



Ceramics from the Hohi mission. Creamware (left) and pearlware (right) were the most common British ceramics from the late eighteenth century until they went out of production in the 1820s. Most pearlware vessels at Hohi were decorated with blue transfer prints. The back of the plate fragment at top right shows the bluish tint of the clear glaze that distinguishes pearlware. Clockwise from top left: University of Otago, HM.CW.1, HM.PW.8, HM.PW.3, HM.CW.18, photographs by Jessie Garland

The wide fireplaces of the houses, along with fragments from large cast-iron vessels, point to cooking in pots suspended on a crane over an open fire.⁴⁰

Among the most common household artefacts were those used for serving food and beverages. Glass bottles occurred in all parts of the site, and there were glass tumblers and stemmed drinking vessels from the two houses excavated on the upper terrace, along with remnants of metal cutlery. Tableware was the most common category of ceramics, closely followed by teawares. The majority of tableware items were plates of various sizes, including large serving platters. Notable by their absence were specialised serving vessels such as the tureens, serving bowls and sauceboats that occur regularly in later nineteenth-century sites in New Zealand. It is not clear whether this restricted range of vessel forms at Hohi is a product of choices made by the missionaries for reasons of taste or financial means, or a function of time, with a greater diversity of vessel types more widely available later in the century. Another possibility is that some vessels were well cared for and never entered the archaeological record; it has been shown that at least some of the ceramics in the Waimate mission collection had once been used by the King family at Te Puna and may have been among those they had brought to Hohi in 1814.⁴¹ As the majority of ceramic, glass and other domestic artefacts appear to be discarded because they were



Ceramics from the Hohi mission. Whiteware, which became the dominant ceramic type after the 1820s, was decorated in a range of different ways. At Hohi these included (clockwise from top left) transfer printing, shell-edging, sprigging and industrial slip. Clockwise from top left: University of Otago, HM.WW.25, HM.SH.4, HM.SPR.1, OM.IS.1, photographs by Jessie Garland

broken, it seems reasonable to infer that they are representative of those used within the households at Hohi.

The analysis of ceramics provides a basis for exploring differences within the Hohi community. While the CMS provided households with some basic items, the purchase of ceramics was predominantly or exclusively a private matter for each missionary family.⁴² It is notable, therefore, that the assortment from Kendall's house stands out from the others in its much higher proportion of teawares, indicating that this family placed a greater emphasis on this aspect of household activity.⁴³ Their ceramics were also more expensive, up-to-date and fashionable than others. These attributes are frequently associated with the expression of social status, suggesting that the Kendalls set out to portray themselves as 'better' than the other missionary families.⁴⁴ Thomas Kendall certainly saw himself as leader of the Hohi community and was accused by the others of attempting to rule it with arrogance.⁴⁵ The ceramics from his household can be seen as material evidence of Kendall's view of his position.

Smoking appears to have been a common practice at Hohi, with almost five hundred fragments from clay tobacco pipes scattered through the site. These included both plain pipes and specimens decorated with a range of geometric, floral and armorial designs. A small number are embossed with names of their makers;