

**Archives of Memory and Memories of Archive: CMS Women's
Letters and Diaries 1823-1835**

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Introduction

During the past decade I have spent considerable time in museums and libraries¹ in New Zealand, Australia and England² locating and reading material written by a group of Church Missionary Society (CMS) women teachers who worked in the Bay of Islands area in northern New Zealand.³ My specific focus has been the letters and diaries penned by Marianne Coldham Williams (1793-1879)⁴ and Jane Nelson Williams (1801-1896) who were resident at the Paihia mission station in the 1823-1835 period.⁵ Initially appointed to 'improve the condition of women in New Zealand'⁶ whose situation was described as 'far more degraded than that of males',⁷ the CMS recognised that the labour of women was essential to the success of the mission.⁸ This work and its location, was specifically defined:

No mission is rightly worked until the equal evangelisation of the sexes is possible. Religion has its stronghold in the home where women hold sway, and unless they are reached efficiently the men will be hindered in the profession of Christ, and the children will be easily steeped in bigotry and superstition. To do this work a large number of foreign women missionaries and native women helpers are required to carry on evangelistic, educational and medical work among women. Women workers are therefore absolutely essential and it is of supreme importance that their great and growing work shall be ordered aright.⁹

As 'women missionaries' and 'women workers', Marianne and Jane were required to support their husband's, care and nurture their children and the sick, attend to women in childbirth, run the household, teach in the school, host newly arrived mission families and their husband's colleagues and families during the

quarterly CMS meetings and negotiate with local traders and local Maori during their husband's frequent absences.¹⁰ The majority of this work was undertaken within the boundaries of the mission station and the mission home and was, as Jocelyn Murray points out, a necessary first step in women's entry into mission work as a paid occupation and profession.¹¹

The Paihia mission station was established in 1823 under the leadership of Henry Williams (1792-1867).¹² By 1829 there were three permanent missionary families in residence.¹³ Partly in response to their isolation, both Marianne and Jane wrote and exchanged numerous letters and journal entries within the mission community in the Bay of Islands area as well as with their wider family and parish community in Southwell (Nottinghamshire).¹⁴ A significant quantity of this correspondence has survived and been donated by the family to museums and libraries in New Zealand.¹⁵ Despite the apparent wealth of archival material available,¹⁶ as a researcher I have at times searched for needles in the haystacks of male prose.¹⁷ The numerous challenges of locating this material however incomplete, contribute to the illusive, frustrating and intoxicating charms of the archive that I have experienced.¹⁸ I have felt deeply at 'home' as I have laboured in the dust and detritus of the archive and I have been stimulated to question the nature of the 'archive' and 'home.'¹⁹

The 'dust' of the archive is nostalgic and seductive.²⁰ Archives and archival work have generated what Raphael Samuel refers to as a theatre of memory.²¹ These powerful memories include the excitement of finding an illusive reference, opening storage boxes, wearing (white) gloves to unwrap 170 year old files that are bound together,²² reading and deciphering letters, scanning signatures, locating dates, addresses, watermarks and seals to make sense of the material and the lives they expose. In reading this material I am inextricably linked with the writers in my attempts to transit their memories.²³ In numerous ways, past and present intersect in the archive. As an historian who occupies the archive, I

am therefore simultaneously the unintended and unimagined reader of the two Marianne and Jane Williams' correspondence.

This is not to suggest that these experiences are unique. Each archive as an institution is unique; its spatial formation, the organisation and classification of artefacts and memory-abilia and the process of locating and reading its material. Alan Sekula has termed this 'archivalisation'; the connection between physical space (the archive) and meanings derived from source materials within that space.²⁴ As spaces that store material about the rulers and the ruled, the silences that surround archives are deafening. The challenge therefore is to interrogate the content of the archive as well as the archive itself to reveal its privileges, silences and absences.²⁵ Who decided what material is worthy of donation or worthy of storage? What groups are privileged? Who is excluded? Whose voices are silenced and absent? What groups and individuals are on the periphery of the archive? Archives function to institutionalise historical memory and the public persona of the archive should neither be taken-for-granted nor readers seduced by its contents.

Archives are not necessarily fixed within the public gaze. Forms of archive exist that historicise memory in a variety of ways and circumstances. Arguably the archive is a space in which memories of the past are remembered, recorded and re-called. The central focus of this article is to examine ways in which the mission family home can be re-constituted as a form of archive; an archive that preserved memories of events and experiences *at* home and *as* home. Within the organisational structure of the CMS, the physical and ideological framework of the mission family 'home' was used as a site for missionary activity. The 'home' was therefore central to descriptions of missionary work and activities and operated simultaneously as an institutional and familial space. Consequently, those letters and journals produced by occupants of the Paihia home are forms of memory of work and family.

If we consider material written by women within the confines of their domestic environment as authentic historical sources, it is conceivable that the artefact and the place in which it was created is a form of institutional memory and archive. What counts as 'real' archival evidence?²⁶ Is there a possibility that institutional memory may originate from spaces other than that which is labelled 'public'? Can 'home' be the foundation of history and historical memory? What (and whose) histories do domestic interiors reveal? What is the relationship of women to domestic spaces as home and archives of memory? These questions therefore point to the possibility that house and home might operate as a form of archive because of the memories generated with/in its recesses. 'Home' as a form of archive is not an impossibility particularly as the 'archive' originated from the storage of public records in a private space. House and home should be scrutinised as a text to read for historical knowledge and as a site for the institutionalisation of memory.

Archives and Archival Records

Archives, initially created by the church or state to store administrative and legal documents were repositories of material about the rulers and the ruled. Because of their providence, archives are portrayed as transparent spaces that function as an arbitrator of the past and its records.²⁷ Archives, precisely because of their historical legacy, determine what 'counts' as official discourse and what documents contribute to the preservation, construction and public commemoration of the past.²⁸ Carolyn Steedman observes that archives are remarkable places and that archival work offers opportunities to:

rescue the unconsidered myriads of the past and write people into being . . . To enter that place where the past lives, where ink on parchment can be made to *speak*, remains still the social historian's dream, or bringing to life those who do not for the main part exist, not even between the lines of state papers and legal documents.²⁹

The image of the archive and the power of the archive to determine 'what counts' is argued in a compelling way by Derrida who reminds historians that:

the meaning of 'archive', its only meaning, comes to it from the Greek *arkheion*: initially a house, a domicile, an address, the residence of the superior magistrates, the archons, those who commanded. The citizens who thus held and signified political power were considered to possess the right to make or represent the law. On account of their publicly recognised authority, it is their home, in that place which is their house (private house, family house, or employer's house), that official documents are filed. The archons are first of all the documents' guardians. They do not only ensure the physical security of what is deposited and of the substrate. They are also accorded the hermeneutic weight and competence. They have the power to interpret the archives. Entrusted to such archons, these documents in effect speak the law: they recall the law and call on or impose the law. To be guarded thus, in the jurisdiction of this speaking the law, they needed at once a guardian and a localisation.³⁰

As an institution, the archive or *arkheion* that Derrida speaks about bridged the gap between public and private. As archives developed as public institutional spaces (the courthouse, parishes, libraries, museums, guildhalls, schools, record offices, churches, military and civil institutions), records were established as an integral part of the public domain. If archives are arbiters of public memory this therefore presumes the existence of a public³¹ and that archival material can produce narratives about how the past ought to be remembered and commemorated, if at all.³² The institution of the archive has, across time, shifted from its location as a private space in which to house public records to a publicly funded space in which private records can be located and dissected.³³

Material housed in archives is typically unpublished and in written form and is primarily donated by individuals, family or organisations with attendant guidelines regarding preservation, disclosure, access and publication. In many instances these records have passed from private hands to an institution in order to make information public in a variety of ways.³⁴ The act of gifting material to an archive, while frequently altruistic, is not in itself a neutral act. It presupposes that family members have determined that the material is worthy of preservation and that the archive deems it worthy of storage. The process of institutionalisation of memory from donation to the production of a catalogue record is subject to discrimination at both the level of the individual (family) who determine what material can be made public and the archive itself regarding what can become part of the public record.

Until recently, there has been limited attention paid to ways in which archives simultaneously produce history and are products of history.³⁵ This is particularly evident when the physical space of the archive is scanned to determine how spatially the historical past is commemorated. The spatial environment of the archive can itself be 'read' for evidence of its nostalgic recall of the past and its seductive dust. Steedman's view that archives are the repositories of memories, individual and collective, official and unofficial, licit and illicit, legitimating and subversive is difficult to overlook.³⁶ In numerous ways too, the archive itself is a 'contact zone'; between the writer/reader, reader/archive and the historian/reader who exist between the imperial past and the nostalgia of the present.

This imperial past is evident in the spatial environment of the archive. For example at the Auckland Museum and Institute Library (New Zealand), resplendent on the walls and the entrance to the archive are documents, portraits and photographs of individuals, landscapes and battlefields, weapons, and war memorabilia.³⁷ The Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington, New Zealand) curates displays that link with key national historical events and/or historical personalities

and regularly changes its focus.³⁸ At the Special Collections (University of Birmingham, UK), exhibits on display include busts of past heroes such as authors, generals and prime ministers that reflect, to a degree, the manuscripts that it houses.³⁹ These images and artefacts produce the same promontory effect that Mary Louise Pratt argues was indicative of imperialism.⁴⁰ The display of images of 'conquerors' and maps of 'new' lands are persistent reminders therefore of the dominant place of the British Empire and British imperialism.

Derrida's expression 'archive fever' captures the anxieties and excitement I have experienced undertaking the gruelling work of locating sources, make sense of texts and ascribing meaning to past events.⁴¹ Research in archives has been an embodied experience. Indelibly printed in my memory are the 'rules of engagement' surrounding access to and working in museums and libraries in numerous locations in three countries. Usually the first 'rule', has required me to register my name and research interests. In completing this requirement I am inextricably woven into the history of the archive itself.⁴² In the Mitchell Library⁴³ (Sydney, Australia) and at the University of Birmingham, the second 'rule' has stipulated that another (legitimate) reader verify my identity.⁴⁴ Thus my authenticity to engage in archival work has been legitimated via the authority of colleagues and archive/archivist. The custodians of the archive determine who might rightfully gain entrance and engage with its contents. The third rule involves mechanisms for requesting material in storage and assistance from archivists/librarians. Even though as a researcher I have engaged in the surveillance of the past via my own reading of archival material, this intellectual work has invariably subjected me to a level of surveillance. I have read and made notes via the gaze of librarians/archivists who observe how I have handled scanned and recorded information; the fourth rule of 'engagement'. Despite the 'dust' and the seduction of the archive, this work remains preoccupying, intense and solitary.

Although not all archives produce memories and readings of the physical space that I have portrayed, archival institutions do establish their institutional boundaries. Increasingly, and perhaps worryingly, the work of the professional historian or researcher is privileged.⁴⁵ Yet in a broader sense the archive remains a 'home' at least to the historian who 'goes to the archive to be at home as well as to be alone'.⁴⁶ As a 'home', it has the potential to induce a sense of private space and a connection with 'self'. As Steedman persuasively advocates:

In the project of finding an identity through the process of historical identification, the past is searched for something . . . that confirms the searcher in his or her sense of self, confirms that searcher as he or she wants to be.⁴⁷

Memory, history and narrative are thus intertwined as the historian, on one level, recalls the past and, on another level, can claim a link with those events and/or individuals in the past. Harriet Bradley has referred to this as 'the ultimate intoxication of the archive': listening to past voices while simultaneously discovering ways in which we might be inextricably linked with that past and in the process discover a sense of 'self'.⁴⁸ What is at stake here is a distinctive way of making visible both (public) memory and history that relies on written records in order that this history be re-written.⁴⁹

Archives, as repositories of the past are privileged spaces produced by the past.⁵⁰ How then might we conceptualise 'home' and the housing of the archive? How might this contribute to an enduring institutional memory? What are the implications for letters and diaries that are located on the margins of public space? What new meanings of 'archive' and 'public' can be contemplated and theorised?⁵¹

Home Histories and Archive

From an architectural perspective, public buildings such as offices, libraries, courthouses, museums, shops and churches from exterior to interior have been traditionally valued over private structures such as homes.⁵² 'Home' represented a space where activities not predominantly associated with men and public activities took place. This domestic space was defined in oppositional ways and was linked with women's identities (as wives and mothers), women's work, women's reproductive functions, the rearing of children and caring of the sick and elderly. Home was therefore a retreat from the public and was connected with the femininity, emotionality and decoration.⁵³

The nineteenth century family home was a significant site for the separation of domestic and public life that further delineated the hostile (public work and civil life) and the loving (family home). Essential to the concept of the Victorian home was the presence and work of woman's body which both produced and was partly produced by the home and its underpinning ideology of domesticity that positioned women as the moral guardians of home and family in a rapidly changing world. 'Home' as the predominant site for women's work and women's bodies, was located at the periphery of the economic, social and political world of the nineteenth century.

Alison Blunt and Ann Varley forward the argument that 'home' is not a fixed, bounded and confining location but connected with everyday practices, material cultures and social relations.⁵⁴ Although predominantly occupied by women, home provides a chart of the domestic, the personal and creates a space of belonging for individual women and their families. It is possible therefore to produce a geography or architecture of the home that charts a range of complex and contested meanings, experiences and relationships and which fragments binaries such as domestic/public, productive/reproductive, builder/occupants and work/leisure. Following the arguments of Michelle Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere,

the domestic, grounded in the physical location of the home, is interpersonal and particularistic because it stimulates relationships between and among women.⁵⁵

Janet Floyd suggests domestic spaces are complex texts that shape and are shaped by its inhabitants.⁵⁶ Housing, home, occupants, objects, activities, production and reproduction provide substantial evidence therefore of the rich material culture and 'home histories' embodied in this spatial environment.⁵⁷ These home histories reveal how social relationships within this space were shaped, the nature of men's and women's roles, segregation and socialisation within the boundaries of the home and the spatial and cultural privileging of men as head of the household and a participant in the public world. In particular, the mission home represented and (re)produced spatial and social hierarchies according to status, role and the perceived needs of the home's occupants and guests – the husband, wife, visitors, children and servants, in that order. This therefore was the model that informed the structure of the nineteenth century mission family home that simultaneously maintained 'correct' social relations and the 'correct' use of rooms for family prayer, family activities and missionary work.

The nineteenth century mission home in New Zealand was a family dwelling, domestic space, school and community meeting place. As a domestic space, the home, predominantly occupied by women was a sanctuary from the world outside the fences; a world that was deemed to be non-English and non-Christian.⁵⁸ For the CMS missionaries, home was an enduring space of belonging, intimacy, privacy, family, memory and remembering. Yet, for Nga Puhi⁵⁹ women and men, it is also a potential site of alienation, fear, dislocation and isolation and was a colonising space.⁶⁰ Maori females and males were required to reside in the home in order to attend the mission school. This school, run by CMS women, provided a differentiated curriculum that sought to reinforce the gendered, classed and raced based ways nineteenth century society was organised. The family home, in its restrictions and ordering of the lives of women, children and Maori replicated wider society. The Williams family home existed at

the intersection of the public and the domestic that produced memories and memoryabilia of its occupants and their complex relationship with a colonising agenda.

'Home' was located at juncture of family and community and the 'civilised' and 'heathen' worlds. Although the mission family home served multiple purposes, multiple memories were embedded in experiences of residing and participating in numerous activities with/in 'home'. House and home are unexplored archives about what it could mean to be a wife, mother, teacher and missionary and offer a glimpse of life with/in the gendered boundaries of a nineteenth century mission station in New Zealand. For CMS women, located in remote mission stations, house and home was not simply a private and domesticated space. 'Home' was the location of the local mission schools,⁶¹ the gathering place for the local community, a Committee room and a refuge from the outside (heathen) world. As Christian wives and mothers, CMS women were the household administrators, managed servants, organised family and were the guardians of the material culture of family and home. Thus house and home, as Amanda Vickery proposes, increasingly became a cultural institution around which family life was organised.⁶² Letters and diaries penned by CMS women are therefore an artefact of home as an institution and presents, as Vickery further argues, evidence of ways in which women categorised their lives and activities. House and home were central to the continuation of family that reinforced women's moral authority.

The material culture of the home and the histories of its inhabitants cannot be regarded solely as domestic memorabilia. In terms of the Williams family home at Paihia its inhabitants used this space to construct their own histories and record their family and missionary activities. For CMS women, on the one hand, home was the location of their reproductive and productive work yet on the other, produced feelings of intense dislocation. 'Home' also referred to England where their families and 'sisters' resided.⁶³ Letters and diaries that recall the myriad of activities that took place in the mission home contribute to the historical evidence

available to be excavated, read and committed to the historical record. Arguably, the home as a 'contact zone' acts as an archive in similar ways to the *arkheion*. As a form of institution resplendent with memories of occupants and activities, house and home has the potential to disrupt traditional (patriarchal) definitions of the archive. The example of the institutionalisation of memory within a nineteenth century mission family home is instructive here. The memories of family (private) *and* missionary (public) activities were contained within the walls of the family home. Both men and women who inhabited the Williams family quarters recorded the everyday circumstances of their lives that centred on house and home and contributed to the nostalgic recall of the past.

The recesses of the family home contained memories of family, work, dislocation, isolation, prayer and sermons, births, deaths and illnesses, relationships and the material and cultural circumstances of the Williams' lives. Although the CMS missionaries were a long way from 'home', the foundation of their family life and missionary activities was the Paihia dwelling; their home that was used as a source of evidence from which each (adult and Pakeha) occupant produced a written account of their lives. The physical act of writing/reading letters and journals re-positioned the family home as a form of archive and the contents of these artefacts were an integral part of the archival record. History and home were, therefore, inextricably linked.

Private memories in the form of kinship or genealogical memory and ostensibly private records such as letters and diaries are, to an extent, relegated to the periphery of memory thereby casting these sources at the borders of knowledge production.⁶⁴ The possibility exists therefore that these private memories might and extend the notion of the *arkheion*. The suggestion is that the *arkheion* is neither a public nor private space; a counter archive that recognises artefacts such as house and home as the carriers of memories and the written material about life with/in house and home as material evidence of the gendered boundaries and experiences of domestic and family life. Accordingly house and

home can be conceptualised as an untold archive of the domestic and this therefore reveals the possibility that this archive might contribute to destabilising the fictionality of the private.⁶⁵ Women's historical sources reveal their individual encounters with history produced *at* home and *as* home. In this respect, house and home are archives; dwelling places of critical accounts and historical knowledge. Just there is an urge to interrogate archives to reveal their partiality, there should not be a ready acceptance that material created with/in house and home is any more or less susceptible to bias or complete.

The Mission Home

The nineteenth century home, whether located in England or Paihia, confined and enclosed women, family and their work. Essential to the concept of the home was the presence and work of woman's body, which both produced and was partially produced by the home and its insistent domesticity. For the CMS community at Paihia, home was utilised as a site to produce and re-produce values and practices associated with Christianity and civilisation that were experienced in different ways for men, women, children, missionary and Maori. Significantly, these values were played out in a range of spaces within the family home; spaces that were shaped by binaries such as men/women, adults/children, master/mistress, Pakeha and Maori. The geography of the home was deeply linked with exigencies of gender, race and class and the memories produced from with/in these spaces were intimately bound up with these inclusions, exclusions and inequalities. The imagined geography of the home was, for local Maori women in the Bay of Islands area, a place in which control over their lives, activities and bodies was exercised.⁶⁶

The spatial environment of the home served several overlapping purposes. In the first instance, the home was the site of the (middle class) Christian family and the sphere of influence of Christian women as wives and mothers.⁶⁷ Christian prescriptions of femininity that drew on contemporary nineteenth century ideology positioned CMS women, as the moral guardians of home and hearth, in a central

and authoritative role within the family home.⁶⁸ Home was, accordingly, a gendered space that institutionalised middle class women's roles within the family and prescribed the limits or boundaries in which their activities were simultaneously sanctioned and remembered.⁶⁹ Although home was an institution, in addition, it was an ideological site that routinely constructed and restricted women's lives and activities in specific ways that accounted for trajectories of class, race and religion.⁷⁰

In August 1823 Marianne Coldham Williams and her husband Henry Williams arrived in the Bay of Islands in northern New Zealand to establish the third CMS mission station in the area. Henry Williams was charged with the task of establishing a 'Christian institution . . . and the headquarters of the whole mission to this part of New Zealand'.⁷¹ Because of its inherent importance to the mission community, a home was the first building erected, followed by an implement shed, schoolroom and chapel. New families that arrived in the Bay of Islands resided with the Henry and Marianne whilst they built their dwelling or waited for instructions regarding their final destination.⁷² This extended use of the family home was not unusual either for the Williams' or for the colonial environment. The Williams family home in Nottingham England housed the wider family at various times and for various lengths of time and this tradition was continued in New Zealand.⁷³

As reported by Marianne within three months of her arrival:

We are here living in a rush house with 4 apartments, ten feet each by fifteen. Half we occupy, half, the carpenter, his wife and 3 children. These latter neighbours are more trouble than all our other difficulties, as they are just the age of our children, our hut though built of rush is hung round with the green stuff I bought for the inside tent. The top is covered with the white part or outside of the tent, and is exceedingly comfortable. We have a good

garden with all sorts of vegetables, orange trees and vines but no gooseberry bushes.⁷⁴

Although not a permanent dwelling, this rush house, frequently referred to as a beehive due to its shape, served as a focus for the community. In 1824 a second family home was erected. Situated close to the beach and surrounded by a series of fences,⁷⁵ this new home was a vast improvement as it contained a brick chimney and fireside⁷⁶ and 'shingles and bricks on the roof'.⁷⁷ The physical and spatial boundaries within this 'home' resonated with the patriarchal structures of the mission family.⁷⁸ There were separate rooms for the adults and children, women and men, missionary and Maori. CMS women predominantly occupied the kitchen and small parlour while CMS men occupied the study and large parlour. In 1830 Marianne and Henry moved into their permanent home and their previous dwelling was remodelled as the Paihia Girls School. Henry recorded this occasion in his journal:

In my last communication I mentioned we were about to enter our new dwelling. We have been in it nearly a month. The change is very great and Mrs W already experiences an important change in her domestic duties. The children also are more orderly and correct in their behaviour...also the native girls and boys. We trust we shall experience much savings of time in every branch of duty besides the comfort of having our household ordered according to the good English fashion, the little building which we have so long inhabited, my Brother at present occupies; but we propose to convert it into a Girls' school as soon as vacant.⁷⁹

Thus in making home permanent, the Williams secured memory with/in home as an enduring record of their lives and activities. As this above extract indicates, 'home' was a way to simultaneously reconcile the past with the expectation of a

'progressive' future; a future articulated by the 'change in [her] domestic duties' and the 'orderly and correct' behaviour of the children. Creating an orderly Christian home was a traditional expression of 'good English fashion'. In 1825 Henry's brother, William Williams (1800-1878)⁸⁰, and his wife, Jane Nelson Williams joined the missionary couple in the Paihia mission station until they moved inland to the Waimate mission in May 1835. During this time Marianne bore seven of her eleven children⁸¹ and Jane bore four of her seven children.⁸² The arrival of family members⁸³ and the extension of family through children were instrumental in re-shaping the Williams home as a form of institution.

'Home' was simultaneously a dwelling for the extended Williams families, their children, servants, missionary couples and a location for evangelical work associated with the Paihia mission. Missionary men were obliged to provide the society with written accounts of their work and this task was accomplished in the parlour. At times Henry Williams, as leader of the mission, was not able to record entries in his diary and Marianne herself completed the necessary work. For example in her diary in March 1828, Marianne commented that:

Henry mentioned his distress about his journal. I offered to copy it for him, 18 pages closely written. I tried how much I could do in one hour in order to calculate how much time it would take.⁸⁴

This was not an isolated incident. Later that same month Marianne noted that again she 'sat copying his [Henry's] journal'⁸⁵ and 'despite a violent headache' completed journal entries in Henry's absence.⁸⁶ This therefore suggests that the 'official' archive or record of missionary activities in the Paihia mission forwarded by CMS men to the Parent Body may contain material copied by women or women's recollections of events. And while a reader in the archive might not directly access CMS women's manuscripts, inevitably s/he might stumble on prose that these women may have contributed. This therefore points to the suggestion that

nature of the archive and archival records might contain incomplete or partial accounts and that 'memory' and 'history' might therefore be distorted.⁸⁷

Due in part to the location of Henry Williams as leader of the mission at Paihia, house and home were an integral part of the institution of the CMS as a missionary organisation. Activities hosted within the Williams home included Quarterly meetings of missionaries from Rangihoua, Paihia, Kerikeri and Waimate,⁸⁸ the induction of newly arrived missionaries and the creation of a space for Henry to conduct his missionary business. Although Henry may have officiated at these occasions, it was Marianne who was required to host the missionaries, their families and their 'Natives'. Consequently, Henry's accounts of the Quarterly meetings contain details of store accounts, baptisms, salaries, progress of the various schools in the Bay of Islands area and planned excursions for the next three months. Marianne's journal provides a counter narrative that illustrates the inevitable domestic numerous tasks to be completed, the expansion of the household and the difficulties that these meetings invariably caused. For example a passage written in 1828 confirms the toll that committee week took:

This present Thursday has been quite a calm after the bustle of the week. It has been our Committee week. Poor Jane has been so unwell that I persuaded her off to Kerikeri on Saturday. Thus on Monday I had thirteen native girls, eight children and a rainy morning to keep them all indoors, and in the midst of it, to provide dinner for eighteen people. I had however a commodious kitchen and fireplace, the fruit of my husband's labour, a large oven, and a good size dining room. Also a pantry filled with good things on Saturday previous. It is somewhat singular that when I had to cook out of doors, and to beg of one neighbour to bake a joint and another to boil a pudding, I never had wet weather on the Committee week. Past recollections made me thankful for

present circumstances. I marshalled my troops, penned the children in the dining room, with access to the boys' bedroom; carefully closing the door of mine, in which were deposited knives, spoons and peaches. I set four girls to wash in an out building, got Mary Ann Davis to fix work for the supernumeraries and what with nursing, cooking and scraping potatoes found each a station. My servants acquitted themselves well. The guests adjourned for Committee business. I gave my little ones supper, had the sandwiches cut and everything cleared away, the children in bed etc, just in time for the prayer meeting, which I was able to attend by leaving my trusty little daughter to watch the baby. This was a great refreshment after so much toil.⁸⁹

As the above extract indicates, at various times and in various ways the mission home was re-constituted as a family home, meeting space, teaching space and community dwelling. Home was therefore neither a wholly private nor public space. Furthermore, house and home was not a neutral location and served to define the duties and activities of men/women, adult/children, teacher/pupil and missionary/heathen as Marianne's account above indicates. Just as the archive represents a 'contact zone', so too was the mission family home.

From its inception, mission and missionary work centred on the family home in several related ways. The primary objective of the Paihia mission was to 'promote the glory of God by the promulgation of the Gospel of Christ according to the doctrines and disciplines of the Church of England amongst the heathen'.⁹⁰ The CMS was explicit in the instructions issued to the missionary couple:

In the education of female children and in the general improvement of the condition of women in New Zealand, we doubt not but Mrs Williams, next to the care of your own children, will readily contribute all that may be in her power; and we have

the best hope that you will exhibit to the natives the instructive example of a happy Christian family.⁹¹

Because tasks such as the 'education of female children', 'the improvement of the condition of women in New Zealand', and the 'care of your own children' were located within the bonds of 'a happy Christian family', in an unconscious way the CMS reinforced the institution of the home as a site of/for mission work. This was justified in terms of a strategy that increasingly accepted the role of women and family in their imperial project. Thirdly, the moral and ethical superiority of women was emphasised in particular by evangelicals who sought to deliberately utilise the apparent religious power of women to redeem 'other' women in mission fields in places such as India, Africa and New Zealand.⁹² The mission family home was therefore located at the centre of the evangelising project.

Marianne and Jane Williams' roles as Christian wives, mothers and missionary teachers were connected in complicated and contradictory ways. Precisely because these two CMS women epitomised the values of Christian and middle class domesticity and respectability, Marianne and Jane's work was extended to teaching Nga Puhi women and girls.⁹³ The ideology of domesticity and piety was extended to justify CMS women's participation and collaboration in the 'ideological work of Empire'.⁹⁴ Although Marianne and Jane initially conducted lessons from within their home, in order to fulfil their obligations to the CMS they relied on the (unwaged) domesticated labour of Nga Puhi women to undertake household chores and care for the Williams children.⁹⁵ These tasks provided a measure of domestic relief for Marianne and Jane and simultaneously 'taught' Nga Puhi women the essential skills and knowledge required to re-form them as Christian wives and mothers. More significantly the hierarchy of missionary/Native⁹⁶, teacher/pupil, mistress/servant further reinforced differences between CMS women and Nga Puhi women, frequently cited as 'degraded' and 'savage' heathen.⁹⁷ Home therefore shaped relationships between coloniser and colonised and created what Alison Twells refers to as a cultural hierarchy.⁹⁸

Home was therefore a site that was specifically intended as a mechanism of rescue and the reclamation of 'other' women.⁹⁹ On another level, house and home functioned as an institution to re-form its Nga Puhi pupils via the schooling they received.

There were several practices with/in house and home that located Nga Puhi at the periphery of the household and, by implication, at the margins of the archive. Being at 'home' simultaneously restricted and confined Nga Puhi women and offered Marianne and Jane Williams a sense of place within their 'mission of domesticity'.¹⁰⁰ Thus the home was a site of struggle over the re-formation of Nga Puhi women as well as resistance to the ameliorative impulses of the missionary agenda. Within the spatial boundaries of the mission home, Marianne and Jane shared a consensus about family, marriage and Christianity that positioned Pakeha (white) women in a superior role to Nga Puhi women and men. Home was a safe environment that shielded the two CMS women from the dangers that were imagined in the local landscape.¹⁰¹ For Nga Puhi women, the mission family home provoked resistance to attempts to re-create them as Maori Christian women. In these two examples of 'home' simultaneously reinforced middle class evangelical values and the subjugation of Nga Puhi women to the Christian 'ideal. Furthermore, for both CMS and Nga Puhi women, the mission home conveyed the powerlessness of both groups of women; against the environment and the legacies of empire that connected their histories.¹⁰²

CMS missionaries were concerned about the interaction between their own children and Nga Puhi children. Apprehension was evident in Samuel Marsden's correspondence regarding 'the situation of the missionaries children' and his anxiety that 'improprieties will take place between the Natives and the European children'.¹⁰³ The 'passions of Youth' and 'improper intimacies with the Native Youths' were seen as a responsibility of the 'pious Parent'.¹⁰⁴ In an attempt to address this problem, the CMS missionaries in Paihia ensured that missionary and Nga Puhi children occupied different sleeping quarters. In 1828 Jane

Williams recorded her delight that 'a more substantial abode' was to be built with the added benefit of a room 'of sufficient size to accommodate the female children' and that 'every precaution will be taken to prevent their coming in contact with the strange natives that visit us'.¹⁰⁵ Surveillance practices with/in the mission household ensured that there was a separation between male/female, Christian/heathen and adult/child and replicated the boundaries of nineteenth century society.

The apparent widening of the focus of women's work and influence was indirectly extended to mission fields that were aligned with the regeneration of bodies and souls of those considered in need of rescue.¹⁰⁶ Thus the rhetoric of domesticity was co-opted to simultaneously broaden (Christian, middle class and white) women's influence within the home and the homes of those considered in 'need' of the redemptive possibilities of the intervention of missionary women in their lives. In directing its female missionaries to 'labour amongst the heathen'¹⁰⁷, the intention was for CMS women to work *at* home and *in* the home to ensure that domestic labour was undertaken to the benefit of the mission family and community.

Primarily CMS women utilised house and home for their family and educative activities. Both Marianne and Jane identified with home as the central way in which their lives as wives, mothers and educators was defined and organised. Within the interiors of their homes they were able to undertake their duties and contribute to the 'general improvement of the condition of women in New Zealand'.¹⁰⁸ This essentially involved constant surveillance of Nga Puhi women and the re-making of their bodies to re-produce Christian Maori women.¹⁰⁹ In their roles as colonisers of Nga Puhi women, Marianne and Jane acted as custodians of the body and these bodies were evidence of the contribution of their work in meeting CMS objectives. Letters and diaries therefore were co-opted to provide written verification of their work and in transferring this information to a written

form to be distributed among their female network, Marianne and Jane were acting as custodians of the archive.

Although the letters and diaries of Marianne and Jane Williams provide an insight into their everyday lives and activities, these accounts present a privileged view. House and home were subject(ed) to the authoritative gaze of missionary women who sought to legitimate their activities and sanction their intervention in the lives of Nga Puhi women via the texts they produced. In other words, Marianne and Jane were the voices of 'imperial authority'.¹¹⁰ What is missing from these texts, the archive of house and home are the voices of Nga Puhi women. Readers are offered the CMS women's views of their 'useful girls'¹¹¹ and domestics'.¹¹² As a researcher and reader of these texts, I can only glimpse at scenes to re-view strategies of resistance Nga Puhi women engaged in to reject attempts to colonise their minds and souls.¹¹³ It is not a theoretical leap to suggest that the marginalisation of sources for/about women in public archives has been extended to the *arkheion* that has rendered invisible the active voice of Nga Puhi women.

The mission house and home was a critical site for history. Its interior recesses were legitimate archives for the telling and re-telling of events and the lives of individuals who resided within its walls. In this respect, house and home as the dwelling place of history, memory making and memory-abilia is both archive and *arkheion*. The letters and diaries produced in the *arkheion* prize open the private to make it public thereby preserving individuals and events with/in the realm of public memory. And, like the public archives, certain individuals and spaces were privileged with the home as the *arkheion*, individuals and events were cast to the margins and house and home institutionalised memories and activities. House and home were therefore the embodiment of the physical past memory that can be re-constituted across time and texts and which stands at intersection of past and present.

Their letters and diaries provide rich evidence of their memories of mission and family life and the wider activities of the CMS. Due in part to memories of house and home and the consequent institutionalisation of this work, this spatial environment can be termed an 'archive of the past'. That is, given the activities that women engaged in with/in their homes, these activities and the spaces in which they were undertaken can be read *both* as archival sites *and* as historical sources.¹¹⁴

Conclusion

Searching for evidence written about/by women about past lives and experiences has raised challenges about what counts as an archive. Archives provide a form of connection between past and present and are a form of memory storing, memory-recording and memory-making.

Records such as letters, dairies and journals that may have been considered private in the past are stored in archives as *public* accounts of the past. This therefore raises questions as to how this institutional passage from the private to the public has occurred and why private accounts by women seldom surface in public archives and as a public record of the past. The archons that Derrida speaks about are essentially patriarchal figures that make decisions about what 'counts' as an archive and what archives 'count'. I would like to add further to this and suggest we must also interrogate the archive to determine 'who counts as a historical subject', 'where are archives housed', 'who is in possession of the archive' and 'who lays claim to the knowledge produced and re-produced by archives'. Or, more significantly we should question what we recognise as archives and the extent to which the material it houses can be a usable source of/for history.¹¹⁵

The act of research with/in archives, particularly for feminist historians is a political act as we seek to re-claim women's historical presence and continue to interrogate the academy and the archive itself. What we have not fully considered

is the possibility that the archive and the institutionalisation of memory can adopt a range of forms. In particular, while we acknowledge that letters and diaries penned by women contribute to archival evidence, as this article has shown, the space in which these accounts are produced are forms of archive.

The letters and diaries of Marianne Coldham Williams and Jane Nelson Williams are fragmented accounts of lives and activities that permit historians to a glimpse of the historical past. This archival evidence reflects ways in which these two CMS women contributed to a civilising imperial mission that was conducted with/in their house and home. House and home was therefore an ideological location that served to legitimate their actions and historicise their activities as teachers and civilisers of 'other' women.

The mission family home was a form of institution that simultaneously contributed to the institutionalisation of the Christian family and the missionary project. 'Home' existed at the 'intersection of the private and public'¹¹⁶ and was a space in which privilege associated with being English, Christian and middle class reverberated to the advantage of the CMS missionaries.¹¹⁷ House and home was a symbolic and material manifestation of the civilising and Christianising agenda and can therefore reveal the extent to which historical memory was institutionalised as archive. The mission family home is an archive of the civilising agenda of the CMS and a repository of knowledge for/about women that permits the re-telling of stories across space, time and text.

¹ A. Prochaska, 'Special collections in an international perspective', *Library Trends*. 52/1 (2003), 138-150. The museum as a form of memory institution and the possibility of distortion of memory is well argued in S. Crane, 'Memory, distortion and history in the museum', *History and Theory*. 36/4 (1997), 44-63.

² These institutions have included the Auckland Museum and Institute Library, The University of Auckland Library, Auckland Public Library, Kinder Library at St

John's Theological College (Auckland), Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington), Hocken Library, University of Otago (Dunedin), Mitchell Library (State Library of New South Wales, Australia) and Special Collections (University of Birmingham, UK). Over the past decade the Auckland Museum and Institute has changed its name; originally the Auckland Institute and Museum, then the Auckland Museum and Institute, it is now the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library.

³ Locating this material has been rendered less difficult as a number of archives have published finding aids. See for example, R. Keen, *A Survey of the Archives of Selected Missionary Societies* (London: Church Missionary Society, 1968). Libraries have also produced inventories of their collections. Several of these are: *Inventory to the Williams Papers* (Auckland: Auckland Institute and Museum Library, n.d); *Church Missionary Society London: Guide to the Microfilmed Archives Relating to the Australian and New Zealand Mission 1808-1884* (Auckland: The University of Auckland, n.d); *Catalogue of Manuscripts of Australasia and the Pacific* (Sydney: Public Library of New South Wales, 1969). There has also been a number of published editions of CMS letters. See for example F. Porter, *The Turanga Journals: Letters and Journals of William and Jane Williams* (Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1974); L. Rogers (ed.), *The Early Journals of Henry Williams 1826-1840* (Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1961); C. Fitzgerald (ed.), *Letters from the Bay of Islands: The Story of Marianne Williams* (Auckland: Penguin, 2004) and S. Woods, *Marianne Williams: A Study of Life in the Bay of Islands New Zealand 1823-1879* (Christchurch: PPP Printers, 1977).

⁴ S. Williams, 'Marianne Williams', in *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 1. 1769-1869 [DNZB] (Wellington: Allen and Unwin/Department of Internal Affairs, 1990), 595-596.

⁴ R. Fisher, 'Henry Williams 1792-1867', in *DNZB*, 593-594.

⁵ F. Williams, 'Jane Williams', in *DNZB*, 594.

⁶ Instructions to Henry Williams, 6 August 1822, *Letters and Papers*, Series B, No1C, MS335, Auckland, Auckland Museum and Institute Library [AMI].

⁷ Henry Williams, 17 July 1826, *Letters and Papers*, Series B, Vol. F, MS335, AMI.

⁸ This was not unique to the New Zealand situation. The role of women in missionary work is well documented by D. Kirkwood, 'Protestant missionary women: wives and spinsters' in F. Bowie, D. Kirkwood and S. Ardener (eds.), *Women and Mission: Past and Present: Anthropological and Historical Perceptions* (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 23-42; L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1987); M. Luddy, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁹ G. Gollock, *Missionaries at Work* (London: 1898), 127.

¹⁰ Details of the life and work of these two women can be found in T. Fitzgerald, 'In a Different Voice; A Case Study of Marianne and Jane Williams, Missionary Educators in Northern New Zealand, 1823-1840'. PhD thesis, Auckland, 1995.

¹¹ J. Murray, 'The role of women in the Church Missionary Society 1799-1917', in K. Ward and B. Stanley (eds.), *The Church Mission Society and World Christianity 1799-1999* (Richmond: William B Eerdmans, 2000).

¹² R. Fisher, 'Henry Williams 1792-1867', *DNZB* Vol. 1, 593-594.

¹³ This included Henry and Marianne Coldham Williams; William and Jane Nelson Williams; William Fairburn and Sarah Tuckwell Fairburn, George and Martha Blomfield Clarke and all their respective children.

¹⁴ Southwell was the traditional family 'home' of the Williams family. For an account of letters between women in New Zealand and Southwell see T. Fitzgerald, 'Cartographies of friendship: Mapping missionary women's educational networks in Aotearoa/New Zealand 1823-1840' *History of Education*. 32/5 (2003), 513-527.

¹⁵ Mary Williams' family in England (mother-in-law of Marianne) stored all the letters she received in the 1822-1879 period (from Marianne and Henry's departure from England to Marianne's death). These letters were brought back to New Zealand in approximately 1919 by Hilda Williams (Marianne's granddaughter). On Hilda's death in 1939, her brother Algar Williams stored and transcribed these letters. On his death in 1965, the original letters were gifted to the Auckland Museum and Institute Library (now known as Auckland War Memorial Museum Library). Copies of this material are available in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington and there are numerous examples of transcripts of letters held at the Alexander Turnbull that contain material additional to the transcripts at the Auckland Museum and Institute Library. See Fitzgerald, 'In a different voice'.

¹⁶ I have read approximately 280 letters and journals written by either Marianne or Jane Williams in the period 1820-1865.

¹⁷ A steadily increasing number of archives and libraries have collections that specifically focus on women and/or these institutions have produced guides to assist readers with the location of material for/about women. See for example S. Loughlin and C. Morris, *Womanscripts: A Guide to Manuscripts in the Auckland Institute and Museum Library Relating to Women* (Auckland: Auckland Museum, 1995); Church Missionary Society, *Church Missionary Society Archive Section II: Missions to Women* (England: Adam Matthew Publications, 1997). *Women's History Review* publishes details on archives that contain manuscripts related to women – see for example K. Hughes, 'Major accessions to repositories in 2001 relating to women's history', *Women's History Review*. 13/1 (2004), 105-115. Access to the Internet arguably provides another avenue to locate sources (provided that the material is catalogued [correctly] and online) – search terms such as 'women's history' yielded 21 million results (26 April 2005). Websites such as the Historical Manuscripts Commission (<http://www.hmc.gov.uk>) and the various archival organisations (for example <http://www.nram.org.nz>) provide additional databases that are regularly updated.

¹⁸ Here 'archive' refers to all institutions that collect material from the historical past. This includes but is not restricted to libraries (including schools, universities), public records offices, museums, special collections, company

offices, public repositories and digital archives (see <http://www.archives.org>). Archival material can include items such as civil and church records, maps, correspondence, pamphlets, photographs, shipping lists, poetry, songs, and human artefacts such as clothing, household items, war medals and so forth.

¹⁹ Historians of women have similarly raised questions concerning the nature of the archive as repositories of knowledge for/about women. See for example H. Buss and M. Kadar (eds.), *Working in Women's Archives: Researching Women's Private Literature and Archival Documents* (Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001).

²⁰ C. Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001).

²¹ R. Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London: Verso, 1994).

²² Here I refer to the Church Missionary Society (CMS) archives of the Paihia mission in northern New Zealand mission (1814-1840). The main New Zealand holdings are the Auckland War Memorial Museum Library (<http://www.aucklandmuseum.com>), the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington (<http://www.natlib.govt.nz>) and the major repository of CMS archival material, the Special Collections Department at the University of Birmingham (<http://www.special-coll.bham.ac.uk/>).

²³ Discussions on memory making and the role of historians include N. Zemon Davis and R. Starn (eds.), 'Memory and counter memory', *Representations*. 26, (1989); P. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (New Hampshire: University of Vermont Press, 1993).

²⁴ A. Sekula, 'Reading an archive: Photography between labour and capital', in P. Holland, J. Spence and S. Watney (eds.), *Photography/Politics* (London: Comedia, 1986), 153-161. The notion of institution that contributes to and develops new understandings is well illustrated by M. Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of a Prison* (London: Allen Lane, 1977).

²⁵ The impact of archives, archival experiences and the construction of these repositories is well documented by A. Burton, 'Archive stories: Gender in the making of imperial and colonial histories', in P. Levine (ed.), *Gender and Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 281-293.

²⁶ A. Burton, 'Thinking beyond the boundaries: Empire, feminism and the domains of history', *Social History*. 26/1 (2001), 60-71.

²⁷ T. Ballantyne, 'Rereading the archive and opening up the nation-state: Colonial knowledge in South Asia (and beyond)', in A. Burton (ed.), *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through Nation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003), 102-121.

²⁸ Archives and archival practices as well as the nature of the repository, knowledge and artefact have increasingly been commented on by historians. In particular the focus on the history of women and women's writing has contributed to these debates. Museums and libraries as contested sites is theorised in works such as S. Macdonald and G. Fyfe (eds.), *Theorising Museums* (Oxford: Blackwells, 1996). See also G. Rose, *Visual Methodologies: An Introduction to the Interpretation of Visual Materials* (London: Sage, 2001). The relationship

between researcher, archive and artefact is well argued in G. Rose, 'Practising photography: An archive, a study, some photographs and a researcher', *Journal of Historical Geography*. 26/4 (2000), 555-571. Earlier contributions to these debates include J. Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographs and Histories* (London: Macmillan, 1988) and D. Sherman and I. Rogoff, *Museum Culture: Histories, Discourses, Spectacles* (London: Routledge, 1994). See also A. Sekula, 'The body and the archive', in R. Bolton (ed.), *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (London: MIT Press, 1989), 342-388.

²⁹ C. Steedman, 'The space of memory: In an archive', *History of the Human Sciences*. 11/4 (1998), 68-69. The History of Human Sciences forum (1997) was dedicated to an examination of the 'archive'.

³⁰ J. Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1.

³¹ J. Le Goff, *History and Memory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992).

³² T. Osborne 'The ordinariness of the archive', *History of the Human Sciences*. 12/2 (1999), 51-64.

³³ For further explanation of this point see Osborne, 'The ordinariness of the archive'.

³⁴ M. Lynch, 'Archives in formation: Privileged spaces, popular archives and paper trails', *History of the Human Sciences*. 12/2 (1999), 65-87.

³⁵ P. Joyce, 'The politics of the liberal archive', *History of the Human Sciences*. 12/2 (1999), 35-49.

³⁶ Steedman, 'The space of memory'.

³⁷ A possible explanation for these display items might be due in part to the library being a part of the museum and readers must journey through the 'New Zealanders at War Information Centre' to gain access to the library.

³⁸ This might be partially explained by the multiple functions of this institution. For details of exhibits, events, seminars that contribute to these displays see <http://www.natlib.govt.nz>.

³⁹ For details on the University of Birmingham archives see E. Ives and C. Penney, 'The University of Birmingham and its archives: Higher education and society, 1880-1980', *Archives*. XX/88 (1992), 269-85. The first transfer of material from the CMS to the University of Birmingham took place in 1979 and the second in 1986; for details see <http://www.mundus.ac.uk/cats/44/1215.htm>.

⁴⁰ M. L. Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (Routledge: New York, 1992).

⁴¹ For an explanation of the history of the archival profession see B. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

⁴² S. Crane, 'Memory, distortion and history in the museum', *History and Theory*. 36/4 (1997), 44-63.

⁴³ A part of the State Library of New South Wales. See <http://www.sl.nsw.gov.au>.

⁴⁴ For a more comprehensive discussion on archives and associated practices see P. Levine, 'History in the archives: The Public Record Office and its staff 1838-1886', *English Historical Review*. CI (1986), 20-41.

⁴⁵ A cursory glance at the register of readers and observation of practices, suggest that genealogists are more likely to occupy the Reading Rooms.

⁴⁶ Steedman, 'The space of memory', 70.

⁴⁷ Steedman, *Dust*, 73.

⁴⁸ H. Bradley, 'The seduction of the archive: Voices lost and found', *History of the Human Sciences*. 12/2 (1999), 107-122.

⁴⁹ M. Aymard, 'History and memory: Construction, deconstruction and reconstruction', *Diogenes*. 201 (2004), 7-16.

⁵⁰ Lynch, 'Archives in formation'; M. Sebastian, *The Enterprise of Reading Differently: The Novels of Shashi Deshpande in Postcolonial Arguments* (New Delhi: Prestige, 2000).

⁵¹ P. Joyce, 'The politics of the liberal archive', *History of the Human Sciences*. 12/2 (1999), 35-49.

⁵² This point is well argued in texts such as A. Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses and Women 1870-1900* (Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); B. Inga and J. Floyd (eds.), *Domestic Space: Reading the Nineteenth Century Interior* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1999).

⁵³ L. Walker, 'Home making: An architectural perspective', *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 27/3 2002, 823-835.

⁵⁴ A. Blunt and A. Varley, 'Geographies of Home', *Cultural Geographies*. 11 (2004), 3-6.

⁵⁵ M. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds.), *Women, Culture and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974).

⁵⁶ J. Floyd 'Coming out of the Kitchen: Texts, contexts and debates', *Cultural Geographies*. 10 2004, 61-73.

⁵⁷ T. Schlereth and J. Foy *American Home Life 1880-1930: A Social History of Spaces and Services* (Knoxville, University of Tennessee Press, 1992).

⁵⁸ For further discussion on the landscape and boundaries in the Paihia mission community see T. Fitzgerald, 'Fences, boundaries and imagined communities: Re-thinking the construction of early mission schools and communities in New Zealand 1823-1830', *History of Education Review*. 30/2 (2001), 14-25.

⁵⁹ Nga Puhi are the local iwi [people] of the area. In this article the terms Nga Puhi and Maori are at times to describe the local people in the Bay of Islands area.

⁶⁰ The contribution of missionary women to the imperial project is well argued in A. Burton, *Burdens of History: British Feminists, Indian Women and Imperial Culture 1865-1915* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); A. Stoler and F. Cooper (eds.), *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997); J. Haggis, 'White women and colonialism: Towards a non-recuperative history', in C. Midgley (ed.), *Gender and Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 45-75.

⁶¹ There were separate schools established for Maori females, Maori males and the female and male children of the CMS community. See Fitzgerald, 'In a different voice'.

⁶² A. Vickery, *The Gentleman's Daughter: Women's Lives in Georgian England* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1998).

⁶³ Women's friendships and deep commitment to sisterhood is examined in Fitzgerald, 'Cartographies of friendship'.

⁶⁴ H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).

⁶⁵ A. Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive: Women Writing House, Home and History in Late Colonial India* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 28.

⁶⁶ T. Fitzgerald, 'Creating a disciplined society: CMS women and the re-making of Nga Puhī women 1823-1835', *History of Education Review*. 32/1, 84-98.

⁶⁷ L. Davidoff and C. Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780-1850* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1987).

⁶⁸ J. Haggis and S. Schech, 'Meaning well and global good manners: Reflections on white western feminist cross-cultural praxis', *Australian Feminist Studies*. 15/3 (2000), 387-399.

⁶⁹ Women's literary practices and ways in which these were confined to the domestic environment is well theorised by C. Smith-Rosenberg, *Nineteenth Century Women Learn to Write* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1995).

⁷⁰ For further comment see Fitzgerald, 'Cartographies of friendship'.

⁷¹ Josiah Pratt to Henry Williams, 20 July 1820, Extracts from the letters of Henry Williams and Marianne Williams, MS2409, Alexander Turnbull Library [ATL].

⁷² For example William and Jane Williams resided in Paihia for ten years until directed to an inland station at Waimate in 1835. Similarly William and Sarah Tuckwell lived with Marianne and Henry for several years after their arrival.

⁷³ P. Gillespie, 'Gifted Words: The Life and Writing of Marianne Coldham Williams 1793-1879', MA thesis, Auckland, 1996.

⁷⁴ Marianne Williams, 13 November 1823. Williams Papers, Box 8, Folder 74, Item 498, MS91/75 A(i)a, AMI.

⁷⁵ Fitzgerald, 'Fences, boundaries and imagined communities'.

⁷⁶ Jane Williams, 25 September 1826, *Letters and Journals*, Vol. 2, 44, qMS2226, ATL.

⁷⁷ Marianne Williams, 28 November 1823, *Letters and Journals*, Vol. 1, 57, qMS2225, ATL.

⁷⁸ C. Hall, *White, Male and Middle class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Oxford, Polity Press, 1992).

⁷⁹ Henry Williams, *Journal 11 November-3 December 1830*, 44, CN/M6, University of Birmingham [BHU].

⁸⁰ F. Porter, 'William Williams 1800-1878', *DNZB*, 597-598.

⁸¹ Three children were born in England Edward Marsh Williams (1818-1909), Marianne (Totty) Williams (1820-1919) and Samuel Williams (1822-1907). One child Henry Williams (1823-1904) was born three months after Marianne's arrival in New Zealand. See Fitzgerald, *Letters from the Bay of Islands*, 250.

⁸² Jane married William shortly before their departure to New Zealand.

⁸³ In 1832 Marianne's sister Maria Coldham arrived in Paihia. Her role as a single woman missionary was to assist with the local school. For further discussion of the role of single women in the CMS mission stations see T. Fitzgerald, 'To unite their strength with ours: Women and missionary work in Aotearoa New Zealand 1827-1845', *The Journal of Pacific History*. 39/2 (2004), 147-161.

⁸⁴ Marianne Williams, 18 March 1828. *Letters and Papers, 1783-1844, Series B, Vol. F, MS335, AMI*.

⁸⁵ Marianne Williams, 24 March 1828. *Letters and Papers, 1783-1844, Series B, Vol. F, MS335, AMI*.

⁸⁶ Marianne Williams, 1 April 1828. *Letters and Papers, 1783-1844, Series B, Vol. F, MS335, AMI*.

⁸⁷ Crane, 'Memory, distortion and history in the museum'.

⁸⁸ Rangihoua was established in 1814; Kerikeri 1819; Paihia 1823; Waimate 1830. These stations are all located in the Bay of Islands area. Quarterly meetings were to be held at a different station each time.

⁸⁹ Marianne Williams, 7 September 1828, 31-32, Typescripts concerned with the career of Henry Williams and his Family, Missionaries, n.d. MS1093, Hocken Library, University of Otago [DU].

⁹⁰ *Laws and Regulations of the Church Missionary Society Part II, Church Missionary House, (London, CMS, 1833), 7.*

⁹¹ Instructions to Henry Williams, 6 August 1822, *Williams Papers, Box 2 Folder 19, Item 105, MS91/75 A(i)a, AMI*.

⁹² A Burton, 'The white women's burden: British feminists and 'the Indian women' 1865-1915', in N. Chaudhuri and M. Strobel, *Western Women and Imperialism: Complicity and Resistance* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1992), 119-136.

⁹³ Fitzgerald, 'To unite their strength with ours'.

⁹⁴ Burton, *Burdens of History*, 152.

⁹⁵ Marianne Williams had 11 children in the period 1818-1837; three children were born prior to her departure from England and she had a child approximately every two years after her arrival in New Zealand. Jane Williams had 9 children between 1826 and 1846. Prior to Jane and William's departure from Paihia in 1833, there were 12 children to look after (both Edward and Marianne, the children of Henry and Marianne assisted with missionary work from 1832 onwards).

⁹⁶ This term is constantly used in missionary papers. See for example Jane Williams, 19 August 1828, *Letters and Papers, 1783-1844, Series B, Vol. F, MS335, AMI*.

⁹⁷ Henry Williams to Dandeson Coates, 13 May 1826, *Letters to Church Missionary Society from Henry Williams, n.d., Vol. 1, 145, typescript, qMS2230, ATL*.

⁹⁸ A. Twells, 'Let us begin at home: Class, ethnicity and Christian motherhood in the writing of Hannah Kilham, 1774-1832', in E. Janes Yeo (ed.), *Radical Femininity: Women's Self-representation in the Public Sphere* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998), 25-51.

⁹⁹ For a further discussion of ways in which Maori were re-shaped see K. Rountree, 'Re-making the Maori female body', *Journal of Pacific History*. 35/1 (2000), 49-66.

¹⁰⁰ J. Haggis, 'Ironies of emancipation: Changing configurations of 'women's work' in the 'mission of sisterhood' to Indian women', *Feminist Review*. 65 (2000), 108-126.

¹⁰¹ For further discussion of this point see Fitzgerald, 'Fences, boundaries and imagined communities'.

¹⁰² For an expansion of arguments concerning women's role in the maintenance of imperial ideologies see V. Ware, *Beyond the Pale: White Women, Racism and History* (London, Verso, 1992).

¹⁰³ Samuel Marsden to the Lay Secretary, 8 February 1830, *Committee Minutes, 1799-1884*, MC, The University of Auckland [AU].

¹⁰⁴ *Committee Minutes, 1799-1884*, AU.

¹⁰⁵ Jane Williams, 22 September 1828, *Letters and Journals*, Vol. 2, 100, qMS2225, ATL.

¹⁰⁶ M. Rutherford, *Women and the White Man's God: Gender and Race in the Canadian Mission Field* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2002); R. Semple, *Missionary Women: Gender, Professionalism and the Victorian Idea of Christian Mission* (Rochester: The Boydell Press, 2003) charts the development of the professionalisation of women's missionary work in the LMS with particular attention to India and China; Bowie, *Women and Missions* provides an account of women's missionary work in Africa and ways in which these women sought to transform African women's lives and families.

¹⁰⁷ Edward Bickersteth to Henry Williams, 22 May 1823, CN/L1, 160, University of Birmingham [BHU].

¹⁰⁸ Instructions to Henry Williams, 6 August 1822, *Williams Papers*, Box 2 Folder 19, Item 105, MS91/75 A(i)a, AMI.

¹⁰⁹ Rountree, 'Re-making the Maori female body'.

¹¹⁰ Burton, *Burdens of History*.

¹¹¹ Henry Williams, September 1831, *Church Missionary Record, 1830*, Vol. II, No. 9, 202, Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales [ML].

¹¹² Jane Williams to Lydia Marsh, 27 March 1828, *Letters and Papers*, Series A, No. 132, MS335, AMI.

¹¹³ Fitzgerald, 'Creating a disciplined society'.

¹¹⁴ Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive*.

¹¹⁵ N Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon Tales and their Tellers in Sixteenth Century France* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1987).

¹¹⁶ Burton, *Dwelling in the Archive*, 4.

¹¹⁷ C. Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination 1830-1867* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).