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INTERMARRIAGE: ITS ROLE AND IMPORTANCE WITHIN EARLY NEW ZEALAND SHORE WHALING STATIONS.

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Emily V. Owen
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INTRODUCTION

Early contact history in New Zealand involved many hard working rugged European men who came to our shores to work as sealers, flax and timber traders as well as whalers, and their interaction with Māori who lived in and visited the areas which they frequented. It is the last of these men, the whalers who provide the context for this thesis. School history lessons and general New Zealand history books generally discuss whaling within New Zealand waters. Some provide enough information to give their audience a general understanding of some aspects of New Zealand's whaling history, while others contain so little that one might think that whaling had no impact on New Zealand's past. However this is not true; whaling had a significant impact in New Zealand's past and this impact has continued through to our contemporary society. Whaling had many consequences within early nineteenth century New Zealand, including the introduction of new commodities to Māori, such as tobacco, clothing, European tools and muskets which would all, to some extent, begin to change their traditional way of life. Interaction between whalers and local Māori brought on cultural changes. This interaction came in many forms, often through trade, but also the relationships between Māori women and European whalers. It is these relationships which are the focus of this thesis.

Relationships between Māori women and European whalers started occurring when whaling ships began calling on New Zealand shores at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Often these relationships involved only fleeting encounters, but still they were the beginning of a trend which would, within the next forty years, see many shore whalers legally marry Māori women. This thesis deals with shore whalers who began to arrive in New Zealand during the late 1820s rather than the earlier deep sea whalers who called on Kororareka in the Bay of Islands. While deep sea whalers were the first to form relationships with Māori women they were in many respects different to shore whalers. Shore whalers were required to stay on shore for months at a time as opposed to a few

days like deep sea whalers this meant they required different things from Māori they interacted with. This thesis will look at the relationships and marriages between European shore whalers from various locations along New Zealand's coastline and local women from the late 1820s through to 1845, discussing their role and importance within early New Zealand whaling stations.

When whaling ships called on New Zealand they did so to gain necessities such as water, wood and food. During these brief visits there was often interaction between ships crew and Māori. Māori, especially in the upper North Island and Marlborough Sounds area, had some experience in dealing with foreign visitors and had established some trading skills. Prior to calls from whaling vessels some Māori had interacted with European explorers such as Cook and Durville, when Māori began to learn the benefits of trade. Although Māori along various parts of New Zealand's coastline had been exposed to European culture and technologies, visits by Europeans had been infrequent and intermittent resulting in limited cultural change. However, Māori clearly remembered previous European visits and these experiences helped to shape their interaction with the first whalers. This thesis will show that the continuing desire of Māori to trade played a vital part in the establishment, growth and survival of New Zealand's first onshore whaling stations.

There is much debate amongst historians as to the commencement date and location of New Zealand's first onshore whaling station. Robert McNab acknowledges that John Guard told Colonel Wakefield on the Tory that he entered Tory Channel in 1827, however McNab believes that although Te Awaitei was New Zealand's first onshore whaling station whaling did not actually commence until 1829.¹ However, Rhys Richards insists that Preservation Inlet was the first station preceding Te Awaitei, and was established in either 1828 or 1829.² Primary source

¹ Robert McNab, *The Old Whaling Days: A History of Southern New Zealand from 1830 to 1840*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1913, pp.2-3.

² Rhys Richards, *'Murihiku' Re-Viewed: A Revised History of Southern New Zealand from 1804 to 1844*, Wellington: Te Toa Haeretahi/The Hand-in-Press, 1995, p.49.

material also offers differing years and locations for New Zealand's first onshore whaling station. It is difficult to tell from sources now available as to an exact date and place that shore whaling operations began. Lawrence Rickard claims that while the year and location that shore whaling commenced 'cannot now be established with certainty' it is certain that it was either at Preservation Inlet or Te Awaiti in 1827 or 1829, an opinion that my research supports.³

Shore whaling stations began appearing along the New Zealand short period, within two decades of its commencement the industry had virtually died out, as Rickard notes whaling 'was virtually dead in New Zealand.'⁴ Most stations began to decline in the late 1830s and by the mid 1840s many whalers had left to pursue other occupations. During the whaling boom the majority of stations were located in and around Hawkes Bay on the East Coast of the North Island, Taranaki, both sides of Cook Strait and the South East of the South Island. This thesis explores six main areas some of which were home to more than one station. The areas this thesis focuses on are Waikouaiti, Otakou, the Marlborough Sounds, Kapiti and Mana Islands, and Mahia. The whaling sites selected as case studies for this thesis were picked to give an overall view of the role and importance of intermarriage within shore whaling stations throughout New Zealand; to gain an overall picture of what happened and why a range of geographical locations were selected.

Although there was significant whaling activity in the Bay of Islands, this region has been excluded from this thesis for two main reasons. Kororareka was

³ Lawrence Sandston Rickard, *The Whaling Trade in Old New Zealand*, Auckland: Minerva, 1965, pp.54-55. Also see McNab, pp.2-3 – Rev R Taylor states that whaling began at both Preservation Inlet and Te Awaiti in 1827, however the manager from Preservation Inlet said whaling started there in 1829. For primary source evidence see- Edward Jerningham Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand*, Joan Stevens (ed.), Auckland: Viking, 1987, p.16 – States the first shore station in New Zealand was Te Awaiti in 1827 and Colonel Wakefield, 'Colonel Wakefield's Third Despatch to the New Zealand Company' in J. Ward, *Supplementary Information Relative to New-Zealand: Comprising Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, London: John W. Parker, 1840, p.27 – also states the first shore station in New Zealand was Te Awaiti in 1827.

⁴ Rickards, p.108.

the main port of call for whaling and trading ships from the late eighteenth century up until the end of the 1830s. During this time deep sea whalers interacted with local Māori on many levels; one was based on sexual contact. In Kororareka prostitution became a common form of trade. While relationships were formed between European whalers and Māori women in this time, these relationships were predominately one off encounters. This thesis will show that the types of relationships that formed in New Zealand's onshore whaling stations were significantly different to the fleeting sexual encounters which took place in the Bay of Islands between the crew of deep sea whaling ships and local Māori women. The second reason for not selecting the Bay of Islands as a location to study in this thesis is to do with Christianity. The first mission station was established at Rangihoua in the Bay of Islands in 1814 and another at Kerikeri four years later.⁵ Missionaries brought with them ideas and concepts which often appealed to Māori, the adoption of these ideals began to change Māori society. The introduction of Christianity not only changed the lives of many Māori on certain levels it also influenced other Europeans living within the vicinity of the mission. Once missionaries had converted Māori to Christianity they were less likely to be influenced by other Europeans whose ways were at times against the morals of the church. The widespread influences of Christianity in the Bay of Islands in comparison to other shore whaling stations along New Zealand's coast during their formation and heyday meant interactions between whalers and Māori women occurred in a different social environment and the results were somewhat different to what they were in settlements where European's had intermarried with Māori women considerably before the arrival of permanent missionaries.⁶

It has already been noted that shore whaling began in New Zealand during the late 1820s at Te Awaitei in the Marlborough Sounds and at Preservation Inlet.

⁵ Malcolm McKinnon, Barry Bradley and Russell Kirkpatrick (eds), *New Zealand Historical Atlas- Ko Papatuanuku e Takoto Nei*, Auckland: David Bateman Ltd in association with Historic Branch: Department of Internal Affairs, 1997, plate. 2.

⁶ A lot of research would need to be done to make any definite conclusions about the differences in the developments of whaling stations which had early permanent missionary contact as opposed to those who had none or very little contact with missionaries.

John Guard, captaining the *Waterloo*, encountered Te Awaiti during a storm which forced him and his crew to take shelter in the Bay while on their way to Sydney.⁷ During their stay in the sheltered bay Guard noticed some whales not far off shore and decided that it would be an ideal place to set up a whaling station. When Guard returned to Sydney he convinced investors Messrs Campbell and Company who he had shares in the *Waterloo* with, to invest in building a whaling station across the Tasman at Te Awaiti.⁸ Initially early New Zealand shore whaling stations were owned by overseas investors, most of whom were based in Sydney. Investors began to notice financial opportunities that onshore whaling in New Zealand could provide, and during the early 1830s many began to invest money into the building and running costs of such stations. The 1830s saw the establishment of more whaling stations in the Marlborough Sounds and the arrival of more whalers to work and live within them.⁹ John Guard established a second station at Kakapo Bay which became the permanent home for his family in 1832.¹⁰ Jimmy Jackson one of Guard's original employees also founded his own station in a cove he had purchased.¹¹ These new whaling stations, as well as Guard's original settlement, provide much information about subsequent intermarriage between European whalers and Māori women.

In 1831 the Weller brothers established a shore whaling station at Te Umu Kuri. This station, the first to be established on the Otago peninsula, became

⁷ Alister McIntosh, *Marlborough: A Provincial History*, Blenheim: Marlborough Provincial Historical Committee, 1940, p.20.

⁸ Don Grady, *Guards of the Sea*, Christchurch: Whitcoulls, 1978, pp. 38 and 41 – Grady comments that little is known about John Guards dealings in Sydney and that it can not be determined whether Messers Campbell and Company were his employers and/or associates. McNab, p.38 – also states that Guard may have had as much as a half share in the *Waterloo* a boat he captained for many years.

⁹ The whalers who lived in the Marlborough Sounds area from an early date included, Worser Heberley, John Nicol, John "Jacky" Love, Richard "Dicky" Barrett, Joseph Toms "Geordie Bolts", Arthur Elmslie, James Wymen, Billy Bundy, Jock McGregor and Jimmy Jackson. Early stations included the original at Te Awaiti and one at Kakapo Bay also owned by John Guard; two at Ocean Bay, one at Tom King's Bay, managed by an American and several at Cloudy Bay. For more information see Ernest Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand: with Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of that Country*, Volume I, London: Murray, 1843 and Christchurch, Capper Press, 1974, pp.62-64.

¹⁰ John Guard, Statement taken down from Guard by the Commissioner of Crown Lands (Nelson 31 March 1856) cited in McIntosh, p.23.

¹¹ E.J Wakefield, p.16.

known as Otakou.¹² Otakou boomed during the mid-1830s during which time it was financially backed by Edward and George Weller's father who was living in Sydney. Waikouaiti which was based further north on the Otago coastline was founded by Messrs, Long and Wright of Sydney in 1837 and purchased by John Jones the following year.¹³ Jones turned Waikouaiti into a booming station which like many others reached its heyday in the late 1830s. Together with Otakou, Waikouaiti provides information about the role, importance and significance of intermarriage in southern New Zealand.

Kapiti and Mana Islands which are located just off the western coast of the lower North Island boasted numerous whaling stations between them. The first whaling station was established on Kapiti Island in either 1829 or 1830, and the first on Mana Island in 1832.¹⁴ Due to their close proximity to the Marlborough Sounds many whalers travelled between the areas working on both sides of Cook Strait. Therefore it is common for whaler's names to appear in local histories of both areas. These areas were also dominated by one of the most significant figures in New Zealand history; Te Rauparaha, a name which appears frequently in early contact literature as well as in this thesis. Te Rauparaha's role in whaling history is significant due to his status within Māoridom at the time and his desire to interact and benefit from Europeans.

The final place included in this research, but which unfortunately contains the least primary source information, is Mahia Peninsula. The first shore whaling station was established at Mahia in the late 1830s, up until such time the Peninsula was still very remote and isolated in comparison to other whaling regions in New Zealand. The Ward brothers established a shore whaling station at Mahia in 1837

¹² Peter Entwisle, *The Otago Peninsula*, Dunedin: John McIndoe Limited, 1976, p.22.

¹³ Reminiscences of William Haberfield, *Evening Star*, Dunedin, February 14, 1891 and John Christie, *History of Waikouaiti*, Christchurch: Christchurch Press Company, 1929, p.143.

¹⁴ Rhys Richards, *Pakeha around Porirua before 1840- Sealers, Whalers, Flax Traders and Pakeha Visitors Before the Arrival of the New Zealand Company Settlers at Port Nicholson in 1840*, Wellington: Paremata Press, 2002, p.15 and Ronald William McLean, 'Dicky Barrett: Trader, Whaler, Interpreter,' M.A. Thesis, University of Auckland, 1994, p.124.

and in the same year Mr. Ellis built another nearby at Waikokopu.¹⁵ The Wards retired after the first season; Mr. Ellis subsequently took over their station.¹⁶ This thesis will show that intermarriage was as common and important in the establishment and running of whaling stations in the Mahia area, as it was in other shore whaling settlements around New Zealand.

Intermarriage is an aspect of whaling history and therefore New Zealand history which is extremely important in the understanding of our past, and one which has only had limited research time and literature devoted to it. While much could be written about intermarriage between early European whalers and local Māori women within New Zealand this thesis aims to give a general understanding of this phenomenon and in doing so it seeks to answer five key questions. The first chapter will cover the reasons and motives for intermarriage between European whalers and Māori women. This section will look not only at the agendas of the whalers and the women they formed relationships with, but also those of the chiefs of the iwi that the women belonged to. It will incorporate ideas such as the whalers need for protection, companionship and resources, and the Māori desire to have Europeans amongst them for reasons such as increased trading opportunities.

Chapter one looks at how common intermarriage was within the whaling stations and the nature of such marriages. First there will be a discussion on the various types of relationships that developed within the whaling stations between European whalers and Māori women. Subsequently there will be a discussion on the nature of such marriages. This section will explore the roles of both the Māori women and of her family and iwi who were vital players within relationships. Lastly the role that the whaler himself played will be examined; what did he contribute to the marriage and what was his role within his marriage and resulting family.

¹⁵ Thomas Lambert, *The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast*, Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd, 1925, p.366.

¹⁶ *ibid.*

Chapter two investigates how important the relationships between European whalers and Māori women were in the formation, running and survival of New Zealand's first whaling stations. This section draws upon primary source material to show how much of a role intermarriage played in the establishment of the whaling stations. It will look at whether it was easier to establish stations once intermarriage had begun or whether intermarriage was not a vital necessity. It will also address issues such as how dependent the stations and extended settlements' running and survival was on the protection, co-operation and hospitality of not only the whalers Māori wives but also of all other Māori living within its vicinity. The ways in which intermarriage benefited the iwi and how this related to the set-up and growth of the whaling settlements will also be discussed. This chapter will demonstrate the benefits intermarriage had to both the whalers and Māori who lived in and around the onshore stations.

Chapter three looks first at how the missionaries, who visited and later lived within the whaling stations where the practice of intermarriage had already become a common occurrence, viewed intercultural marriages and their subsequent children. I will then discuss how early government officials felt about practices. In this section the diaries, journals, letters and reports from those who lived in New Zealand as well as those who visited our shores however briefly will be explored to discover how outsiders to the whaling settlements viewed the marriages of fellow Europeans to Māori women. Also the views and opinions that were bestowed on the children of such relationships and marriages will be assessed. Here it will be vital to place each person's opinions in context, an issue which will be discussed later in this introduction.

Chapter four will examine the role intermarriage and subsequent family ties played in land purchases. This issue is two fold, firstly there will be a discussion about land purchases made by the whalers themselves and secondly a discussion about the purchases between land buying agents such as those on the *Tory* and Māori such as Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata, principal Māori chiefs at the

time. The *Tory* visited New Zealand on behalf of the New Zealand Company, who planned to colonize the country. The land purchasing agents on the *Tory* were sent with the objective of buying as much land as possible, something which this thesis will show they succeeded in. This chapter will aim to discover whether intermarriage, and its subsequent family ties, meant iwi were more likely to sell their land and if so why. It will look at the motives behind Māori selling their land during the 1830s and up until the mid 1840s and whether whalers ever used their new found family ties to influence such sales.

LITERATURE REVIEW

There have been many books and journals published internationally which focus on European interaction with aboriginal people in their homeland. The majority of the literature on interaction between European workers and traders with the local inhabitants of the area they were working in comes from North America. This thesis looks at intermarriage within New Zealand's shore whaling stations only and while it is not a comparative study with any other type of settler society it is important to acknowledge similar works done internationally. Internationally the study of intermarriage has gained more attention from disciplines other than history with geographers, sociologists and feminists undertaking research in the topic in the past two decades. However as Angela Wanhalla points out there is a need for more research on Māori women's experiences of colonization, especially in relation to intermarriage.¹⁷ Sylvia Van Kirk's *Many Tender Ties – Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870*, looks at the role that women played in the fur-trade society in Western Canada. Van Kirk shows how Aboriginal and European economic interaction through trade led to cultural exchanges. Often these exchanges were of the sexual nature, although intermarriage was seemingly not as common as it was in New Zealand. Van Kirk's *From "Marrying-In" to "Marrying-Out"- Changing Patterns of Aboriginal/ Non-*

¹⁷ Angela Wanhalla, 'Transgressing Boundaries: A History of the Mixed Descent Families of Maitapapa, Taieri, 1830-1940,' PhD Thesis in History, University of Canterbury, 2004, p.25.

Aboriginal Marriage in Colonial Canada focuses solely on the changing nature of intermarriage in fur trader society as does her early article *The Custom of the Country: An Examination of Fur Trade Marriage Practices*.¹⁸ This thesis provides a New Zealand comparison too many of Van Kirk's arguments as it too focuses on intermarriage, and places similar emphasis on the role of indigenous women and the formation of a culturally distinctive community.

Adele Perry's *On the Edge of Empire – Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849 – 1871*, probes the connections between gender, race and the making of colonial society during British Columbia's years as a separate colony.¹⁹ Perry investigates the role and gender with an emphasis on the male homosocial culture that developed and on Aboriginal women and their role in the society.²⁰ Although this thesis researches a period before Perry's work, in a location on the opposite side of the world, it shows that many of the cultural exchanges occurring in British Columbia also occurred in New Zealand. Lynette Russell's *Colonial Frontiers – Indigenous-European Encounters in Settler Societies* focuses on 'the formation and structure of cross-cultural encounters and the formation of frontiers and boundaries'.²¹ *Colonial Frontiers* provides a series of chapters most of which are focused on British settler colonies and in doing so 'stresses indigenous agency, and (re) action'.²² This thesis helps to provide a New Zealand comparison and parallel to the North America histories of European and American Indian interaction and those of the other British colonies. Various academic articles deal with the issues of intermarriage between Europeans and indigenous people. For example, the American feminist journal *Frontiers*

¹⁸ Sylvia Van Kirk, 'From "Marrying-In" to "Marrying-Out" – Changing Patterns of Aboriginal / Non-Aboriginal Marriage in Colonial Canada', *Frontiers*, 23:3 (2002) and Sylvia Van Kirk, "'The Custom of the Country': An Examination of Fur Trade Marriage Practices' in Bettina Bradbury (ed.), *Canadian Family History: Selected Readings*, Toronto: Copp Clark Pittman, 1992, pp.67-92.

¹⁹ Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849-1871*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001.

²⁰ *ibid*, p.3.

²¹ Lynette Russell, 'Introduction', in L. Russell (ed.), *Colonial Frontiers – Indigenous-European Encounters In Settler Societies*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001, p.1.

²² *ibid*, p.4.

dedicated an entire issue to the subject of intermarriage and contains one article which refers to the interracial marriage between a Māori female and Irish male.²³

Little has been written about intermarriage in pre-colonial New Zealand, this thesis will show that marriage between whalers and local women was common even though such unions receive only passing remarks from historians of New Zealand's past. Although a largely ignored area, historians agree there is room for a lot of research to be done in this field.²⁴ James Belich sees the role of Māori women in the whaling era as part of a sex industry which helped form a basis of trade stating the whalers 'role in bringing Europe to Māori remains to be fully explored'.²⁵ Michael King notes that the role of Māori women has been given little attention.²⁶ One of the aims of this thesis is to contribute to and expand upon what has been written about intermarriage within New Zealand during the whaling era.

Angela Wanhalla's PhD thesis focuses on intermarriage patterns with the lower South Island at the small Kai Tahu community of Maitapapa located on the banks of the Taieri River. Wanhalla argues that 'it is the indigenous women whom these transient men entered into relationships with who are invisible in the historiography', then stated 'The historiography of intermarriage in New Zealand has largely ignored or marginalized the stories of indigenous women'.²⁷ Despite a lack of recorded information from the Māori wives in the area's this thesis focuses on, I have tried to draw out the role of the Māori women within the whaling

²³ Patricia Grimshaw 'Interracial marriage and colonial regimes in Victoria and Aotearoa/New Zealand,' *Frontiers*, 23:3, (2002), pp.12-28.

²⁴ Binney, Judith, ' "In-Between" Lives: studies from within a colonial society' in Tony Ballantyne and Brain Moloughney (eds), *Disputed Histories Imagining New Zealand's Past*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2006, p.93 – states little has been written about the individuals of mixed Māori and European decent or their parents. Erik Olssen, 'Families and the Gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840-80', in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (eds), *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1999, p.40 – noted that mixed marriages in New Zealand remain a largely understudied issue.

²⁵ James Belich, *Making Peoples*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1996, p. 138.

²⁶ Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003, pp. 122-123.

²⁷ Wanhalla, p.5.

settlements as much as possible and hopefully historians and other researchers will continue to do so in the future.

Prior to Wanhalla's thesis there has been only one study focused entirely on intermarriage between early European sealers and whalers and Māori women in New Zealand. Atholl Anderson's *Race Against Time* looked at intermarriage in and around Southland from 1799 to 1840.²⁸ Anderson's study provides interesting data on the number of intermarriages and the subsequent growth of the mixed race population. Anderson shows that 140 men, most of whom were white, founded mixed decent families in Southern New Zealand in forty years.²⁹ Kate Riddell also researched intermarriage on the New Zealand frontier, one of the frontiers she looked at was the whaling settlements.³⁰ While Riddell's research is limited to the North Island she makes some valid points and acknowledges the need for further research on intermarriage.³¹

There are numerous New Zealand history books that look at the roles and lives of early European whalers who either visited or made homes along New Zealand's coastline. There are also books that are dedicated to the European women who lived in the early whaling stations.³² However there are no books dedicated to the lives of Māori women who were married to early European whalers. Family histories and bibliographies which cover families such as the Barretts, Guards, Jacksons and Heberleys provide some interesting details on the original whalers who helped establish, build and run various whaling stations throughout New Zealand. There have been several well-written historical studies which look at the early European occupation of Māori land in specific locations and the interaction between these European whalers, sealers and traders and the

²⁸ Atholl Anderson, *Race Against Time*, Dunedin: Hocken Lecture, 1990.

²⁹ *ibid*, p.1.

³⁰ Kate Riddell, 'A "Marriage" of the Races? Aspects of Intermarriage, Ideology and Reproduction on the New Zealand Frontier', MA Thesis in History, Victoria University, 1996.

³¹ *Ibid*, pp.14-15.

³² For example Joan Druett, *Petticoat Whalers: Whaling Wives at Sea*, Auckland: Collins, 1991 and Airini Elizabeth Woodhouse, *Tales of Pioneer Women / collected by the Women's Institutes of New Zealand; with forewords by A.E. Jerome Spencer and Amy G. Kane*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1940.

local Māori population.³³ In early New Zealand histories there had been a long-standing debate amongst historians on the impact of whalers on Māori society. Missionaries believed whalers were agents of the fatal impact and their views comprise much of the source material used by historians thus creating a strong bias in the literature.³⁴ Harry Morton's *The Whales Wake*, which is the most in-depth account of whaling communities New Zealand wide provides some information on interracial relationships but fails to understand the importance of intermarriage within these communities.³⁵ Gallagher's thesis, *New England Whalers and The Maori Economic Frontier*, points out that Morton underestimates both the scope of Māori and whalers interaction and its effects on future New Zealand.³⁶ Trevor Bentley's *Pakeha Maori* looks at the role of Europeans who were adopted into Māori tribes in the period between 1799 and 1840.³⁷ Bentley shows that these "Pakeha Maori" were often involved in whaling. Bentley's study investigates the life and roles of Jacky Love and Dicky Barrett who lived with Taranaki based Te Ati Awa before they moved to the Marlborough Sounds and joined Guard's whaling station. Bentley claims that cross-cultural interaction and cultural change was a two-way process involving both Europeans and Māori, an idea supported by prominent New Zealand historians such as Salmond, Belich and King.³⁸ Paul Monin looks at interracial relationships in the Hauraki area from the 1830s and addresses the issue of Māori wanting their own Pākehā, a phenomenon which will be looked at in the first chapter of this thesis.³⁹ While the study of intermarriage between early European whalers and Māori women is slowly beginning to be addressed in historical literature it still remains a largely understudied area. This

³³ For example Athol Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers – An Ethnohistory of Southern Maori 1650-1850*, Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 1998 and Peter Entwisle, *Behold the Moon – The European Occupation of the Dunedin District 1770-1848*, Dunedin: Port Daniel Press, 1998 and Paul Monin, *This Is My Place*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001 and Wanhalla.

³⁴ T.M Gallagher, 'New England Whalers and the Maori Economic Frontier, 1815-1840: A Research Essay,' Masters Thesis in History, Victoria University, 1994, p.2.

³⁵ Harry Morton, *The Whales Wake*, Dunedin: McIndoe for the University of Otago Press, 1982, p.250.

³⁶ Gallagher, p.2.

³⁷ Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha-Maori*, Auckland, Penguin Books, 1999, p.9.

³⁸ Ibid, p.10 and Belich, *Making Peoples* and Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2003 and Anne Salmond, *Between Worlds, Early Exchanges Between Maori and Europeans 1773 – 1815*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1997.

³⁹ Monin, p.92.

thesis aims to expand on and contribute new knowledge to what is already known about intermarriage and such relationships. Inevitably it will still leave many gaps which hopefully will one day be further addressed by researchers, writers and students of New Zealand history.

SOURCES

There is a lot of secondary literature on whaling within New Zealand waters some of which is very informative and well researched. The works of McNab, Morton and Entwisle to name a few provide information and interpretations that I have used in this thesis. The best primary sources available on whaling in New Zealand during the mid 1840s comes from Edward Jerningham and Colonel William Wakefield, as well as Ernst Dieffenbach, all of whom visited on the *Tory*, their accounts provide considerable information for this research. There are also a number of diaries, journals and ships' logs that recorded events in this era which provide commentaries on the way of life which the writers observed and sometimes participated in. Unfortunately all of the diaries and letters from participants in the whaling stations come from the European men. Most Māori women were illiterate at the time and did not leave any written records of their experiences in the settlements and as the wives of the European whalers. There is also considerable information available from missionaries at the time who visited and later lived and worked within the stations. Unfortunately the diaries, journals and letters left by missionaries and other early visitors can be somewhat biased and superficial at times and researchers must read their words within the context that they were written. As Rickard states 'It must be confessed that the shore whalers have not on the whole come off well at the hands of the chroniclers of early New Zealand, and historians have tended to repeat their verdicts' something which historians must now try to undo.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Rickard, p.96.

This thesis shows the role and importance of intermarriage within early New Zealand whaling stations. It demonstrates how European whalers, Māori women and chiefs each had their own motivations for wanting these relationships to form. Many of these motivations were based on economic purposes. This thesis also demonstrates that although these relationships were not official marriages in the European sense they were still marriages in every other way. The marriages themselves and the subsequent children were often praised by visitors to the stations. Some of these European visitors and whalers alike sought to use the marriages to their advantage when wanting to purchase land off local Māori.

CHAPTER ONE : INTERMARRIAGE – WHY, WHEN AND WHERE?

This chapter begins by discussing the nature of pre-contact Māori marriage practices. It is important to understand such marriage practices as it gives an insight into subsequent Māori-whaler intermarriages. The term “intermarriage” is the basis of this thesis so the next section defines exactly what it means within this research. This is followed by a section which looks at the reasons why whalers chose to marry Māori women, and explores notions such as sex, companionship, trade opportunities and protection. The subsequent discussion looks at the motives of the Māori women, their families and tribes to which they belonged. Here the thesis discusses ideas such as the “my Pākehā” phenomenon, love, trading desires and protection from enemy tribes. The final part of this chapter investigates how common intermarriage and other relationships were within the whaling stations and the nature of such relationships and marriages. It will show how such relationships often changed overtime with informal unions often becoming legal unions upon the arrival of missionaries in the area.

In order to understand the marriages that took place between Māori women and European whalers it is necessary to look at traditional Māori marriage practices. In pre-European times there were three different levels within Māori society; chiefs, commoners and slaves.⁴¹ Each level of society had different practices when it came to marriage. Among common people and slaves, marriage contained no or very little ceremony.⁴² Papakura stated that if a commoner couple fell in love, their parents were consulted, and if there was no opposition, the man took the girl to his parent’s home, where they consummated their marriage.⁴³ Although there may have been no ceremony, the marriage was considered binding

⁴¹ Eldson Best, *The Maori*, vol. I, Wellington: Part of New Zealand Texts Collection, 1924, p.345.

⁴² Eldson Best, *The Maori*, vol. I, p.443 and Makareti Papakura, *The Old Time Maori*, London: Victor Gollancz Limited, 1938, p.78.

⁴³ Papakura, p.78.

simply because the couple had slept together.⁴⁴ Biggs stated that public acceptance and recognition of the cohabitation was the vital feature of a marriage.⁴⁵ While sexual freedom was common in Māori society, Eldred-Grigg stated there was 'clearly a social distinction between the liaisons of young lovers and the acceptance of a couple as man and wife.'⁴⁶

Marriage practices between the chiefly class, or rangatira, were more formal and ceremonial than those of the lower classes. Best claimed that within the higher class there was a form of "aristocratic marriage," during which a certain ritual was repeated over the couple.⁴⁷ Marriages between members of the chiefly class involved a hui/large gathering and were followed by a feast. The marriage rite and customs were performed by the elders of the man and woman.⁴⁸ The marriages themselves were not arranged by the couple's parents; instead they were the responsibility of the couple's brothers, sisters and other members of the hapu.⁴⁹ All marriages required the careful and deliberate arrangement of the hapu; otherwise they could be viewed as not having been properly arranged.⁵⁰

While most marriages were love matches, within the chiefly class they were also important for political and social reasons. It was desirable for Māori to marry within the hapu although marriages with the tribe and between two tribes were not uncommon.⁵¹ Best stated that marriages between different tribes were

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

⁴⁵ Bruce Biggs, *Maori Marriage: An Essay in Reconstruction*, Wellington: Reed, 1960, p. 53.

⁴⁶ Steven Eldred-Grigg, *Pleasures of the Flesh, Sex and Drugs in Colonial New Zealand, 1840-1915* Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed Ltd, 1984, p.23.

⁴⁷ Eldson Best, *The Maori As He Was: A Brief Account of Maori Life as it was in Pre-European Days*, Wellington: Dominion Museum, 1934, p.103.

⁴⁸ Eldson Best, 'Maori Marriage Customs: Being Notes on Ancient Maori Customs, Ritual and Sociological, Connected with Courtship, Marriage, and Divorce, Together with Some Account of the Levirate, and of Many Superstitious Beliefs, and Ancient Animistic Myths Connected with the Same, as Held and Preserved by the Maori peoples of the Tuhoe Tribe', *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, Vol 36, 1903, p.14.

⁴⁹ Best, *Maori Marriage Customs*, p.42 and Papakura, p.91.

⁵⁰ Best, *Maori Marriage Customs*, p.42.

⁵¹ Best, *Maori Marriage Customs*, p.20 and Best, *The Maori*, p.443 and Best, *The Maori as He Was*, p.102 and Papakura, p.91.

political and usually for peace-making reasons.⁵² Within the chiefly class there was an even higher rank that was bestowed upon some women. The chiefs first born daughter was called a *puhi*; she was considered *tapu* and did not perform the same tasks as other Māori women.⁵³ A high ranking husband was chosen for a *puhi* and she had no say in the matter.⁵⁴ Best describes the role and life of a *puhi*,

Having been made a *puhi* for the aggrandisement of her family and the clan generally, she was provided with several female attendants, some of whom would be girls about her own age. She was not allowed to perform any heavy labour, such as fell to the lot of women generally, but might employ herself in light work, such as weaving the finer class of garments. She performed no menial tasks, such as cooking, and, in some cases, a special house was assigned to her and her companions. Such young women were the patrician ladies of the clan, but there would be very few such in any tribe. They were highly respected and deferred to, and were sometimes long in marrying, so particular were the people about the selection of suitable husbands for them. When good-looking women they were much sought after, and young men, singly or in parties, came from distant parts in order to see them and endeavour to find favour in their eyes.

Should such a young woman fall from grace, the custom was to reduce her to the ranks, as it were, when she would no longer be a *puhi*, though retaining her rank as chieftainess and a participator in ritual observances.⁵⁵

It seems probable that some whalers would have married women who were *puhi*, although no records have survived to indicate whether this was the case. This chapter will show that many whalers married high ranking Māori women, who were often the daughters of chiefs. European whalers were often chosen to marry women of status. These marriages helped form strong alliances between Europeans and Māori chiefs, who especially in early years wanted to have their own *Pākehā*.

Although titled 'Intermarriage: Its Role and Importance within Early New Zealand Shore Whaling Stations', this thesis does not just look at formal marriages as practiced in the Victorian world, it also looks at short and long term relationships which commonly formed within the whaling settlements. As Riddell

⁵² Best, *Maori Marriage Customs*, p.20.

⁵³ *ibid*, p.33.

⁵⁴ Papakura, p.91.

⁵⁵ Best, *The Maori*, vol. I, p.451.

states 'Intermarriages is not intended to imply any sense of rigid Victorian marriage patterns. In fact on New Zealand's colonial frontier, "intermarriage" could and did mean many different things.'⁵⁶ Wanhalla states that 'In the first decades of encounter ... intermarriage shifted from customary marriage on Kai Tahu terms to western ceremonies conducted by a missionary.'⁵⁷ Wanhalla then states that international scholarship 'reveals that intermarriage can be understood on a number of levels: as an illicit informal union; a brief union that produces a child or children of mixed descent; as a marriage undertaken for economic purposes and by the customs of the indigenous peoples of that region, that can be either short or long-term; or as a legal marriage contract undertaken within the confines of the missionary station of the church.'⁵⁸ This thesis, along with Riddell's and Wanhalla's work, shows that there were principally two types of intermarriage within early nineteenth century New Zealand: the first, Māori controlled, whereby European men married Māori women and entered into their family and tribe; the latter whereby Māori women married European men according to the laws of the church. While it is the informal marriages that were established without proper ceremony and those that were conducted by a missionary which are the main focus of this thesis, the more casual encounters will also be looked at as these often resulted in children and sometimes led to more formal and long term arrangements. Although not always noticeable immediately, these short and long term relationships which occurred in the whaling era between Māori women and European men would forever change traditional Māori life.

When deep sea whaling ships began calling on Northland for trading and sealing purposes during the early nineteenth their crew often engaged in sexual relations with local women; this was a common practice at ports around the world. Initially these sexually encounters were limited to one or two encounters as a ships time near land was minimal, often just long enough to repair any damages and to

⁵⁶ Riddell, p.2.

⁵⁷ Wanhalla, p.20.

⁵⁸ *ibid*, p.32.

gain fresh supplies. Many visitors found Māori 'sexually seductive' and 'The sight of naked Maoris was often followed by sexual liaisons.'⁵⁹ These sexual encounters were encouraged by local chiefs who soon turned the practice into profit, using their women sex in a form of sex-trade – an economic enterprise. Morton suggests that guns were often exchanged for girls and that even 'The mighty Hongi prostituted his niece, taking her from the Mission Station to do so, and another chief even prostituted his wife.'⁶⁰ Henry Williams noted that ships girls were 'urged by their parents and relatives. The captains and crews offer them that which to a New Zealander is irresistible-muskets, powder and oil.'⁶¹ Although he, along with other missionaries, clearly condemned such practices, stating 'The conduct of our countrymen in this respect is shocking: they are destroyers to this people, both soul and body.'⁶² Another church missionary gives an even harsher account during his first visit to the North Island in 1834, 'The unhappy females subject to such degradation, are, for the most part, slaves; and the miserable hire of their prostitution is given up to their masters. Occasionally the wages of their iniquity is deemed too small, and they often have to receive another kind of payment from their enraged proprietors, in blows, kicks, and even death itself.'⁶³ It must be remembered that while prostitution was common in the Bay of Islands, missionaries words were often the harshest of all accounts, and due to their religious beliefs and values, they must be analysed carefully and not taken completely at face value.

When Europeans began to reside on New Zealand shores for longer periods of time, they began to form longer and more formal relationships with Māori women. This next section will look at the motivations behind whalers wanting to form more permanent relationships with Māori women. As discussed above the first type of contact between early European whalers and Māori women frequently

⁵⁹ Eldred-Grigg, pp.13-14.

⁶⁰ Morton, pp.201, 203.

⁶¹ Henry Williams, *The Early Journal of Henry Williams 1822-1840*, Christchurch: Pegasus, 1961, p.42.

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ William Barrett Marshall, *A Personal Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand, in His Majesty's Ship Alligator, A.D. 1834*, London: J. Nisbet, 1836, p.144.

involved sexual relations. Initially very few European women lived in the whaling stations and as a result whalers had to look to Māori women for female companionship.⁶⁴ The whalers consisted of a bunch of rough, rugged, hard working men who were often ships runaways, ex-sealers or traders, currency lads, or sometimes ex-convicts.⁶⁵ These shore whalers were often at sea for months before arriving in New Zealand, unable to escape life on the boat, which was often unsavoury to even to the most hardened of men. It is easy to understand why under

⁶⁴ Primary sources contain little information about European women living in New Zealand's shore stations during the time frame of this thesis and unfortunately secondary sources generally do not indicate where they got their information from. But the following provides some details. Secondary sources claim that only two European women lived at Waikouaiti in the first few years. Christie, p.93, states that the only white women living at the station were the wives of Mr. Thomas and Mr. McLachlan. Thomas Arthur Pybus, *Maori and Missionary*, Wellington: Reed, 1954, p.6 - also states that in the first few years only two European women lived at Waikouaiti. They were the wife of W. McLachlan and the wife of Johnny Jones brother Thomas. When James Watkin arrived in 1841 he brought his wife with him, she became known as Mata Watkina by local Māori, p.15. William Haberfield's *Reminiscences* which were published in Dunedin's, *Evening Star*, February 14, 1891, state that when he arrived from Sydney on board the *Micmac*, on March 17, 1836, there were two European women on board. They were Mrs. Garrett who came with her sawyer husband and left again with him soon after on the ships return voyage and Mrs. Flood who stayed with her whaler husband until either October or November of the same year. Haberfield goes on to claim that Mrs. Brinn who arrived with her husband on board *Bee*, sometime after was first European women to live permanently at the station, staying three years. Mrs. Tom Jones arrived after Mrs. Brinn.

Secondary sources indicate that there were three European women living at Otakou during the stations boom. Peter Entwisle, 'Edward Weller', in G.J. Griffins (ed.), *The Advance Guard*, Series III, Dunedin: Otago Daily Times, 1974, p.21 - states that when the *Lucy Ann* left Sydney on December 30 1833, she brought Mrs. Worth and Miss Mary Jackson the first European women to visit the station with her. Robert McNab, p.102 - states that when the *Lucy Ann* left Sydney on December 30, Captain Worth took his wife Miss Mary Parker with him to Otakou. Whether there were one or two women on the *Lucy Ann*, is impossible to determine, but it appears that woman or women were only short-term visitors to the station. T.A Pybus, *The Maoris of the South Island*, Wellington: Reed, 1954, p.67 - states that three European women lived at the station. They were Mrs Brinn, Mrs Garrett and Mrs Flood.

Sources indicate that few European lived in the Marlborough Sounds prior to 1840. As stated already Betty Guard was the only European woman living at Te Awaiti for a number of years. MacDonald, p.30- states that during 1833 the Kentish family resided in the Sounds while waiting for their vessel to be fixed. Carol Dawber, *The Jacksons of Te Awaiti*, Picton: River Press, 2001, p.55-56 - states that Mary Ann Baldick arrived in the Sounds with her husband George a few weeks after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. The Baldicks along with four other European couples were on board Captain Coombe's ship. Dawber provides some interesting information on the fate of the men, who were lost in the Wairau shortly after their arrival. When missionary Samuel Ironside arrived in late 1840 he brought his wife Sarah with him.

I was unable to find any information about European women living on either Kapiti or Mana Island's or a Mahia during the timeframe of this thesis.

⁶⁵ E.J Wakefield, p.127, refers to currency lads as men born in the colonies who were usually the sons of either runaway convicts or those who had simply chosen to abandon their ships in favour of living in comfort onshore. He then states that 'These "currency lads", as they are called, are distinguished for great physical strength and beauty'.

such circumstances that ships men would chose to abandon that lifestyle in favour of shore based whaling, even though the stations were primitive in early years and they often ran out of even the most basic of supplies. 'At one time the natives were so ill-provided with potatoes and other provisions, that the white adventurers subsisted on whale's flesh and wild turnip tops'.⁶⁶ Once whalers began living onshore they were surrounded by Māori who were either living where the stations were established or who came from nearby areas to trade, work and live amongst the Europeans.⁶⁷ Whalers enjoyed the company of Māori women and it seems likely that some of the friendships they formed with the friendly locals would have turned into intimate relationships.⁶⁸ The whalers need for companionship is one reason that relationships and marriage formed between Māori women and themselves.

The commencement of each new whaling season, which ran from May through to October, saw the arrival of new whalers. The start of the season involved a lot of preparation. E.J. Wakefield recalled:

A very important one [preparation] was the providing the whole party with native wives for the season. Those men who had remained during the summer were generally provided with a permanent companion, among whose relations they had been living, either in perfect idleness, or employed in cultivating a small patch of land, or buying pork and potatoes from the natives and selling them again for goods to the ships which touched on the coast. But the men who returned regularly with the oil to Sydney, or were then entering on their first season, went with such of their comrades as were well known by the natives to the different villages in the neighbourhood, for the purpose of procuring a helpmate during the season. Regular bargains were struck between the experienced headsman or boat-steerer and the relations of the girls selected and in most cases the bargains were punctually adhered to. In cases where the wife was negligent or slow to learn her duties of cooking, clothes-mending, and washing, the uncle or father would often take away the delinquent and bring another more fitted to perform his part of

⁶⁶ Colonel Wakefield, 'Despatch from Colonel Wakefield, enclosing Journal' in J. Ward, *Supplementary Information Relative to New-Zealand: Comprising Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, London: John W. Parker, 1840, p.27.

⁶⁷ Chapter Four discusses this in more detail.

⁶⁸ For example Heberley wrote that he played chasing games with native girls. See – James Heberley, 1809-1899, *Reminiscences of Worser Heberley*, MS-0971, ATL – please note this version was unpaginated.

the bargain[sic.]. The whaler's part consisted in a payment made on the completion of the bargain [sic.], and in certain degree of indulgence to the begging visits of his relations during the season. This provision appears to be looked upon as a necessary one by the headsman; and doubtless contributes much to the cleanliness, steadiness, and good order of the men. The duty of the *wahine* is to get up an hour before daybreak; cook the breakfast and arrange what her lord means to take in the boat, which ought to start before the day; wash and mend his clothes; keep the house in order; prepare his supper for his return. Then upon her reposes the task of granting hospitality to the traveler while the master of the house is away.⁶⁹

Clearly the idea of having a helpmate was an important reason for European whalers' in choosing to form relationships with Māori women. Guard used the promise of a helpful wife to help lure Worser Heberley to Te Awaiti, telling him that at Te Awaiti the men just whale and the native women do all the other work.⁷⁰ Whalers generally worked from dawn to dusk seven days a week in physically demanding job so they needed someone else to help around the house; to wash their clothes, to clean the house and prepare and cook their meals. However not all Māori wives were effective helpmates but it is clear that Tuckett's remarks that ninety-nine out of a hundred Māori women were no help to a civilized man, was a clear exaggeration as most other visitors report on to the contrary.⁷¹ It appears that Māori women were simply replaced if they were not performing household duties to her European partner's standard. Edward Wakefield noted that the partner of a European whaler could be replaced by another with the cooperation of her uncle or father.⁷² This indicates that intermarriages often began as a commercial arrangement between the European whaler and the family of the Māori women who was to become his permanent partner. The whaler's part in this commercial agreement consisted of a payment to the new partner's family which was made at the completion of the bargain.⁷³

⁶⁹ E.J Wakefield, pp.135-136.

⁷⁰ Heberley.

⁷¹ Fredrick Tuckett, *The 1844 Expedition and Otago Survey: the diary and letters of Frederick Tuckett et al*, Gerald Franklin (ed.), Frenchay [Bristol]: Frenchay Tuckett Society, 2005, 3 May 1844.

⁷² E.J Wakefield, p.135.

⁷³ *ibid.*

Another reason many European whalers chose Māori wives was to gain easier access to resources and even to land on which to live and establish stations upon. The thesis investigates the issue of obtaining land in detail in chapter four so will be left for now. When whaling stations first became established, many lacked provisions, such as food and timber, and relied heavily upon Māori for such necessities. Although trade was established, whalers got better deals and were less likely to be taken advantage of if they traded with the tribes that they had married into. Many whalers also began to use their new families' land to grow vegetables for their own consumption as well as trade. Tuckett recorded that in Otago 'The European residents are chiefly engaged in the whale fishery, but each appears to pay some attention to cultivation'.⁷⁴ Similarly at Te Awaiti Colonel William Wakefield noted that 'The less thrifty pass their summers in small cultivation of spots they have taken possession of, with the tacit consent of their natives; and the improvident boat-men await the renewal of their dangerous and exciting occupation, depending on the families of the native women, who live with them, for fish and potatoes'.⁷⁵ It is clear that European whalers were dependent on their Māori families either for the use of their land to grow vegetables on, or for access to their supplies.

Whalers in the early years especially needed protection and this need would have been an influential factor in their decision to take Māori wives. Morton claims that 'The whaleman's protection was based on his marriage to a Maori girl',⁷⁶ this was especially true during periods of inter-tribal war. These wars were still a common occurrence during the 1830s and are frequently referred to in whaling literature. William Wakefield noted 'At different periods, natives from Otago and the neighbourhood invaded the Sound, in hostility of the Nyatiawa tribe, and indiscriminately burned and destroyed the houses and boats of all the residents. One Englishman, now here, who had lived occasionally apart from his countrymen,

⁷⁴Tuckett, 19 April 1844.

⁷⁵ C Wakefield, *Despatch*, p.29.

⁷⁶ Morton, p.200.

has had no less than four houses burned at various times.’⁷⁷ Similar losses also occurred at Otakou in 1834 when a party of about five hundred Māori arrived from Cloudy Bay and began to harass the Europeans who lived at the station.⁷⁸ However it must be noted that whalers themselves were usually left unharmed by raiding parties. In 1868, a story appeared in the Hawkes Bay Herald which said when Captain William Ellis established a whaling station there in 1837 ‘Most of the whites had each a domestic establishment with an aboriginal lady at the head of it, and the good old plan of having a pet chief who took you in charge and, whilst plundering you himself, preserved you from others’.⁷⁹ Whalers usually took their wives with them for protection when travelling around the coastline just in case they stumbled upon unfriendly natives. William Wakefield wrote ‘One of the principal means of safety, at present, to wandering Europeans taking up their abodes here, is a *quasi* marriage with a native female. Our two guests brought their wives with them as a matter of course, and of safety amongst any natives they might meet’.⁸⁰

John ‘Jacky’ Love and Richard ‘Dicky’ Barrett lived at Nga Motu in Taranaki with their Māori wives, and while they relied on their tribe’s protection

⁷⁷ C Wakefield, *Despatch*, p.27.

⁷⁸ Entwisle, ‘Edward Weller’, p.21.

⁷⁹ ‘An Old Colonist’ – probably F.W.C Sturm in the *Hawkes Bay Herald* June 1968 cited in Joseph Angus Mackay, *Historic Poverty Bay and the East Coast, N.I, N.Z.*, Gisborne: J.A Mackay, 1949, p.146. Here the author is talking about the Māori custom of *murū* and Frederick Edward Maning, *Old New Zealand: Being Incidents of Native Customs and Character in the Old Times by A Pakeha Maori*, London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1863, chapter 7 – also contains information about *murū*. *Murū* is something the whalers must have come across, and the wives would have had a mitigating effect. Although Maning was a trader not a whaler, and he embellishes his story to make it more entertaining, one is still able to get a flavour of what *murū* is all about from his account. Also the much written about Harriett incident which saw Betty Guard and her two children held captive by Māori involves aspects of *murū* - see Rev. James Buller, *Forty Years in New Zealand: Including a Personal Narrative, an Account of Māoridom, and of the Christianization and Colonization of the Country*, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1878, pp.364-366 and Grady, *Guards*, pp.60-74.

⁸⁰ Colonel Wakefield, ‘Extract of a Despatch from Colonel Wakefield, the Principal Agent in New Zealand, dated on board the *Tory*, Teawaiti, Queen Charlotte’s Sound, Cook’s Strait, September 1, 1839,’ in J. Ward, *Supplementary Information Relative to New-Zealand: Comprising Despatches and Journals of the Company’s Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, London: John W. Parker, 1840, p.20.

they also fought alongside them against attacking Waikato tribes.⁸¹ Love and Barrett were both married to highborn Te Ati Awa women whom they took along with their extended family to Te Awaitea around 1833.⁸² Love was married to Mereruru Te Hikanui from Ngati Te Whiti hapu and Barrett's wife was known as Rawinia or Waikawa from Ngati Rahiri and Ngati Maru hapu.⁸³ Unfortunately very little is known about Mereruru and Rawinia although their descendants make up some of the largest families in New Zealand today. Although Love and Barrett fought alongside their wives' tribes when they lived as Pākehā Māori, most whalers did not participate in intertribal wars however they were at times the targets of raiding parties, but more commonly simply in the way of invading iwi.

As shown above, there were various reasons and motives for the whalers' desire to have Māori wives. The next section of this chapter will look at the other side of the equation: why Māori women and their families wanted such marriages to take place. It is difficult to make many conclusions about why Māori women in the early nineteenth century would have chosen European whalers as husbands because very little information about such women has survived. The lack of primary source information helps explain why historians have said little about this. It does seem from looking at future relationship patterns that on the whole Māori women were not fearful of or hateful towards the whalers. As Rickard claims, 'It is perfectly clear the unions of the shore whalers and Maori girls were on an altogether different basis from the casual liaisons formed at the Bay of Islands and other places where the whaling ships called.'⁸⁴ While Rickard makes a valid point, these liaisons must be acknowledged as they provide the background for what happened along New Zealand's coastline in subsequent years.

⁸¹ C Wakefield, *Extract*, p.22 and Richard Barrett, d. 1847, Letter to his Brother/ transcribed by Marsha Donaldson, MS-Papers 8681, ATL.

⁸² Angela Caughey, *The Interpreter- The Biography of Richard 'Dicky' Barrett*, Wellington: Department of Conversation, 2000, p.60.

⁸³ Ibid, p.28 and see 'Whakapapa of Te Puni, Te Wharepouri and Whanaunga of Ngatitewhiti', in Hilary and John Mitchell, *Te Tau Ihu O Te Waka, A History of Maori of Nelson and Marlborough, Volume I: Te Tangata me Te Whenua – The People and the Land*, Wellington: Huia and Wakatu Incorporation, 2004, p.111.

⁸⁴ Rickard, p.78.

Wanhalla's thesis looked at the marriages between two Kai Tahu women, Patahi and Koronaki/Caroline Brown and European men living at Taieri in the early nineteenth century which gives an insight into the thoughts and motives of these Māori women. High-born Māori women at the time often chose their husbands, and it is probable that many of them chose to marry European whalers. Wanhalla argues 'There are numerous examples of high-born women amongst iwi in the whaling and trading era of the North Island choosing Pākehā partners such as the "love match" between Moengaroa of Te Hikutu and Hokianga trader Frederick Maning'.⁸⁵ Undoubtedly many Māori women were in love with the whalers they picked as husbands but there were also other more practical reasons why European whalers made good husbands.

Traditionally Māori women worked hard: they were involved in the cultivation and gathering of food, caring for their children, elderly members of the hapu, as well as those wounded in intertribal wars as well as every day tasks.⁸⁶ However, when Māori women began working as prostitutes they helped generate an income for their iwi which brought far greater benefits to their chiefs. The women themselves would have seen the economic benefits that their alliances with ships' crews would have for their iwi. These economic benefits would have been a factor in Māori choosing to form long term relationships and marriages with European whalers. Although whalers' wives were required to work hard in and around the house, one might argue that their role as a wife to a European was less demanding and physically easier than it would have been if they were married to another Māori.

⁸⁵ Wanhalla, pp.66-67: Wanhalla footnotes Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, p.197.

⁸⁶ For details about the traditional roles of Māori women within the tribe see Best, *The Maori*, pp.400-401 and J.S Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, Vol. I, London: James Madden and Co. and Hatchard and Son, 1840, pp.163, 201-202 and Augustus Earle, *A Narrative of Nine Months Residence in New Zealand in 1827*, Christchurch: Witcombe and Tombs, 1909, p.110 and Edward Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders; with Illustrations of their Manners and Customs*, London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1854, p.161 and Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.163.

⁸⁶ David Millar, 'Whalers, flax traders and Maoris of the Cook Strait area', *Dominion Museum Records in Ethnology* 2:6 (1971), p.70.

Historians have written little about why Māori women chose to marry European whalers. Millar notes 'Unlike European tradition, Maori descent can be traced ambilinearly, that is, through either male or female. By marrying a European, a Maori, therefore, did not lose her tribal inheritance, but also gained access to European goods.'⁸⁷ The reality that Māori women still retained their authority and place within their iwi would have been an important factor in deciding whether to take a European husband, because even if something might go wrong in their marriage they would still retain their place within the iwi. The children of Māori women and the white whalers too 'were always accepted by the rest of the tribe as of the same high rank as their mother.'⁸⁸ The unconditional acceptance of their children by the iwi, whether they were fathered by another Māori or by a European, is another reason that would have influenced the Māori women's decision in taking a European husband.

Many high-born Māori women married European headsmen or station managers which indicates these women wanted to have status in both cultures. According to Rickard, 'In the eyes of a Maori girl, a whaler was an excellent match'.⁸⁹ Another factor which would have undoubtedly influenced the decision to take a European whaler as a husband was the encouragement from the women's family, iwi and chief, whose motivations will be looked at below. As has been shown, it is difficult to make any firm conclusions about why Māori women would have chosen European husbands although factors such as easier access to goods, a physically less demanding role as a wife, still being able to retain their position within the iwi, and support from their family, would have all been influential in their decision making.

It has been demonstrated that Māori chiefs were more than willing to allow their tribe's women to participate in sexual relationships with ships crew members

⁸⁷ David Millar, 'Whalers, flax traders and Maoris of the Cook Strait area', *Dominion Museum Records in Ethnology* 2:6 (1971), p.70.

⁸⁸ W. Carkeek, *The Kapiti Coast – Maori History and Place Names*, Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1966, p.46.

⁸⁹ Rickard, p.76.

and that the chiefs often encouraged such practices as they brought huge economic benefits to them and their iwi. Through the prostitution of their women, Māori gained access to goods at a speed never seen before. Usually commodities such as muskets, tobacco, tools and blankets were used as payment but actual currency also became a popular payment method in some areas.⁹⁰ Initially in the Bay of Islands chiefs prostituted slaves to visiting whaling crews but within a few years husbands and fathers began prostituting their wives and daughters⁹¹ as they too were eager to reap economic rewards of such transactions. However as Dieffenbach recorded, for chiefs, selling their women was the easiest way of getting commodities but ‘parents, relations, and the females themselves, are very anxious to unite in legal matrimonial ties with the whites’.⁹² Anderson points out that ‘the daughters or nieces of prominent chiefs generally became partners of Europeans who stood out in some way...in the game of who was who it is virtually axiomatic that there were few commoners and absolutely no slaves’.⁹³ This shows that while chiefs would let any of their women engage in sexual relations with foreign men, they would only let the higher ranking women marry such men. A possible reason for only allowing high ranking women to marry whalers was that the chief wanted to be able to control the whaler something which would have been easier to do when they were closely related.

The idea of controlling or having some control over the whalers can be traced back to the arrival of the first Europeans who lived within Māori communities as Pākehā-Māori. During the early nineteenth century many chiefs wanted their own Pākehā as they could appreciate the benefits of having a European living amongst them. Most historians refer to this as the “my Pākehā” phenomenon. Lambert claims that a Pākehā was essential to every Māori

⁹⁰ Williams, p.42.

⁹¹ Dumont D’urville, ‘An English Rendering of the Journal of Dumont D’Urville and his Officers of their Visit to New Zealand in 1840, together with Some Account Of Bishop Pompallier and Charles Baron de Thierry’, in *The Voyage of the Astrolabe – 1840* [Transl.] by Olive Wright, Wellington: A.H and A.W. Reed, 1955, p.22.

⁹² Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand: with Contributions to the Geography, Geology, Botany, and Natural History of that Country*, Volume II, London: Murray, 1843 and Christchurch, Capper Press, 1974, p.40.

⁹³ Anderson, *Race*, p.7.

settlement in the early whaling days, who 'was the property of the chief and his tribe and regarded as a thing specially sent for their benefit. He was subjected to pressure whenever the necessities of the chief or his subordinates made it desirable that a portion of his substance should pass into their hands. He was never thoroughly plucked, but was systematically blackmailed.'⁹⁴ Cawthorn stated that the provision of wives was a way of 'binding the whalers by "marriage" to the local tribe. This arrangement was usually carried out through consultation with the chief.'⁹⁵ Māori chiefs wanted Pākehā for trading as well as protection reasons. By having Pākehā whalers amongst them Māori gained easier access to goods they were becoming accustomed to, thus providing a reason for why the chiefs would want whalers to marry into their iwi. Māori often acted as protectors for the whalers, but the whalers themselves also added to the military strength of the tribe which they lived amongst by providing muskets and at times fighting alongside them.⁹⁶ Muskets were much more lethal and gave their owners a means of survival in battles; the advantage muskets provided was so great that chiefs were willing especially in early days to do almost anything to get their hands on them. Supplying whalers with Māori wives also encouraged calm within the stations and ensured good relations between Māori men and the Europeans. By supplying the whalers with wives the chiefs ensured that the white men 'did not impinge on existing tribal marriages.'⁹⁷ Māori men, and especially chiefs, encouraged intermarriage between their women and European whalers for various reasons. Riddell points out; Māori men must have seen greater benefits in the marriages of their women to white men than they did in the loss of female resources and

⁹⁴ Thomas Lambert, *The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast*, Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd, 1925, pp.367-368.

⁹⁵ M.W. Cawthorn, *Maori, Whales and "Whaling": an Ongoing Relationship*, Wellington: Department of Conservation, 2000.

⁹⁶ Muskets were commonly part of land sales agreements between Māori chiefs and European whalers. For example when whaler Samuel Ashmore bought land at Kapiti Island on September 5 1831, he supplied chiefs Rangihoria, Tungia and Te Hiko with four muskets and one cask of gun powder - see Case Studies [Samuel Ashmore, Kapiti Island], O.L.C I/43, National Archives, Wellington. Also when Captain William Ashmore bought land at Tahoramauera on September 2, 1839, he paid with 'four hundred pounds of tobacco, six pairs of Blankets, two casks of powder and three Muskets' - see Case files [William Mayhew, Banks Peninsula, Kapiti Island and Mangawai], O.L.C I/929, National Archives, Wellington.

⁹⁷ Caughey, *The Interpreter*, p.28.

fertility.⁹⁸ While Riddell's claim does have some merit it must be restated that because Māori accepted half-caste children into their tribe there was at least initially no real loss of fertility within the tribe.

The marriages between European whalers and Māori women consisted of numerous types of relationships which changed over the whaling era. The relationships between deep sea whalers and Māori women living in the Bay of Islands typically involved just one or two encounters. However as permanent shore stations began to emerge the relationships which formed between local Māori and European whalers became more permanent alliances. As discussed above, at the start of the whaling season, new whalers were matched up with a Māori partner; a woman who would stay with them throughout the season and usually remained near the station during the off season waiting for her husband to return. After working for one or two seasons, it became common for the whaler to remain in New Zealand over the summer. During the summer the whaler often lived with his wife's family. Both the Māori women and her European partner took the permanent relationships they forged seriously. As Millar states 'A marriage in the Cook Strait area was entered into by the Europeans with all the foresight normal in their traditionally arranged marriages.'⁹⁹ It was not just in and around Cook Strait that marriages were seen by both husband and wife as a real, genuine unions, this was true throughout New Zealand.

Many whalers took Māori wives and should the wife die, it was common for the whaler to take another, something their tribe encouraged. Although little is known about the Māori wives themselves their names and family ties are known and it is important that they are recognized when discussing intermarriage. As discussed the wives of Barrett and Love were Mereruru and Rawinia/Waikaiwa both high-born Te Ati Awa women. John Guard was the only whaler living in the Marlborough Sounds who had a European wife in the first few years, Betty Palmer,

⁹⁸ Riddell, p.30.

⁹⁹ Millar, p.70.

who was only a teenager when she came to New Zealand to live at Te Awaiti.¹⁰⁰ Those who took Māori wives included Joseph Thoms who married Te Ua Torikiriki, the daughter of Ngati Toa chief Nohorua and Te Wainokenoke and the niece of Te Rauparaha;¹⁰¹ James Wynyen who married Kuika (Rangiawa), who was known as ‘Squeaker’ to the whalers,¹⁰² and Arthur Elmslie who married Erihapeti Pouakai, the daughter of a prominent Ngati Koata chief.¹⁰³ Within Kapiti and Mana Island’s whaling communities, whaler John Nichol married Kahe Te O Te Rangi, the daughter on Ngati Toa chief Te Matoha;¹⁰⁴ Thomas Evans married one of Ngati Toa chief Tungia’s daughters;¹⁰⁵ George Stubbs married Metapere Waipunahau, the daughter of Rangihiroa and a chieftainess of both Ngati Toa and Te Ati Awa;¹⁰⁶ William Jenkins married Paeroke a high ranking Te Ati Awa woman;¹⁰⁷ Robert Jillett married Aomarere from Ngati Raukawa;¹⁰⁸ Jock McGregor married Hinekawa the daughter of Ngati Kuia Chief Tutepourangi¹⁰⁹ and John Stenton Workman married Kokoriti Rewhanga a Ngati Kahungunu chieftainess.¹¹⁰ At Mahia John Greening married Victoria Te Hei;¹¹¹ John Anderson took Peti Karotapapa as his wife,¹¹² and William Bartlett married Takotohiwi.¹¹³ Little is known about the Māori wives of Mahia’s early European

¹⁰⁰ McIntosh, p.21- states that John Guard brought his wife Betty back to Te Awaiti after the first whaling season. Dawber, p.26- states that Betty enjoyed being the only white woman on the stations and that she had no trouble keeping Guard’s men in line.

¹⁰¹ See ‘Whakapapa of Tamaihengia, Puaha, etc of Ngati Toa’, in Mitchell, p.106 and McNab, pp. 377-378 and Thomas Bunbury, *Reminiscences of a Veteran*, Vol. III, London: Charles J Skeet Publisher, 1861, p.111.

¹⁰² See ‘Whakapapa of Tamaihengia, Puaha, etc of Ngati Toa’, in Mitchell, p.106 and McNab, pp. 377-378 and Bunbury, p.111.

¹⁰³ Olive Baldwin, *Story of New Zealand’s French Pass and d’Urville Island*, Plimmerton: Fields Publishing House, 1979, p.78. For more information on Arthur Elmslie see Oliver Sutherland, *Arthur Elmslie Whaler and Gentleman & Anaru The Farm at French Pass*, Nelson: Oliver Sutherland, 2006.

¹⁰⁴ Carkeek, p.46.

¹⁰⁵ E.J Wakefield, p.52 and Millar, p.70.

¹⁰⁶ MacLean, p.124.

¹⁰⁷ *ibid*, p.139.

¹⁰⁸ MacLean, p.159.

¹⁰⁹ Baldwin, p.66.

¹¹⁰ A brief outline of Stenton’s life at Kapiti is available in the Workman Family Papers, 1834-[ca 1914], MS-Papers-1842, ATL.

¹¹¹ Lambert, p.370.

¹¹² MacKay, p.154.

¹¹³ Mere Whaanga-Schollum, *Bartlett- Mahia to Tawatapu*, Mahia: Mahia Publishers Ltd, 1990, p.6.

whalers.¹¹⁴ However it is likely that they were directly related to the local chiefs.¹¹⁵ At Waikouaiti Steve Smith was married to Kuti.¹¹⁶ At Otakou, Edward Weller married chief Tahatu's daughter, Paparu, and upon her death he married Nikuru, a daughter of well known chief, Taiaroa.¹¹⁷ It is clear from looking at the marriages of some of the most well known and influential whalers of the 1830s that European whalers married the high ranking women of the local iwi. These marriages and subsequent family alliances helped to shape New Zealand society at the time and still now the descendants of some of these marriages live close to the old whaling stations.

The journals, diaries and reports of the whalers themselves, missionaries and visitors to New Zealand give examples of the nature of the marriages between Māori women and foreign whalers. However, the absence of recorded information from Māori women means that it is difficult to make conclusions about how they felt about their husbands and the nature of their marriages to European whalers. It appears that whalers generally treated their Māori wives well. According to Polack violence within such marriages was very rare.¹¹⁸ Dieffenbach also commented that Māori women were well treated by their European husbands.¹¹⁹ If whalers did beat their wives they would have probably been punished by both the stations headman and his wife's family. However desertion did occur at times Beattie suggests that 'Some other white men, however, did not treat their Maori or halfcaste wives with consideration they should have, and some heartless cases of desertion occurred.... they were not legal marriages, so that later when settlement came in a few of the whalers abandoned their Maori wives and married white women.'¹²⁰ However it was much more common for whalers to stay with their Māori wife even with the

¹¹⁴ *ibid*, p.7.

¹¹⁵ Lambert, p.372 – states that many of the early whalers married the belles of the pa.

¹¹⁶ Beattie, p.33-34.

¹¹⁷ Entwisle, *Behold*, pp. 94, 99, 101. Edward Weller had married Paparu by 1836, following her death in 1838; he married his second Māori wife, Nikuru.

¹¹⁸ See Joseph S. Polack, *New Zealand*, London: R. Bentley, 1838, p.368 – who says that European husbands treated their Māori wives better than Māori did.

¹¹⁹ Dieffenbach, *First Report*, p.104.

¹²⁰ Herries Beattie, *The First White Boy Born in Otago*, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1939, p.25.

arrival of more European women. The love and commitment many whalers had towards their wives was further expressed when they went to missionaries to get married under the laws of the church when given the opportunity. Worser Heberley married his wife Te Wai at Te Awaiti when the missionary Samuel Ironside arrived in 1840.¹²¹ Bill Palmer who whaled at Waikouaiti told the *Evening Star* in 1891 that he had married a Māori girl 'according to the prevailing fashion' and that they had a 'happy marriage' which produced nine children.¹²² Missionary's journals show that upon their arrival at the whaling stations they were kept busy performing Christian wedding ceremonies for whalers and their Māori wives.¹²³ Māori women made loyal, hard working wives who were praised for having helped civilize their husbands.¹²⁴

This chapter has shown that there were many reasons why intermarriage occurred and was so popular within early whaling settlements. The whalers themselves had various motivations which influenced their decisions to marry native women; these included their need for companionship and a help mate, to facilitate trading, and the protection that they received from their new families. Due to the lack of primary sources it was difficult to make any firm conclusions about why Māori women choose to take European whalers as husbands. However, evidence suggests that a whaler was a good choice as a husband for a Māori woman because her role was physically less demanding than being a wife to a Māori man. Another reason that influenced their decision was that Māori women still retained their place within their iwi even when marrying an outsider. The iwi, and in particular its chiefs, encouraged the marriages between their women and whalers for various reasons, including for the economic benefits that would accrue. Intermarriage was extremely common within the whaling stations, and the majority of these marriages were peaceful affairs.

¹²¹ Heberley.

¹²² Reminiscences of Bill Palmer, *Evening Star* (Dunedin), 4 July 1891.

¹²³ See pp.63-65 - of this thesis for a more detailed discussion.

¹²⁴ E.J Wakefield , p.136 and C Wakefield, *Third Despatch*, p.29.

CHAPTER TWO: INTERMARRIAGE - A VITAL NECESSITY OR A MATTER OF COMFORT?

This chapter examines how important intermarriage and other such relationships between European whalers and Māori women were in the formation, running and survival of early New Zealand shore whaling stations. Whalers needed land, resources and human labour to establish shore stations along New Zealand's coastline. The first section of this chapter investigates how whalers were able to gain access needs such as resources and labour. First it determines whether intermarriage meant easier access to such necessities. This chapter discusses the everyday running of whaling stations focussing on how vital family ties were in their functioning as well as hospitality and cooperation which both played fundamental roles in their running and success. The second section of this chapter looks at the benefits whaling brought to Māori living in and around whaling settlements and how such benefits were related to intermarriage and how they influenced Māori interaction with whalers. Lastly this chapter explores the nature of shore whaling stations. Much has been said on the nature of whaling stations by both early visitors to New Zealand and historians and this thesis expands on what is written by showing the role that intermarriage played in the nature of New Zealand's first onshore stations.

As discussed in chapter one, a large majority of early European whalers including both crew and headsman married or formed relationships with Māori women living within the vicinity of the stations they worked at. A consequence of such relationships was the family bonds that formed between the whaler and his partner's family. Whalers were often given Māori nicknames from Māori family members which they were willing to adopt. At Te Awaiti Dicky Barrett was known as Tihi Parete, Billy Bundy as Piri, John Wright as Haraheke, Daniel Sheridan as Tami Rene, Worser Heberley was known as Tangata Whata or Whata and John

Guard was often referred to as Tiaki Kari.¹²⁵ At Mahia John Smith was called Hake Mete.¹²⁶

Family ties meant whalers interacted in Māori society on many levels and became well known to the Māori they lived amongst. Besides the issues relating to the easier access of land which will be explored in chapter four, there are several other consequences relating to intermarriage which made it easier for Europeans who married Māori women to establish shore whaling stations. Whaling was a hectic business, and an exhausting job which involved working from dawn to dusk seven days a week for the entire season. Whalers therefore required extra help usually in the form of human labour to help build and operate their stations. Māori provided this extra help, often building houses for the whalers.¹²⁷ Māori were normally paid for their building services: at Te Awaiti, Worser Heberley paid the men, who he thought did a good job building his house, with pipes and tobacco.¹²⁸ The houses whalers resided in along New Zealand's coastline varied greatly in quality. At Te Awaiti Dieffenbach noted that

Some of the houses were substantial wooden buildings, but the majority had thatched walls of liands and bulrushes, with a roof of the same materials. They consisted of one floor, and contained two or more rooms, with a spacious chimney. The floor is of clay firmly compressed and beaten hard. All the houses have been built by the natives, and some are not inferior to those of the villages in many parts of Europe.¹²⁹

The whaler and his wife lived together in these homes and they were often joined by her family. Having housing provided meant that whalers could get on with the task at hand. More time for whaling meant increased culls which led to the expansion of many stations and often the establishment of new ones owned and operated by many of the same whalers nearby.¹³⁰ The expansion of current stations

¹²⁵ McIntosh, p.31.

¹²⁶ Lambert, p.370.

¹²⁷ E.J Wakefield, p. 140.

¹²⁸ Heberley.

¹²⁹ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, pp.37-38.

¹³⁰ This is discussed in detail in throughout Chapter Four.

and the building of new ones can therefore be linked to intermarriage in New Zealand during the 1830s and 1840s.

There is a lot of historical literature which focuses on the day to day running of whaling stations, most of which comment on the role Māori played with whaling itself. Primary and secondary sources both indicate that Māori men worked on the whale boats. For example:

In Te Awaiti are three whaling establishments. The proprietors have a number of boats in their service, manned with white people and natives....In Cloudy Bay there are four establishments on the same footing.... From Te Awaiti fifteen to twenty boats run out every morning; the boat steerer is generally an European, a large portion of the crew are natives as skilful Europeans.¹³¹

Available sources do not establish whether or not these Māori whalers were more likely to be related to the European whalers through marriage or not, but it is clear that many of the whalers' Māori relations did work on the boats. It seems likely that the new-found family members would have been employed first when choosing Māori crews. Carol Dawber states that Joseph Thom's wife Te Ua Toririki was a skilful boatwoman able to take oar or steer a whale boat and that she brought her people with her to work for Thoms.¹³² Māori were successful whalers who often made up the entire boating crew, and they were often praised for their whaling abilities.¹³³ Dieffenbach noted that Māori were generally hard workers and willing to do their job to the best of their ability.¹³⁴ The economic role Māori whalers played within the stations must not be understated. The contribution from Māori whalers to the overall running and success of most shore whaling stations during the 1830s and 1840s was significant. As Coutts notes larger whaling

¹³¹ Dieffenbach, Ernest, 'First Report to the New Zealand Company, on the Physical Condition and Natural History of Queen Charlotte's Sound, Cloudy Bay, Tory Channel, Port Nicholson, and the Surrounding Country,' in J. Ward, *Supplementary Information Relative to New-Zealand: Comprising Despatches and Journals of the Company's Officers of the First Expedition, and the First Report of the Directors*, London: John W. Parker, 1840, p.96.

¹³² Dawber, p.21.

¹³³ *ibid* and E.J Wakefield, p.143.

¹³⁴ *ibid*, p.104.

stations were manned by a mixture of Māori and Europeans and their survival depended entirely on the continued cooperation between the two races.¹³⁵

Headsmen at the stations did their best to make sure that the working relationships between European and Māori whalers were kept amicable. Caughey claims that at Te Awaiti John Guard ensured that Māori workers received the same amount of pay and equal rights as their European counterparts.¹³⁶ However it is difficult to determine whether this actually occurred. Māori whalers and chiefs were aware of the benefits of working alongside the Europeans and respected their boss for providing them with such an opportunity.¹³⁷ However it is clear that Māori workers did not always put their jobs on the whaling boats first. Because Māori society was still predominantly tribal, they were not always able to turn up to work everyday like the European whalers. The headsman also respected his Māori workers enough to re-employ them once they returned from intertribal fighting. Local Māori whalers often left their jobs to go off and fight traditional enemies returning to employment within the stations whenever the fighting ended.¹³⁸ Māori wives usually stayed behind at the stations during tribal wars continuing their everyday tasks and meeting the needs of their partners. Māori also left the stations and their jobs for other traditional reasons such as attending a tangi, such as when the Māori in the Queen Charlotte Sounds and Cloudy Bay areas attended the tangi of Waitohi, Te Rauparaha's sister, at Mana Island.¹³⁹

Māori women played a significant role in the everyday running of the whaling stations they lived within. However because Māori wives left behind no journals, diaries or correspondence, we can only evaluate their role through the sources left by whalers, missionaries and other visitors to the area. The absence of

¹³⁵ Coutts, p.300.

¹³⁶ Caughey, *The Interpreter*, p.90.

¹³⁷ Tuckett, *1844 Expedition*, April 9 – states that when the New Zealand Company's Surveyor, James Tuckett visited Otakou, local chief Tuawaiki was reluctant to provide him with the six Māori guides he had requested. Tuawaiki said he could only provide one otherwise he would have to remove the others from the whaling boats they crewed.

¹³⁸ Heberley.

¹³⁹ Caughey, *The Interpreter*, p.70.

sources from Māori women helps to explain why historians say little about the role of Māori women in early whaling stations. Māori wives tended to cultivations in and around the settlements helping to ensure the whalers had enough food for the season. Māori women used traditional food gathering knowledge to ensure they and their husbands had adequate supplies. Kuti who was married to Waikouaiti whaler Steve Smith's 'was a capable woman, and brought in half his tucker from her knowledge of native ways of getting food from the bush and the sea.'¹⁴⁰ The role of the Māori wives extended far beyond the realms of her husband and home, as they were also involved in the whaling stations themselves. Wives were also given the responsibility of looking after the injured. In a time before any doctors lived near the settlements, they often nursed sick or hurt whalers back to health using traditional medicines. At Otakou, whaler William Haberfield was cared for by his wife Araki in his final years.¹⁴¹ Māori women also tended to each other during child birth. MacDonald claims that a Māori woman cared for Betty Guard when she gave birth at Te Awaiti.¹⁴² Māori wives also looked after visitors to the whaling stations. The hospitality and warmth shown towards strangers by Māori women was often noted in the writing of visitors.¹⁴³

Māori wives also had the important role of acting as intermediaries between their European husbands, their own families and other Māori living in the settlement to which they belonged. Māori women also acted as mediators for their husbands when they came into contact with other Māori when travelling outside their whaling station.¹⁴⁴ In a sense, Māori wives acted as a cushion between their husbands and a world they were a stranger too, helping them to adjust to their new lives in New Zealand; its surrounds and most importantly its culture which was so

¹⁴⁰ Beattie, p.34.

¹⁴¹ T.A. Pybus, *The Maoris of the South Island*, Wellington: Reed, 1954, p.67.

¹⁴² MacDonald, p.28. According to Don Grady, *Guards* p.37 - Betty gave birth to John Guard Junior the first European child to be born in the South Island at Te Awaiti on 1 October 1831. In 1833 Betty gave birth to a daughter Louisa however she died aged 14 months having never recovered from being held captive by Māori following the *Harriet* affair. Louisa was buried in Sydney on 19 January 1835.

¹⁴³ Shortland, *The Southern*, p.114 and Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, pp.31,38 and Dieffenbach, *Travels* vol. II, p.12, and E.J Wakefield, p.127.

¹⁴⁴ C. Wakefield, *Extract of a Despatch*, p.20.

different to what many whalers had experienced in the past. Although some whalers, such as Barrett and Love, were already deeply immersed in Māori culture due to their time living as “Pākehā Māori”, most had no idea about Māori culture, especially the rules of protocol and tapu which came along with it. Primary sources and secondary literature refer to whalers breaking Māori customs. For example, Morton talks of how wives acted as a buffer between the races and how they were at times the saviours of their husbands who, through arrogance, frequently broke Māori customs.¹⁴⁵ Whalers were generally left in peace by Māori when going about their daily lives and as Dieffenbach stated ‘the hatred of the New Zealander is never directed against the whiteman, who may travel where he likes, and is never molested unless his own misconduct give rise to a quarrel.’¹⁴⁶ When quarrels or misunderstandings did occur, the Māori women did their best to ensure amicable relations were restored as quickly as possible. Māori women, through their role as helpmate and as peacemakers, helped ensure the smooth running of the whaling settlements especially in their early years.

Many shore whaling stations struggled initially, for example at Te Awaitei whalers could only kill whales for their bone as they did not have enough barrels, or timber to make more to store the oil in.¹⁴⁷ It was reported that in the first season after the whalers had filled all their casks there were still seven whales lying on the beach.¹⁴⁸ The serious lack of supplies also took a toll on the whaler’s diets; having at times to live on turnip tops and whale meat as there was no other food.¹⁴⁹ According to Malloch, Waikouaiti also suffered food shortages in the first year.¹⁵⁰ The original Otakou station suffered a larger setback when it was completely destroyed by an accidental fire.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁵ Morton, p.259.

¹⁴⁶ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.106.

¹⁴⁷ Dawber, p.17.

¹⁴⁸ *ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ C. Wakefield, *Extract of a Despatch*, p.28.

¹⁵⁰ Donald W Malloch, *Early Waikouaiti*, Dunedin: Otago Daily Times, 1940, p.15.

¹⁵¹ The fire occurred either in late 1831 or early 1832. News of fire had reached Sydney and was reported in the *Sydney Gazette*, 17 January 1832.

However whaling communities quickly turned into booming places with an ever increasing number of boats and men operating within them.¹⁵² Māori chiefs saw the advantages of having whalers in their close proximity and were keen to keep them around. Whaling brought previously unseen economic benefits to Māori, and allowed eager whalers to expand on these stations even further. Whalers were also able to establish new shore stations in nearby bays and inlets, a trend particularly common on Kapiti and Mana Islands as well as in the Marlborough Sounds.¹⁵³ The expansion of whaling stations meant the arrival of more European whalers and therefore the formation of more intercultural relationships, which in turn brought even greater economic benefits to local Māori.

Within a couple of seasons, men of differing trades began to establish themselves within the growing shore whaling settlements. Many areas got their own store keeper, sawyer and carpenter. This thesis has demonstrated that European whalers lived at the mercy of Māori when shore whaling stations were first established. European whalers were subjected to threats from both local Māori and raiding parties from other areas. Initially Local Māori held the power in the settlements firstly because they generally outnumbered the whalers and secondly because whalers depended on them for vital necessities. These necessities included access to land, wood, fresh water and food. However within a few years of a stations establishment the power began to change hands. It must be explained here that the term “power” has no single definition or meaning within this thesis. Power could and often did mean numerous things within the whaling stations; it often meant control over resources and other people. It is important now to discuss how the European whalers were able to increase their power over local Māori. However it must be remembered that neither group had complete control and dominance over the other during the timeframe of this thesis. The power and

¹⁵² For example - Shortland, *The Southern*, p. 301 – shows in 1833 there were four boats operating at Otakou; eight in 1834 and twelve by 1835 and Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p. 108 – states that by 1839 Kapiti and Mana Islands had 23 boats between them.

¹⁵³ The establishment of new stations is looked at in detail in chapter four of this thesis.

dominance within early New Zealand shore whaling stations was carefully balanced and could tip in either groups favour at any time.

As more European whalers moved into the shore whaling stations they gained numerical superiority over Māori. The Māori population was also diminishing in and around the whaling settlements during the late 1830s and early 1840s.¹⁵⁴ As whalers began to outnumber Māori they started to gain more power. However Europeans did not necessarily need to outnumber Māori to gain power. An example of the shift of power comes from Waikouaiti where in the 1840s the power moved from Ngai Tahu to Pākehā due to a number of factors, including the introduction of Pākehā diseases that killed many Māori. Olssen argues that as a result Māori began turning to God, and in self-defence allowed even larger numbers of Pākehā to live amongst them.¹⁵⁵ Coutt's 'Merger or Takeover', investigates the cultural changes which occurred within Foveaux Straits Māori society between 1773 and 1850.¹⁵⁶ Coutts looks at the economic, material and social changes that occurred within Māori society and in doing so shows that whaling disintegrated the former cohesion that existed within each Māori community.¹⁵⁷ European whalers brought many changes to Māori society as did the more permanent settlements which occurred later. The social, material, economic and religious changes that occurred within traditional Māori society reduced the power and dominance Māori initially had over European whalers.

Whaling stations were dependent on the relationships that developed between the leaders of both groups and on the individual relationships that developed between the normal whaler and local tribe member. The communities were essentially based upon a mixture of the Māori and European cultures, due to

¹⁵⁴ John Wallis Barnicoat, 1814-1905, Journal, qMS-0139-0140, ATL, p.167 – states that the native population at Port Underwood was diminishing due to marriage with whalers, disease and consumption. Shortland, *The Southern*, p.39 – states that he was told that a few years before his visit there had been many more Māori living at Otakou but that large numbers had died from measles and during wars with Te Rauparaha.

¹⁵⁵ Erik Olssen, *A History of Otago*, Dunedin: John McIndoe, 1984, p.20.

¹⁵⁶ P.J.F. Coutts, 'Merger or Takeover: A Survey of the Effects of Contact Between European and Maori in the Foveaux Strait Region', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 78:4 (1969), p.495.

¹⁵⁷ *ibid*, p.511.

intermarriage, shared employment, and by simply living within the same vicinity, therefore providing a process of constant interaction. Both the whalers and Māori knew the benefits of mutual co-existence, and although there were occasions where both Pākehā and Māori tried to extend their power over each other, it was normally resisted immediately.

Within the whaling stations the headsman had more power than most, but even he did not have complete control. Guard was a powerful headsman and not afraid to stand up to Māori chiefs, even threatening to shoot Te Rauparaha after the chief menaced him with a tomahawk during an argument over some stolen sheep.¹⁵⁸ Te Rauparaha eventually calmed down and their friendship was restored.¹⁵⁹ Even though minor skirmishes and disagreements occurred between European whalers themselves and local Māori, friendships were quickly patched up; as everyone knew it was important for the wellbeing of the community. Good relationships helped to ensure a more productive working environment. The stations were constantly changing due to the departures and constant arrival of new whalers, and intermarriage, although often short-term, helped to ensure the community ran as smoothly as possible. Nevertheless, like other pre-colonial settlements, whaling communities had their fair share of problems.

Most of the secondary literature on early whaling establishments in New Zealand emphasizes the negative characteristics that were associated with the whaling trade. Historians in the past have referred to whaling stations as being evil places, full of corruption with no laws to regulate them, with the settlements marred by the excessive drinking and violence.¹⁶⁰ For example, Morton discusses

¹⁵⁸ McNab, p.333.

¹⁵⁹ *ibid.*, p.30. It must be acknowledged that while Guard was not afraid to stand up to Te Rauparaha, Guard would have been aware that Te Rauparaha had hundreds of well-armed warriors at his disposal and could have wiped out any or all the whalers whenever he wanted to. However Guard's show of force would have reminded Te Rauparaha that violence towards the whalers could result in loss of the station, and therefore access to money and goods.

¹⁶⁰ For example - Christopher Lethbridge, *The Wounded Lion: Octavius Hadfield 1814-1904*, Caxton Press: Christchurch, 1993, p.36 – states that there were no laws at Waikouaiti. MacLean, p.140 – wrote that during the 1830s and 1840s neither Kapiti's European whalers or Māori

the drinking habits of whalers and how such habits eventually rubbed off onto Māori.¹⁶¹ This along with McLean's opinion that 'whalers were part of a distinctive male culture characterized by violence, drunkenness, hospitality and discipline' is shared by many.¹⁶² McLean argues that the violence and heavy drinking at Te Awaiti can be seen as a part of the 'distinctive male culture' of frontier society, which had 'its own attitudes and codes of behaviour.'¹⁶³ While it is true that drinking played a large role in New Zealand's shore whaling stations, historians tend to distort the overall image of the whaling settlements by over emphasizing the negative behaviours that occurred. When commenting on whaling at Mahia, Thomas Lambert states 'That whites lived a careless, reckless kind of life, drinking and gambling, having nothing to check them, and it is said that more people died of drink at these settlements than by the accidents of the trade, hazardous as it was.'¹⁶⁴ McIntosh calls Te Awaiti a 'rough and evil-smelling settlement', in which 'only the hardier and the more desperate and abandoned were able to withstand the early rigours of Te Awaiti's riotous existence.'¹⁶⁵ However it must be acknowledged that more recent histories are not as harsh in their remarks as those written in the early and mid twentieth century.

Upon evaluating primary sources, it is easy to understand why some historians have exaggerated the negative aspects of the whaling settlements. Dieffenbach, Heaphy and Wakefield all discuss the alcohol consumption that they witnessed and the bad behaviour that they saw within the stations they visited. William Wakefield wrote that 'The beaches in Cloudy Bay and Te Awaiti present

inhabitants were restrained by government or regulation. MacDonald, p.128 – discuss the lawless behaviour that occurred at Te Awaiti.

¹⁶¹ Morton, p. 251.

¹⁶² Morton, p.251 and Caughey, *The Interpreter*, p.68 - who states that constant violence and drunkenness were part of the whaling subculture. McIntosh, p. 20 - says that Te Awaiti became a rough and evil smelling settlement. Dawber, p.21 - states that Te Awaiti was a 'primitive and violent place in those early days.' Pybus, *Maori and the Missionary*, p.27 - claims that at Waikouaiti the love for strong drink was the source of much evil. Lambert, p.366, talks about the widespread drinking and gambling which plagued Mahia.

¹⁶³ *ibid*, p.72.

¹⁶⁴ Thomas Lambert, *The Story of Old Wairoa and the East Coast*, Dunedin: Coulls Somerville Wilkie Ltd, 1925, p.36.

¹⁶⁵ McIntosh, pp.20-21.

the most miserable scenes of idleness, drunkenness, and recklessness amongst our countrymen.'¹⁶⁶ Missionary, James Watkin, wrote at Waikouaiti that 'The New Zealanders here are heathens deteriorated by their connection with wicked whites'.¹⁶⁷ The physical environment of the whaling stations also received negative comments from early visitors. While visiting Mana Island Church Missionary Henry Williams commented that 'The place looked filthy and a most disgusting stench from the putrid carcasses of whales.'¹⁶⁸

However early visitors also discuss the friendliness and hospitality that they were shown by both the whalers and local Māori, but these positive factors fail to receive as much emphasis in secondary literature. While visiting Port Underwood and Cloudy Bay, Edward Wakefield wrote that while the whaling communities were wild places without regular law, 'Some few men of iron will and large limb ruled to a considerable degree the lawless assemblage, and maintained a powerful influence by their known courage and prowess, whether in the whale-boat or the fight on shore. Some few, too, though very few, like Dicky Barrett were respected for their kindheartedness to all.'¹⁶⁹ Edward Wakefield also stated that while at Te Awaitei he 'was mostly kindly and hospitality treated by all the whalers, as well as the natives.... and in finding that many generous and noble qualities redeemed their [whalers] general inclination to vice and lawlessness.'¹⁷⁰ Wakefield later wrote about what he considered the whalers remarkable contradiction of character, stating that 'Though prone to drunkenness and its attendant evils, the whaler is hospitable in the extreme, and his rough built house is a model of cleanliness and orders.'¹⁷¹ It is clear that both sides of the whaler's character and both the positive and negative reports about life at the whaling stations must be shown to give an overall picture of the nature of the settlements.

¹⁶⁶ C Wakefield, *Despatch*, p.114.

¹⁶⁷ James Watkin, 'Watkin's Journal, 1840. — Extract from the Journal of the Revd. James Watkin, the First European Preacher Stationed in the South Island of New Zealand, June 14th', in McNab, p.489.

¹⁶⁸ Henry Williams, *The Early Journal of Henry Williams 1822-1840*, Christchurch: Pegasus, 1961, p.451.

¹⁶⁹ E.J Wakefield, pp.17-18.

¹⁷⁰ *ibid*, p.127.

¹⁷¹ *ibid*, p.128.

Life in early New Zealand whaling stations was not only strikingly different to what many visitors had experienced before, but also to what many of the whalers themselves were accustomed to. For some whalers however life on the whaling station was not too different to what they were accustomed to. The likes of Dicky Barrett and Jacky Love had much experience in dealing with Māori due to their time living as Pākehā-Māori in Taranaki. For some whalers the stations would have been a great improvement from life on the ships; Edward Wakefield wrote that many of the whalers he meet were tempted by the comforts of living onshore.¹⁷² Deep sea whaling vessels were notoriously cramped and undoubtedly unpleasant places to live. Some other whalers had worked as sealers and traders along New Zealand's coastline before joining whaling crews. The stations existed without any formal European type laws, which meant that men could act in ways they would never have got away with in more regulated societies and many would have taken advantage of this, acting up in their free time. However it must be acknowledged that whalers were subject to tikanga Māori to a certain extent. The physical and environmental characteristics of the settlements were often less than pleasant with rotting whale carcasses giving off an inescapable stench, such factors may have influenced the negative writings of some who lived in and visited the stations.¹⁷³ It is clear that while whaling stations and whalers themselves had their fair share of rough and rugged characteristics they too had virtues and it is these virtues along with the roles of the Māori women which have often been ignored by historians.

This chapter has shown the role that intermarriage helped create in the establishment, running and success of early New Zealand whaling stations. It is clear that intermarriage had some influence in the initial formation of many of the whaling settlements although payment for the use of the land was usually a prerequisite. Once whalers obtained land they were helped by local Māori, many of

¹⁷² E.J Wakefield, p.127.

¹⁷³ Williams, p.451.

whom were now their relations, to build houses. Their new relatives, along with other Māori men, assisted in the everyday running of New Zealand's whaling stations by working alongside the Pākehā whalers. Both visitors and subsequent historians have often presented the whaling stations as evil, drunken, violent settlements, virtually out of control. However, this chapter shows a more complex society. Inter-marriage helped to keep peace within the whaling stations, with the whalers' Māori wives helping to ensure the smooth running of the stations by assisting within the community, as well as looking after their husbands and visitors to the settlements.

CHAPTER THREE: INTERMARRIAGE – A PRACTICE CONDEMNED OR PRAISED?

The third chapter of this thesis looks at how marriages between European whalers and Māori women and subsequent children were viewed by missionaries and early government officials. First there will be a discussion on how these children have been referred to in the past; by their parents, Māori society, by missionaries, early government officials and other visitors to New Zealand's coastline. This is followed by a discussion on how these children have been referred to by historians in New Zealand before an explanation of the terminology used when referring to such children in this thesis. The manner in which children were treated by their European fathers and Māori mothers along with her iwi will be discussed before looking at how missionaries and early government officials regarded these children of mixed descent. The second half of this chapter looks at what missionaries and early government officials thought of the marriages and other such relationships between European whalers and Māori women. In this chapter there are a lot of comments from those who visited and at times lived within the whaling stations. While their insights and opinions themselves provide an interesting story and give some explanation into the thoughts of their writers they must be considered in context.

Although there are few sources which have survived from the early European whalers those that are still available today provide examples of how the whalers themselves referred to the children they had with their Māori wives. The main means of communication between whalers and Māori was through speaking a type of pidgin Māori.¹⁷⁴ However, records from visitors to New Zealand's shore whaling stations show this was not the only means of communication. When Māori boarded the *Tory* they shook hands with everyone, a custom they obviously picked

¹⁷⁴ McLean, p.67 and Bentley, p.209 - says that Māori whalers adopted the distinctive whalers dialect.

up from the whalers and then they all spoke to the crew in broken English.¹⁷⁵ Dieffenbach noted that when he went exploring in the bush in the Queen Charlotte Sounds his Māori guide seldom spoke but when he did he spoke in a type of broken English.¹⁷⁶ At the whaling settlements themselves the *Tory's* crewmembers noticed that many of the Māori 'spoke a good deal of English.'¹⁷⁷ Many whalers also spoke some Māori, something which delighted Dieffenbach.¹⁷⁸ While it is unclear if either the whalers or local Māori became fluent in each other's language, it is obvious that they learnt more than enough to communicate effectively.

It is now important to look at the names given to the children of mixed marriages in New Zealand's shore whaling stations between 1827 and 1845. The lack of sources relating to the Māori wives who lived at the whaling stations makes it difficult to make any remarks on how they referred to the children they bore with European whalers. While 'awhekaika' was the Māori name for individuals of mixed Māori and European descent, the lack of sources makes it impossible to tell how often Māori living in the shore whaling stations used this term.¹⁷⁹ Anderson and Boyes both claimed that derogatory terms such as utu-pihikete (paid for with a biscuit), o te parara (out of the barrel) and huipaina (hoop iron, which was also an article of trade) were also used by some Māori when referring to the children born to European whalers and Māori women.¹⁸⁰ Again how often these terms were used by Māori living within the whaling stations is difficult to determine.

It is clear that the majority of European whalers would have spoken to both their children and their Māori wives in a mixture of English and Māori. By analysing the letters, diaries and other documents left by the whalers it is possible

¹⁷⁵ E.J Wakefield, p.6 and Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.24.

¹⁷⁶ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.29.

¹⁷⁷ E.J Wakefield, p.143.

¹⁷⁸ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.34.

¹⁷⁹ Binney, p.93. There are several other spelling variations for this term.

¹⁸⁰ Percy Smith, *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*, New Plymouth: Printed for the Society by Thomas Avery, 1910, p.418 and Beattie, *Taiko Talks*, p.155 and Anderson, *Race*, p.2 and Suzanne Boyes, 'Mai I ngā Ao e Rua – From Two Worlds – An investigation into the attitudes towards half castes in New Zealand,' Bachelor of Arts (Honours) in Māori Studies, University of Otago, 2006.

to find some examples of how the whalers referred to their Māori families. It must be noted that the intended audiences for these writings were English speaking and this may have influenced the word choices. In Worser Heberley's reminiscences he wrote 'My eldest daughter was born on December 27' he later discusses a tribal war saying 'I took a boat and rowed my wife and child', Worser also refers to the large family he and Te Wai had.¹⁸¹ Barrett who whaled on both sides of Cook Strait spoke a great deal of Māori due to his time living as a "Pākehā Māori" in Nga Motu, Taranaki. Although it is difficult to determine now it is probable that he spoke to his daughters and Māori wife in Māori. However in a letter to his brother Barrett refers to them in English terms stating 'I am now married to one of the native chief women by whom I have three children'.¹⁸²

The abundance of sources left by missionaries and visitors to the whaling stations means it is much easier to make firm conclusions about how they referred to the children born to European whalers and Māori women. Alexander Majorbanks visited New Zealand in 1840 referred to the 'children' of Joseph Thoms and his wife Te Ua Torikiriki.¹⁸³ Edward Shortland refers to the children fathered by European whalers as 'half-cast', as does Monro.¹⁸⁴ Similarly Ernst Dieffenbach, Edward and William Wakefield refer to the children as 'half-caste'.¹⁸⁵ Tuckett who visited Southern New Zealand used the term 'half-bred' when referring to the children born to European whalers and their Māori wives. Mixed race children living in shore whaling stations along New Zealand's coast in the late 1830s and early 1840s were usually referred to simply as 'children' or as 'half-caste'. The term 'half-caste' was generally used when giving a physical description of the children and appears frequently in both primary and secondary source material.

¹⁸¹ Heberley.

¹⁸² Barrett, *Letter*.

¹⁸³ Alexander Majorbanks, *Travels in New Zealand: With a Map of the Country*, London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1846, p.108

¹⁸⁴ Shortland, p.115 and Munro, Notes of a Journey through a part of the Middle Island of New Zealand – To the Editor of the Nelson Examiner, *The Nelson Examiner*, 20 July 1844.

¹⁸⁵ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.191, E.J Wakefield, pp.15, 18 and C Wakefield, *Despatch*, p.30.

The term half caste was the most commonly used term used to refer to individuals of mixed race or ethnicity in the nineteenth century. However other terms have also been used internationally. The term Métis, which is of French origin was commonly used in the Western Hemisphere to describe someone born or descended from the union of a European and an American Indian. However, the term has been used by other groups around the world, mostly in countries which were under French influence. The Spanish equivalent Mestizo was used in the Spanish Empire to designate people of mixed ancestry living in the region of Latin America.

Paul Meredith states that the children of mixed race marriages in New Zealand were generally referred to as half-caste although Polack (1840) suggested in 1838 the term Anglo-New Zealander.¹⁸⁶ Riddell's essay on intermarriage discusses how the term half-caste was used historically in New Zealand to describe anyone of mixed parentage and how this term was used in nineteenth century texts on the Māori population and intermarriage.¹⁸⁷ Angela Wanhalla scrutinises the 'biological' or 'blood' terms which were used to refer to children of mixed descent during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.¹⁸⁸ Wanhalla states that the roots of words such as 'full-blood' and 'half-caste' can be found 'in the context of nineteenth century theories of racial hierarchies' at a time when people were interested in the results of 'the crossing of the "races"'.¹⁸⁹ The explanation given above explains why missionaries, early European visitors and government officials often used the term 'half-caste' when describing the children born to European whalers and Māori women. By the 1920s the term half-caste had virtually vanished from both languages.¹⁹⁰ Wanhalla prefers to use the term 'mixed descent' in her PhD thesis as the period she covers encompasses a time where 'half-caste', 'three-

¹⁸⁶ Paul Meredith, A Half-Caste on the Half-Caste in the Cultural Politics of New Zealand, <http://lianz.waikato.ac.nz/PAPERS/paul/Paul%20Meredith%20Mana%20Verlag%20Paper.pdf>, retrieved on 6 April 2007.

¹⁸⁷ Riddell, p.6.

¹⁸⁸ Wanhalla, pp.18-20.

¹⁸⁹ *ibid*, p.19.

¹⁹⁰ Judith Binney, ' "In-Between" Lives: studies from within a colonial society', in Tony Ballantyne and Brain Moloughney (ed.), *Disputed Histories Imagining New Zealand's Past*, Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2006, p.94.

quarter caste' and 'quarter-caste' children were born.¹⁹¹ However in this thesis the term 'half-caste' is used when referring to the offspring of European whalers and Māori women. It has been shown that this terminology was commonly used in European society at the time when discussing children born to parents of different cultures. The timeframe of this thesis ensures that the children being referred to would have been in terms of blood 'half-caste' and therefore it is the appropriate terminology to use.

Missionary accounts as well as diaries, journals and correspondence from visitors to New Zealand's coastline give a detailed and fairly extensive picture of how many half-caste children lived in whaling settlements between 1827 and 1845. Although there were half-caste children in New Zealand before this period, whose fathers were typically traders and sealers the largest half-caste population in the first half of the nineteenth century were from whaling communities. When Edward Shortland visited Waikouaiti he wrote that 'Two native women had married whalers, and nine had formed similar connexions without the solemnity of the marriage ceremony. The fruit of these unions were fourteen half-cast children.'¹⁹² At Te Awaiti in the Marlborough Sounds there were more than 20 half-caste children when the *Tory* visited in 1839.¹⁹³ Edward Wakefield who also visited Te Awaiti on the *Tory* wrote 'There were about twenty-five half-caste children at Te Awaiti.'¹⁹⁴ Colonel Wakefield also claimed that there were about twenty five children living at Te Awaiti.¹⁹⁵ At this time it was believed that there were about one hundred and sixty half caste children living along the shores of Cook Strait and on Kapiti and Mana Island's and within New Zealand there were about four hundred in total.¹⁹⁶ How exactly Dieffenbach reached this total cannot be determined but it is likely that he relied on information given to him from people he encountered while visiting New Zealand's coastline. It is possible that is also

¹⁹¹ Wanhalla, p.19.

¹⁹² Shortland, p.115.

¹⁹³ C Wakefield, *Third Despatch*, p.103.

¹⁹⁴ E.J Wakefield, p.18.

¹⁹⁵ C Wakefield, *Despatch*, p.30.

¹⁹⁶ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.41

how Edward Shortland came to claim that there were ‘probably little more than three hundred’ half-caste children in New Zealand when he visited Southern New Zealand.¹⁹⁷ Although the exact number of half-caste children that lived in each settlement can not be validated it is clear that there were numerous at each station as most European whalers who had Māori wives or partners produced families.¹⁹⁸

The half caste children living in New Zealand shore whaling stations became part of a contact zone between their Māori relatives and their European whaling fathers. These children were considered racially different from both of their parents and to everyone else who lived in or visited their homes and settlements. The following paragraphs look at how these children were treated and regarded by both Māori and Europeans. In Māori society women held great importance especially if they were the daughter, niece or granddaughter of a chief. As stated in chapter one these high ranking women were generally chosen to be the wives of European whalers. Because rank and honour could be passed through women, the children born to high ranking women were held in high regard.¹⁹⁹ This tradition did not change if Māori women married a European whalers; their child was given the same ranking as their Māori counterparts. Many of the whalers were held with the utmost respect by Māori, the combination of this respect with the high rank of their Māori wives meant the child of such a union had a lot of mana from birth.²⁰⁰ A clear example of the passing of mana and status through the mothers family comes from the marriage between John Nichol and Kahe te

¹⁹⁷ Shortland, p.77.

¹⁹⁸ William Swainson, *New Zealand and its Colonization*, California: University of California, 1859, p.29 – states that the total number of half-castes in New Zealand was never correctly ascertained.

¹⁹⁹ From the research conducted for this thesis it appears that this tradition and attitude was the same for all iwi connected with whaling during this period. Secondary sources I have consulted during my studies also suggest that rank and honour could be passed from mother to child within Māoridom. For example – Rangimarie Rose Pere, *Ako – Concepts and Learning in the Maori Tradition*, Wellington: Te Kohanga Reo National Trust Board, 1982, p.57 – states that Tuhoe and Kahungunu women retain their rank and identity and that children could identify with either of their parents kinship group.

²⁰⁰ Although there is a lack of sources it may be that mixed decent children born to a high ranking mother and a well respected whaler were considered more valuable to the tribe than a child born to two high rank Māori parents. However a lot of research would need to be conducted to see if this was the case.

Rauoterangi, their grandson Sir Maui Pomare became one of Māoridom's greatest figures.²⁰¹

Rank, success and mana could be passed from mother to child in Māori society just as it could be from father to son in traditional European society. This combined with the even stronger ties Māori chiefs now had with their son-in-laws due to the birth of the child that they were both tied to by blood meant that the child was considered special by their mothers family and iwi. Half-caste children according to Morton could adopt which ever society they choose, however, it seems unlikely that during their childhood at the whaling station that they would have had much choice.²⁰² It seems likely that in their younger years the children born into the whaling communities would have known little about their father's life or culture before he came to live at the station. Even if children did have a choice about which culture they adopted primary source material suggests that at least in their childhood years the children lived largely as Māori with their mother and her family being the primary caregivers. Dieffenbach noted 'They are generally attached to her race, and of course better acquainted with her language than with English.'²⁰³ Dieffenbach further comments on the role the child's Māori family played in their upbringing stating that 'the natives generally take great delight in their grandchildren.'²⁰⁴ Māori were willing to care for their half-caste relatives when the child was unable or perhaps at times unwilling to live with their European father. For example Edward Weller took his daughter Hana (Fanny) with him when he returned to live in Sydney but she returned to Otakou to the care of her Māori aunt due to homesickness.²⁰⁵ The half caste children born to European whalers and Māori women were not only accepted by Māori into their society they were also treated well and were dearly loved by their Māori relatives.

²⁰¹ Carkeek, p.46.

²⁰² Morton, p.252.

²⁰³ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. II, p.41.

²⁰⁴ *ibid.*

²⁰⁵ Entwisle, 'Edward Weller', p.30.

Although much of the child rearing was done by Māori wives and their extended families the European fathers also played a role in their children's lives. Right from birth European men were involved in the lives of their half-caste children. However at times the whalers demanding jobs significantly impinged upon their ability to do so. It was common practice for the whalers' children to be given English names by their fathers. At Waikokopu station in Mahia Captain William Ellis the station owner named his half-caste daughter Emma.²⁰⁶ Also at Mahia John Anderson who married Peti Karotapapa had two sons John and William followed by another Henry and a daughter Betty, who was commonly called Peti, both of whom were born at Anaura.²⁰⁷ Dicky Barrett's daughters all received English first names Caroline, Mary and Sarah.²⁰⁸ Like Anderson's Betty, Caroline and Sarah also had transliterations of their names, Kara and Hera respectively which they were also known by.²⁰⁹ Joseph Thoms and his wife Te Ua named their two sons George and Thomas, they were also known by the Māori versions of their names, Hori and Tametame.²¹⁰ This shows that while European whalers wanted to give their half-caste children English names they were willing to allow others to use Māori pronunciation of their names. Whether the whalers themselves called their children by their Māori names is not clear from the sources available now.

The roles whalers played in their children's lives is missing from New Zealand literature; perhaps because it is also absent from primary source material. Accounts left by those who visited New Zealand's shore whaling stations indicate that European whalers played a role in the everyday upbringing of their children. The father's interaction with his offspring would have increased during the summer when whaling ceased for several months. Over the summer months many whalers remained in New Zealand with their Māori wife, her family and his children, usually working on cultivations and maintaining and extending upon

²⁰⁶ Lambert, p.368.

²⁰⁷ Mackay, p.154.

²⁰⁸ Barrett, Will.

²⁰⁹ Ibid.

²¹⁰ Joe Boulton, Joe Boulton articles, BRN 118254, Porirua Library History Archives

whaling stations.²¹¹ Worser Heberley remained with his wife and oldest daughter who was born on December 27, at Cloudy Bay until they were both able to travel over to the Queen Charlotte Sounds to meet up with other whalers for the summer.²¹² In the following April Heberley acted as a protector for his wife and child when southern Māori invaded the Sounds he went with them to Kapiti Island and then rowed them to Waikanae where he left them in the protection of his wife's iwi.²¹³

Whalers and their Māori wives also helped care for other whaler's children. In early years some whalers returned to Sydney during the off season leaving their Māori family behind, during this time other whalers and their wives along with the wider community helped care for those who were left behind. The adoption of Dan Love the son of Jacky Love and Riwiana is an example of how whalers were hospitable and willing to care for children other than their own. Dicky adopted Dan while his father 'was on his death-bed' and cared for him at Te Awaiti.²¹⁴ Wakefield noted how Dan was treated by the natives as one of their own and that he had 'the universal respect and kindness to which he was entitled by the character of his father and the rank of his mother.'²¹⁵ It is clear that Dan Love was well respected by both Māori and European whalers and that both would have been prepared to raise him on their own. While the adoption of Dan Love is an extreme example of the combined hospitality of whalers and Māori it does demonstrate that half-caste children were loved and cared for by both Europeans and Māori living within shore whaling stations.

The accounts left by visitors to New Zealand's shore whaling stations indicate that whalers treated their Māori wives and children well. Whalers provided their new found families with clothing, a permanent dwelling and were generally keen to acknowledge their existence to visitors. After spending time

²¹¹ E.J Wakefield, p.141 and Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.41.

²¹² Heberley.

²¹³ *ibid.*

²¹⁴ E.J Wakefield, p.15.

²¹⁵ *ibid*

within the shore whaling stations Dieffenbach wrote 'The native women are well treated by their white husbands, and are dressed in a mixture of European clothes and native mats.'²¹⁶ James Polack also suggests that European whalers treated their Māori wives well, stating that European husbands treated their wives better than Māori did.²¹⁷ Dicky Barrett showed considerable care for his wife Riwiana. Although Barrett was busy helping those on the *Tory* negotiate land sales with Māori he stayed at home and cared his wife when she fell ill.²¹⁸ Secondary literature also comments on how whalers treated their children they bore with their Māori wives. For example at Waikouaiti Johnny Jones was said to be indulgent towards his children.²¹⁹ However whalers did not always treat their Māori wives and children with the love and respect they deserved. The nature of the whaling industry itself would have played a role in the destruction of some marriages. For instance at times whalers up and left their families during the off season and it was not uncommon for whalers to travel between different stations working which could mean they did not see their family for months at a time. Also some whalers simply failed to return to their station for the next season and therefore completely abandoned their family. Reflecting on his childhood at Waikouaiti Thomas Kennard said that while most European whalers treated their Māori wives well 'Some other white men, however did not treat their Maori or half caste wives with the consideration they should have, and some heartless cases of desertion occurred... they were not legal marriages, so that later when settlement came in a few of the whalers abandoned their Maori wives and married white women.'²²⁰ Although some European whalers did not treat their Māori wives and children kindly evidence suggests the majority did.

This next section looks at how half-caste children were thought of by missionaries who in early years only visited the stations, but later often lived in or within close proximity to them. Initially missionaries were based in the Bay of

²¹⁶ Dieffenbach, *First Report*, p.104.

²¹⁷ Polack, *New Zealand*, p.368.

²¹⁸ E.J Wakefield, p.47.

²¹⁹ Christie, p.71.

²²⁰ Kennard, in Beattie, p.25.

Islands but during the late 1830s and early 1840s the churches they were affiliated with began sending their men to other parts of New Zealand. The re-location of missionaries was sometimes at the request of Māori who were becoming increasingly interested in Christianity.²²¹ Ballantyne argues that CMS missionaries' attitudes towards Māori have not been fully explored and that our understanding of early nineteenth century Māori Pakeha relationships is therefore incomplete.²²² He later states that in order to understand missionaries' opinions we must understand their theology and training.²²³ Ballantyne's opinions are valid and must be taken into account when analysing the opinions of missionaries towards half-caste children.

Johann Friedrich Heinrich Wohlers who worked as a missionary at Ruapuke made frequent visits to New Zealand's southern coastline. Wohlers wrote that while Māori children were dirty, 'half-bred children' were clean, neatly dressed, lovely children with rosy faces.²²⁴ Missionaries believed that Māori were redeemable because they were part of god's creation and the children particularly were seen as innocent and in need of spiritual help.²²⁵ Missionaries' theological beliefs about children would have influenced what they thought and wrote about the many half-caste children they encountered in New Zealand's whaling stations.

Early government officials on the other hand were not confined by strict religious beliefs of the church. Like missionaries, land purchasing agents who came on board the *Tory* in 1839 had many positive things to say about the half-caste children born to European whalers and Māori women. At Te Awaitei Dieffenbach wrote that the whalers' offspring 'of whom I counted twenty-one in

²²¹ For example at Otakou, Catholic Bishop Pompallier was asked to send a missionary even though Watkin had already established a Protestant mission at Waikouaiti. See Bishop Pompallier 'Extract from the Bishop's Diary Describing Several Voyages Round New Zealand', in Peter McKeefry (ed.), *Fishers of Men*, Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, Auckland, 1938, p.102.

²²² Ballantyne, p.31.

²²³ *ibid*, pp.40-41.

²²⁴ Johann Friedrich Heinrich Wohlers, *Memories of the Life of J.F.H. Wohlers Missionary at Ruapuke, New Zealand – An Autobiography*, John Houghton (trans.), Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Company, 1999, p.161.

²²⁵ Ballantyne, p.36.

Te-awaiti, have finely-cast countenance and their features remind us little of the admixture of a coloured race; the skin is not so dark as that of the inhabitants of the south of France; they generally inherit from the mother the large and fine eye and the dark glossy hair; there are, however many individuals with flaxen hair and blue eyes.²²⁶ William Wakefield made similar comments stating 'The children of Europeans by natives are a beautiful light race, light brown, like Frenchmen from the South, not sallow in complexion, but with a healthy red on the cheeks; in features like the mother, from whom they inherit beautiful black eyes and hair. Seen in Europe, nobody would suspect that they were children between two different races, as they are, in my opinion falsely considered.'²²⁷ William Wakefield's comment indicates he believes that half-caste children should be seen as their own unique and special race not simply as a blend of their parents. Similarly Edward Wakefield wrote positively about the half-caste children he meet stating that they 'were all strikingly comely, and many of them quite fair, with light hair and rosy cheeks; active and hardy as the goats with which the settlement also swarmed.'²²⁸ It is clear that those on the *Tory* admired the half-caste children that they encountered both their attractive appearance and friendliness are commented on through-out the visitor's journals and letters. It must be noted that their remarks may have been slightly tainted by preconceived racial ideas. The New Zealand Company's men frequently praised both Māori and half-caste children throughout their writings after their many encounters along New Zealand's coastline.

Neither missionaries nor early government officials made negative comments about half-caste children being so deeply entrenched in their mother's culture. It was particularly common for missionaries to condemn the European whaler for their drunken behaviour and reckless life they lived in shore whaling

²²⁶ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.38.

²²⁷ Dieffenbach, *First Report*, p.103.

²²⁸ E.J Wakefield, p.18.

stations.²²⁹ The general repulsion missionaries showed towards the male orientated whaling culture provides an indication as to why they were less concerned about half-caste children being raised in a predominantly Māori fashion. While living at Cloudy Bay Reverend Samuel Ironside stated that local Māori 'generally are in good state as can be expected, considering the many temptations to which they are exposed throw the influence of Europeans.'²³⁰ However some visitors did show concern for the welfare of half-caste children, Mr Tuckett wrote 'It is much to be deplored, that they should grow up wholly uneducated and left destitute in the event of the death of their father.'²³¹ Tuckett is particularly harsh in his comments about Māori women in southern New Zealand. Therefore his concern for their half-caste children indicates that he believes Māori mothers would be unable to care and provide for their half-caste children if something was to happen to her European husband.

The next section of this chapter returns to look at the marriages between European whalers and Māori women. As stated earlier Ballantyne believes in order to understand the thoughts and beliefs of early missionaries we must understand their religious background and teachings.²³² The partnerships and marriages which helped to shape the whaling frontier in New Zealand during the 1830s were informal unions which were not recognised by the laws of church as they had taken place outside the realms of the church. The reason for this can be partly attributed to the absence of missionaries in New Zealand's shore whaling stations at this time. Although the marriages and relationships between European whalers and Māori women were against the teachings of the church, sources left by missionaries show that they generally did not condemn such relationships. Instead primary sources show the missionaries desire to formalize these marriages with a formal ceremony.

²²⁹ Samuel Ironside, 1814-1897, S Ironside's Journal New Zealand, transcribed by J. Eddie Linton, MS-Papers-3817, ATL, p.88 and Williams, p.451 and Watkin's, 'Report to the Mission Board' in T.A Pybus *Maori and Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand*, Wellington: Reed, 1954, p.27.

²³⁰ Ironside, p.88.

²³¹ Fredrick Tuckett, *1844 Expedition*, 19th April 1844.

²³² A.J Ballantyne, 'The Reform of the "Heathen" Body: CMS Missionaries, Māori and Sexuality', in Michael Reilly and Jane Thomson (eds), *When the Waves Rolled in Upon Us: Essays in Nineteenth-Century Maori History*, Dunedin: Otago University Press, 1999, pp.31,40,41.

Some whalers also shared the missionaries' desires to formalize their marriages, making their marriages legal once a missionary was able to do so. A whalers desire to formalize his marriage may have been because they had promised their wife they would or because they felt morally obliged or simply because it's what they had always wanted.

James Watkin the first resident Christian minister in the South Island arrived at Waikouaiti in May 1840 following Johnny Jones request to the Wesleyan Society.²³³ Watkin wrote that he received a great following from local Māori, but that the whalers were harder to teach and wanted Māori kept in their place.²³⁴ Watkin reported to the Mission Board 'The white men almost generally are living with native women, and my coming here is looked upon rather suspiciously by them, for they know enough of Christianity to be aware that if it prevails they must either marry the women or lose them.'²³⁵ Belmer believed that whalers feared if their Māori de facto wives learnt to read and write they may leave them when they discovered the standards of the wider community.²³⁶ Watkin made progress, he was successful in converting many Māori and eventually some whalers became more open to his teachings. Watkin wrote 'I have laboured long to impress the Englishmen with the propriety of becoming married, and at last with some success.'²³⁷

Samuel Ironside the first missionary to reside in Marlborough Sounds arrived at Kakapo Bay on December 20, 1840 on board the *Magnet*.²³⁸ Upon Ironsides arrival he found some Europeans were 'all very desirous of religious

²³³ Dumont D'urville, 'An English Rendering of the Journal of Dumont D'Urville and his Officers of their Visit to New Zealand in 1840, together with Some Account Of Bishop Pompallier and Charles Baron de Thierry' in Olive Wright (ed.), *The Voyage of the Astrolabe – 1840*, Wellington: A.H and A.W. Reed, 1955, p.102.

²³⁴ Watkin quoted in Ray Belmer, *James Watkin: Pioneer Missionary*, Auckland: Wesley Historical Society, 1979, p.32.

²³⁵ Watkin quoted in Pybus, *Maori and Missionary*, p.26.

²³⁶ Belmer, p.31.

²³⁷ Watkin quoted in Belmer, p.32.

²³⁸ Ironside, p.47.

instruction apparently. They talk already of subscribing for a chapel.²³⁹ Unlike Watkin, Ironside conducted marriages between European whalers and Māori women almost immediately after his arrival to the Sounds.²⁴⁰ 'One the morning of Christmas Day, five days after our arrival, I married five of the white people to the native women with whom they had been living. One of them was the principal storekeeper, a native of the Netherlands, the most decent and respectable man on the station.'²⁴¹ Ironside rarely condemned the informal marriages between European whalers and Māori women, he was however eager to make them formal unions under the laws of the church. Ironside wrote of his pleasure in performing such marriage ceremonies.²⁴² From reading Ironside's reports and reminiscences it is clear that in his early years he was very happy and content in his work at Cloudy Bay and in the larger Sounds area. On May 3, 1841 Ironside wrote 'I am very happy to say that things every way continue to improve.'²⁴³ Upon the completion of the church in August 1842 Ironside invited Māori from all the villages in the Sounds and on Sunday the 7th, after dinner he married 'forty couples, who had been living together in a heathen state.'²⁴⁴

Ironside's success at Cloudy Bay came to an abrupt end within three years of his arrival; the mission at Ngakuta was abandoned suddenly. Following the infamous Wairau incident Ironside returned to his mission 'We found the station deserted, all the houses in the village stripped of everything, and my poor wife in great alarm for my safety.'²⁴⁵ Ironside tried to convince his Māori converts to return to the mission but they were intent on going to Kapiti to defend their old

²³⁹ *ibid*, p.48.

²⁴⁰ It is difficult to determine why this was the case with neither Ironsides nor Watkins journal's giving any obvious clues. It seems likely that the men's religious beliefs and training along with past experiences would have influenced their decisions about the appropriate times to conduct marriage ceremonies between European whalers and Māori women.

²⁴¹ Ironside, p.48.

²⁴² *ibid*, p.53.

²⁴³ F.W Smith, *Samuel Ironside and the Cloudy Bay Mission*, a lecture given at Nelson under the auspices of the Wesley Historical Society (New Zealand Branch) on November 8, 1952, and reprinted from the Marlborough Express for the Society, as Vol. 10, No.4 and Vol. 11, No. 1 of its proceedings. p.7.

²⁴⁴ *ibid*, p.9.

²⁴⁵ Ironside, *Reminiscences*, in F.W Smith, p.15.

chief.²⁴⁶ While Ironside was successful in converting many Māori living in the Sounds to Christianity, his success in entrenching Christian values was limited as the majority abandoned his church to defend Te Rauparaha.

An account left by a missionary who travelled New Zealand's coastline in the early 1840s also provides insights into how the men of the church felt about the marriages of fellow European men and Māori women. Johann Wohlers who visited Waikouaiti on his way to Ruapuke in 1844 stated that Māori women who married whalers were 'lifted up out of their state listlessness into a better method of life, and became joyful mothers of children.'²⁴⁷ Wohler further praises formalizing intermarriage stating 'When a mixed family was thus baptized, and the parents married, they all felt so blessed that they formed a Christian family.'²⁴⁸ Missionaries who both visited and lived in New Zealand's shore whaling stations after the practice of intermarriage between European whalers and Māori women had laid the foundations of the settlements showed very little condemnation for such practices. Like their permanent counterparts, the missionaries who briefly visited the whaling stations were eager to see such unions become formal marriages recognized by the church.

Early government officials, who started to visit New Zealand in the late 1830s, also displayed little criticism towards the practice of intermarriage. Mr Tuckett who was the surveyor for the New Zealand Company was harsh in his remarks about Māori wives however he did not condemn the practice of intermarriage itself.²⁴⁹ Dieffenbach believed that the practice of intermarriage between European whalers and Māori women had a mutual advantage and along with the subsequent children it helped ensure harmony between the races.²⁵⁰ Dieffenbach later states that 'the natives had preserved many of their [whalers] good qualities; and the colonists of the Company found them better prepared to

²⁴⁶ *ibid.*

²⁴⁷ Wohler, p.161.

²⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.162.

²⁴⁹ Fredrick Tuckett, *1844 Expedition*, 3 May 1844.

²⁵⁰ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.191.

acknowledge a more regulated state of society, and to acquiesce in present sacrifices with a view to their future benefit, than was the case with the natives in the northern parts of the island, although missionaries had lived among them during the long period.²⁵¹ Dieffenbach believed missionaries often unwisely condemned intermarriage even though many of them turned out to be 'very good marriages' which he believed would lead to a 'very desirable an ultimate blending of the race.'²⁵²

Although most officials say little about the practice of intermarriage itself they often praise its consequences. Barnicoat commented that the wives of the Englishmen at Cloudy Bay were dressed in cotton gowns with blankets for shawls and that they 'looked very cleanly' and were without tattoos.²⁵³ Similarly Edward Wakefield noted the 'cleanliness' of the wives; a virtue he believed the whalers had bestowed upon them.²⁵⁴ It was not just the clean appearances of the Māori wives which were praised by visiting officials. 'Many of their native wives are also entitled to every praise for the fidelity, care of their children, and industry, during many years of difficulty and danger, and are fit to take a very respectable station amongst European matrons.'²⁵⁵ Māori wives were also commended for excelling their European husbands in their sobriety and quiet disposition.²⁵⁶

This chapter has shown that the term 'half-caste' was the most common way to refer to the children born to European whalers and Māori women during the 1830s and 1840s. These half-caste children were treated well by both of their parents as well as their mother's tribe and other whalers. Half-caste children receive favourable mention from missionaries and early government officials who visited the shore whaling stations. Half-caste children were frequently praised for their beauty and friendly disposition. Similarly the wives of European whalers

²⁵¹ *ibid*, p.192.

²⁵² Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. II, pp.40-41.

²⁵³ Barnicoat, p.33.

²⁵⁴ E.J Wakefield, p.18.

²⁵⁵ C Wakefield, *Despatch*, p.29.

²⁵⁶ *ibid*, p.38.

were commended for their tidy appearance and hospitable nature. Neither missionaries nor government officials condemned the informal marriages between European men and Māori women however they were eager to formalize these unions.

CHAPTER FOUR: INTERMARRIAGE – EASIER ACCESS TO LAND?

The final chapter of looks at the notions surrounding traditional Māori land ownership and usage rights. It is essential to understand the basics behind pre-European land rights as these unwritten laws and practices help explain the chiefs' actions when dealing with both European whalers and land purchasing agents. The chapter then goes on to discuss land purchases between Māori and European whalers. It looks at notions as whether or not being married to a Māori woman meant easier access to land and how often whalers actually owned the land which they were using. The last section of this chapter investigates the land purchases made between local chiefs and the land purchasing agents of the New Zealand Company. While this chapter discusses the nature of the purchases themselves it more importantly looks at whether intermarriage had any affect on such transactions. Here the role of Richard "Dicky" Barrett while on board the New Zealand Company's ship the *Tory* is analysed thoroughly. The aim of this chapter is to show whether intermarriage between European whalers and Māori women and more importantly the subsequent family ties affected land sales in coastal New Zealand during the period between 1827 and 1845.

Land meant everything to Māori in pre-European time and the notions and practices they had surrounding land ownership and usage rights were the same as they had been for hundreds of years when whalers, traders and later land purchasing agents came to New Zealand. Māori were linked to the land both culturally, spiritually, emotionally and economically. Māori had deep feelings of affection towards their tribal lands and it helped shape ones character and role in life. In Asher and Naulls' *Maori Land* they claim that land was not part of life but that it was life itself.²⁵⁷ Douglas Sinclair states that the deep spiritual connection Māori had with the land came from the concept that mankind derived from the

²⁵⁷ George Asher and David Naulls, *Maori Land*, Wellington: New Zealand Planning Council, 1987, p.3.

union between the earthmother, Papa-tu-nuku, and the sky-father, Rangi-nui-tu-nei.²⁵⁸

Māori often named mountains, rivers, lakes and other natural land marks after themselves or their ancestors, a practice which further tied them to the land. These land marks were then used as boundary markers for tribal land. A tribe would describe the land they owned using geographical objects to demonstrate its start and end point. Best claims that it is fair to say that in pre-European days there was no land in New Zealand which had not been claimed by some tribe.²⁵⁹ Asher and Naulls state that ‘ The commonly accepted view of traditional Maori land tenure is that hapu and whanau groups were allocated the right to use predetermined areas of land according to the specific and general needs of the individual and group.’²⁶⁰ Therefore while a tribe retained ownership over land, individual hapu or family groups were often allocated land to live on and cultivate and that while it may have seemed to Europeans that they owned the land, they never in fact owned it, it always belonged to the whole tribe.

There were several ways in which Māori could lay claim to land. These were by right of discovery, by conquest, by gift or cession and lastly by inheritance. It appears that the two most common ways Māori laid claim to land were through the inheritance from their ancestors, or, take tupuna, and the second was inheritance through conquest, or, take raupatu.²⁶¹ However conquest alone was not enough to confer ownership, it had to be followed by occupation.²⁶² Grey states that the principle of ahi ka or lit fire was essential if a hapu wanted to retain

²⁵⁸ Douglas Sinclair, “Land: Maori View and European Response”, in Michael King (ed.), *Te Ao Hurihuri – Aspects of Maoritanga*, Auckland: Reed Books, 1992, p.64.

²⁵⁹ Eldson Best, *The Maori*, vol. I, p.396

²⁶⁰ Asher and Naulls, p.5.

²⁶¹ Te Rangi Hiroa / Peter Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, Wellington: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1949, p.380 and Best, *The Maori*, vol. I, p.396 - claims that Maori had three main bases to lay claims on first by ancestral right (*take tipuna*), second by occupation (*ahi ka*), lastly by conquest (*raupatu*).

²⁶² *ibid.*

ownership of land.²⁶³ If a tribe or hapu was driven from their land they could still lay claim to it as long as some people had remained to keep the fires going.²⁶⁴ Māori also at times made claims to land through the right of gift, or, take *tuku*, land may have been gifted by a chief or a person of lesser rank but only in the interests and with the consent of the tribe or hapu.²⁶⁵ It appears that the right to land through take *tuku* was at times extended to whalers. An example of this was when John Guard was formally given land by Te Rauparaha, although Te Rauparaha probably did not consult all those he should have.²⁶⁶ This chapter will argue that whalers were allowed to establish themselves on land and while they usually arranged some type of lease arrangement with local chiefs the whalers at times tried to and believed they did actually buy the land they were using off Māori. However, at least initially Māori did not understand that the whalers and land purchasing agents wanted to keep their land forever. Asher and Naulls' claim that up until 1840 it is uncertain if Māori understood that a written deed meant that they gave up their land forever and that European activities such as building houses and planting crops fitted with traditional Māori ideas of land tenure, as individuals always had the rights to use land for housing and crops within tribal land holdings.²⁶⁷

As discussed in chapter one there were numerous reasons which would have influenced a whaler's decision to marry a Māori woman. One of the influential factors in such decisions was to do with the access to land. Whalers needed land, initially to establish their stations, build their houses and so they could grow small cultivations. This next section looks at whether intermarriage meant easier access to land for these needy whalers. It then discusses whether some whalers desires for even more land in later years was made easier due to family ties through intermarriage or whether it had little, or nothing, to do with

²⁶³ Alan Grey, *Aotearoa and New Zealand a Historical Geography*, Christchurch: Canterbury University Press, 1994, p.101.

²⁶⁴ *ibid.*

²⁶⁵ Sinclair, p.68.

²⁶⁶ See p.71 for more details on this.

²⁶⁷ Asher and Naulls, p.16.

their acquisition of land. The aim of the section is to show whether or not intermarriage influenced the whalers ability to procure land from local Māori and secondly to investigate what rights the whalers had to the land they occupied.

Primary source documents suggest that the establishment of whaling stations in areas with few Māori inhabitants did not require any family ties between the founding whalers and local Māori women. This next section investigates why this was so and shows that intermarriage between Māori women and European whalers was not a prerequisite in the establishment of shore whaling stations along New Zealand's coastline. John Guard, who founded the station at Te Awaiti, did not form a relationship with or marry a Māori woman; he had brought his young wife Betty to New Zealand with him. It was therefore not intermarriage between the well respected Guard and a Māori woman that allowed him to establish his station at Te Awaiti. Although Te Awaiti beach itself was uninhabited when Guard in his men began to build their station, there were many Māori living nearby who were aware of the whalers' activities.²⁶⁸ Although no records indicate the nature of the agreement it is most likely that Guard was allowed to build his whaling station after making a payment to local chiefs with the goods they desired. Te Rauparaha later formally gifted the land at Te Awaiti to Guard.²⁶⁹ However while Guard himself lived at Te Awaiti with his European wife Betty, other original whalers at the station did intermarry with local women.

When Messrs Long and Wright established a whaling station at Waikouaiti in 1837 there were few Māori living in the area.²⁷⁰ The absence of documents relating to the establishment of the station at Waikouaiti makes it difficult to make any firm conclusions about who if anyone gave the Sydney based company permission to build their station. However it seems likely that like Guard they too would have made a payment to nearby chiefs who were aware of their activities. Like Te Awaiti and Waikouaiti the Otakou station was established in an area

²⁶⁸ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.39.

²⁶⁹ Dieffenbach, *First Report*, p.103.

²⁷⁰ Shortland, p.106.

where relatively few Māori lived at the time. However it is said that the Weller's took possession of land in the name of King William the Fourth, however Entwisle queries this.²⁷¹ Whether they did or not, the '6 cases of muskets, 10 barrels and 104 half barrels of gunpowder', they had in their possession would have been more than enough to pay for some land.²⁷² There has been much debate amongst historians as to whether the Weller brother's would have purchased the land from Karetai or Taiaroa.²⁷³ Although few Māori lived near the site of the Otakou station when it was established it was not long before more came to live nearby. In 1835 a quarter of the whalers working at Otakou were Māori and by 1839 this had risen to half.²⁷⁴ Evison claimed that at Otakou the master of the station depended on the local chiefs for permission to operate and that if the chief died; permission had to be renewed by his successor.²⁷⁵ None of the three main whaling stations focussed on in this thesis were established after a marriage between a European whaler and Māori woman. Although as shown throughout this thesis intermarriage became common practice shortly after the establishment of such whaling stations.

While the sites of the South Island shore whaling stations used in this thesis had few Māori inhabitants prior to their establishment this was not the case for the stations established in the North Island. Mahia was heavily populated by Māori in the late 1830s; Lambert claimed that during this period there would have been no fewer than 12,000 Māori in the near vicinity.²⁷⁶ Mana and Kapiti also boasted large Māori populations. In 1819-20 Te Rauparaha led his Kawhia based tribe Ngati Toa south to Kapiti Island in a movement known as Heke Tahu-Tuhu-Ahi.²⁷⁷ Te Rauparaha and Ngati Toa settled on Kapiti and were the most powerful tribe on the Island when whalers began arriving in the early 1830s. Te Rauparaha built up and

²⁷¹ Entwisle, *Behold*, p.84.

²⁷² McNab, p.98.

²⁷³ Entwisle, *Behold*, p.84 – contains a discussion about this debate.

²⁷⁴ Shortland, p.301 and Evison, p.90.

²⁷⁵ *ibid*, p.88.

²⁷⁶ Lambert, p.366.

²⁷⁷ For details on Ngati Toa's Heke see – Carkeek, p.24 and W.T.L Travers, *Some Chapters in the Life and Times of Te Rauparaha chief of the Ngati Toa*, Wellington: James Hughes, 1872 and Tamihana Te Rauparaha, *Life and Times of Te Rauparaha*, Peter Butler (ed.), Martinborough: Alister Taylor, 1980.

encouraged trade with visiting whalers and was eager to let whalers settle and build shore stations on both Kapiti and Mana Islands. Local chiefs offered whalers protection and land to build stations on and after the original establishment of the stations, many whalers began to marry Māori women. It was also after the establishment of the first whaling stations on Kapiti and Mana Islands that whalers began purchasing land off Ngati Toa.

It has been shown that intermarriage played no part in the establishment of the first shore whaling stations at Te Awaiti, Otakou, Waikouaiti, Mahia and Kapiti and Mana Islands. The initial establishment of the original whaling stations in each of these locations occurred before intermarriage between European whalers and Māori women had taken place. Although some areas had few Māori inhabitants the headsman there along with those at places with larger Māori populations were required to make a payment to local chiefs to use the land they had built their stations upon. This shows that at least for the initial set up of whaling stations family ties played no role in the whaler's ability to procure land off Māori.

This next section moves in time to after the original establishment of the shore whaling stations to see what role, if any, intermarriage played in later land purchases between European whalers and Māori chiefs. Here the details of the purchases themselves are examined as are the motivations for the whaler's purchase of land and the Māori chiefs reasons for selling. Where possible notions such as whether the whalers had actually purchased the land, or whether they were simply leasing it in the eyes of both themselves and the Māori chiefs concerned, will be explored.

John Guard had not been whaling long at Te Awaiti when he discovered the unoccupied Kakapo Bay in nearby Port Underwood and decided it was a more advantageous site than his current home.²⁷⁸ In 1832 Guard entrenched himself

²⁷⁸ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.62 and Grady, p.40

more firmly in his new quarters when he purchased Kakapo Bay off local Māori for 'A large cask of tobacco, twenty blankets were given to Rangihaeata and Te Rauparaha; five pieces of prints, ten axes and eight iron pots.'²⁷⁹ Guard also arranged the rights to wood and water through the chiefs.²⁸⁰ It is also believed that Guard bought Oyster Bay off local Māori on September 1, 1839 for fifty pounds, but no details relating to this purchase have survived.²⁸¹ Guard was able to make these purchases from local chiefs who although he was not related to he managed to form close connections with through business dealings.

Guard was not the only European whaler who purchased land in the Marlborough Sounds. James Jackson claimed that he bought 150 acres in the bay next to Te Awaiti on December 21, 1839.²⁸² Jackson like many whalers had a Māori wife and while there is no doubt that she existed her name has not survived.²⁸³ Because Jackson's wife's name is unknown it is impossible to tell if his family ties through her played any part in him being able to buy land in the Sounds. Some of Jackson's descendants still live at Jacksons Bay today on the land their ancestor bought off local Māori almost one hundred and eighty years ago.²⁸⁴

There is no record of either Jacky Love or Dicky Barrett purchasing land off Māori in either Cloudy Bay or the Queen Charlotte Sounds and it is unlikely that either did.²⁸⁵ It is especially unlikely that Love officially purchased any land because he spent all of his time in the Sounds at Te Awaiti which had already been

²⁷⁹ John Guard, cited in McIntosh, p.23.

²⁸⁰ *ibid.*

²⁸¹ White, Ta fl 1839, Copy of deed of conveyance and feoffment of Oyster Bay New Zealand, MS-PAPERS 3476, ATL.

²⁸² Whaling, Sealing and Early Settlement – Notes on Places for the South Island Map, MS-PAPERS 0230-017, ATL. After this purchase the area he purchased became known as Jacksons Bay.

²⁸³ Jackson himself left a diary in which his wife's name was most probably recorded but unfortunately it was destroyed in a fire. It is believed that Marlborough Historian C.A MacDonald had it in his possession but his wife burnt it along with other papers after his death. For further information on this see MS-Papers 0230-017.

²⁸⁴ For further information on James Jackson and his descendants see – Carol Dawber. *The Jacksons of Te Awaiti*, Picton: River Press, 2001.

²⁸⁵ Love and Barrett's names are not on a list of those who submitted claims for land in Marlborough prior to 1840 see- A. Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island*. Volume 1, G.P.W: 1873, pp.81-93.

gifted to Guard and Love died in 1839 while still employed in the whaling profession.²⁸⁶ However McIntosh claims Love, Toms and Barrett believed that they were entitled to land by virtue of their marriage into a Māori tribe.²⁸⁷ However it was not land in the Sounds that Barrett and Love believed they had rights to but in Taranaki where they had previously lived. William Wakefield also believed Barrett and Love's children were entitled to land at Taranaki as they 'have been long considered as belonging to the tribe.'²⁸⁸

It was not long after shore whaling started on Kapiti and Mana Islands that Europeans began to purchase land. Captain Samuel Ashmore bought land on Kapiti Island on September 5, 1831 from Rangihiroa, Tungia and Te Hiko.²⁸⁹ Ashmore did not have a Māori wife and therefore family connections played no role in his ability to procure land at the 'Village of Wyarrua'.²⁹⁰ John Bell who in 1830 spent seven months whaling at Cloudy Bay, along with Sydney merchants Captain Alexander Davidson and Alexander Mossman bought Mana Island off Ngati Toa chiefs Te Rauparaha, Rangihaeata and Nohorua on April 25, 1832.²⁹¹ For their purchase they made a payment of 'one six pound carronade, 2 swivel guns, two kegs of gun powder of 50lbs each, and 2 chests.'²⁹² This sale occurred after Bell had transferred his whaling station to Mana Island in 1831.²⁹³ Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata believed that they had only leased Mana Island and not sold it forever as they contested its ownership in the Wellington Land Court in 1843.²⁹⁴ When the Tory visited Mana Island in 1839 Dieffenbach recorded that Bell had 'resold it to a Mr. Peterson in Sydney, under whom it was held by a German farmer. During our stay, however, it was the subject of a lawsuit, and was

²⁸⁶ For information on Jacky Love's death see E.J Wakefield, p.57.

²⁸⁷ McIntosh, p.48.

²⁸⁸ C. Wakefield, *Third Despatch*, p.139.

²⁸⁹ See - O.L.C I/43.

²⁹⁰ *ibid.*

²⁹¹ Richards, pp.15, 28.

²⁹² Case Files [John Bell], O.L.C 552, National Archives, Wellington.

²⁹³ Whaling, sealing and early settlement – Part 2, May 1939-Oct 1940, New Zealand. Department of Internal Affairs. Centennial Publications Branch : Historical Atlas material, MS-Papers-0230-006 - states that Bell transferred his whaling station to Mana in 1831 and that the land purchase occurred in 1832.

²⁹⁴ For details see – Case Studies [Henry Moreing], O.L.C 553, National Archives, Wellington.

actually in the hands of two claimants, each of who tried to ruin the other by selling the stock.²⁹⁵ The reselling of land by Europeans who thought they actually owned it and therefore had the right to sell the land was often further complicated when local Māori said they had no right to dispose of the land as it was not theirs to do so. This chapter will also show that land rights were even further complicated as Māori often sold the same land over and over to different European parties.

American Captain Mayhew who arrived at Kapiti Island in 1839 also successfully purchased land off local Māori without the advantage of having a Māori wife. On September 2, 1839, Te Rauparaha and Rangihaeata sold Mayhew, Tahoramauera for four hundred pounds of tobacco, six pairs of blankets, two caskets of powder and three muskets.²⁹⁶ The chiefs were eager to sell their land as they wanted to gain more European commodities and probably believed they were simply leasing their land as Māori at the time did not understand European land transaction ideals. For this transaction the deed shows that Ashmore paid Māori four muskets and one cask of gun powder.²⁹⁷ At this time Māori were still very eager to get their hands on muskets as they were well aware of the huge advantages possessing them had over tribes who did not or who had fewer than them.

Waikouaiti was taken over by Jones in its second season and turned into a busy and profitable station. In 1838 it's first year under Jones's control, the station procured one hundred and forty five tons of oil, in 1839 it dropped slightly to one hundred and twenty five tons, in 1840 it dropped again to one hundred and four tons and by 1841 the station only processed forty tons of oil.²⁹⁸ Jones was aware of and worried about the steady decline of his station and began to extend his business ties by purchasing more nearby land. Jones made his first land purchase in 1838 when Mr. James Bruce the captain of one of his trading vessels purchased a

²⁹⁵ Dieffenbach, *Travels*, vol. I, p.113.

²⁹⁶ See - O.L.C I/929.

²⁹⁷ *ibid.*

²⁹⁸ Shortland, p.301.

portion of land which extended in width from Waikouaiti river mouth to Matakana heads, and ten miles back inland on Jones's behalf.²⁹⁹ For this land Ngai Tahu chiefs Taiaroa, Karaiti and Tuhawaiki were paid one tierce of tobacco and ten dozen cotton shirts.³⁰⁰ On June 7, 1839, Bruce bought the land between Matakana Heads and Pleasant river mouth on Jones's behalf. Bruce bought this land off Karaiti and Taiaora for two sealing boats and fifty pairs of blankets and then transferred it to Jones for one hundred pounds.³⁰¹

On July 6, 1839 Jones himself gave evidence to a committee which was set up by the Legislative Council to consider the state of the law in connection to whaling. At the hearing Jones said

A Chief, who was in Sydney last year, sold me a quantity of land, full twenty miles square, for which I gave him property to the amount of £500. He understood English thoroughly, and the transaction was regularly drawn up by a lawyer in Sydney, and duly executed and signed by the Chief. I am satisfied with the Title, as I know him to be the acknowledged Chief of a large district, of which that land is a portion.³⁰²

Shortland noted during his visit to Waikouaiti that Mr. Jones claimed a large tract of land and that 'Sometimes Tuhawaiki's account of goods received did not correspond with Mr. J ____'s written lists of property paid, the latter, however, was always ready to admit the error to be most probably his own.'³⁰³ It is clear that from early on Jones was as interested in purchasing and owning land as he was in whaling. Hall Jones claims that Jones and Tuhawaiki forged a great friendship based on a buyer-seller relationship, but all that we know about their friendship comes from land transactions.³⁰⁴

Jones began cultivating some of the land he purchased and as the whaling industry began to decline Jones further concentrated on some of his land which

²⁹⁹ Christie, p.67.

³⁰⁰ This is according to the Deed of Conveyance drawn up in Sydney in 1839 - Christie, p.67.

³⁰¹ Christie, p.67 and 69, says that details of the sale appeared in 3 Sydney newspapers.

³⁰² Johnny Jones, In Sydney, before a Committee set up by the Legislative Council investigating a Customs Regulation Bill, June 6, 1839, in McNab, p.278.

³⁰³ Shortland, pp.79-80.

³⁰⁴ Hall Jones, p.101.

was to become known as Cherry Farm. In 1840 Jones decided to turn his station and adjacent land into an organised settlement. In February 1840 Jones dispatched the trader vessel *Magnet* from Sydney with a dozen or so families, a similar number of children, a few single men and twenty cattle, along with some provisions to found the first organised settlement in the South Island.³⁰⁵ Although Jones' purchases occurred during the time associated with the land scramble it is still important to analyse them within the whaler land purchasing framework. Jones had planned to buy land and organize a permanent European settlement when his whaling venture began to decline and his association and interaction with local Māori allowed him to purchase land. Jones was able to run a successful shore whaling station and then a profitable farm on land he had purchased off Māori without ever having been married to a Māori woman. Jones had married to Sarah Sizemore in Sydney in 1828 although she remained in Sydney with their children until joining Jones at Waikouaiti in 1843.³⁰⁶

Jones's land purchases are another example which help to prove that although being married to a Māori women may have meant easier access to land to reside upon and cultivate it did not influence a chiefs decision to dispose of his land to Europeans. The monetary gains to a chief and his tribe through selling their land to Europeans would have been considered so great that it did not matter if they were related to the purchaser or not. But it must not be forgotten that Māori at this time had very different ideas about land usage and disposal than the European purchases.

At Otakou, Edward Weller also started to buy up land when whaling began to decline. Weller however was married to a Māori woman, his first marriage to Paparu the daughter of senior Otago chief Tahatu took place in 1836 several years after he and his brother Joseph started purchasing land off local Māori.³⁰⁷ Peter Entwisle's 'Edward Weller' contains the most comprehensive account of the

³⁰⁵ For information on Jones at Cherry Farm see – Shortland, pp.107-108.

³⁰⁶ Tapp, E. J. 'Jones, John 1808/1809? - 1869'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007 URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

³⁰⁷ Entwisle, *Behold*, p.94.

Weller brothers land purchases in Southern New Zealand. Entwisle claims that the brother's acted as land agents, buying land off local Māori for both themselves and absentee speculators in New South Wales.³⁰⁸ According to a land claim lodged by George Weller in 1839, Joseph had purchased the whole of Stewart Island as well as Edwards Island and Herekapare for one hundred pounds off local Māori in December 1833.³⁰⁹ The Weller's also claimed under Edward's name to have paid eighty two pounds for a million acres in the Molyneux district and a further eight hundred thousand acres in other parts of the South Island.³¹⁰ George also claimed to have bought one hundred thousand acres at Molyneux for ninety one pounds.³¹¹ Entwisle also comments that the belief that Edward was given a strip of land, three miles deep, running from Otago harbour to Bank's Peninsula by Taiaroa following his marriage to the chiefs daughter Nikuru 'probably goes further to show the good relations between the two men than to explain the actual origins of Edward's land holdings.'³¹² George Weller claimed the following when questioned about land purchases in Southern New Zealand.

I have made some considerable purchases of land at New Zealand— in all, I imagine, amounting to about four hundred thousand acres— all of which I purchased from the Chiefs. Attached to one of my whaling stations is about thirty-six square miles or sections, which my brother, who is residing at New Zealand, purchased from a Chief who was in Sydney about five months ago, and who had the honour of an interview with His Excellency the Governor, in whose presence he acknowledged the validity of the purchase.³¹³

Unfortunately for the Weller brothers their land claims were investigated by the Crown following the Treaty of Waitangi and in 1841 the Court of Claims ruled against them in all thirteen cases.³¹⁴

³⁰⁸ Entwisle, 'Edward Weller', p.19.

³⁰⁹ *ibid*, pp.20-21.

³¹⁰ *ibid*, pp.37-38.

³¹¹ *ibid*, p.38.

³¹² *ibid*, p.39.

³¹³ George Weller, In Sydney, before a Committee set up by the Legislative Council investigating a Customs Regulation Bill, June 8 1839, in McNab, pp.278-279.

³¹⁴ Entwisle, Peter. 'Weller, Edward 1814? - 1893'. *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, updated 22 June 2007 URL: <http://www.dnzb.govt.nz/>

The arrival of the New Zealand Company's ship the *Tory* in the Marlborough Sounds resulted in some whalers trying quickly to purchase land themselves. Once whalers became aware of the land purchasing agents intentions they too decided to get in on the action. Edward Wakefield wrote 'the population of Te Awaiti were watching our movements apparently intent upon purchasing land for themselves in the neighbourhood of whatever location Colonel Wakefield might select for the expected colony.'³¹⁵ Colonel Wakefield also commented on the whalers actions at Te Awaiti stating he witnessed 'the eagerness with which many of the settlers at Teawaiti watched my movements, with a view of purchasing patches of land wherever it was likely the Company might be led to locate emigrants'.³¹⁶ Colonel Wakefield was not angered by the whaler's eagerness to buy land in the Sounds. When discussing Guard and Wynen trying to buy land at Oyerri Bay on behalf of some Sydney speculators C. Wakefield wrote that he had no reason to complain about the whalers trying to buy land for themselves.³¹⁷ It seems that those on the *Tory* were not concerned about whalers trying to purchase land, possibly because they knew that the whalers lacked the means to buy substantial amounts of land like they were about to.

It was not just in the Sounds where people tried to undercut the New Zealand Company by beating them to the land purchasing table. Carkeek claimed that speculators from Sydney had heard that the *Tory* wanted to buy land from Ngati Toa so they hurried ahead; allegedly buying the entire of Kapiti Island and some parts of Porirua.³¹⁸ Captain Rhodes on the *Eleanor* also wanted to buy land in the region after the *Tory* visited in November 1839.³¹⁹ Evison claims that at Waikouaiti Jones prepared for British annexation selling off most of his southern land claims, concentrating his business around his station and at the farm he had

³¹⁵ E.J Wakefield, p.23.

³¹⁶ C. Wakefield, *Despatch*, p.39.

³¹⁷ *ibid*, p.60

³¹⁸ Carkeek, p.60.

³¹⁹ For details see - Land at Otaki, O.L.C 130, National Archives, Wellington.

began to cultivate.³²⁰ When Monro arrived at Waikouaiti in July 1844, Jones informed him that he owned six hundred acres.³²¹

Although some whalers and land speculators bought tracts of land from local Māori both before and after the arrival of the *Tory* there was still plenty of land available for the New Zealand Company to buy. It is the purchases of the New Zealand Company which make up the rest of this chapter. Edward Wakefield recorded the details of their first encounter with Dicky Barrett a man who was to become one of the most influential figures in New Zealand land sales history. When the *Tory* arrived at Te Awaitei on August 31 Barrett was 'Dressed in a white jacket, blue dungaree trousers, and round straw hat, he seemed perfectly round all over; while his journal, ruddy face, twinkling eyes, and good-humoured smile, could not fail to excite pleasure in all beholders.'³²² Wakefield soon realised the benefits the Company's new associate would bring them 'The acquaintance and assistance of Dicky Barrett promised to be most advantageous to us, as he was related by his wife to all the influential chiefs living at Port Nicholson....He was thoroughly acquainted with the feelings and customs of the natives, as well as their language.'³²³ That day discussions took place between those on the *Tory* and Barrett in relation to land ownership in the Cook Strait area. Barrett explained to the New Zealand Company's men 'how unsettled a state was the proprietorship of land about Cook's Strait' was.³²⁴ Wakefield wrote that he did not want to take any land without permission from local Māori and that Barrett would be responsible for explaining the Company's views to them.³²⁵

It is difficult to determine from the journals of those on the *Tory* whether they had to do much to persuade Barrett to act as their interpreter. In a letter to his brother Barrett claimed that he agreed to work with those of the *Tory* after a 'great

³²⁰ Evison, *Te Wai*, p.111.

³²¹ D. Munro, Notes of a Journey through a part of the Middle Island of New Zealand – To the Editor of the Nelson Examiner, *Nelson Examiner*, July 20 1844.

³²² E.J Wakefield, p.13.

³²³ *ibid*, pp.13-14.

³²⁴ *ibid*, p.14.

³²⁵ *ibid*.

deal of persuasion'.³²⁶ In Caughey's, *The Interpreter- The Biography of Richard 'Dicky' Barrett*, she states that it is 'unclear whether Wakefield asked Barrett to join him or whether Barrett seized the opportunity to insinuate himself into the colonel's team, with an eye to launching himself into a new career or, perhaps, to bring benefits to Rawinia's hapu'.³²⁷ Barrett's marriage to Rawinia along with his heavy involvement with her family meant he had considerable influence amongst Ati Awa. Caughey claims that while Barrett was heavily involved with Rawinia's hapu he probably did not understand the details of the tribal politics he was becoming involved in through his role as the New Zealand Company's interpreter.³²⁸ Caughey gives several examples through out her book which indicate that Barrett did not fully understand tribal politics. For example Caughey claims that Barrett was unaware that other Ngai Taua were eager to reassert their ownership and dislodge Te Rauparaha and Ngati Toa from Te Wai Ponamu, when trying to help those on the *Tory* buy land.³²⁹ Caughey later claims that Barrett wouldn't have 'realized how tenuous was the claim Te Puni and Te Wharepouri made to rights over the whole of Whanganui-a-Tara. He probably made an initial approach to them knowing they controlled a few of the settlements, and hoping this would supply the land Wakefield desired.'³³⁰ Caughey also questions Barrett's ability with the Māori language stating that it was not extensive enough to fully understand the 'ambiguous statements and power plays' of those he was working with.³³¹ While Caughey questions Barrett's knowledge of tribal politics she claims that Rawinia may have had some understanding of her tribe's politics.³³² Mitchell claims that Barrett's close friendship with his wife's relatives along with her own

³²⁶ Barrett, Letter.

³²⁷ Caughey, *The Interpreter*, p.80.

³²⁸ *ibid*, p.91.

³²⁹ *ibid*, p.86.

³³⁰ *ibid*, p.91. Caughey also states that Barrett's grasp of the intricacies of tribal land ownership were limited, p.94.

³³¹ *ibid*, pp.92-93.

³³² While Caughey does not provide any direct evidence behind her claim that Rawinia may have had some understanding of her tribes politics it is probable that she made this assertion based on the fact that Rawinia was a high-born Ati Awa woman and that such women usually had a fair understanding of tribal politics.

influence must have assisted the company in their land purchases.³³³ Wakefield's decision to take E Ware (Jim Crow) from Anaho to join the crew members on the *Tory* would have also helped to cement the relationships between the Māori and European parties.³³⁴

A lot has been written about Barrett's role with the New Zealand Company since their first encounter in August 1839. There has been some debate concerning Barrett's qualifications especially in relation to his ability with the Māori language. Caughey claimed that while Barrett's Māori was good it was not strong enough to deal with land issues.³³⁵ Patricia Burns's supported Caughey's view saying that Barrett spoke only pidgin Māori, Burns goes on to say his ignorance of the Māori language became apparent when the Land Claims Commissioner was investigating land sales on behalf on the British Government during 1842-43.³³⁶ When asked to translate to deed between Māori and Port Nicholson and the New Zealand Company before the Commissioner into Māori Barrett really struggled. The original English deed contained fifteen hundred words but Barrett's translation before the Commissioner was a mere one hundred and sixteen words, which clearly did not contain all the necessary information that was required for Māori to be able to make an informed decision.³³⁷

While it is difficult to determine whether or not Barrett used his marriage status to advantage himself or his wife's hapu it is clear that the consequences of his marriage as well as other whaler's marriages to Māori women played a role in land purchases between Māori and the New Zealand Company. Because of his marriage to a high ranking Māori women Barrett was able to gain considerable influence in her tribe. Barrett's influence and fair dealings amongst Cook Strait Māori meant that they would have most probably listened to him and maybe even

³³³ Mitchell, p.265.

³³⁴ *ibid.*

³³⁵ Caughey, *The Interpreter*, p.93.

³³⁶ Patricia Burns *Fatal Success – A History of the New Zealand Company*, Henry Richards (ed.), Auckland: Heinmann Reid, 1989, pp.113 and 123.

³³⁷ *ibid.*, pp.123-124.

trusted his advice and intentions when he proposed that they sell their land to fellow Europeans. Barrett after all was well known and respected by his Māori family as he fought alongside them in the wars against Waikato and he had helped ensure their employment when they relocated to Te Awaitei. Epuni (Te Puni) and Warepori (Te Wharepouri) who were involved in the land sales between Māori and the Company at Port Nicholson on September 20, were relatives of Rawinia and had been amongst Barrett's companions in the Taranaki battles.³³⁸ According to Edward Wakefield both men were willing to sell their land and after Barrett fully explained each provision to them, the chiefs engaged in a lengthy discussion with other Māori before putting their marks on a deed of sale thus selling much of their tribes land.³³⁹ What exactly Barrett told Epuni and Warepori is impossible to determine and while Colonel Wakefield repeatedly urged Barrett to fully explain the details of the land transaction Barrett's limited knowledge of Māori means that it would have been impossible for him to do so.³⁴⁰

When Fredrick Tuckett the principal surveyor for the New Zealand Company was appointed the responsibility of choosing a site for the projected New Edinburgh settlement in 1844 he planned to gain help from a European whaler who had married into a local tribe.³⁴¹ Tuckett was prohibited from surveying any land before he purchased it and wanted Ngai Tahu to select their own reserves rather than the Company having to do this for them.³⁴² Eventually Tuckett selected a site at Otakou but before he made his final decision he wrote to Colonel Wakefield telling him he hoped to meet a European called Tommy Chaseland 'who has married Tiroa's sister (in the event of my own efforts being landed in the absence of Tiroa), to use his influence to convince Tiroa that we have no desire to take possession of his land, as he may be instigated to suspect, and truly await an offer

³³⁸ E.J Wakefield, p.26.

³³⁹ *ibid*, p. 26 - Wakefield's notes give the impression that Te Puni and Te Wharepouri understood the sales agreement. However as Caughey, p.92 - points out Edward Wakefield was biased and was hardly qualified to judge whether the chiefs understood exactly what was happening.

³⁴⁰ *ibid*.

³⁴¹ The Ngāi Tahu Report, 1991, 06 Otakou, 6.5 The Purchase, p.21 – available online at <http://www.waitangi-tribunal.govt.nz/reports/view.asp?reportid=D5D84302-EB22-4A52-BE78-16AF39F71D91.pdf>, retrieved 6 July 2007.

³⁴² *ibid*, p.22.

from all the owners of the Land and the permission of his excellency the Governor to effect the purchase.³⁴³ How much of a role if any Chaseland played in convincing Otago chiefs to sell their land to the New Zealand Company is impossible to determine. However it is clear that Tuckett believed having Chaseland onside would benefit his negotiations with local Māori due to his marriage into the senior ranks of the tribe.

This chapter has shown that some Māori were becoming worried about the sale of their land and some were even beginning to realise that Europeans had different ideas about land ownership and usage rights than they did. Another example of this comes from when the Treaty of Waitangi arrived in the Queen Charlotte Sounds to be signed, chief Nohorua initially refused to sign. Aware that his tribe were losing their land Nohorua refused to affix his mark to the Treaty unless his son-in-law Joseph Thoms also did. Nohorua's reasoning behind his demand was that if his grand-children were to lose their land, their father would have to share the blame.³⁴⁴ This shows that Nohorua did not trust the intentions of Hobson and the Treaty and that he wanted his European son-in-law to share his responsibility and guilt should his tribe be taken advantage of after the signing.

This chapter has clearly demonstrated that the original establishment of shore whaling stations at Mahia, Kapiti and Mana Islands, Te Awaiti, Waikouaiti and Otakou did not depend on intermarriage between European whalers and Māori women. Investors were able to establish shore whaling stations at each of these locations without having been involved in relationships with Māori women. Some of these locations had very few Māori inhabitants when whalers arrived and began erecting their stations. Whalers in these locations as well as places with larger Māori populations were able to secure land through payment to local chiefs. Traditional Māori land rights meant that Māori thought whalers were simply using their land with their permission. While this may have been the intention of some

³⁴³ Fredrick Tuckett to Co.Wm. Wakefield, New River, May 25th 1844.

³⁴⁴ Bunbury, p.111.

whalers, others clearly thought they owned the land that their shore stations were on. Many European whalers claimed to have purchased land off Māori in later years. This chapter has shown that Māori were willing to dispose of their land to whalers regardless of whether they were related to them through intermarriage or not. The second part of this chapter showed the role Dicky Barrett played on board the *Tory*. With Barrett's assistance the New Zealand Company were successfully able to purchase land tracts of land from Māori Chiefs, much of this land belonged to Barrett's wife, Rawinia's tribe. The New Zealand Company clearly used the intermarriages between European men and Māori women to their advantage when trying to purchase land of Māori.

CONCLUSION

One of the main aims of this thesis was to add to the current scholarly work based on intermarriage between Māori women and European men in nineteenth century New Zealand. Focussing on the relationships between Māori women and European whalers who established some of New Zealand's first onshore whaling stations between 1827 and 1845 this thesis aimed to answer five key questions. These five questions formed the basis for the thesis and allowed for an interesting and challenging study which will help to broaden knowledge in a relatively understudied field. While this thesis will help to answer some questions about the role and importance of intermarriage within early New Zealand whaling settlements it will also bring more questions to peoples minds about this popular and yet understudied practice.

The majority of literature on the role and importance of intermarriage between indigenous women and European men in settler societies comes from North America. Within New Zealand there have been few studies which focus entirely on this social phenomenon. While many New Zealand histories briefly touch upon the topic of intermarriage between Māori women and European men few besides Athol Anderson and Angela Wanhalla dedicate their entire research project to this topic. Therefore this thesis which is completely dedicated to the topic of intermarriage within early shore whaling stations is able to contribute to New Zealand's understanding of intermarriage.

In order to gain an overall understanding of the role, practice and importance of intermarriage within shore whaling settlements this thesis focuses on five geographical locations where whaling was dominant. The Marlborough Sounds, Kapiti and Mana Islands, Waikouaiti, Otakou and Mahia were the areas chosen to base this study upon. Each of these areas grew rapidly during the shore whaling boom of the 1830s. While different quantities of sources were available

for each area the primary sources available show that intermarriage was popular and widespread.

The first chapter of this thesis looked at the differing relationships which developed between Māori women and European men. It showed that although the marriages which developed between the European men and local women were not formal and recognised by the laws of the church they were still indeed marriages. These marriages were taken seriously by the Māori wives and European husbands as well as others living within the whaling settlements. Many of these marriages were formalized following the arrival of a missionary to the area.

The establishment of each shore whaling station required certain provisions. Each station needed boats, harpoons, casks to store oil in as well as food and women. The allocation of wives by Māori chiefs to European whalers was an important feature in the preparations for the season. Māori women fulfilled many roles in and around the stations, they had to collect food, cook, mend clothes and do washing, as well as care for the sick and injured. If women did not perform her tasks to the satisfaction of her partner she could simply be replaced, although sources indicate that Māori women generally lived up to their requirements. There were various reasons behind whalers choosing to take a Māori wife; these included the need for a helpmate and protector and to gain easier access to resources.

One intention of this thesis was draw out and show as much as possible about the role of the Māori wife and her iwi within the relationships they formed with European whalers. Unfortunately a lack of sources related to the women made it difficult to make many firm conclusions. However it is clear that both Māori women and their greater families would have been aware of the economic benefits of having European whalers amongst them and this was one of the most influential factors in their decision to allow, encourage and form marriages with foreign whalers.

The second chapter of this thesis showed how important the marriages between European whalers and Māori women were in the formation, running and survival of early New Zealand shore whaling stations. It is clear that intermarriage had some influence in the formation of many of the early shore whaling stations. Intermarriage often allowed easier access to land although some type of preparation was also required before whalers could establish themselves upon land. This was especially true in areas where there was a considerable Māori population. Once a station was established European whalers were helped by their new Māori relatives and often worked alongside them in the whaling boats. Māori were eager to see whaling stations expand and often provided land to their European son and brother in-laws so this could happen.

The second chapter also investigated the nature of the shore whaling stations. Visitors to the stations and more recently historians emphasized the negative aspects of whaling stations. Stations were typically described as evil, drunken and violent settlements, which were without any formal laws. However the research conducted for this thesis shows that whaling stations were far more complex societies than this. European whalers were answerable to the headsman and were also subjected to tikanga Māori at times. Intermarriage also helped to keep the peace within the whaling stations, with the Māori wives helping to ensure the smooth running of the stations by taking on the roles of a helpmate, intermediary and peacekeeper.

The third chapter discussed how missionaries and other European visitors to the whaling stations viewed the marriages between Māori women and European men as well as the subsequent children. Primary sources showed that although the marriages and relationships between European whalers and Māori women were against the teachings of the church, missionaries generally did not condemn such unions and were in fact often eager to formalize these marriages after they arrived in the settlements. Early government officials and other visitors to the shore whaling stations also reported positively on the interracial marriages they

encountered. Māori wives were often praised for helping civilize their husbands. Māori wives were also commended for their tidy appearance and hospitable nature.

Halfcaste children were well treated by their European fathers, Māori mothers and wider Māori family. The fair treatment of halfcaste children was often reported by visitors to the stations. Halfcaste children spent the majority of their time being cared for by their Māori relatives, something which was rarely criticized by outsiders. Missionaries and early government officials had many positive things to say about the halfcaste children who they encountered along New Zealand's coastline. Visitors frequently praised halfcaste children for their beauty and friendly disposition.

The last chapter investigated whether intermarriage affected land purchases between European whalers and local Māori before going onto discuss whether it played any role in later land purchases by land agents. The Māori view on land ownership differed significantly from European practices. While Māori may not have fully understood what selling their land entailed this thesis shows that they were willing to allow whalers to use it however they pleased for long periods of time. Māori chiefs permitted European whalers to use their land in return for commodities such as iron pots, gun powder and muskets and well as money. Chiefs wanted to gain as much as they could from Europeans and were willing to dispose of their land to whalers regardless of whether they were related to them through marriage or not.

The role Richard "Dicky" Barrett's played on board the *Tory* is difficult to fully understand. It is impossible to determine exactly what his motivations were. It is also difficult to determine how much the Te Puni and Te Wharepouri understood about their arrangement to sell land to the New Zealand Company. What is clear however is that those on the *Tory* were aware of the benefits of having an assistant who was married into a Māori family. The New Zealand Company's agents along with other land purchasing agents who were normally

based in Sydney were successful in buying large tracts of land off Māori often with the help of European whalers.

During the late 1830s and 1840s some Māori became aware of the consequences of selling their land. During this time Māori also began to lose the power they once had over the European whalers. These factors along with the decline in the numbers of whales culled each season saw significant changes in the whaling settlements. Eventually many Māori and Europeans moved away from the original shore whaling stations. Although many of the stations themselves disappeared in the decades following the 1830s whaling boom the bi-racial families they produced did not. The descendants of these early marriages between Māori women and European whalers can still be found through out New Zealand, often close to where their ancestors once meet.

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