem the family clustered around the fireplace – possibly for Charles to smoke in the evening and the children to practice their writing on their slates. The impact of war has also left its mark with the distribution of the window glass and nails showing the final collapse of the house when it was burned and destroyed.
6. Discussion and Conclusion

6.1. Discussion

The preceding chapters have presented the history and archaeology relating to the Jury and Autridge families viewed through the lens of Improvement in the colonial setting of mid-19th century Omata in Taranaki. Improvement functioned across many levels of society in Britain during the 18th and 19th century and underpinned the colonial process that ultimately formed the basis of the European settler society in New Zealand. The central aim of this thesis was to understand how the process of Improvement was expressed in the history and archaeology of the two families. As discussed in the Introductory chapter, concern was raised regarding the use of totalising or monolithic approaches in historical archaeology. Therefore the focus of this study was not upon the ‘grand narrative’ of colonialism, although the families were living entwined in this process, but instead the archaeology presented here has been examined using the ethic of Improvement through which to understand the individual choices made, motivations and aspirations of these two families within a colonial context.

With the archaeology and history of the Omata sites investigated in depth, it is possible to now reflect on this central aim of the thesis and the questions raised regarding how Improvement may have been demonstrated. Improvement has material expressions, providing a connection and frame of reference to the time in which the Jurys and Autridges were living. Improvement therefore has been a useful concept through which to explore the materiality relating to these families. The assemblage of archaeological material recovered was largely represented by commonplace everyday items that related to the period of occupation and destruction of the family farmsteads. Nonetheless this material has, through a close reading, revealed similarities that represent adherence to contemporary social values, as well as subtle distinctions that represent individuality. These settlers in this context adopted a fluid and sometimes creative approach to their own and their family’s Improvement.

While Improvement was a shared goal, what is clear from the archaeology presented is that it was not a ‘dominant ideology’, where people subscribed to the ethos in a wholesale manner in the same way. Instead Improvement has been shown here to be multi-faceted and variable depending on individual choices and decisions made, tempered within a family and community setting that supported Improvement through factors such as hard work and moderation towards vice. This highlights the need for a thorough understanding of the social
and cultural contexts that surround and shape the archaeology, otherwise this level of detail cannot be extrapolated.

Improvement was discussed as being a broad ranging concept that continues to have relevance in many aspects of modern life. Improvement in the 18th and 19th centuries functioned in an organised way and colonization and planned emigration schemes were also part of the Improving ethos. However, the primary objective of this research was to investigate more informal methods of Improvement through the engagement in this process by ordinary working class people – a class of people that have been considered difficult to understand archaeologically in Britain (Tarlow 2007). The research is predicated on the view that Improvement was not a concept that was forced upon the poor, but reflected active agency and choice. The working, or labouring, classes in Britain participated actively in many spheres of Improvement that included education, temperance, housing, thrift and hard work. These values and others such as respectability and cleanliness had a reach across all levels of British society, and were not values imposed as a means of social control onto the poor by the middle and upper classes.

To this end a model of Improvement was created that revolved around themes that could be addressed through the history and particularly the archaeology regarding the everyday lives, motivations and aspirations of the families and individuals concerned. However, the themes of Improvement chosen for study here are not absolute or exhaustive. There may be other aspects of Improvement that could be addressed in either these sites or other archaeological sites and settings that were not explored here – an interpretive approach to archaeology, such as that used in this research, allows for flexibility of boundaries. Themes of Improvement examined here included emigration, improving the land, improving house and home, children and education, attitudes to alcohol and tobacco, and health, hygiene and personal grooming. This final discussion continues summarising the combined evidence uncovered that relates to the chosen themes of Improvement in regards to how each family lived out their Improvement. The purpose of this is not to repeat what has already been stated previously, but to examine both sets of evidence together. The chapter then progresses on to a discussion of theoretical concerns of the thesis regarding context, scale and agency. This is followed by the conclusion where a consideration of the broader implications of this approach and the utility as a model for further study within the archaeology of this time period are addressed.
6.1.1. Improvement and the Jury and Autridge Families

Emigration

As discussed, the development of the Plymouth Company and New Zealand Company were created out of the vision of colonization by Edward Gibbon Wakefield as a means of creating a new country that was reflective of a better Britain. These emigration schemes had their roots in Enlightenment and Improvement philosophy. However the Jury and Autridge families were probably more concerned with improving their own conditions rather than participating in Wakefield’s grand scheme. The very fact that the families made the decision to participate in the emigration scheme that offered them a free passage to New Plymouth is indicative of their desire for personal Improvement.

The families were not paupers in Britain – the emigration scheme did not welcome those at the lowest levels of British society – and both families would have had to pay for their children’s passage. However, the decision to emigrate by the two families was constrained by rules and regulations that both managed to overcome by a subtle manipulation of those rules in which the emigration and government officials were likely complicit. For Jesse and Elizabeth Jury, while his skills as a sawyer were desired by the emigration companies and while he was older than the official age restriction, it would appear he lied about his and his wife’s ages. For the Autridges, Charles listed his probably recently acquired skills as an agricultural labourer, whereas the archaeology revealed he had limited skills at least as far as constructing a house and digging a well goes. Additionally, his wedding to Frances was hasty, occurring just two weeks before departure. These decisions made by each family indicated their drive and belief that emigration was indeed going to ‘improve their condition’.

Improving the Land

Both families clearly worked the land on their farmsteads and would have spent a considerable amount of time clearing it of fern and bush before being able to farm crops and livestock. It is possible they used Māori labour to assist them in this, although the presence of older boys in the family would have been of use. Little was found archaeologically in this category aside from the scythe blade and file in Mrs Jury’s. However farming equipment was either of significant value (for example ploughs) or was highly transportable (for example spades and shovels) meaning if anything was left behind when the families left it was probably taken. The claims for compensation are a record of the types of equipment that
were lost in this manner, however neither family recorded the loss of a high value items such as ploughs.

Once in Omata Jesse Jury continued work as a sawyer, suggesting the family did not achieve total self-sufficiency off their land. It is not known whether Charles Autridge took on work outside his farm however shortly after the war he became the licensee of a public house, indicating self-sufficiency was not achieved. Self-sufficiency was likely not the primary objective of owning the land – the importance was the possession and the independence that came from owning it. Being a land owner came with status and was associated with being able to vote and serve as a juror. Participation in the local economy, and wider afield, through trading stock and produce was also probably key to achieving a level of respect and independence within their community. Both families achieved this goal within a few years of arriving in New Plymouth by purchasing firstly town sections and later their blocks of land in the respectable settlement of Omata, where they lived alongside people considered to be the most genteel members of Taranaki society. This was a feat neither family would have been able to achieve had they remained in Cornwall.

**Improving House and Home**

The size of each dwelling did not seem to be of concern in Omata, with many of the surrounding houses being small, however separation of rooms by partitions was an important consideration. John Jury was detailed in his description of the number of rooms of Mrs Jury’s house in the claim for compensation, even describing the sleigh as being divided into three when this would have rendered the rooms almost impractical to use. The archaeology revealed both houses were small and the dimensions, described by John Jury in his mother’s claim, were accurate. The Jury house had a verandah in the front which was a respectable addition to a home, whereas the Autridge house had a small front porch entry area.

Most of the artefacts relating to the structure of the houses were everyday materials such as nails and window glass, however even these most mundane of objects can offer some information into the houses themselves and how their occupants may have lived. The window glass was considerably different in quantity between the two households with the Jury’s having substantially more. With no evidence to suggest the Autridge windows were removed before the house was burned, this suggests a greater investment in windows by the Jury family. With these windows the Jury house must have been considerably lighter and brighter than the Autridges. The positioning of Mrs Jury’s house facing the road to Omata
village means through these windows she must have been able to view the coming and goings of people as they went past.

The presence of the lead waterproofing surrounding nails recorded from Mrs Jury’s indicates perhaps the earliest beginnings of the New Zealand ‘Kiwi number 8 wire’ ethos. These small pieces of lead show the use of innovation and adaptation in the face of necessity. This resourcefulness and skill was shown again in the item of wooden furniture recovered from the Jury site which was constructed using tongue and groove from various exotic and native woods. Contrasted with this is the first attempt at well construction at the Autridge farm and the re-piling of the house. This material shows a unique individuality which encapsulate the differences between the owner/occupiers experience, skills and abilities in the construction of their houses.

The domestic items from both sites are largely represented by ceramic wares and reflect the everyday life on the farmsteads. These wares give an indication as to the daily activities conducted in the domestic environment - work that would have been carried out largely by the women in the households. Baking dishes, bowls, jugs, and milk pans are all evocative of life in a domestic kitchen where feeding the family was the aim. Matching tea cups and saucers, tea pots and any finer wares such as the water filter were probably also used as acts of social display when visitors called. The domestic artefacts had some similarities between the two families, for example both households had Willow pattern ceramics that presented as a matching set of tableware. This highlights the potential that matching wares were a consideration in purchasing, although most of these ceramics would have been acquired on a piecemeal basis rather than purchased as a set. However Willow pattern was sold in this way in New Plymouth, and it may have been that while there was a wide choice of ceramics available, many were not able to be purchased individually in this manner.

The domestic artefacts also varied between the two households, most notably by quantity, with the Autridge household owning considerably more items, particularly tableware. The quantity of ceramic wares recovered from the Autridge site is astonishing when considering the size of the house. In addition, the Autridges owned the particularly high status water filter, and this must have been an item used to impress visitors to their home. Few of the wares, aside from the water filter, were of particularly high quality, suggesting quantity was the aim. This indicates the Autridge’s were focussed on improving their social position in their community through the acquisition of quantities of goods, rather than
purchasing goods that indicated a particular level of style, taste, or quality. Johnson states that this act of display of pecuniary strength was common in the working classes in 19th century Britain, and was aimed at “a very local community, the increase in status apparent often only to neighbours close in economic and cultural terms, as well as close geographically” (Johnson 1988: 40). The Autridge’s were driven to increase their status in the community, and eventually being referred to as an Esquire (Taranaki Herald 11 March 1865: 1) suggests Charles achieved this, if only for a short period of time.

Mrs Jury generally possessed fewer domestic wares, exhibiting a more frugal attitude to her possessions. However, she also owned three teapots and these would have played a role in maintaining respectability through entertaining guests for tea. She may well have also provided tea on a Sunday after Church, particularly when the St John’s church at Omata was positioned opposite her house. She also owned decorative items such as the Chinese saucepots, and items that were likely to be meaningful and important to her, such as the dressing table dish, which was probably brought from England, and her iron bedsteads. As discussed in Chapter 2, by the mid-19th century abundant material possessions became associated with moral goodness (Cohen 2006: 30). Mrs Jury, as a widow, probably had to be more careful with her money than the Autridges who seem to have been quite acquisitive, and it may be that the differences in the quantities of items between the Jury and Autridge households are reflective of this time of changing social attitudes to goods and consumption.

While these items of an everyday domestic nature seem on the surface largely mundane and ordinary, they do reflect a concern with presenting respectable domesticity through maintaining a comfortable home, even though that home was small and of simple construction. There was satisfaction and pride in owning the humblest of houses and making the interiors attractive and cozy rather than ostentatious. These homes were likely to have created an environment that was warm and welcoming to family and visitors. A pleasant, welcoming home environment probably helped sustain neighbourly friendships and fostered networks of reciprocity and sharing. Friends and neighbours visiting the houses probably had the same goals towards Improvement, but this was unlikely to have been competitive in nature for fear of alienating oneself from one’s peers and support network – a trait common in working class households (Wall 1991).

**Children and Education**

Educating children was an important aspect of an Improved society, and being literate was an indication that the family were participating in this shared value of a respectable
society. How children behaved mattered to the respectable family as they were often the external representatives for the family, exploring beyond the bounds of their own gate and meeting with children and adults from other households. The historical evidence provided by the bible gifted to John Jury from his Sunday School in Launceston shows this is where he began his formal education. Judging by the claims for compensation written in his hand, his education continued once he was in New Plymouth. This was probably the case for the other Jury and Autridge children, and once moving to Omata they were probably still attending Sunday School or one of the other local privately run schools. The presence of writing slates and slate pencils in both assemblages is testament to this participation in formalised education that extended to the domestic environment.

Other materials relating specifically to children were restricted to a china head doll, a marble, and a fragment from a child’s cup all from Autridge’s farmstead. While items of play such as the doll were informal educational items, these artefacts also show the Autridge’s spent some money on their children, and allowed their children time to play rather than just working around the house and farm.

Attitudes to Alcohol and Tobacco

Moderation, or temperance, towards the vices of alcohol and tobacco consumption was associated with the Improvement ethos. Temperance became a means for people to distinguish themselves as respectable members of society across all classes. It was preferred that potential emigrants to New Zealand had sober habits, and it would appear from the limited quantity of alcohol and tobacco related artefacts recovered archaeologically that both families exhibited this trait towards moderation, despite Charles Autridge’s family background in the liquor industry. However, this background and his future direction after the wars as a publican meant it was unlikely Charles Autridge joined the burgeoning temperance movement in Omata, unlike Mrs Jury. This provides an interesting juxtaposition between Improvement in terms of the characteristics of hard work, industriousness and education that the Autridge family were exhibiting and working within the industry that provided alcoholic beverages. Judging by the flexibility shown in the Omata Temperance Society, where patrons could choose between full or partial abstinence, there was probably a certain amount of complaisance surrounding alcohol consumption that allowed a small amount of imbibing whilst still maintaining respectability - as long as one was not a drunkard. The statistics surrounding levels of alcohol importation show that drinking was certainly part
of New Plymouth life for many, despite the best intentions of the organisations promoting total abstinence such as the Band of Hope.

While Charles Autridge remained a farmer throughout the 1850’s, his becoming a publican in the 1860’s probably did not lower his status in the community, as being a publican and being respectable were not mutually exclusive attributes. In 19th century Britain, publicans were often highly respected members of the community and consequently tried to maintain good character and reputation for themselves and their premises (Masters 2010). This is likely to have been the case in New Zealand also, where publicans were often required to be of “good character” (Eldred-Grigg 1984: 65). For the bachelor Romulus Street in Bell Block, Improvement came in ways other than temperance. For Romulus, Improvement was centred around education, hard work, innovation and frugality (Adamson and Bader 2008).

Health, Hygiene and Personal Grooming

The archaeological excavations did not reveal any rubbish pits or latrines in the areas uncovered and this indicated the two families disposed of their rubbish and human waste away from the area surrounding the houses. As discussed in Chapter 2, there were concerns in Britain about the working classes and their rubbish disposal and Improvement efforts were focussed on changing these practices. The presence of wells on both sites also indicated a concern with access to clean drinking water. Although both farmsteads had access to fresh water through streams running close to the houses, deep wells were dug towards the rear of each dwelling. This seems to have been common practice, as there are known wells on other pre-war farmstead sites in the area. Having a well on one’s own property seems to have been an important consideration and probably showed that one did not rely on the using same stream water the animals were utilising. The high survival rate of the children from both families suggests that the farming life at Omata, and the standards maintained in their households, were effective.

Artefacts relating to this category were limited with only Mrs Jury’s assemblage having a chamber pot and pharmaceutical bottles. The medicines contained within these bottles probably had a high alcoholic content, although the small number of bottles means it is unlikely they were being consumed for this reason. Limited quantities of items relating to clothing were also found with some small porcelain Prosser shirt or undergarment buttons found at both sites and a large hook probably relating to a skirt waistband.
6.1.2. Improvement – Context, Scale and Agency

The thesis took a multi-scalar approach looking at the global process of emigration, however the scale of the domestic environment was placed in the forefront of the research. This approach centred on building context and interpretation was then drawn from both the history and the archaeology. This has ultimately allowed for a fine grained analysis at the scale of the individual and the household. This context has been created from both the historical background relating to the wider themes surrounding Improvement, and more specifically the limited amount of history relating to the two families. The context was also drawn from the archaeology, where detailed excavation, recording and analysis allowed for understanding relationships between people and the things they owned and used every day. This approach reflects wider concerns within historical archaeology, stated in the Introduction to this thesis, about finding and identifying the ‘faces’ in the households studied, and situating those individuals in their social and cultural contexts. To this end looking at Improvement in this manner has proved useful, and detail has been extrapolated from the smallest amount of historical information and archaeological data that includes individual items – the faces, and the identities behind the faces, have been found.

The need for context is particularly clear when looking at the example of the evidence for alcohol consumption and household composition. Married households, whether supporters of organised temperance or not, may have a tendency towards less alcohol consumption than bachelor households. This seems to transcend class, as Quirk demonstrated in Paradise, Queensland, that most families in her study, either middle or working class, subscribed to temperate behaviour. The exception was one family, the Plastow’s, who, despite being business owners, consumed alcohol but were also not churchgoing or active in philanthropic pursuits in the small community and were perceived therefore as not subscribing to genteel behaviours (Quirk 2008). The evidence provided by the Autridge family also serves to complicate the way alcohol consumption practices are viewed in the archaeology. The absence of alcohol bottles does not necessarily indicate participation in the cause of temperance, but rather indicates a concern with respectable behaviour and moderation that comes with creating a secure family life and desire to fit in, form bonds and support networks with neighbours within the community. When looked at within the wider context of the Autridges as members of the Omata St John’s church and Charles’ participation in local events and activities, the limited quantity of alcohol related artefacts recovered fit with this picture of community based respectability. These results
highlight the need to have enough contextual information regarding site occupants to be able to draw out these appropriate interpretations.

Contextual archaeologies are also concerned with agency and this concept was also considered important and relevant to this research. The individuals discussed here are considered as agents that actively shaped and constructed their lives. Agency has been expressed in this study particularly through the use of creative tactics undertaken to ensure a free passage by the two families, but is also present in their purchase of land at a much faster rate than was expected by the New Zealand Company, essentially thwarting the grand settlement scheme at an early stage. Agency has also been manifested in the individuality shown in the material culture through the choices made in relation to purchases of household domestic consumer goods as well as more public items of display and status, such as the water filter and tea wares, and participation in education of the children, who often represented the public face of the family. The individuality expressed between each family suggests a level of human agency was operating, where each was choosing the means through which they interacted with Improvement.

Māori were also participants in this process, actively engaging in business, agriculture, trade, and land sales, to ensure their own Improvement. Ultimately for some Māori this meant taking over the role of workers that the British labourers’ left behind once they had purchased their own farms. While this thesis has critiqued the use of ‘grand narratives’, the archaeology and history of New Zealand has been irrevocably impacted upon by colonisation, and resulting colonialism. A contextual and interpretive archaeological approach however can offer insights into the colonial process without reducing results to a discussion of domination and power, which would effectively remove Māori as participants in their own past. Studying Māori in terms of agency in the disciplines of both archaeology and history in New Zealand is occurring (e.g. Allen and Phillips 2013; Head 2006), and suggests that this approach has wider application in further research.

The variability and individuality that has been revealed in the archaeology is not unique to these Taranaki sites but is however the result of the archaeological approach, outlined in the Introduction to this thesis, that has been focussed on drawing out the detail and nuances of the material, rather than adhering to ‘big questions’ of a global nature such as capitalism and colonialism. Quirk’s approach (2008) to the historical archaeology of gentility in Paradise, Queensland, took a similar approach and also revealed variability in the archaeological assemblages. This variability, she argued, reflected the role that human
agency and choice played in deciding what aspects of gentility one would adopt and display – there was never a “single, monolithic version of gentility” (Quirk 2008: 294). Briggs, in her archaeological investigation into respectability of working class households in the port area of Adelaide, also concluded that levels of respectability were varied and fluid, and each household displayed attributes dependent on their own belief systems and social values (Briggs 2006).

6.2. Conclusion

The archaeology at the sites of Mrs Jury’s and Autridge’s farmstead has provided a means of investigating Improvement through the lives of two families of the migrant ‘labouring classes’ who otherwise were largely invisible in the historical record. This has provided a record of people that were previously not much more than footnotes to history, and is a significant outcome in itself. However, the archaeology revealed not only this period of occupation, but also provided an ephemeral glimpse into the presence of Māori prior to Pākehā settlers becoming established in Omata. The archaeology also reflected the tensions of the wider dispute between Māori and the Crown. This research exposed the impact of war on both farmsteads not only in terms of reinforcing and reiterating what the settlers lost but in the case of Mrs Jury’s provided feature based evidence for re-occupation by Māori for a short period of time during the 1860-1861 Taranaki war period.

The study of the two families provides evidence that the Jurys had a more traditional and conservative approach to their lives in Omata than the Autridges, who were perhaps more driven towards being upwardly mobile and entrepreneurial. The tenets of the emigration officials were that virtues such as hard work, industry, frugality, and temperance would help the new emigrant succeed in New Zealand, and the Jurys exhibited these characteristics. With Jesse Jury dying tragically early leaving Elizabeth Jury a widow with dependent children it is difficult to know how the family fortunes may have fared should he have survived into old age. However, the immediate family seemed relatively stable and secure, with the sons continuing to farm their mother’s land. This stability is reflected today somewhat in the fact that their great-great grandson Len Jury is still farming this same land.

One of the important implications of this particular research is its global reach. The working class poor in Britain were not a homogenous group of people waiting for the middle and upper classes to tell them how to behave and what choices to make. They were continuously making strategic decisions based upon their motivations and desires, as well as
economics, as to how to live their lives and what values to adhere to or reject. Tarlow has stated that demonstrating this range and nature of participation in the ‘improved’ material world by the poor and labouring classes in Britain remains a difficult task (Tarlow 2007). This thesis therefore provides a contribution towards informing a greater understanding of the ways these same people embraced, challenged or negotiated these values and translocated them into their lives in the new colony of New Zealand.

Improvement was never a monolithic or totalising theory and offers no grand syntheses (Tarlow 2007), despite its broad range and familiarity as a concept. From a methodological perspective it is clear, given the multiple facets of Improvement, that careful consideration must be taken to allow for the flexibility and variability of this process. The implication of this is that there can never be a fixed objective measure for uncovering Improvement in the archaeology. Understanding Improvement cannot be done by ticking a box. The nature, expression, appropriation, rejection or manipulation of Improvement means care needs to be taking in developing appropriate measures and indicators. Without allowing interpretation and developing fine grained contextual analysis, levels of variation and similarity will not be identified, resulting in a flattening out of the archaeological data and an obscuring of the ‘faces’ that once occupied archaeological sites under study. In addition, the close relationship between these two Omata sites, and drawing upon additional information from the Street homestead (Adamson and Bader 2008), has allowed for comparison within the particular context of Taranaki that may not have relevance elsewhere. What was considered Improvement by the Jury and the Autridge families (their houses, their gardens, their possessions) may have been seen by others living in, for example, Wellington, as being tiny rough little houses with mis-matched possessions and not Improved at all. Nevertheless, the indicators of Improvement chosen for this study were selected for their malleability and applicability to a wide range of circumstances, meaning with careful consideration of the social and cultural context under which it is being applied, the model of Improvement presented here can have further utility.

While this thesis has focussed on Improvement as it was experienced for these two settler families, the realized manifestations of personal Improvement at this level are transient and changing and are impacted upon by decisions and choices made by one generation that may directly affect the future of the next and future generations. For Jesse and Elizabeth’s eldest son John, (Len Jury’s great-grandfather) the decision his parents made to emigrate out of Cornwall to Omata meant he was by 1884 at the forefront of the infant dairy farming
industry in Taranaki. By this time he was farming 150 acres in Waireka, mostly in crops and only approximately 16 cows in milk. His total return for 1884 was in monetary value £11 3s 6d per cow and just over 273 pounds in butter per cow per year. At this time his family of 15 was consuming 6 pounds of butter and milk per week. *Taranaki Herald* columnist W.K. Hulke, commenting on John Jury’s farm and his dairy return for 1884, stated this was “the highest dairy return I have yet seen in the district, and which I have little doubt will be improved in future years”. These results led Hulke to predict that if New Zealand specialised in dairying “New Zealand dairymen have a grand future before them” (Hulke and *Taranaki Herald* 19 June 1884: 2).

Charles Autridge appears to have been more of a risk taker than the Jurys, exhibiting desire for upward mobility and entrepreneurial business development, although his practical skills around the farm seem to have been limited. It appears he exhibited neither the traits of frugality nor temperance, and Improvement for Charles was possibly more based upon social status and respect within his own social group community networks rather than prescribed notions of respectability and genteel behaviour. While his bankruptcy was probably from poor business and personal decisions, and a passion for horse racing, rather than lack of farming ability, losing his farm in this manner must have been devastating to the family. Charles and Frances moved to Wanganui, where the portraits illustrated previously in Chapter 3 were taken and he died in November 1891 (*Wanganui Herald* 02 November 1891: 2), just a few months after the Crown Grant in recognition of his original purchase of the land from the New Zealand Company was given to him (Autridge Crown Grant 1891). The families however were permanently connected through the marriage of Charles’ and Frances’ son Henry to Harriet Jury, daughter of John and Sophia Jury, in 1883.

This thesis has brought to light the archaeological record, previously buried in two flat paddocks, relating to the dreams of a better future for the Jury and the Autridge families. However, these archaeological excavations are representative of just two of the destroyed farmstead sites associated with these earliest Pākehā settlers to the New Plymouth region. This research, and the previous archaeological research carried out on the contemporary Street homestead in Bell Block (Adamson and Bader 2008), highlight the potential for future archaeological investigations. These could be explored with similar research questions that may offer further insights into Improvement, but also could offer potential into exploring colonial relationships in greater depth, particularly entanglements between Māori and Pākehā during this formative time in New Zealand’s history. This period in Taranaki’s colonial past
that has been under studied in archaeology, where the primary focus has been on recording archaeological sites associated with the New Zealand wars, such as redoubts, blockhouses, and Māori gunfighter pā sites. However this pre-war period marks a crucial point in the history of Taranaki where many hapū and iwi were thriving in the conditions of the new economy brought with the Pākehā. While there were increasing concerns by some Māori about alienation from their lands during this period, ultimately leading to war, the post-war period was marked by brutal and relentless punishment in the form of land confiscation by the Crown – punishment that is only today being recognised, reconciled and compensated for. However in Taranaki, whose tribes were some of the most impacted upon during and after the prolonged war period, many still remain marginalised, and this process of reconciliation continues (Addis 2010).

Improvement offers a way of negotiating the complexities of interpreting historical archaeological data in a way that mediates between the ‘things found’ and the ideals and motivations that shaped the earliest European settlement of New Zealand. This approach engenders a view of the past that brings the actors of the time to the forefront of the study. Improvement, as it relates to these two settler families, was not a concept set in stone. Instead the history and archaeology presented here has shown that Improvement was a conglomerate of attitudes and choices, reflecting the subtlety of agency through individual decisions made and personal motivations and aspirations either achieved or not. The historical and archaeological evidence shows the Jury and the Autridge families expressed their participation in the Improvement ethos in ways that were variable, but ensured their acceptance and respectability within their family group and wider networks within their Omata community.
Appendix A: Microfossil Analysis by Dr Mark Horrocks
Plant microfossil analysis of an archaeological pit sample from Omata, Taranaki

30 May 2008

Methods

A soil sample from the base of a pit at Omata was analysed for plant microfossils to provide a record of past vegetation and environments. The following analyses were carried out:

Pollen analysis

Pollen analysis includes pollen grains of seed plants and spores of ferns. It provides insight into past vegetation and environments and in New Zealand allows the differentiation of sediments deposited in pre-human, Polynesian and European times (Hayward et al., 2004; Matthews et al., 2005). Pollen may also provide direct evidence of introduced Polynesian plants, namely bottle gourd (Lagenaria siceraria) and paper mulberry (Broussonetia papyrifera) and European crops such as maize (Zea mays) (Horrocks, 2004; Horrocks et al., in press).

The sample was prepared for pollen analysis by the standard acetylation method (Moore et al., 1991), with the hydrofluoric acid step replaced by density separation using sodium polytungstate (specific gravity 2.0). At least 100 pollen grains and spores were counted and the slide was scanned for types not found during the count. Fragments of microscopic charcoal are extracted along with pollen during preparation, providing evidence of fire.

Phytolith analysis

Phytoliths are particles of silica formed in inflorescences, stems, leaves and roots of many higher plants (Piperno, 2006). Phytolith analysis compliments pollen analysis, especially regarding grasses (Poaceae). Grass phytoliths are much easier to differentiate below the family level than grass pollen. Also, silica is often better
preserved than pollen. Phytoliths (like pollen) may provide direct evidence of bottle gourd and paper mulberry (Horrocks, 2004). Other types of microscopic biogenic silica, notably diatoms and sponge spicules, are extracted along with phytoliths during preparation. Diatoms are unicellular algae found in aquatic and sub-aquatic environments and have cell walls composed of silica. Sponges, exclusively aquatic, are multi-cellular animals with an internal skeleton often composed of siliceous spicules. Diatoms and sponges are found in both marine and freshwater environments.

The sample was prepared for phytolith analysis by density separation with sodium polytungstate (specific gravity 2.3) (Horrocks, 2005). At least 100 phytoliths were counted and the slide was scanned for types not found during the count.

Analysis of starch and other residues

This analysis includes starch grains and other plant material such as calcium oxalate crystals, xylem cells and epidermal tissue. Starch is the main substance of food storage for plants and is found in high concentrations of microscopic grains in underground stems (e.g. tubers, corms), and roots and seeds (Torrence and Barton, 2006). It may provide direct evidence of Polynesian starch crops, namely kumara (Ipomoea batatas), taro (Colocasia esculenta) and yams (Dioscorea spp.), and European crops such as potato (Solanum tuberosum) (Horrocks et al., in press).

Starch and other residues were prepared for analysis by density separation with sodium polytungstate (specific gravity 1.7) (Horrocks, 2005). The slide was scanned for starch and other significant material, and presence/absence noted.

Results

Pollen

Fragments of microscopic charcoal were found in the Omata sample. The pollen (and spore) assemblage of the sample is dominated by the tall trees rata (Metrosideros) and rewarewa (Knightia) and Cyathea tree ferns (Fig. 1). Other ferns, namely bracken (Pteridium) and those with mono-locale spores, also feature significantly. Rimu (Dacrydium) and other podocarp trees are barely represented. Small amounts of pine (Pinus) tree pollen and hornwort (Anthocerotae) spores were
also found.

Phytoliths

The phytolith assemblage of the sample is dominated by spherical verrucose and especially spherical spinulose phytoliths (Fig. 2). Several other significant types of phytoliths were found in moderate to small amounts, notably spherical nodular, spherical smooth, chionocloid, festucoid, panicoid and bulliform. One other type of biogenic silica, namely sponge spicules, was also found in a small amount.

Starch and other residues

Numerous degraded starch grains and xylem cells consistent with tuberous roots of kumara were found in the sample. The grains showed soil-staining, expansion and distortion of the grain and vacuole, loss of the Maltese cross, pitting, cracking, fragmentation and disintegration. The xylem showed similar soil-staining, occasional cracking, cross-wise fragmentation, with wall pits becoming progressively less visible or showing distortion, expansion and coalescence. These features have been described by Horrocks et al. (2007) for kumara starch in archaeological soil samples from elsewhere in the North Island.

Interpretation

The presence of pine (exotic) pollen in the pit sample from Omata indicates that it was used in European times (Fig. 1). Alternatively, if the sampling site is free-draining, the pine pollen may have percolated down into pre-historic deposits.

Together with the charcoal and low values for rimu and other podocarps, the bracken, hornwort and monolete fern spores in the sample reflect burning of vegetation in the area (Fig. 1). Bracken, an invasive ground fern with widely dispersed spores, is often abundant in New Zealand pollen assemblages of the last millennium and is commonly associated with large scale, repeated burning of forest by people. It may form dense stands, averaging 1-2 m tall, over extensive areas. Hornworts are inconspicuous plants that colonise freshly exposed soils. Approximately half of New Zealand’s numerous fern species (211) have monolete
spores (Large and Braggins, 1991), most of which are difficult to differentiate in fossil deposits. Cyathea tree ferns are common in gullies in fernland. Notwithstanding this evidence of vegetation disturbance, the abundance of fern spores in the sample is partly due to their superior resistance to degrading micro-organisms compared with pollen. As rata and rewarewa have very locally dispersed pollen, their moderate to high percentages in the sample indicate that they grew in the immediate vicinity of the sampling site.

Phytoliths in the sample provide further insight into the local vegetation at the time (Fig. 2). Spherical spinulose phytoliths occur in palms (Areaceae) and bromeliads (Bromeliaceae) (Piperno, 2006). As New Zealand has no indigenous bromeliads, in this case this phytolith type is from nikau (Rhopalostylis) palm. New Zealand’s only representative of this family. Spherical verrucose phytoliths are common in rewarewa and Fuscospora (beech species other than silver beech) (Kondo et al., 1994). Spherical smooth phytoliths are found in rata, beech, kamahi (Weinmannia), tawa (Bielschweidina) and Cyathea. Of the grasses, chionochloid phytoliths originate from the Arundinoideae sub-family of grasses; in this case probably mainly toetoe (Cortaderia). Festucoid phytoliths are found commonly in the Pooidae sub-family of (e.g. Poa, Festuca). Panicoid phytoliths are found in the Panicoideae sub-family, some Chionochloa, toetoe and Rhytidosperma. Bulliform phytoliths are exclusively from grasses, in New Zealand originating commonly from Rhytidosperma.

There is a small amount of sponge spicules in the sample. As the site is not particularly close to the sea, this is presumably a result of people using marine or estuarine resources at the site.

Abundant starch grains and xylem cells of c.f. kumara in the pit sample suggest that the pit was used for storing the tuberous roots of this cultivated plant.

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Fig. 1 Pollen diagram from Omata, Taranaki (+ = present)

Fig. 2 Starch and percentage phytolith diagram from Omata, Taranaki (+ = present)
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