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The Weller's whaling station: the social and economic formation of an Otakou community, 1817-1850 / Alexandra King.

Alexandra King

A long essay presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of B.A (Hons) in History

University of Otago
2010
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Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to:

My supervisor, Angela Wanhalla, for giving generously her time and expertise. Thank you for showing such enthusiasm and encouragement towards my topic.

Ian Church and Edward Ellison for meeting with me and offering me advice on this topic. Thank you to Ashleigh Barrett for helping me edit my work.

Genevieve Lawrence my flatmate and best friend for just being there, especially through the more difficult times.

My Dad, Mum, Harrison and extended family, for the support and always encouraging my love of history. Dad you have been so generous with your time and support through this year and the previous ones, I could not have done this without you.

The staff at the Hocken Collections and Archives New Zealand, Dunedin, thank you for being so friendly and helpful in locating archives for this study.
Notes on Language and Terminology

I have chosen to include Māori words and phrases in the Kāi Tahu dialect, which substitutes the 'ng' sound for a 'k' sound, reflecting the dialect used by the individuals studied. Quotations are an exception, as are situations in which the official usage does not follow this dialect.
Introduction

This dissertation examines the structures and processes that underpin cultural formation at Otākou from 1817 to 1850. More specifically, I use the Wellers’ whaling station, which was established in 1831, as a lens to explore the importance of family, kinship, and marriage to economic and social bonds forged between Kāi Tahu and newcomers at Otākou. The word ‘newcomers’ is used rather than ‘European’ to show that these men were from many different backgrounds and ethnicities, and they cannot simply be classed as European sealers, whalers, or settlers. ¹ I focus on the Wellers’ station because it had the longest life of a southern shore whaling station, dating from approximately 1831 to 1841. The whaling station was also an important contact zone between Māori and the newcomers, where people came together in economic partnership and also formed social bonds and affective ties. Whaling stations, like Otākou, are an important part of New Zealand’s history as they formed some of the earliest interracial households in the country and heralded the beginning of permanent colonisation in many areas, particularly southern New Zealand.

Today the settlement of Otākou lies within the boundaries of the city of Dunedin, New Zealand. It is located twenty-five kilometres from the city centre at the eastern end of the Otago Peninsula, close to the entrance of the Otago Harbour. I chose to focus on Otākou as it is where my ancestor, Francis Octavius Harwood resided. I have always had an interest in his marriages ever since seeing a description of him as a “notorious bed hopper.” He had three wives that we know of. Octavius arrived in Otākou in 1838 to run the whaling supply store for the Weller brothers. In 1839 Octavius married Titapu, daughter of the chief Pokene. She already had a son, Te Here, later known as Harry West. Titapu contracted tuberculosis and died in 1842, but Octavius continued to raise Te Here. Octavius later had a daughter, Mere Harwood, by Pokene’s niece Piro. ² In 1848 he married Janet Robertson. They had ten children, and this is the marriage that I descend from. These instances of intermarriage and remarriage are an important part of the history of the Otākou community. Indeed,

patterns of marriage at Otākou offer vital evidence of community formation and social cohesiveness.

The establishment of the Wellers’ whaling station had a significant role in the cultural formation of Otākou due to the number of newcomers it brought to Otākou and the interracial marriages that occurred between newcomers and Kāi Tahu women. The whaling station also provided trade and employment opportunities for Kāi Tahu attracting more Kāi Tahu to Otākou. I examine what it meant for the community, economically and socially, when the whaling station came to the end of its life. Was this merely an economic loss, or did the demise of the station have social ramifications as well?

Kāi Tahu histories, whaling station communities, and the cultural contact that occurred as a result, has been the subject of New Zealand scholarship for several decades. In the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century Kāi Tahu history was recorded and published by European officials and men who were interested in Māori tradition and myth. Among them were Herries Beattie, W.A. Taylor, and Edward Shortland, who was sub-protector of Aborigines in 1843. These ethnographic works on southern Kāi Tahu and Banks Peninsula Kāi Tahu has provided essential information on traditions, myths, customs, place names, and individuals. However, the customs and protocols relating to marriage were often overlooked by these writers. Within these works Otākou is frequently discussed as a part of Murihiku, which encompasses the southern half of the South Island. It must be kept in mind that traditional Kāi Tahu society was reasonably decentralised. Detail about important events was passed from generation to generation by oral transmission rather than the written word. Therefore, Māori tradition and custom varies from place to place, even possibly within different regions of Murihiku. Although this ethnographic material rarely refers specifically to Kāi Tahu in Otākou, for the purposes of this dissertation I

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4 David Haines “Te Kai a Te Rakatira: Kāi Tahu Leadership, 1830-1844” (BA (Hons.) diss., University of Otago, 2003), 12.
rely on ethnographic material about Kāi Tahu from varying areas, in order to explore the changing nature of marriage and kinship at Otākou.

Internationally, literature on culture contact and communities has been diverse. The North American fur trade has many similarities to the shore whaling industry in New Zealand. The fur trade has been studied by a number of scholars, and within the last few decades there has been a shift away from solely economic analysis towards social concerns by writers such as Sylvia Van Kirk, Adele Perry and Susan Sleeper-Smith. Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870, although published thirty years ago, is a significant piece of work that is still relevant today. In it, Van Kirk concentrates on the indigenous women involved in the marriages to fur traders, rather than just the men they married. She shows through her work that the mixed marriages were often stable and long lasting, resulting in secure family units. Van Kirk also stresses that Indian women themselves frequently desired and initiated these relationships because of their perceived material and social advantages. Van Kirk’s book inspired me to apply her methodology to my own research on Otākou, as I was struck by some of the similarities between the Canadian fur trade and shore whaling in New Zealand. Whaling and the fur trade both took place in locations that had established indigenous populations which would become effected by the arrival of capitalist industries. Both of these industries depended on the establishment of relationships with the indigenous population for commercial success. Intermarriage was valued by both the traders/whalers and the indigenous people as it was a partnership that yielded many benefits in the form of land, labour, status to the traders/whalers, and stability and trade opportunities for the indigenous population.

More recent New Zealand historical works have looked at the relationship between colonialism and Kāi Tahu at a more intimate level by investigating such

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6 Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, 4.
things as marriage and sexuality. Berys Heuer's *Māori Women* is one of the various books that focus on the sexuality of Māori women and their significant social roles. She endeavours to reconstruct the role of Māori women in traditional family and tribal life by collating and analysing the many references scattered throughout ethnographic literature. *Māori Women* follows the aims of scholarly works such as *Māori Marriage* by Bruce Biggs, by illuminating the importance of marriage and the significant roles played by Māori women within their communities.

There has been a profound archival silence surrounding Māori women and their historical experiences. David Haines states that "it is partly because very few men at whaling stations were able to read or write, and this silence is intensified by the transient nature of European whalers and southern Māori communities during this time". Although Māori women are not predominant topics in traveller's journals they do appear in the writings, such as in the journals of Dumont d'Urville and John Boultee. These accounts are particularly useful for gaining an insight into whaling communities and how newcomers viewed Kāi Tahu women. Boultee and d'Urville were both literate and involved in the whaling and sealing industry, and offer an insider's perspective of the whaling lifestyle.

Academic scholarship in New Zealand has been interested in the economic impact of colonialism upon Māori, and within this, a trend of constructing intermarriage as purely a form of trade and exchange has arisen. The works of Frank Tod, Robert McNab, Don Grady, and Harry Morton all provide detailed descriptions on the economics of whaling in areas such as Cook Strait, the Bay of Islands, and Foveaux Strait, although some of their work tends to be somewhat romanticised and

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8 Angela Wanhalla, "Marrying 'In': The Geography of Intermarriage on the Taieri, 1830s-1920s," in Tony Ballantyne and Judith A. Bennett, eds, *Landscape/Community: Perspectives from New Zealand History* (Dunedin, University of Otago, 2005), 73-94.
11 Haines, "In Search of the 'Whaheen,'" 50.
generalised. The economics of the whaling stations and the whalers who married Māori women have been the subject of several studies. Morton’s *The Whale’s Wake* focuses on the economics of shore whaling rather than the social impact of these stations on Kāi Tahu. He discusses the different species of whale, their relative economic qualities, the products that the whalers got from them, the men who captained and manned the ships, and the conditions under which they worked. Although the economic aspects of whaling are indeed important, Morton’s work is representative of studies which refer only to the men who married Māori women. Intermarriage is frequently discussed purely as a part of economics and as a contractual agreement between Māori leaders and the managers of shore whaling stations. Although there were of course commercial elements to intermarriage, focusing only on the economic aspect of these relationships can obscure Māori women’s agency in the formation of relationships, as well as their maintenance.

**Sources**

In *Many Tender Ties* Sylvia Van Kirk acknowledges the near-total lack of native sources in the opening pages of her study, and notes that she was “forced to piece together snippets of information from the extensive collections of traders’ journals, letters, and wills which have survived.” The lack of official documentation and the poor literacy levels of the whalers means that research for this dissertation is in a similar predicament to that of Van Kirk. Using a range of sources has allowed me to piece together what occurred at Otākou from 1817 to 1850 relating specifically to the economic and social bonds forged between Kāi Tahu and newcomers through kinship, and marriage.

Whakapapa and oral tradition are essential sources for this study because whakapapa is one of the core foundations of Māori society and tradition. Whakapapa is the “framework that binds the natural worlds to the spiritual world, and holds generations together, a physical framework constructed to place oneself within the

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These manuscripts, and advice on how best to work with whakapapa and understand it, have been made available by scholars such as Rawiri Te Maire Tau, Peter Garven and Tipene O’Regan. O’Regan reminds us that whakapapa and other genealogical information, like any oral record should be read and interpreted with a critical eye and there is always the danger of historians getting lost within it due to a lack of cultural understanding. Newcomers became entangled in Kāi Tahu whakapapa when they married into the iwi. Recently, modern Kāi Tahu tribal, regional, and personal identities have also been studied, and the effects of relationships forged with newcomers by their Kāi Tahu ancestors have been investigated. Through using whakapapa, I have been able to reconstruct kinship bonds between newcomers and Kāi Tahu. This methodology of using published whakapapa to reconstruct settlements of early cultural contact in various other regions of New Zealand has been employed by various other scholars such as Kate Stevens and Angela Middleton.

In addition to whakapapa, baptism and marriage records from the Wesleyan records of James Watkins, Charles Creed, and Johannes Wohlers, and the journals and letters of these missionaries, form the central sources for this project. Because Māori were not legally required to register marriages until 1911, and births and deaths until 1913, these registers are crucial, as they provide insight into who married whom in Otākou, and refer not only to newcomers, but also to Christian marriages of Kāi Tahu men and women. What the registers do not reveal is just as important as what

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17 Rawiri Te Maire Tau, Ngā Pikitūroa o Ngāi Tahu: The Oral Traditions of Ngāi Tahu (Dunedin, University of Otago Press, 2003), 33.
21 Kate Stevens “Gathering Places: The Mixed Descent Families of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, 1824-1864” (BA (Hons). diss., Dunedin, University of Otago, 2008) and Angela Middleton, Two Hundred Years on Codfish Island (Whenuahou): From Cultural Encounter to Nature Conservation (Invercargill, Department of Conservation, June 2007).
22 Journal of Rev. James Watkin 1840-1844, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0534/021), HL; Wesleyan Index: Transcript of Burial, Marriage and Baptism Registers of the Methodist Church, Waikouaiti 1840-1859, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0440/003), HL and Transcript of letters from Rev. Charles Creed, London 1844-1851, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0440/017), HL.
23 Wesleyan Index: Transcript of Burial, Marriage, and Baptism Registers of the Methodist Church, Waikouaiti 1840-1859, HL.
they do include, as they show that initially only a small number of Kāi Tahu entered into Christian marriages, preferring to follow their own custom of marriage. The journals and letters of these missionarines also provide first hand accounts of communities and their thoughts on those who lived within Otākou. The ‘Harwood Papers’, specifically his journal that dates from 24th April 1838 to 4th of July 1842, and the letters of the Weller brothers,24 offer further insight into the community and day to day running of the Otākou station. This is particularly important for chapter two of this dissertation where the economics of station life are examined.

I have also consulted Official sources. Alexander Mackay’s A Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island includes a census of Kāi Tahu, statistics, and native officer’s reports. These document the condition of the Otākou community once the station had collapsed and offer an official perspective on poverty and land related issues within the area. These reports must be read in context, as the various authors of these reports have their own biases and agenda. An example of this can be seen in a report by a Native Officer referring to Otākou: “The poverty of the people is entirely attributed to their own indolence and apathy. They have plenty of land of good quality, and might live in comparative comfort if they would only exert themselves.”25 Reports in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR) also document land related issues within Otākou. During a number of land inquiries Kāi Tahu gave evidence, which was duly recorded, giving a rare insight into the thoughts and feelings of Kāi Tahu in Otākou. The AJHR 1892 appendix to the journals also includes a census of the South Island Māori, providing their name, residence, whether they were under or over fourteen years of age, and their fraction of Māori ‘blood’. Although this census was collated at a later date than I am studying, it assists in identifying the families and people who stayed within Otākou after whaling ceased. These official sources however can be limited as they are fragmentary and have to be supplemented by the manuscripts of early visitors such as Shortland and others who recorded the Kāi Tahu population of Otākou.

24 Bound transcript of Harwood’s journal April 1838 to July 1842, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0438/003), HL and Transcript of Weller Brother correspondence, 1840-1859, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0440/005), IL.
Chapter Structure

This dissertation is presented in three chapters, which are chronological in structure. While this dissertation is structured chronologically, closely following the lifespan of the Wellers’ whaling station, these divisions in time are artificial, as the changes to the Otākou community were affected by many overlapping events. Chapter one explores Kāi Tahu marriage and kinship traditions, focusing on the ten years before the whalers arrived, so I can later trace the effects of the newcomers on these customs and evaluate to what extent they changed or remained intact. The importance of marriage within Māori society is also examined, and how these traditional marriage practices were extended to the mixed marriages that occurred in later years. Due to the limited resources and information available on Kāi Tahu traditions, I look at kinship, marriage, and sexual custom in the broader framework of Kāi Tahu, and try to draw it into the regional level of Otākou where possible. Some assumptions may have to be made about Kāi Tahu within Otākou, due to the often broad generalisations made about Kāi Tahu traditions of marriage, sex and kinship by ethnographers. I also demonstrate that not all early encounters were harmonious and certainly did not always result in intermarriage.

Chapter two illuminates the economics of community formation at Otākou during 1831 to 1840. I assess the economics of the station: the hierarchy within the whaling station, how the station was managed and the jobs that were taken up by both Kāi Tahu and the newcomers such as Anglem, Bates, Quin, Ruatai, and Haberfield. The importance of intermarriage is also discussed. Marriage alliances between newcomers and Kāi Tahu women were seen as mutually beneficial for both parties. These alliances were often graded according to rank, with leading whalers partnering with women of high status. They provided newcomers with protection, land and comfort, while Otākou chiefs had ongoing access to trade and new technologies. The role of Kāi Tahu women is also explored, as they were an essential part of the economic and social life of the station.

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26 Frank Tod, Whaling in Southern Waters (Dunedin, New Zealand Tablet Co. Ltd 1982), 108-123 and Harwood’s journal, 23 October 1838, 20. (MS-0438/003), HL.
27 Jonathan Lewis West, “An Environmental History of Otago Peninsula: Dialectics of Ecological and Cultural Change from First Settlement to 1900,” (PhD, University of Otago, 2009), 5.
Relationships between Kāi Tahu women and newcomers were often interpreted in less than positive terms by missionaries and short-term visitors to the community, who viewed customs around sexual hospitality and gift-giving as commercial transactions. In their comments they demonstrate little understanding of the social, political, and economic function of marriage and kinship within Māori society, and commonly claimed whaling stations and whaling society were devoid of morality. It was widely reported that prostitution, abuse, and disease were rife within the community. I argue that the “prostitution” and other negative aspects that were recorded in great detail by some of these early observers were sensationalised, and perhaps not as predominant in the community as suggested by these reports. In some accounts it seems the exception often became the rule. Through weighing up these different opinions I build a picture of what station life was like, who lived there, and the relationships that were forged between newcomers and Kāi Tahu. The social environment of the station is also illuminated. I also show that Kāi Tahu marriage customs and patterns were retained during the whaling period.

Chapter three focuses on the disintegration of the Wellers’ station dating around 1840. Taking a place-specific approach allows the Wellers’ whaling station to be traced through from its establishment to its demise, and to evaluate what kind of effect this had on the community of Otākou, looking specifically at economics, intimate relationships, and kinship structures. Many people left the Otākou whaling station in search of economic opportunities at other whaling stations within the region, such as Johnny Jones’s station at Waikouaiti. The question of whether families disintegrated or relocated to other areas where there was demand for whalers is a main focal point in this chapter. The demise of the station also resulted in numerous cases of abandonment by newcomers who had taken Kāi Tahu women as their wives, but each of these cases had their own set of circumstances. These cases are not always as clear-cut as one might think. For example, there was a high incidence of drowning in the Otago Harbour, which may account for some of these so-called abandonments. There is also an alternative view to abandonment, which is discussed, and the fact that some newcomers stayed on at Otākou with their mixed descent families, contributing to the community.
This dissertation is concerned with the structures and processes that underpin the cultural formation of communities around shore whaling stations, and in particular Otākou. By looking at the role of marriage, kinship, family, and the importance of forging connections, this dissertation illuminates to what extent a mixed community and culture was formed. This research is important to me as a descendant of some of the early residents of Otākou, and it would possibly be significant for other people whose families lived there. I hope the Otākou community today may also find this study useful as a glimpse into what life was like as a newcomer to Otākou in the nineteenth century.
Chapter One:
Kinship, Marriage and Sexual Customs of Kāi Tahu

This chapter examines, in rather broad terms, Māori sexual custom and the culture of marriage and kinship. Evidence of Kāi Tahu sexual custom and marriage and kinship traditions are fairly thin. Writers such as Herries Beattie who recorded Kāi Tahu history and traditions, gathered masses of information, but often did not look at the particular customs I am interested in. Much of the evidence gathered by early ethnographers on sexual customs and marriage is based on the traditions of North Island iwi such as Ngā Puhi and Tūhoe. Where possible I will relate information relating to kinship, marriage and sexual custom to the regional level of Kāi Tahu within Otākou.

Māori sexual customs and the culture of marriage and kinship have been explored by various scholars in the twentieth-century, particularly anthropologists and sociologists. Historians, however, have not always paid close attention to traditional marriage and kinship cultures when endeavouring to examine the impact of newcomers on Māori. Using the writings of nineteenth-century travellers, missionaries, and ethnographers, I explore some of their interpretations of what they considered ‘traditional’ Māori custom and culture. I also draw on more recent economic and social studies of traditional Kāi Tahu. Using these more recent works in conjunction with older works reveals some of the pitfalls of earlier explanations of so-called ‘traditional’ Māori culture, especially in relation to marriage and sexual custom. Through studying the Māori (Kāi Tahu) customs of kinship, sex, and marriage pre-contact period, one can see how these practices and protocols of marriage were adopted to include the first newcomers, who were often, sealers and whalers. It is also possible to analyse the changes over time in relation to whether newcomers adopted Kāi Tahu customs in marriage, sex, and kinship. This allows me to explore, in later chapters, whether the presence of the newcomers altered those customs, or the extent to which they remained in-tact.
I. The Constructions of ‘Custom’

Various constructions of so-called ‘traditional customs’ by early writers such as travellers and missionaries were often dominated by their fascination with Māori sexuality, warfare, and superstition. Prostitution, infanticide, and polygamy were recorded in great detail by early observers in traveller’s journals, missionary reports, and some ethnographic works. The Church Missionary Society missionary William Yate lists ‘unregulated’ Māori practices, which includes accounts of both polygamy and infanticide, in his book, An Account of New Zealand. He states “Polygamy has been the fruitful source of much evil in this ill governed land; and that murders of a most appalling nature might be traced to its influence.” Yate claims that spousal jealousy was the cause of infanticide, several to which he was an apparent witness. Missionaries seemed to have a fascination with infanticide, but it is hard to know if the examples are typical or sensationalised accounts. The practise of Māori committing infanticide was also commented upon Watkins in his journal: “Infanticide has been common with New Zealand females and an instance of recent occurrence has just come under my notice, and I am threatening the party concerned with the vengeance of British law.” Although Watkin states it was common I only came across two cases that are discussed in his journal. These practices were perhaps not as predominant in the community as suggested by the reports. For example, Kate Riddell points out that in Fenton’s 1859 census of the Māori population he concluded that both abortion and infanticide were rare. Ian Pool, a scholar of Māori demography, also dismisses large scale infanticide as a feature of Māori life.

There were different reasons for these varying constructions of Kāi Tahu custom and tradition. Peter Gibbons argues that missionaries’ works were often “carefully plotted to degenerate Māori in their natural state to glorify the mission and amplify the success of missionaries.” Some missionaries were clearly writing with an agenda. Another issue with these writings is the failure to record the day-to-day

29 Yate, An Account of New Zealand, 99.
30 Journal of Rev. James Watkin, 6 July 1841, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0534/021), HL.
Differing opinions about Kāi Tahu sexual customs and marriage have been published since the early nineteenth century. The first newcomers to interact with Kāi Tahu were the sealers, but records from this time concentrate on the events of those contacts, rather than any commentary on the social conventions of Kāi Tahu, and any intimate relationships that may have formed. Numerous sealers were attacked by Kāi Tahu in retribution for serious breaches of Kāi Tahu protocols which ultimately led to the burning of a Kāi Tahu village near Otākou in 1817. These early acts of violence tended to dominate writings on Kāi Tahu, and for many years violent encounters were often reported in Australian newspapers of the time. The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser reported on the 30th of March 1811: “Three men, who had fled from a gang in the above straits, and had gone among the natives with a boat and a number of carpenter's implements, exposing themselves to the fury of the merciless hordes of savages that infest that barbarous coast, they were then killed and devoured”.

The justification for the attacks had long been forgotten, and the violence between newcomers and Kāi Tahu was attributed to the ‘savage’ nature of Māori. A focus on violent encounters was soon replaced by the writings of missionaries, officials, and travellers, on what they thought Kāi Tahu (and Māori) custom entailed, often focusing on the sexual customs, and particularly ‘abhorrent practices’ such as infanticide, cannibalism, and slavery.

II. Marriage, Sexual Custom, and Kinship

The idea that Māori women were sexually free do as they please with no restrictions due to age or status was a common misconception made by some nineteenth-century writers about traditional Kāi Tahu and Māori society. Edward Shortland claimed “the more admirers (the young women) can attract, and the greater the reputation for intrigue the fairer the chance of making an advantageous match.” These remarks

concerning the lack of premarital propriety found in early reports were often based on an observed freedom with which single women supposedly offered themselves to Europeans. d'Urville, a visiting French officer, wrote when he visited Otākou in 1840 that at night, Kāi Tahu women often frequented ships in the Otago Harbour. He and his crew were most concerned with this handing over of women to foreigners, and interpreted it as a commercial relationship, because European garments were often the price of these reputed transactions. Remarks similar to these were also made by Reverend James Watkin who resided at Waikouaiti. In 1840 he wrote: “Māori are a diminished and decreasing race and from the pernicious practice of selling their women to Europeans and other causes, I fear they will become extinct as a people.”

These early observations often presumed a practice of ‘prostitution’ and claimed the amount of sexual freedom allowed to women stemmed from a traditional way of Māori life, and this way of life had to be reformed. Tony Ballantyne states the missionaries sought to reform the ‘heathen body’ through Christian marriage. They believed Christian marriage was the appropriate place sex could be regulated and relationships made moral. These perceptions were probably a result of the different moral codes of the narrators who regarded sexuality as something to be confined within marriage. It seems missionaries did not consider the several functions of marriage within traditional Māori society.

There were also writers who took a more scientific and ethnographic approach. Among them were writers such as Edward Shortland, Rev. T.A. Pybus and later Herries Beattie and W.A Taylor. These men were careful observers who recorded a mass of important facts about Kāi Tahu culture and traditions. Ethnographic writers of the time followed a conscious scientific method and ethic, and believed the necessities of this practice were to record facts as accurately as possible. One of New Zealand’s well known ethnographers on Kāi Tahu custom was Herries Beattie. Beattie collected detailed information on southern Māori, such as traditions, history, lore and place names. This gathering was based in part on

37 Early transcript letters from Rev. James Watkin to Rev. James Buller 1840-1844, 14 September 1840, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0440/007), HL.
38 Tony Ballantyne, “Reforming the Heathen Body: C.M.S Missionaries, Sexuality, and Māori, 1814-1850” (BA (Hons) diss., Dunedin, University of Otago, 2008), 60.
39 Biggs, Māori Marriage, 15.
interviews with Māori kaumatua. One of his most important contributions to traditions of Kāi Tahu history was the year-long ethnological survey he conducted of southern Māori communities in 1920. Although Beattie gathered thousands of facts on many aspects of Kāi Tahu life, there seems to be surprisingly little discussion of sexuality or marriage customs.

Although the early ethnographer’s work is incredibly useful when studying traditional Māori custom and tradition, it does have limitations; these men often placed aspects of Kāi Tahu traditions outside of their cultural context, and their observations were also not particularly analytical. Another issue which may have led to misinterpretation of Māori custom or history within these works is that some Māori were not willing to reveal their histories to a stranger, and would deliberately mislead the collector by providing false information. This is not to say that the early published accounts of early observers of Kāi Tahu tradition and custom are not of value. Many writers had great respect for Māori and their traditions, such as Edward Shortland who visited the South Island in 1844. He was careful to identify separate tribal traditions instead of suggesting a homogenous traditional Māori culture. He also shows that Kāi Tahu culture was complex and not ‘primitive’ or ‘simple’.

With an increasing volume of literature around the general structural principles of Māori society, more detail of Māori life at an intimate level became available. Firth’s *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Māori*, which was published in 1929, draws on the earlier works of ethnographers. Firth interprets aspects of traditional Māori life in relation to economics, particularly the economic aspect of marriage and the strict protocols that surrounded marriage. Firth discusses how these structures/protocols were particularly important to have in place due to the land that could either be gained or lost through marriage. Bruce Biggs also argued that there were numerous protocols that women had to follow, and that the

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42 Raymond Firth, *Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Māori* (London, George Routledge & Sons Ltd, 1929).
43 Biggs, xii.
unrestricted sexual freedom written about by early writers was not the case.\textsuperscript{44} Bruce Biggs’ book, \textit{Māori Marriage}, and Berys Heuer’s \textit{Māori Women}, endeavour to reconstruct the role of Māori women in traditional family and tribal life.\textsuperscript{45} By collating and analysing the many references scattered throughout ethnographic literature, they illuminate the importance of marriage and the significant roles played by Māori women within their communities. Together they have provided a detailed account of the protocols and details of Māori marriage and women’s freedoms and restrictions, before and after they had entered into a marriage.

Protocols of sexual restriction were often placed upon women due to the practice of arranged marriages and their rank within society, as well as their marital status. Attempts at arranged marriages were initiated in teen years rather than during infancy, and were made on a family rather than tribal basis. A young woman who had been betrothed was therefore prevented from having any sexual relationships before marriage.\textsuperscript{46} Chiefs’ daughters and puhi maidens were also restricted when it came to pre-marital sex. A puhi maiden was a young woman of chiefly rank, celebrated for her good looks and social skills, who was expected to remain a virgin until marriage. This marriage was expected to be a political match, therefore she was unable to have a relationship of her own choice, as she might be required to make a marriage of expediency at short notice.\textsuperscript{47} It has been noted that this institution only existed in some tribal areas. I am unsure whether this was the case at Otākou, as I have not come across any primary evidence referring to a southern puhi maiden by southern missionaries or other early observers. However, marriages were indeed undertaken amongst Kāi Tahu chiefly families for political reasons.

Further evidence of the importance of marriage and monogamy to Māori is seen in how adultery was regarded and punished. Adultery was considered a serious social offence in traditional Māori society. It was recorded by Yate that if either a man or women were found to be committing adultery, this could be punishable by death through a physical beating. These beatings could be so ghastly that supposedly one

\textsuperscript{44} Angela Wanahalla, “Marrying ‘In’: The Geography of Intermarriage on the Taieri, 1830s-1920s,” in Tony Ballantyne and Judith A. Bennett, eds, \textit{Landscape/Community: Perspectives in New Zealand History} (Dunedin, University of Otago, 2005), 73-94.
\textsuperscript{46} Biggs, 15.
\textsuperscript{47} Biggs, 36.
would rather die than live with the injuries. The reason adultery was not tolerated was because of the importance prescribed to whakapapa, and the fact that parentage needed to be well established. Adultery could also affect the iwi, as compensation for the offence of adultery could be goods, or even land. This restriction on certain women and the fact adultery was so serious it was punishable by death illustrates that there were indeed sexual restrictions on women in traditional Māori society.

In my research I have also encountered a number of competing views concerning traditional Māori ‘marriage’ and what it encompassed. There has been debate among scholars as to whether there was any marriage rite attached to traditional Māori marriage. Eldson Best argued that a marriage rite did exist among Māori in his 1903 paper, Māori Marriage Custom. He described various classes of Māori marriage, and the ceremonies and procedures that accompanied each. For example he argues there was the aristocratic wedding where a ceremony took place, at which ritual blessings were repeated over the couple and then a feast (umu kootore) was held. This ceremony and feasting was said to distinguish the aristocratic from an ordinary wedding. However, the subsequent handing over of the wife was universal.

Scholars have also argued that traditional marriage custom among Māori entailed no ceremony, no ancestral customs, or rites. One of Herries Beattie’s informants told him “for a marriage to take place, [you] get the friends together, and when both families agree they say to the young couple, “I moe korua”, and by thus sleeping together they are regarded as married”. Similarly, John White argued in 1860 in Māori Customs and Superstitions, that Māori had no marriage rite, yet he acknowledged there was a custom called Pa Kuha among some Māori, which consisted of giving a woman to be the property of her suitor. Other accounts mention feasting and the giving of gifts. Biggs admits that there are essential elements of a

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48 Yate, An Account of New Zealand, 97, 105.
49 Biggs, 82.
50 Eldson Best, “Māori Marriage Customs,” Transactions of the New Zealand Institute Vol. 36, (Wellington, J. Hughes, Printer, 1903), 14-67.
51 Best, “Māori Marriage Customs,” 45.
52 Best, “Māori Marriage Customs,” 15.
54 John White, “Māori Customs and Superstitions,” Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives of New Zealand. E-7, 1861, 3-48 and G-8, 1880, 1-2. HL; Richard Taylor, Te Ika-a-
marriage contract. "Firstly, that all concerned, that is the whole community, should know that the young couple were setting up in permanent sexual partnership, and secondly that they should agree to the match." 55 The existence of marriage rite is not essential to this dissertation, but what is important is that through sources such as whakapapa books and ethnographic material, the evidence illustrates that marriage and monogamy was indeed imperative to the maintenance of traditional Māori society.

Marriage was a significant aspect of traditional Kāi Tahu life where kinship, warfare, and sexual custom all merged. Marriage had to be taken very seriously as great amounts could be gained or lost through marriage, especially if it took place outside the hapū. This could pose a greater risk because of the system of joint inheritance of land. Māori can attach themselves to any one kin group through either parent, and to different kin groups of the same order through both parents at once; hence Māori are not restricted to tracing their line of descent from one parent only. Ambilineal groups allowed individuals to trace descent back to an ancestor through a line of mixed male and female links. Genealogical ties could link an individual to any number of hapū and iwi. If both parents belonged to the same hapū or iwi, their children could claim membership to that hapū or iwi through both parents. If the parents belonged to different hapū or iwi, membership could be claimed to each one. 56 Consequently, if the two hapū had differing opinions over the lands use or ownership it could be cause for dispute.

Although marriages outside the hapū were potentially a disruptive force, they could too be seen as a creation of a new set of social ties between two groups of people, and a way to bring about peace between warring communities. War was an integral part of Kāi Tahu life in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, particularly along the eastern and southern coastline. It has been noted that of the last twenty tribal conflicts in the South Island before 1829, it was found that only two were between unrelated hapū, and that the last major conflict about 1827 became

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Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants, 2nd ed. (London, Wertheim and Macintosh, 1855), 337 and Yate, An Account of New Zealand, 96-97.

55 Biggs, 41.
56 Biggs, 25.
known as the Kaihuānga (eat relation) feud. The demands of mana and utu set relation against relation. Often this periodic warfare resulted in a strategic marriage between important male leaders and high status women, such as a chief’s daughter, to achieve a lasting harmony. An example of this mutually beneficial relationship is the connection made between Otākou and Kaiapoi through the marriage of Pokene and Hinetaumai. Pokene moved to Otākou, Hinetaumai’s home, and lived alongside her nephews Kareai and Taiaroa. However, kinship ties did not always result in regional co-operation, or even to any permanent alliance. Because of this, intra-group relations were cemented and marriages to those of a different tribe were at times discouraged. This allowed the tribal lands and other resources to be kept within the tribe and its membership would not decline.

Although there is a strong tradition around inter hapū warfare, marrying to keep the peace between various tribes usually only happened among the higher echelons of society because of the land issues attached to it. An example of this can be seen in the practise of polygamy among chiefs; usually the first wife was married for political reasons; the second was a woman of rank comparable to that of her husband; and the third was a woman of choice. Chief Kareai of Otākou in the early nineteenth century was said to have had polygamous relationships. Kareai reputedly had eight wives, although he eventually accepted monogamy along with the Christian faith. However, the polygamy of chiefs should not be exaggerated. Beattie identifies that polygamy was not common, even though it was a well recognised custom. The only information Beattie had on the issue was from southern missionary Johannes Wohlers, who noted that when a man had several wives, the relationship of one wife

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60 Raymond Firth, Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Māori (London, George Routledge & Sons Ltd, 1929), 111 and Harry Evinson, Te Wai Pounamu, the Greenstone Island: A History of Southern Māori During the European Colonization of New Zealand (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 1993), 13.
61 Firth, Primitive Economics of the New Zealand Māori, 110-112.
62 Firth, 115.
to another was called Taokete. Unfortunately, Beattie himself collected no information on polygamy. Te Matenga Taiaroa, who was a leading warrior and chief within Otākou, is an example of a chief who entered into a monogamous relationship. Within his eighty years of life he had two monogamous relationships. His first wife was Hinewhareua, older sister of Kareaitai, who died giving birth to their daughter Nikuru. Taiaroa next married Mawhera and they had one son, Hori Kerei.

Clearly marriage in traditional Māori society was highly valued, and had social protocols surrounding it. Once a marriage was established the couple united whakapapa lineage. This kinship matrix has been described as one of the fundamental repositories of knowledge for Māori. In traditional Māori society the whānau formed a person’s inner circle of kinship; more specifically it was the joint and extended family which comprised the most intimate circle of social relationships. Michael Reilly remarks that standard descriptions of Māori social structure have often been simplified for easier understanding into a four-tier hierarchy of waka, iwi, hapū and whānau. Membership in these groups, and the right to participate, was principally based on whakapapa, the principle of descent. It is understandable therefore that Māori social life should constantly remind people of the historical kinship bonds which held the community together. The reciting of tribal genealogies fulfilled this function through holding an intimate knowledge of bloodlines. Whakapapa is the crucial marker that connects one with whānau and other kin groups.

The kin group that Māori lived with was usually the group they, for the most part, affiliated to and identified with. Their other kin group, or groups, were given recognition, and sometimes became an alternative place of residence or even refuge should the need arise. Thus, although individuals would live with the whānau of one parent, they would still be considered whānau to the other parent’s whānau by virtue

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64 Beattie, *Traditional Life Ways of the Southern Māori*, 95.
of their whakapapa links. Often, when the family lived with one parent’s kin group, a child would be sent to live with the other parents family to maintain the kinship ties. The imposition on the whānau or hapū for taking responsibility for an individual’s action strengthened the sense of reciprocal group obligations. Since the ancestral precedents which established the sanctions also established the kinship ties of responsibility and duty, the consequences of an individual or group action could rebound on the whānau, hapū or iwi.

The Māori kinship system is an all embracing one, relating every individual in some degree with every other one, and linking every individual to a line of ancestors stretching back to Rangi and Papa. At the same time, the rights of people who married or were adopted into hapū could be contested, and the manipulations of the system by individuals were potent causes of almost lasting strife.

III. Arrival of the Newcomers

Given the many kinship relationships and the importance of them, it was vital to have clearly understood protocols and structures surrounding traditional Māori marriage. These long established protocols surrounding marriage, would not easily, if at all, be compromised. The arrival of newcomers to southern New Zealand began with small groups of sealers who roamed the southern shores of the South Island. The first newcomers to arrive in the region quickly found out that observance of local custom was vital to survival, and if custom was ignored, it could have devastating and ongoing consequences.

The New Zealand sealing industry reached its peak in 1809, but declined dramatically in 1813, probably partly as a response to numerous Kāi Tahu attacks on southern New Zealand sealing gangs in 1810 and 1811. A sealer named William Tucker was the cause of the majority of the attacks on southern sealing gangs. He violated one of the most tapu objects in Māori culture, the mokomokai (preserved head). In November 1809, Tucker was one of eleven men left at sealing grounds

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72 Frank Tod, *Whaling in Southern Waters* (Dunedin, New Zealand Tablet Co. Ltd 1982), 18
around Green Island and White Island near the Otago Peninsula. They had sailed from Sydney on the *Brothers* under Robert Mason. When the brig returned in May 1810 they found only Tucker and one other. Tucker and others were sent to search for the missing men near Stewart Island where they were attacked by Māori whom they were previously on good terms with. Some members of the *Brothers*’ missing gang eventually made their way home to Sydney where they told how several sealing gangs working for different vessels in southern New Zealand had been attacked by Kāi Tahu and massacred. This was virtually unprecedented at the time and no newcomers could explain it.

The reason for these attacks became clear later when Tucker offered for sale in Sydney a preserved Māori head. The months after the theft saw three attacks by Māori, resulting in twelve newcomers’ deaths, apparently unprovoked, but all on gangs associated with Tucker. In 1817 Tucker returned to Otākou with Captain Kelly. Tucker and some crew members were welcomed into the chief’s house under false pretences and killed. Captain Kelly soon took disproportionate revenge, killing more than sixty seven apparently innocent Kāi Tahu at Otākou, destroying forty two canoes and reducing a village to ashes. Attacks and counter attacks triggered by Tucker’s original theft continued long after Tucker’s death. Many people were ignorant of the original cause, with newcomers attributing Kāi Tahu attacks to a supposedly treacherous nature. Some of the men from sealing gangs remained and married Kāi Tahu women on Kāi Tahu terms, as Kate Stevens notes. The first recorded mixed descent families established a permanent sealing community south of Otākou at Whenua Hou/ Codfish Island around 1823.

These early encounters reveal that not all meetings were harmonious and certainly did not always result in intermarriage as has so widely been written about in

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74 Jill Hamel, *The Archaeology of Otago* (Wellington, Department of Conservation, 2001), 103.
76 Entwisle, *Behold the Moon*, 37.
79 Entwisle, *Behold the Moon*, 27.
80 Kate Stevens, “Gathering Places: The Mixed Descent Families of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/ Stewart Island, 1824-1864” (BA (Hons). diss., Otago University, 2008), 36.
southern culture contact histories. The reaction towards these early newcomers who worked for the sealing gangs seem to be a completely different reaction compared to the early whalers, especially those of the Wollers’ shore whaling station. The reason for this may be that the shore whalers were setting up a permanent establishment, and Kāi Tahu could see that there was benefit in forming relationships with newcomers. This could be seen as being only a variation on the relationships they formed with other hapū and tribes. The practise of absorbing members of other hapū into the kinship system was well established and was done to maintain stability of the iwi. We should therefore not be surprised that newcomers, who offered similar benefits, were also accepted into Kāi Tahu Whānui, despite the violent encounters of 1810 to 1817.
Chapter Two:
The economics of community formation at Otākou

Not long after the first contact between sealing gangs and Kāi Tahu the next group of newcomers arrived in the form of whalers. The economic and social life of whaling stations were intertwined with those of Kāi Tahu communities, and it is these interconnections that I examine in this chapter. I investigate how the station operated, the hierarchy within the station, and of course the newcomers who worked within it. I show that economic relationships with the Otākou community were forged through the sharing of land and resources, as well as labour. Essential economic relationships were consolidated through intimate relationships, but these were more than just economic pragmatism. With a focus on interracial marriage I aim to reconfigure perceptions of the frontier to incorporate Kāi Tahu women as significant historical actors within these marriages. I also discuss what kind of impact intermarriage between Kāi Tahu and newcomers had on Kāi Tahu ideas and beliefs about marriage, sex and kinship and to what extent newcomers accepted Kāi Tahu customs. Whalers were managed through kinship; they were brought into the matrix of whānau and hapū, and were expected to conform to Kāi Tahu modes of social and cultural life. As previously discussed, a member of a different iwi who was accepted into a community such as Otākou through traditional Māori marriage brought with them skills and resources that were highly valued, and newcomers who intermarried were no exception. An examination of the social networks within the community demonstrates the emergence of an interconnected community during the life of the Wellers’ whaling station.

I. The establishment and workings of the Wellers’ whaling station
The Weller brothers, Joseph, George and Edward, were born in England and immigrated to Sydney with their parents in 1829. The Weller family were well off Kentish landholders, and before travelling to Sydney they sold their estate. With money to invest, the family decided to set up a shore whaling station in Otākou where there was known to be vast amounts of Right Whales. The family firm Weller and Co, had realised the possibilities of whaling and added this to their already diverse
portfolio of commercial interests. The family also had interests in the timber industry in the North Island. Joseph and Edward came to Otākou to establish the station, while George managed operations from Sydney.

In September 1831 the Weller brothers purchased the barque Lucy Ann from the New South Wales Government. She sailed for New Zealand with Joseph and Edward Weller, and carried muskets, gunpowder, rum, axes, whaling gear, beef, tobacco, and stores to form an establishment. They landed at Black Rock, or what is now known as Wellers' Rock, in mid October 1831. It is presumed the Weller's made some arrangement with Otākou chiefs, Tahatu and Karetai, to gain access to the land on which to build the station. There is no record of negotiations with these chiefs or Kāi Tahu. Chiefly acceptance of the Wellers' proposal is probably indicated by the first cargo they brought to Otākou. Muskets, gunpowder, rum and axes would have appealed to Kāi Tahu as they were involved in skirmishes with Te Rauparaha (Ngāti Toa) at this time. For the next two years the weapons would have been put to good use as Kāi Tahu repelled Te Rauparaha's efforts to control the South Island. Kāi Tahu were successful in keeping Otākou secure, and this was essential for the successful establishment of the Wellers' whaling station.

Otākou station was located in the area of a densely populated Māori settlement, which was said to have had the largest Māori population south of Waikato River during this time. Edwin Palmer visited Otākou in 1826, and recalls seeing around three hundred Māori. The station was situated at the southern end of Te Rauone beach, which was in close proximity to a number of Kāi Tahu communities such as Tahakopa and Te Ruatitiko, these communities form the foreground of Figure 1.

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81 Jonathan Lewis West, “An Environmental History of the Otago Peninsula: Dialectics of Ecological and Cultural Change from First Settlement to 1900” (PhD, Otago University, 2009), 207.
83 Frank Tod, Whaling in Southern Waters (Dunedin, New Zealand Tablet Co. Ltd 1982), 21.
84 Ian Church, Gaining a Foothold: Historical Records of Otago’s Eastern Coast, 1770-1839 (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2007), 162.
87 Peter Entwisle, Behold the Moon: The European Occupation of the Dunedin District 1770-1848 (Dunedin, Port Daniel Press, 1998), 72.
There is no account of the building of the Wellers’ shore whaling station at Otākou. Unfortunately, in April 1832, a devastating fire broke out and destroyed many of the newly built buildings. Although this was a setback, the station seemed to recover quickly. A large house was built for Edward Weller, as well as numerous whalers’ cottages, stores, jetties, and Harwood’s supply store which was a large building and may be shown in the sketch by J. W. Barnicoat in May 1844 in Figure 2. The picture shows a flag pole and large wooden building, evidence of European building techniques, but there are also a number of buildings roofed with raupo, which was used in traditional Māori whare. This shows that the community surrounding the station was constructed using a mixture of Māori and European techniques, knowledge and labour.

By 1833, whaling had begun and the station became one of the largest and most profitable stations on the coast. The Wellers’ station was a shore based whaling station that targeted the Right Whale for its oil and whalebone during a season that lasted from May to October. Shore whaling was often easier than deep sea whaling as it provided a calm area to lay the whale where they could then process the whale into oil and whalebone. Conversely, deep sea whaling meant having to cut the whale and boil the fat out at sea, often in rough weather and thus running the risk of losing the whale overboard. The whale blubber was boiled to extract the oil. The oil was very important in Britain as it was essential for lighting and heating. Whale bone was used for many things including boning for corsets and making buggy whips.

Otākou was the centre of a network of stations owned by the Wellers. They established ‘fisheries’ above Pilots Beach and on Te Rauone Beach in 1836 and 1837, and later they operated stations at Purakanui, Taieri Island, Timaru, and Banks Peninsula. With such a large station there were many jobs to fill. There were the men who went out to sea and caught the whales, and those who worked on shore. The whales were usually found close to shore in the bays, between two and seven miles off the coast. The whale kills were achieved using a fleet of small whaleboats. Once

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88 Entwisle, Behold the Moon, 86.
89 Trevor Bentley, Pakeha Maori the Extraordinary Story of the European who Lived as Maori in Early New Zealand (Auckland, Penguin, 1999), 207.
90 Harry Morton, The Whale's Wake (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 1982), 54.
92 Entwisle, Behold the Moon, 86.
93 Church, Gaining a Foothold, xvii.
the whale had been killed it was dragged back to the station and hauled up to the beach. The ‘tonguer’ then cut the strips of blubber down the entire length of the body. These strips were then dragged off with the help of a ‘capstan’ and chopped into blocks to be thrown in the try pots, often with the help of a Māori whaling gang. Robert McNab adds that the ‘tonguer’ often acted as an interpreter to Māori who worked with him. The ‘tonguer’ was paid by the oil rendered from the tongue in return for dissecting the whale. Once the blubber was in the try pots and heated, the oil rose to the surface. It was skimmed off and stored in large wooden casks assembled by a cooper, another important craftsman in the operation. The whale jawbone was carefully cut then buried in the sand for ten days, by which time the hair on the plates had rotted away. It was then washed, scraped, and tied into bundles for storage. Men were also employed by the station as boat builders, blacksmiths, and carpenters.

The hierarchy of station life is highlighted in payments. Wages were paid out and the workers could earn the equivalent of £35 wages during the season. One pound in 1830 is roughly £80-100 today. So we can assume they were being paid approximately around £2000 (NZ $4,290) in today’s currency per season. Harwood employed workers, “Cammel, McEwin, Smith for ¾ days at 5/- per diem- Woodham, Simons and Cammel agreed to give 2/- each for afternoons labour.” Carpenters, blacksmiths, and coopers (barrel-makers), were often paid at the higher rate of 10/- a day. John Clarke, a cooper, is recorded by Harwood as being paid to make Casks at the rate of 20/- per tonne on labour at the rate of £6 per month. Evidence from

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94 Morton, 238.
96 T.B Kennard recalls “to save space the barrels came as staves and the hoop iron in long lengths, which was used to cut to suit. I remember Dick Sizemore and Bill MacLauchlan putting the staves together with the hoop iron. Although I was too young to grasp the procedure, but I think a block was used. What we used to call flags then, but now known as bulrushes, or by the Maoris called rapo (or raupo), were used by the coopers then. They were inserted between the joints and kept the oil casks as tight as a drum” in James Herries Beattie, The First White Boy Born in Otago: The Story of T.B. Kennard, (Dunedin, Reed, 1939), 29.
97 Papers on the Otakou Whaling Station in Early 1830s, George Craig Thomson Papers (ARC-0055) HL, 9.
98 Bound transcript of Harwood’s journal April 1838 to July 1842, George Craig Thomson Papers, (MS-0438/003) HL.
100 Harwood’s journal, 27 September 1839, 51.
101 Harwood’s journal, 7 June 1838, 7.
Octavius Harwood’s journal also demonstrates that those workers with less demanding jobs were more often than not paid in slops, spirits or tobacco. “Gave Black and Tandy, carpenter rum for one week”\textsuperscript{102} and “agreed with Gailey to work at 5/- per diem, to be paid in slops.”\textsuperscript{103} Māori gangs were also more likely to be paid in provisions instead of wages.

To complete these various jobs within the station and the community, it has been said by various historians have said that anywhere between forty and one hundred men were hired at the station.\textsuperscript{104} In 1835, George Weller stated there were eighty men working at the station.\textsuperscript{105} At some stage twelve boats were in use and as many as eleven whale boats were seen at one time in the harbour.\textsuperscript{106} Most whaling stations were funded from Sydney and staffed with newcomers from all over the world. The Wellers’ station was no different, as it was staffed by a cosmopolitan group of men drawn from diverse backgrounds. These men have often been classed as Europeans who deserted ships, escaped criminals, or ex-convicts that had obtained their ticket of leave. These workers were not always Europeans, but included Portuguese, American, French, Indian, and African Americans. They came from many different backgrounds. Some were criminals and ex-convicts, but others were experienced in the maritime industry, or were itinerant labourers. This is why I use the term ‘newcomers’ to describe the whalers, instead of referring to them as a homogenous group of ‘Europeans’.

It is a difficult procedure to find detailed information on the men that staffed the Wellers’ whaling station due to the transient nature of the workforce. There was little reason to record the details of every single person that passed through the station. A name may appear on a ledger, be referenced in Octavius Hardwood’s journal, or the Wellers’ letters, but this does not give any detail of the person or the circumstances of their life. Often only their first or last names are scattered throughout

\textsuperscript{102} Harwood’s journal, 28 April 1838, 1.
\textsuperscript{103} Harwood’s journal, 25 September 1839, 51.
\textsuperscript{104} Angela Wanhalla, \textit{In/visible Sight: The Mixed Descent Families of Southern New Zealand} (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2009), 13 and Jonathan West states at the whaling station’s “peak there were over eighty men working through the season” in West, “An Environmental History of the Otago Peninsula,” 210.
\textsuperscript{105} Transcript of Weller Brother correspondence, 27 July 1835, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0440/005) HL, 50.
\textsuperscript{106} T.A. Pybus, \textit{The Maoris of the South Island} (Wellington, Reed, 1954), 62.
journal entries, and with common names such as Brown and William, the men are difficult to distinguish. There were said to be at least ten individuals with the name of Brown working at the station, and at least three whalers with the surname William.\textsuperscript{107} Spelling can also lead to confusion: Peter Chevatt, a whaler who came to Otākou in 1836, appears in the records in a confusing variety of ways.\textsuperscript{108} Another issue is that many of the men Octavius lists in his journal as giving provisions to did not live or work at Otākou, but instead worked at one of the Wellers’ nearby stations. This makes it difficult to build a precise list of whalers who were working at the station during the period it operated, but it is evidence of the economic foothold of the Weller brothers in Otago.

Some whalers may have attracted the attention of the missionaries if their behaviour was considered immoral or unruly, but again these statements were brief and give little detail of individuals. An example of this is James Watkins’s journal entry, “I am sorry to report that the conduct of the whites is worse in reference to the lords day than that of the natives.”\textsuperscript{109} Fortunately, through birth, death, and marriage records of the first Wesleyan missionaries at Otākou, we can discover who were the long term residents of the community and get a sense of the relationships they had. These names and families can be compared to the ‘Census of the South Island Māori’ taken by Alexander Mackay in 1891. Although this is a census was taken at a later date than being studied, it assists in identifying the families and people who remained at Otākou. Whakapapa too reveals that newcomers left their mark on Otākou in the form of descendants as well as indicating the degree to which these men became accepted within the community. These marriages of newcomers to Kāi Tahu women have since been integrated into Kāi Tahu whakapapa in the same way that “the histories and traditions of the older tribes have been woven into collective Kāi Tahu identity.”\textsuperscript{110}

\textsuperscript{107} Tod, \textit{Whaling in Southern Waters}, 35.
\textsuperscript{108} His last name has been spelt Chisnel, Chesval, Sivatt, Shavatt, Charbet, Chavatt, and Charvet. See Tod, \textit{Whaling in Southern Waters}, 35-36.
\textsuperscript{109} Transcript of Journal of Rev James Watkin, 14 June 1840, 10. George Craig Thomson Papers (MS–0440/004) HL.
\textsuperscript{110} Hana O’Regan, \textit{Ko Tahu, Ko Au: Kāi Tahu Tribal Identity} (Christchurch, Horomaka Publishing, 2001), 46.
Through whakapapa and other sources I have been able to identify some whalers who worked at the Otākou station during the period 1831 to 1840. There was William Isaac Haberfield, known as “Jerry”, of whom there is sufficient information recorded in newspapers, his own reminiscences, and the Wesleyan Index. Haberfield arrived in Otākou in 1836 and carried out a season with the Wellers. In his life time he had two Kāi Tahu wives. Haberfield moved from Otākou to Moeraki, and that is where his family retained ties. A census conducted in 1891 reveals that a number of Haberfield’s descendants were living at Moeraki and Molyneaux. Other whalers at the station were Charles Aldrick, who was at Otākou from 1836 to 1840, and was the second mate on the Lucy Ann; William Elisha Apes, an American Indian whaler noted for his great strength, who married Mata Punahere of Kāi Tahu; Emanuel King, who was whaling at Otākou around 1838; and Emanuel Goombs who is mentioned in Harwood’s journal numerous times, for example “issued slops to Russell and Manuel Goombs”. There was also George Davis, who after four years whaling at Otākou and Waikouaiti moved to Half Moon Bay, Stewart Island. There are also others such as Richard Burns, James Rickus, James Brown, and William Geary. For more details of whalers at Otākou see Appendix B.

There were also those employed by the Wellers who were not whalers but worked within the community. One of these was Joseph Crocome, who arrived at Otākou on the Lucy Ann on May 8th, 1836. He had been employed by the Wellers as the local doctor. Shortly after he arrived he left Otākou because Edward physically attacked him without provocation. On the 25th of June 1844, Crocome was married by Rev James Watkin at Waikouati, to Arapera Rauneka, also known as Mary Anne or Arabella Raureka. Of course there was also Edward Weller. He was not only the manager, but also a skilled whaler. He would often go out on the boats with his employees. His brother George’s concern is revealed in a letter stating that he would prefer Edward not to go out on the boats in case he was killed.

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111 “Reminiscences of early days, the last of the old time whalers,” Otago Witness, 12 December 1906, 81.
112 “South Island Native Settlements” Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives (AJHR) 1892 (G-1) (Wellington, Government Printer, 1892), 13.
113 Harwood’s journal, 5 May 1838, 2.
115 Wesleyan Index: Transcript of Burial, Marriage and Baptism Registers of the Methodist Church, Waikouaiti 1840-1859, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0440/003) (Entry 38), 34, HL.
as it would have significant consequences for the whaling community. Edward left many descendants in Otākou, who live there till this day. Some of those descendants include the well-known Ellison family who descend from Edward Weller’s daughter, Nani, who married Raniera Ellison in 1863.

Not only were newcomers employed at the station but so too were Kāi Tahu men. Before the arrival of shore whaling stations Māori would willingly exploit a whale’s meat and oil, but only on the condition that the whale was stranded, as it was considered a gift from the sea. However, there was always sorrow, because it was considered to be the death of a distant relative. An entry from James Watkin’s journal reveals that some Kāi Tahu continued to see the whale as one of their gods, however he struggled with this, as to him it was a god that could be killed, and a god that many Māori were involved in killing. “Look there I said pointing to a whale that has just been captured, a god killed, and a god dead.” Once whalers arrived, some Kāi Tahu men were eager to get involved in the whaling industry and in the harvesting of whales. Harwood’s journal contains detailed accounts of ‘Mowrays’ [sic], whom he soon came to name and know well, as being heavily involved in the work of the station. He notes in his journal “Served provisions to Mr Price’s gang of 25 white people and 7 Mowrays [sic] for 1 week.” The entry shows that Kāi Tahu men made up a significant portion of the workers, but unfortunately there are no statistics on exactly how many Kāi Tahu men worked at the Otākou station. Kāi Tahu men were also employed to clean bone, build houses, repair fences, and occasionally the bone cleaners were sent out on the boats if whalers went on strike. Some Otākou chiefs even bought their own whaling vessels, as they were sturdier than waka which could easily capsize. They were also faster for fishing and transporting goods.

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116 Tod, 27.
119 Watkins’ journal, 21 September 1840, 17.
120 Harwood also names Māori individually, see Harwood’s journal, 23 October 1838, 20. “5 Mowrays employed cleaning bone - Mauruuru, Dudu, Ruatal, Tikolaki and Cully.”
121 Harwood’s journal, 2 May 1838, 1.
122 Harwood’s journal, 27 June 1838, 10, and 2 July 1838, 6.
Harwood described ‘fishing double canoes’ (waka) as common in 1837 but by 1840 they were mostly out of use and seen rotting on the shore at Otākou.\(^{123}\)

The relationship between Māori men working at the station and newcomers had both negative and positive aspects to it. There are numerous positive accounts of the working and personal relationships between the two groups. Haberfield, a whaler who resided at Otākou in 1836, seemed to have a deep fondness for Māori. Haberfield regarded them as ‘fine strapping fellows’ and got on very well with them. Haberfield comments on the fact that many Māori he knew never drank the rum they were entitled to from the Weller brothers. Instead they sold it to the newcomers for less than it was sold at the store.\(^{124}\) Octavius Harwood records that the manager from the Taieri Island station wanted medical care for one of his Māori workers who was sick. Medical care was a necessary part of managing a station and its workforce.\(^{125}\)

Station managers were also cautious of Māori. George Weller thought maybe it was a bad idea to employ Māori to clean the whale bone, as he was informed that they constantly made a practice of stealing and selling it to the whalers at Codfish Island.\(^{126}\) However, I have been unable to find any supporting accounts of whether this was a common occurrence at Otākou. There were also disputes, sometimes violent clashes between Māori and newcomers. For instance, in 1834 a ship called Mary and Elizabeth had anchored in the harbour. This ship had previously been owned by Captain Kelly, who in 1817 had set fire to a village in Otākou. Local Māori were led by Te Whakataupuka, the son of Honekai who had led one of the first reprisals for Tucker’s theft. A war party now plundered the Mary and Elizabeth and since the Wellers were acquaintances of Tucker, ransacked the Wellers’ station. Taiaroa was also said to have been among those who attacked the station.\(^{127}\) On balance, and Harwood’s journal supports this, it seems the majority of relationships

\(^{123}\) Harwood makes this comment in a note attached to an undated list in (MS-0439/14/2), HL. Cited in Church, ed., *Gaining a Foothold*, 298. For a discussion about the abandonment of canoes see Anderson, *Welcome of Strangers*, 125-26.


\(^{125}\) Harwood’s journal, 5 November 1838, 24.

\(^{126}\) Transcript of Weller Brothers Correspondence to his Excellency the Governor, 23 July 1835, George Craig Thomson Papers, (MS-0440/005) HL, 20.

\(^{127}\) Entwisle, *Behold the Moon*, 92, 94.
seemed to operate on friendly terms, and offered both groups economic opportunities.  

Kāi Tahu women were also involved in maintaining southern shore whaling stations. Kate Stevens notes that Kāi Tahu women were economically involved in maintaining whaling stations in Foveaux Strait and Bluff. Wohlers, the local missionary at Ruapuke, describes the potato cultivations, pig breeding, and household responsibilities that were performed by women. Māori women also made flax ropes, and at times tended to the vegetable gardens, although I have not come across any direct evidence of this occurring at Otākou. Nevertheless, the Wellers’ station depended upon the operation of agriculture due to its importance in trade and sustaining the community. The shipments of potato cargos ranged from two to ten tons at irregular intervals throughout the 1830s and early 1840s. Salted and dried fish were also sent to the Sydney market in 1834, and were most likely obtained from Māori, with the help of Kāi Tahu women.  

II. Causes for interracial marriage

Kāi Tahu women’s most important contribution to the Wellers’ station, which ultimately allowed the whalers to survive among Kāi Tahu, was through marriage with these newcomers. The partnerships were often between newcomers of higher status and Māori women of standing within the community, and were a mutually beneficial political manoeuvre. Anderson notes that the patterns of interracial marriage in southern New Zealand followed social and political hierarchies, as “the daughters or nieces of prominent chiefs generally became partners of whaling station owners or managers.” Men, who in the eyes of Kāi Tahu had high social standing, were seen as an equivalent match for Kāi Tahu women of chiefly rank. Marriage to these men brought alliances that helped extend the resources of Kāi Tahu and helped to secure a peaceful agreement between newcomers and Kāi Tahu.

128 Harwood recorded potentially violent disputes with Europeans, not Māori; see Harwood’s journal, 25 October 1838, 24 and 7 April 1839, 36-37.
131 Church, 203.
The local chiefs encouraged intermarriage as it continued the process of marriage being used to make alliances and to help keep the peace. As Kate Riddell states, intermarriage was one way that Māori could “protect and enhance what they could of their culture and people.” Chiefs were also competing against each other to be patrons of various European commercial ventures, and through these, they brought new trading relationships and wealth to their community and their families. Intermarriage therefore allowed the chiefs to attempt to monopolise the benefits of ongoing trade by encouraging Europeans to remain among them.

It seems that up until 1840, traditional Māori marriage continued unchanged. Māori marriage had often involved some mutual benefit for both sides of the arrangement and allowed acceptance of those outside the iwi. The newcomers to an extent took the place of Māori from other tribes or iwi, and accepted Kāi Tahu’s custom of marriage, including the couple having to be first recognised and accepted by the wider community, and the ritual of pākūwhā (the handing over of the wife to the husband). In chiefly families there may have also been ceremonial rituals such as feasting and celebration, although I have not come across any records of this relating to interracial marriages within Otākou. Traditional marriage between Kāi Tahu couples continued, as some Kāi Tahu did not marry newcomers, such as Mahora, who married Kahuti. Mahora was the brother of Piro, who was Octavius Harwood’s second wife.

Newcomers could also see the benefits of marriage to Kāi Tahu women. Through customary marriage they obtained female companionship and gained access to land and necessary resources. They also gained the protection of the tribe during often troubled times, especially during the 1830s when there were often violent conflicts between the Otākou and Murihiku Kāi Tahu. The level of protection that

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newcomers received differed depending on whom they married. If the newcomer married a Kāi Tahu woman of high status, such as a chief’s daughter, they were likely to receive greater protection. This can be seen in the marriage of Edward Weller to his first Kāi Tahu wife, Paparu, whom he married by custom in the mid 1830s. Paparu was the daughter of a respected Otākou elder, Tahatu. Edward and Paparu had a daughter, Fanny, or Hana as she was known, around 1835. When Paparu died, three years later, Edward again took a high status Kāi Tahu wife. Her name was Nikuru, daughter of the renowned Otākou chief Taiaroa. Octavius Harwood’s marriage also reflects this pattern. In 1839 Octavius married Titapu, daughter of the chief Pokene. Like Edward Weller’s first wife, Titapu died young, and so Harwood remarried, to chief Pokene’s niece, Piro. Thomas Chaseland, a whaler, who stayed briefly at Otākou and later became manager of one of the Wellers’ stations at Taieri Island, also married well. Chaseland married Puna, the daughter of Otākou Chief Koroko. Harwood, Weller and Chaseland were wealthy compared to most of the men at Otākou, and consequently their lives are well documented in the archival record. What early documentary knowledge we have of intermarriage at Otākou is often limited to these few men.

III. Lifetime commitments or short term relationships?

Although no statistics are available on the interracial relationships that occurred in the early whaling days, it appears that intermarriage spread across all levels of the whaling hierarchy. Those from the lower echelons of society also married Kāi Tahu women, although the fragmentary nature of the historical record makes them harder to trace. Employees of the station were often illiterate and their transience, perhaps leaving Otākou before the arrival of missionaries and government officials who visited and recorded information on the area, renders them invisible in traditional historical records. Fortunately, the marriage index of the Wesleyan missionaries

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140 Mac Harwood, Octavius, Titopu, Piro and Janet Robertson (New Zealand, Upper Takaka, 1989), 5.
141 Garven, Genealogy of Ngāi Tahu, Vol. 1, Table 5c.
Waikouaiti during the 1840s and 1850s does provide some information. Baptism records of children demonstrate that many of the couples that were married by a Christian ceremony in the 1840s had been together for years, even decades. Among those newcomers that James Watkin married to Kā Tahu women were William Elisha Apes, an American Indian whaler who married Mata Punahere of Kā Tahu in 1844. Emmanuel/Manuel King, who was a whaler at Otākou in 1836, married Pinana at Purekanui on September 11th 1854. Emanuel Goombs married Pukutahi on 15th August 1844 at Waikouaiti. In 1858 Goombs remarried at Ruapuke. His new wife was Joanna (Kamuku) Anthony. There was also George Davis who married Kutumaimai, Simon McKenzie married Mary Haupati, Patrick Burke married Mary Waiwehi, James Fowler married Maria Piharo, and John Murray formalised his relationship with Sarah Auaroa. All are noted as getting married on the 13th December 1844.

It is difficult to know how many newcomer marriages with Kā Tahu women would have lasted if some had not lost their partners as a result of disease or death in childbirth. Influenza and measles were previously unknown to Kā Tahu which meant that they lacked immunity to the disease. The first and worst epidemic was the 1835 measles epidemic, said to be introduced by Karetai and his wife after their contact with it in Sydney. Venereal diseases and Tuberculosis also had a lasting effect on Māori. The introduction of these diseases had a major effect on the mortality rate for decades to come. Newcomers often took a second wife after the death of their first. Anderson, when referring to newcomers in the South Island, states that “about a quarter of the original men took second partners, and some of those even eventually a third and fourth.” For example, William Isaac Haberfield married by Christian ceremony to Meriana Tete in 1847, and had one son. Mere died a few years after their son’s birth. Haberfield then took a second Māori wife, Araki (Catherine Ariki Price), whom he married by Māori custom, and later by Christian ceremony in 1852.

143 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 43), 35.
144 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 158), 64.
145 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 48), 36 and Garven, The Genealogy of Ngāi Tahu Vol. 1, Table 8b.
146 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 20), (Entry 21), (Entry 23), 33.
148 Anderson, Race Against Time, 9.
149 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 42), 106 (Entry 63), 152.
Remarriage often took place between the widowed husband and one of his deceased wife’s relatives, perhaps a sister or cousin. Remarriage to a relative of the deceased partner seems to be in keeping with traditional Māori custom. In traditional Māori custom, the brother of the dead husband had first say over the widow. Sometimes the dead husband’s nephew or even his own son would marry the widow. Edward Weller and Octavius Harwood are examples of men marrying a relative of their deceased first wife. For example, Octavius married Titapu, daughter of Chief Pokene and after Titapu died he married Piro, Chief Pokene’s niece. Normally this second marriage was arranged or at least had to be agreed to by whanau, who desired to retain the individual and his resources, as well as the children.

Short term interracial relationships between Kāi Tahu women and newcomers at Otākou did occur. This was often due to the transitory nature of the whalers. Whalers often moved from station to station to obtain more economic opportunities. Whether it was moving to the North Island, or from Otākou to Purakanui as whaler Nathaniel Bates did, this was a very mobile group of men. As stated in the previous chapter, brief relationships between newcomers and Kāi Tahu women were often labelled as ‘prostitution’ by visiting officers. Their opinions often rapidly changed once they had become familiar with Kāi Tahu women. It has been argued that because the whalers were transient, sexual hospitality was afforded to them by young Māori women. This level of sexual freedom had been acceptable for some uncommitted Māori women in traditional society. Also, in accordance with Māori marriage practices, interracial marriages were not necessarily permanent, even though this was the general tendency.

Interpreting interracial marriage as having simple economic objectives renders Kāi Tahu women’s agency as obsolete. Most marriages would seem to have occurred

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152 For example, officer Roquemaural revealed that on their arrival they found “filthy, ragged creatures, around a fire, who transformed into maidens with their hair blowing in the breeze, laughing gaily as they helped the sailors wash their clothes.” See Olive Wright, The Voyage of the Astrolabe – 1840: An English Rendering of the Journals 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 (Wellington, A.H & A.W Reed, 1955), 65.
153 Biggs, Māori Marriage, 78-79.
as a result of an economic agreement between chiefs and influential newcomers. This
may have often been the case but Pātahi’s story is an example of how Kāi Tahu
women may well have sought out relationships with newcomers on their own terms.

Long time ago when I was young girl, big ship came to Otākou [Otago], it have
lot of men to catch the whale, they stay at Otākou, then go away catch more
whale … one white man I like very much, he very kind to me and by and by he
say you be my wife. I say by and by when I get big and older. Next time you
come. The ship she go away and I very sorry, the Maori Chief at Otākou the
big strong man, he make big fight when Te Rauparaha the big chief come with
lot of canoes and men from what you call North Island and kill lot of Maoris,
the Maoris of Otākou kill a lot too, and then they call the chief, Bloody Jack
(Tuhaawaiki), after the ship gone, Bloody Jack he say I want you for my wife.
I say no, I like the Pakeha Palmer, and when the ship come back I going to be
his wife, the Chief he very angry, and many times he get very angry. All the
other Maoris say I must marry Bloody Jack, so one night I left Otākou and
go to Moeraki, stay four moons [months], then I go to Waikouaiti and every
day I make a look out for the ship, by and by it come, then I go to Otakou and
I be Mr Palmer’s wife. I stay on the ship – then we build a whare [house] and
live there and a Maori go instead of Mr Palmer. I very happy then, for long
time we live at Otakou and I have one girl, then another. 154

This is a rare glimpse at a Māori women’s control over marriage. While it
indicates that this particular woman had considerable say in who she was to marry,
unfortunately there is limited supporting documentation confirming whether other Kāi
Tahu women married on their own terms. Oral tradition would no doubt reveal similar
cases.

At the end of 1839 and from January to July 1840 there was said not to be a
single catch at the Wellers’ whaling station. Shortland’s statistics show in excess of
two hundred tons of oil shipped from Otākou up to 1838, the following year saw it

154 William Martin, ‘A Pioneer Reminiscences 1863 -1906’ (MS-0206) HL, 38; cited in Angela
Wanhalla “One White Man I Like Very Much: Intermarriage and the Cultural Encounter in Southern

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collapse to sixty five tonne and in the next year to a meagre fourteen tonnes. The
whaling station fell on hard times for a number of reasons. Because the whales came
from the cold Antarctic to the warmer climate of New Zealand’s bays and inlets for
the purpose of breeding, they had begun to migrate elsewhere to save themselves.
There was also indiscriminate slaughter, and when a mother whale was killed her calf
also died. The increase in shipping also prevented the whales from entering the busy
harbours. By 1840 the Weller’s controlled social structure had broken down too. In
its place a grog shop was taking in much of the remaining profits, which now came
mostly from a secondary trade of provisioning ships. The Wellers’ station closed
down in 1840 and Edward returned to Sydney, which ultimately led to a severing of
ties with his Otākou family, including his daughter Hana/Fanny Weller (Images 3 and
4).

155 Edward Shortland, The Southern Districts of New Zealand: A Journal with Passing Notices of the
156 T.A. Pybus, The Maoris of the South Island 2nd ed. (Christchurch, Cadsonbury publication, 2002),
66.
Figure 1: Barnicoat ‘Entrance to Otago Harbour, May 1 1884’ 174x 655 mm, pencil, 94/272, Neg #2076, Hocken Collections.
Figure 2: J.W. Barnicoat ‘Otago May 1 1844’ 170 x 330mm, pencil, A B263, Neg. #1930, Hocken Collections.
Figure 3: Watercolour on paper, Ralph Erskine, ‘Fanny Weller at Otākou 1848’ 377 x 265mm, Accession # 5,581, Neg # 923, Hocken Collections.
Figure 4: Edward Weller, Accession # 82.1143, Neg # E1976/32, Hocken Collections.
Chapter Three:

The demise of the Wellers’ whaling station: economic and social impacts

This chapter examines the demise of the Wellers’ whaling station and the impact this had on Otākou at both a social and economic level. I look at the various outcomes of the ultimate failure of the Wellers’ station. I will examine the demise of the stations impact on the community, which often resulted in families moving away from the area, usually because employment prospects were severely restricted. There are also cases of men who left the region without taking their wife or children, which brings to light the complex issues surrounding ‘abandonment’. I also focus on the men who stayed at Otākou but took European wives, and also those who stayed and continued to strengthen ties with Kāi Tahu through their long term marriages with Kāi Tahu wives and the production of children.

I. The economic impact on Otākou residents

In 1840 the Wellers’ station was passed into the hands of storekeeper Octavius Harwood and the clerk Mr C.W Schultze. These men continued operating the station, but on a much reduced scale and without much success. Harwood and Schultz ultimately completed the diversification away from whaling begun by the Weller’s in 1831. They concentrated on developing their shipping trade and agricultural business. Schultze spent most of his time in Wellington helping to supervise the coastal trips of their ship, the Shepherdess, which carried wool and grain north, and brought seed and stock for the Otago settlers. Many ships still visited Otākou after 1840 to stock up on provisions and repairs. Timber, potatoes, pigs, alcohol, and fish were all purchased by visiting ships.

157 Mac Harwood, Octavius, Tītopu, Piro and Janet Robertson (New Zealand, Upper Takaka, 1989), 8.
There have been many contrasting opinions of how the community of Otākou coped after the closing of the Wellers' station. With the demise of whaling this meant the market for Kāi Tahu labour declined; however, Kāi Tahu took the initiative to trade and sell their products with the newly arrived settlers. Taiaroa and local Kāi Tahu made a living by growing potatoes for export, and catching fish, and birds. They tied fish in bundles of twelve with toi toi, cooked it in an umu all night and dried it in the sun.\footnote{160} John McLay recalls that as a boy in late 1840s Dunedin, there was “plenty of fish brought up to Dunedin by Māori boats... The fish was mostly barracuda and hapuka, called groper by the white people. The Maoris got the fish unloaded on the mats. .. you could buy the barracuda for a shilling three foot long or more.”\footnote{161} Some Kāi Tahu also made traditional mats and kits out of flax, which they sold to the settlers in Dunedin.\footnote{162} Although the closure of the whaling station resulted in a loss of jobs for some members of Otākou Kāi Tahu they simply did not give up, instead they turned to traditional aspects of Kāi Tahu life that they knew would appeal to settlers, such as weaving and food gathering practices.

At this time, Otākou was also described as “most beautiful” by Doctor Monro (Figure 5), who was in Frederick Tuckett’s surveying party in 1844. He describes “The sky a great part of the time without cloud, and not a breeze ruffled the surface of the water, which reflected the surrounding wooded slopes, and every sea bird that floated upon it.”\footnote{163} Not all accounts after 1840 have supported this positive view of the Otākou community or its Kāi Tahu residents. Accounts of Otākou during the 1840s often stress the depressing state of the people.\footnote{164} Kāi Tahu women at Otākou were described by visiting French officers who arrived there in 1840 during a time when the population was diminishing. French officer Coupvent Debosis noted that “women draped themselves in rags, much like city slum dwellers; one wore a black frock tied with rope, another an enormous printed dressing gown, some just had blankets under which they huddled and shivered with cold.” He remarks there were

\begin{footnotes}
\item[160] Hardwicke Knight, \textit{Otago Peninsula: A Local History}. 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed. (Otago, Allied Press Limited, 1975), 20.
\item[162] Knight, \textit{Otago Peninsula}, 22.
\item[163] Sheila Natusch, \textit{Southward Ho: The Deborah in Quest of a New Edinburgh 1844} (Invercargill, Craig Printing Co, 1985), 57.
\item[164] Jonathan Lewis West, “An Environmental History of Otago Peninsula: Dialectics of Ecological and Cultural Change from First Settlement to 1900” (PhD, Otago University, 2009), 129.
\end{footnotes}
only about two hundred Kāi Tahu left in the area, and adds sarcastically that they had even lost their relish for human flesh.\textsuperscript{165} It seems most of the sailors’ first impressions of Kāi Tahu women at Otākou were that they were dirty, unattractive, and diseased. Kāi Tahu men were also described in a similar way by d’Urville. “These men had certainly not gained by the contact with whalers. As a rule they were dressed in European fashion; this costume, which did not really hide their dirty condition, made them look like beggars covered in rags; they were revolting, they seemed to have abandoned the old spirit of independence, which on my first visit seemed to be peculiarly characteristic of their race.”\textsuperscript{166} There has been debate on whether this view is too harsh, and it is perhaps more a reflection on the values of those making the commentary.

Kāi Tahu chiefs of the region also discussed the position that Kāi Tahu found themselves in after 1840. In 1844, when the chief Tuhawaiki made his passionate speech to European purchasers of Māori land, he had this to say:

We were once a numerous people. Our parents, uncles, aunts, brothers, sisters, children lie around us. We are but a poor remnant...We are dotted in families, few and far between, where formerly we lived as tribes...we had a worse enemy than Rauparaha, and that is the visit of the Pakeha with his drink and disease. You think us very corrupted but the very scum of Port Jackson shipped as whalers or landed as sealers on this coast. They brought us new plagues, unknown to our fathers, till our people melted away!\textsuperscript{167}

This speech however needs to be put in context. The recorder was George Clarke Jr who attended the purchase of the Otago block as Sub Protector of Aborigines. David Haines points out that in the text of Clarke’s 1903 book \textit{Early Life in New Zealand} was written “ten years ago for the information of my family and friends.”\textsuperscript{168} One can’t help but think that it would have been nearly impossible for Clarke to recall word for word a lengthy speech given forty nine years before, in 1844. At least part of

\textsuperscript{165} Knight, \textit{Otago Peninsula}, 20.
\textsuperscript{166} Olive Wright, \textit{The Voyage of the Astrolabe – 1840: An English Rendering of the Journals 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} (Wellington, A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1955), 17.
\textsuperscript{168} George Clarke, \textit{Notes on Early Life in New Zealand} (Hobart, J. Walch and Sons Printers, 1903), 3.
Tuhawaiki’s statement can thus be assumed to have come from Clarke’s retrospective dramatisation of events.\textsuperscript{169} Both Pākehā and Kāi Tahu recognised the detrimental effect the presence of the whaling station had had on Otākou and its people, however, they continued to work and support themselves through their own means and it seems Otākou was not a depressed and down-trodden place.

\textbf{II. Issues of Abandonment}

The downfall of the Wellers’ station also resulted in more intimate consequences for some newcomers and Kāi Tahu. Shore whaling ‘marriages’ were often short lived and transient, with Kāi Tahu wives being abandoned by newcomers after their economic and social value declined. T.B Kennard, who grew up in Otago in the 1840s, recalled that many newcomers did not treat their Kāi Tahu wives as well as they should have, and he knew of some “heartless cases of desertion” that had taken place around Otākou and the southern regions, with men simply abandoning their Māori partners as well as their familial obligations.\textsuperscript{170}

Edward Weller is a prime example. When he had returned to Australia he denied that he had ever married, and he never spoke of his two Kāi Tahu wives Paparu and Nikuru.\textsuperscript{171} This is not surprising given that both of his Kāi Tahu wives died young, and that in the Victorian era family relationships left unsanctioned by Christian marriage encountered disapproval. Family tradition says that Edward Weller took his daughter back to Sydney to live with him, but she became so homesick that he sent her back to Otākou to the care of an aunt.\textsuperscript{172} His second child Nani, his daughter with Nikuru, was only a baby when he left, and it is said that her grandfather Taiaroa took charge of her and feed her cockles until a wet nurse could come from Karitane. In 1888 one of Nani’s sons, Thomas Ellison, visited his grandfather in New South Wales when on rugby tour through England, and met Edward. Five years after the visit from his grandson Edward drowned in a flood, at the house where he lived.

\textsuperscript{169}David Haines “Te Kai a Te Rakatira: Kāi Tahu leadership, 1830- 1844” (BA (Hons) diss., University of Otago, 2003), 50.
\textsuperscript{170}James Herries Beattie, The First White Boy Born in Otago: The story of T.B. Kennard (Dunedin, Reed, 1939), 25.
\textsuperscript{172}Entwisle, “Edward Weller,” 29-30.
alone.\textsuperscript{173} It has also been said that Edward left some of his estate to Nani but for some reason she did take it up, or maybe did not want it.\textsuperscript{174}

Abandonment was also a feature of interracial marriage within the Canadian fur trade and, as Sylvia Van Kirk has noted, was usually driven by the male partner’s desire for respectability as settler society began to emerge from frontier conditions.\textsuperscript{175} The same can be said for Otākou: following systematic British settlement, a number of the newcomers that had taken Kāi Tahu wives later abandoned them, and married European women.\textsuperscript{176} Once settlers arrived in Otago it became more desirable to marry a European woman in order to be accepted into this new settler society. Again, the story of Pātahi and Edward Palmer highlights the issues of abandonment of Kāi Tahu women in favour of a European wife. Pātahi described how Edward Palmer frequently started visiting newly settled Dunedin and Taieri for long periods of time, leaving her and her children. She expresses the grief she felt at the moment when Edward came back from one of his trips to tell her he was leaving her because he had taken a European woman as his wife. “He say he no married to me like white people then he say he married to white woman and he come and for the children, he take them away from me. I very angry and make long a long cry.”\textsuperscript{177} Herries Beattie was made aware of this story in 1915 by a person who claimed that Palmer had married Pātahi for land, and then later married his European wife, Beatrice Fowler. When he died he left land to only his European children, ignoring his and Pātahi’s daughters.\textsuperscript{178}

Thomas Tandy, the carpenter at the Wellers’ station, also took a European woman as his second wife. Thomas’s first wife was Meria Manaha; they married on the 30th August 1843 at Waikouaiti. There was one child born to Meria and Thomas, a daughter named Maryanne Tandy. Maryanne was baptised in 1844 but only Thomas Tandy is noted as her parent, suggesting perhaps Meria had died in childbirth.\textsuperscript{179}

\textsuperscript{174} Entwisle, “Edward Weller,” 27, 30.
\textsuperscript{176} James Herries Beattie, The First White Boy Born in Otago: The Story of T.B. Kennard (Dunedin, Reed, 1939), 25.
\textsuperscript{177} Angela Wanhalla, In/visible Sight: The Mixed Descent Families of Southern New Zealand (Wellington, Bridget Williams Books, 2009), 30.
\textsuperscript{178} General Information (book 3), Herries Beattie Papers, (PC-174), HL cited in Wanhalla, In/visible Sight, 34.
the death of his first wife, Thomas married Bertha Gorham on January 7th 1850. Together they had a son, Thomas George Tandy. Although Thomas did not abandon his first wife for a European woman, this case signifies that perhaps he was aware that it was more respectable to marry a European woman, instead of taking a second Kāi Tahu wife, as was common amongst whalers during the years the industry was at its height.

Although some Otākou men had taken Kāi Tahu wives and then remarried to European women, this is not to say they completely disregarded their mixed descent children. Octavius Harwood left his second Māori wife Piro to marry nineteen year old Janet Robertson, or Ina as Māori called her. Octavius’s daughter Mere Piro was fond of Janet. Janet accepted Mere as a part of the Harwood family, and Mere had told descendents of how Janet was a mother figure to her and gave her gifts. Octavius too cared greatly for the welfare of his daughter, and this is revealed through the provisions he made for Mere in his will, leaving her all his livestock. Octavius also kept in contact with the child of his first wife Titapu. Titapu’s son was Te Here West but little is known about his biological father other than that he was a whaler. Titapu died three years after she married Octavius. Octavius considered Te Here West to be his ‘adopted’ son and they kept in contact for many years. Affection for children and ties of kinship were maintained by some men, even if they had married European women.

Others entered relationships with mixed descent women. Nathaniel Bates’s relationships fit this pattern. Bates’s first wife was Hinepu, daughter of Pao and Te Whareraki of Otākou. Bates and Hinepu are said to have married by Māori Custom around 1839 and together they had three children. Bates married his second wife on June 20th 1848 at Ruapuke by Wohlers. Her name was Harriet/ Kuihi Watson, the ‘mixed descent’ daughter of Robert Watson and Parure. Bates and Harriet had eleven children. In 1864 Bates started a relationship with Anne Pauley (née Williams) also of

179 Wesleyan Index: Transcript of Burial, Marriage and Baptism Registers of the Methodist Church, Waikouaiti 1840-1859, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0440/003), (Entry 8), 32 (Entry 125), 44 (Entry 243), 8 (Entry 642), 21.
180 Harwood, Octavius, Titopu, Piro, and Janet Robertson, 9.
181 Harwood, Octavius, Titopu, Piro, and Janet Robertson, 24.
mixed descent. They were never formally married as Bates was still legally married to his second wife Harriet. Even though Pauley and Bates were not married, they had a large family of fourteen children. 183

It should also be taken into consideration that in a number of cases, the drowning was the factor behind some of these ‘abandonments’. William Geary drowned in Otago Harbour while out in his row boat. He was seventy-five at the time. 184 Octavius had a brother, Hennery Harwood, who drowned at age twenty five leaving behind a ‘half caste’ partner Susan Russell and her newborn son George Harwood. 185 Nathaniel Bates’s death was another caused by drowning; he was a whaler at Otākou, Purakanui and Stewart Island between 1838 and 1844. Patrick Bryan, a whaler in Chaseland’s Gang at Otākou, also drowned in the Harbour and is buried at Otākou. Another whaler that is noted by Octavius Harwood as drowned, was Thomas King, he died on the 22nd June 1838 by falling overboard. It is a strong possibility that Thomas had a wife and family, however, I have not been able to trace him in the archives.

This question of abandonment should also be discussed in a wider setting of traditional Māori kinship values. Māori social structures do not depend on the European notion of ‘nuclear family’ comprised of father, mother and children, but instead encompasses whānau and a broader understanding of kinship ties and its obligations. How Kāi Tahu would have felt about the issue of abandonment by newcomers may have been quite different to how European society viewed abandonment by a father. Within European society the ‘nuclear family’ is often the only group whose members feel deeply dependent on, and responsible for, each other throughout life. Amongst Kāi Tahu society, however, raising a child was a shared job within the community. Those who seemed most involved were grandparents as they had a significant say in the way the child was raised. Extensive bonds of kinship were also recognised outside the whānau though adoption. Sometimes adoption occurred at birth, and other times a child stayed with a relation belonging to a different whānau,

183 Linda Scott, Finlay Bayne and Michael F. Conner, Nathaniel Bates of Riverton: His Families and Descendants (Christchurch, Bates Reunion Committee, 1994)
184 Probate - William Geary - Portobello Settler, 1867 (DAAC D239 9073 6), Archives New Zealand, Dunedin (Hereafter ANZ-D).
185 Harwood, Octavius, Titopu, Piro, and Janet Robertson, 60.
or a different village for many years. A boy might be adopted by a great uncle, two or three times removed.\textsuperscript{186} In Otākou, I observed at least two instances of newcomers ‘adopting’ non-blood relation children into their own mixed race family. Octavius Harwood ‘adopted’ the son from a previous marriage of his first Kāi Tahu wife. James Foster and his Kāi Tahu wife, Tarewati (Anne), ‘adopted’ John Connor (Tiaki Kona). Whalers who had initially worked at Otākou and later moved elsewhere also fostered children. For example Henry Woodham, who was initially a whaler at Otākou, is noted in 1844, as caring for Elizabeth (Peti Hurene Brown) when he was living on Codfish Island. Elizabeth was the daughter of Robert Brown and Te Wharerimu.\textsuperscript{187} These cases indicate a clear willingness for newcomers to follow the traditional Kāi Tahu practice of whākai (fostering).

\textbf{III. Deepening of Kinship Ties}

It is important to emphasise that even with the virtual abandonment of shore whaling, some newcomers stayed on at Otākou, and were soon joined by others, so that the years between 1840 and 1848 saw a deepening of relationships that began during the whaling years.\textsuperscript{188} Those whalers who stayed often turned to farming as their new occupation. Various newcomers purchased or leased land from Kāi Tahu as a safeguard against the failing whaling industry. They cultivated the land even in the peak of the whaling industry, so were well placed to survive after the industry’s demise as small run holders and farmers.\textsuperscript{189} As they were now permanent residents of Otākou their relationship with Kāi Tahu had changed to a degree. There were several Māori villages along the shore near the tip of the peninsula, each under a leading chief. The newcomers had to negotiate with the various Māori leaders for leases for the land they needed to occupy if they were to remain. Harwood, for example, paid £5 a year over 1846 to 1847 for the right to graze his stock on Kāi Tahu land.\textsuperscript{190} William Geary, an employee of the Weller brothers, and later a farmer at Otākou, was one of those who remained living on the peninsula. He married Etahi Taputai of the Nga Mahanga hapū of the Taranaki iwi whom he met when he was trading in Wellington

\textsuperscript{186} Eric Schwimmer, \textit{The World of Māori i}, (Wellington, A.H. & A. W. Reed, 1974), 35.

\textsuperscript{187} Kate Stevens, “Gathering Places: The Mixed Descent Families of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura Stewart Island, 1824-1864” BA, (Hons) diss., Otago University, 2008), 103.

\textsuperscript{188} West, “An Environmental History of Otago Peninsula,” 211.

\textsuperscript{189} Harry Morton, \textit{The Whale’s Wake} (Dunedin, Otago University Press, 1982), 300.

\textsuperscript{190} Bill Dacker, “He Raraka a Ka Awa,” 2000 (MS-1716) HL, 128-129.
and brought her back to Otākou. Two successive generations continued to farm in an area encompassing Otākou to Portobello. 191

Through probates we can see some examples of these long lasting relationships, and the care husbands took to ensure that their affairs were in order so that the economic future of their wife and children were secure. Again, the case of William Geary provides an example. Geary was born in Nottingham and transported to Tasmania in 1831 and travelled to New Zealand once he had completed his sentence. Geary ended up becoming a whaler at Waikouaiti in 1840, working for Johnny Jones. He soon moved to the Wellers Otākou station and while working for the Wellers’ began farming land there and trading with whalers. Geary and Etahi had three sons. They were John (Hone Kere), born in 1848; Thomas (Piri Aotaka), born in 1850, and William (no known Māori name), born approximately in 1853. 192 In his last will and testament, Geary “bequeath[ed] to Thomas Geary one of the half caste sons of Ata or Elizabeth Geary, an aboriginal native of New Zealand, now residing with me, all my monies at the time of my decease...I leave my personal estate to the said Thomas Geary, John Geary, and William Geary the other two half caste sons of the said Ata/ Elizabeth Geary (wife”). 193 As discussed previously, Geary’s death was one of the many caused by drowning. He died on the 20th of December 1866 at age seventy five. Geary and Etahi were buried side by side at Portobello.

Joseph Donaldson’s probate also demonstrates a long term marriage to a Kāi Tahu woman. He had worked at both Otākou and Moeraki from 1838 as a carpenter and blacksmith and had married Pokiri Russell (Susan Russell), at Moeraki on 31 January 1850. They had two children, Christie and James. 194 It is made clear in his Last Will and Testament that Joseph wanted to make sure his family was provided for. It states, “I give all my personal estate and effects to my wife Susan, dividing the term of her natural life so long as she shall remain my widow, and for all my children alive at my decease, or born in due time afterwards, in equal shares and proportions...as my said trustees may deem sufficient to as permit the same to be

191 Knight, Otago Peninsula, 127-128.
192 Wesleyan Index, (Entries 692, 693, 694), 23.
193 “The last will and testament of William Geary” (DAAC D239 9073 6), ANZ-D.
194 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 133), 45 and Garven, Genealogy of Ngāi Tahu, Vol. 2 (Christchurch, P.D. Garven, 1975), 2, 49.
received by my wife for the property in maintenance and education of my said children. If my wife marries after my decease her share shall cease and shall be appointed among my children."195 This last sentence shows a very strong commitment to the future of his children, ensuring that his inheritance remains in his family and does not become diluted should his former wife remarry.

The above two cases are by no means the only cases of long term commitment to family in Otākou. Unfortunately, some men did not have their affairs so well in order, and died without a will, leaving their families in desperate situations. One of these men was Manuel/Emmanuel King, who was a twenty nine year old whaler at Otākou in 1838. When Emmanuel was forty five years old he married thirty five year old Pinana at Purakanui on September 11th 1854.196 On the same day their eighteen year old daughter Betsy was married to John McLeod. Clearly, Pinana and Emmanuel had been together for many years, and in an intimate relationship at least before 1836.197 At the age of fifty, Emmanuel died suddenly leaving no will. The estate of King was used to pay off debt and funeral expenses, leaving nothing to any family or his wife.198

George Davis was another whaler who had married a Kāi Tahu woman while working at Otākou. He too died suddenly without leaving a will. The sale of his effects generated £201. A portion of this estate went towards paying debts owed to the likes of Johnny Jones, who asked for 13 pounds and 14 shillings from the estate. Another claim against the estate of George Davis was made by a woman, Poaka, for the sum of £145, which was signed for by Poaka (her mark is simply an X).199 Could this have been George Davis’s Kāi Tahu wife, and had she taken it upon herself to claim the remainder of the estate? This is difficult to prove, as in the Wesleyan records his Kāi Tahu wife’s name is registered as Rihapeti Raukapu.200 However, in volume one of Peter Garven’s whakapapa book, a Mr Davis is noted as being in a

195 Probate - Joseph Donaldson- Otepopo- Settler 1872 (DAAC D239 9073 16), ANZ-D.
196 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 158), 64.
197 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 159), 64.
198 "Supreme Court - Administration of Intestates" Estates [Emanuel King] 1863’ (DAAC D140 20), ANZ-D.
199 "Supreme Court - Administration of Intestates" Estates [George Davis] (DAAC D140 20), ANZ-D.
200 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 848), 29.
relationship with Paree. Although the specifics of her name are unclear, what is apparent is that Davis was in a relationship with a Kāi Tahu woman, who was left unprovided for because he died intestate.

IV. Decline at Otākou

Not all newcomers remained at Otākou and the population of the settlement dropped sharply in the 1840s as newcomers and Kāi Tahu left Otākou in search of better opportunities. Peter Entwisle argues that the “population would have been at its peak in the 1830s with about one hundred and twenty Europeans, but by 1842 the European population was a mere twenty.” The Kāi Tahu population of Otākou also declined drastically. There seems to be three main reasons for the population decrease. First, there were economic opportunities elsewhere. Second, the desire to live in a missionary community saw the movement of individuals to Waikouaiti. Third, many Kāi Tahu women followed their husbands, which represented a significant loss to the resident population at Otākou. With women gone, any future children were lost to the community too.

The whalers were, by the nature of their trade, transient. The specialised nature of their work meant travelling to often remote locations to gain employment. Edward Shortland tried to interpret the Otākou population decline when he visited the community in 1844. Shortland was told by locals that the reason for depopulation, especially among Kāi Tahu, was the 1835 measles epidemic. Shortland was unconvinced and believed the absences could be better explained by the departure of Otākou residents to Waikouati. They were attracted by the success of Johnny Jones whaling station. Newcomers and Kāi Tahu also moved to other nearby communities such as Moeraki or Bluff where stations continued to operate. Richard Burns, for

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201 Peter Garven, Genealogy of Ngāi Tahu, Vol. 1, (Christchurch, P. D. Garven, 1974), Table 5C.
202 “News of the New Edinburgh settlement increased the population, and by 1846, Kettle reported nearly 100 men living in the vicinity of the heads.” Entwistle, “Edward Weller”, 47.
example, moved from station to station. Before 1836 he worked at Otākou for the Weller brothers, and had later moved to Moeraki, and worked for the partnership of Peter Chevatt, John Thompson, and John Hughes at the Moeraki Whaling Station. 206 William Anglem was also initially a whaler at Otākou and is recorded as later moving to Foveaux Strait where he continued working as a whaler. 207

Numerous Kāi Tahu women who had married newcomers agreed to move away from their homes, often taking their children with them as they followed their partners in search of work. As a result Otākou was gradually split along gender lines. Māori men maintained traditional patterns of authority in the villages, but many Kāi Tahu women now lived with newcomers elsewhere. Athol Anderson, has argued, “the overall trend in the South Island was of Kāi Tahu women relocating to shore whaling stations in ever larger numbers to live with their European spouses, rather than newcomers living among Māori communities.” 208 Loss of fertile young women to newcomers and their subsequent removal from Kāi Tahu villages was “probably a more important cause of population decline in the 1840s than any other.” 209

It was not just economics that drew people from Otākou to Waikouati. Waikouaiti not only had a whaling station, but a newly acquired missionary, James Watkin, who would have proved attractive to newcomers and Kāi Tahu. Watkin notes that Otākou people wanted a missionary after he performed a service there in 1842. Otākou women would travel by canoe over to Waikouati to hear him preach, and to attend the school. 210 Missions, like whaling stations, had attracted Kāi Tahu that had previously lived in other areas. Watkin offered not only Christianity but also skills such as reading and writing. By November, Watkin was holding two writing classes a day. Both Taiaroa and Karei knew that literacy was crucial to engaging with Europeans, and it could only be gained through missionaries. 211 According to Watkin

206 Frank Tod, Whaling in Southern Waters (Dunedin, New Zealand Tablet Co. Ltd 1982), 110.
207 “Two Men Lost Over Board” Otago Standard and Wallace County Chronicle, 28 November 1905, 3.
209 Anderson, Race Against Time, 90.
210 Harry Evison, Te Wai Pounamu, the Greenstone Island: A History of Southern Māori during the European Colonization of New Zealand (Christchurch, Canterbury University Press, 1993), 162.
these literacy classes were attended by “all grades, old, young, and leaders,” and often included people from Otākou.212

The willingness of Māori to discard protocols of rank within these classes is testament to the avid desire for literacy and represents a significant change in traditional custom. Traditional beliefs also began to change with the increasing influence of Christianity. Christianity undermined traditional ways of Kāi Tahu life, and belief systems such as whakapapa and utu were insufficient to explain the many changes that were occurring within society. Te Maire Tau argues that iwi abandoned the embedded system of explanation of the world via whakapapa because, “like disease, potatoes, sheep, muskets and bullets all needed to be explained, however, the relationship between people could still be explained through whakapapa.”213 Whakapapa could no longer function as an all encompassing explanation as it had done in the past. Some, however, did resist Christianity. Matenga Taiaroa resisted conversion for many years, although he conceded in 1859, by which time he was one of a few Kāi Tahu who had not been baptised.214

Traditional Māori marriage custom continued though. Even with the arrival of missionaries, numerous couples were not married by a minister in a Christian marriage ceremony. Both mixed marriages and Kāi Tahu marriages occurred in the traditional form. Documentation of these is difficult to obtain, as the only records of these are in whakapapa books, often privately held, none of which are dated. Historical research depends heavily on correct dates, however, the whakapapa books are intended as a tool for each successive generation of Kai Tahu and they would have personal knowledge of the generations before them and hence can place the names appearing above them in context. In my research I noted familiar Otākou European surnames appearing, but I could not link these to a date.

While traditional marriage customs were retained, some Kāi Tahu did opt for a Christian marriage ceremony after 1840. Simply by looking at the Wesleyan marriage records, it is clear that numerous Kāi Tahu couples from Otākou were married in a

212 Dacker, Te Mamae me te Aroha, 16.
214 Haines, “Te Kai a Te Rakatira,” 55.
Christian ceremony. Some of the Kāi Tahu couples listed are: Hakaraia Motueka and Repeka Paipa (female), married at Otākou on December 25th 1843; Tiare Weteri Kahu and Riria Weteri Wharekauri (female), married at Otākou on June 19th 1843; and Hohepa Tahao who married Erihapeti Korako on 15 August 1844. Participation in a Christian marriage was also reinforced by successive laws from 1847. As officials began to worry about inheritance rights of mixed descent children they encouraged interracial couples to conform to Western, and thus legal marriage, which would legitimise the mixed descent children. Early marriage ordinances and laws, however, did not attempt to regulate Māori customary marriage. It seems traditional and western marriage practices co-existed in the 1840s although Christian marriage was becoming more predominant.

\[215\] Wesleyan Index, (Entry 32), 34, (Entry 4), 32, (Entry 46), 35.

Figure 5: Jane Colville, ‘Wellers’ Whaling Station’ (1908/37/1), Otago Settlers Museum. This oil canvas painting by Jane Colville shows a view of the Wellers’ whaling station and what as noted as the first wooden house in Otākou, built in the early 1830s by the Weller brothers. The date on the painting is 1909 but it has been noted that the date of donation does not support this. A full description of the Otākou Kaik and its surroundings at the time was attached to the painting when donated but unfortunately the description is now missing from the painting.
Conclusion

By using the period from the establishment to the eventual demise of the Wellers' whaling station, I have sought to explore the importance of kinship, custom, and intimate relationships that developed through work and intermarriage in the community of Otākou. In this dissertation each chapter has explored the continuation and change in Kāi Tahu custom, especially in regards to marriage and kinship.

Through using the Wellers' station as a lens to explore the cultural formation of Otākou, it is clear that initially, cross-cultural encounters took place within the gendered space of the whaling station. The frequent marriage of Kāi Tahu women to newcomers became a defining feature of the early contact period in southern New Zealand. This dissertation has shown that these relationships were in many cases intimate and long lasting, and had just as much social and cultural importance as they did economic importance.

Intermarriage between Kāi Tahu women and newcomers drastically altered modern Kāi Tahu identity by integrating newcomers into Kāi Tahu whakapapa. With the focus of my first chapter being on traditional Kāi Tahu customs relating to kinship, sex, and marriage, I have revealed why and how newcomers were so readily accepted by Kāi Tahu through intermarriage. The integration of newcomers was not dissimilar to the acceptance of Māori from other tribes into Kāi Tahu. With the arrival of newcomers, and their entering into intimate relationships with Kāi Tahu women, I have found that traditional Māori marriage custom was well defined, and continued through the early contact period on Kāi Tahu terms. Even after the arrival of missionaries in 1840, some Kāi Tahu and mixed race relationships continued to adhere to traditional Māori marriage systems, in preference to a Christian marriage.

Initially, intermarriage seemed to work well for both parties, but with the demise of the whaling station, and the increasingly systematic European colonisation, many marriages began to crumble. This was due to husbands leaving the area in search of new economic opportunities, or men wanting to gain status and respect in the new settler colony by taking a European wife. However, the majority of marriages
were characterised by permanent and monogamous relationships. On many occasions if the first Kāi Tahu wife died young, newcomers often remarried to another Kāi Tahu women, retaining ties to the iwi. These lasting unions led to the formation of a significant mixed descent population within Otākou by the 1840s, creating in a unique community, forged on the basis of a partnership between both peoples.

This study of the Wellers’ station and its influence on the Otākou community is representative of the wider Kāi Tahu experience in southern New Zealand. Trying to understand Kāi Tahu women’s experience, illustrates that the nature of intermarriage was a complex process that encompassed a range of experiences. Intermarriage could either be short or long term. While intermarriage served to integrate newcomers it also contributed to outward migration, as women occasionally left Otākou with their husbands. In studying Otākou, I have observed that intermarriage redefined the Kāi Tahu cultural identity. This has led to Kāi Tahu becoming known as the ‘white tribe.’ This thesis has demonstrated that marriage, kinship, and the Wellers’ station, have all been central to the history of Otākou.
### Appendix A: Early Intermarriages at Otākou

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
<th>Date of relationship</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Other Information</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglem</td>
<td>Captain William Andrew Anglem</td>
<td>Te Anau/Maria (c.1815- Dec 1851 Daughter of Te Wakaiahu and Hinepohia.)</td>
<td>c.1835</td>
<td>Ellen (Nerina/Rena) Anglem c.1833-15.2.1926 Elizabeth (Jane) Anglem c.1835- Mary Anglem c.1842- William Robert Anglem c.1842- Christopher Anglem c.1845 died prior to 1873.</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Rakiura/Stewart Island (1844) Otākou (1834-1842)</td>
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</table>

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217 Peter Garven, *The Genealogy of Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 5 (Christchurch, P.D Garven, 1992), 85; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1 (Entry 526), 23 (Entry 301), 21 (Entry 278), 25 (Entry 327), 27 (Entry 363B), 29 (Entry 384), 30 (Entry 399), 34 (Entry 443) and 36 (Entry 472) HL.

218 Wesleyan Index: Transcript of Burial, Marriage and Baptism Registers of the Methodist Church, Waikouaiti 1840-1859, George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0440/003), (Entry 476), 58 (Entry 524, 525), 17 (Entry 544), 18 (Entry 650), 22 (Entry 888), 30 and (Entry 43), 35 and Peter Garven, *The Genealogy of Ngāi Tahu*, Vol 1.(Christchurch, P.D Garven, 1974), Table 6a.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bates</th>
<th>Nathaniel Bates</th>
<th>Thomas Apes</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24.11.1819-13.7.1887</td>
<td>c.1859</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>George Apes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c.1851</td>
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   2. Harriet/ Kuihi Watson c.1832/3-1922
   Daughter of Robert Watson and Parure
3. Anne Pauley nee Williams c.1842/3-1899
   Parentage disputed, but fostered by Paulin family from c.1845

1. Married c.1839-1840 according to Māori custom.
2. 20th June 1848
   Married at Ruapuke by Wohlers
3. Relationship began around 1864-1866.
   Never formally married as Bates already officially married to Harriet/ Kuihi

1. Marry Anne Bates c.1840-17.11.1861
2. Lydia Bates c.1848/9 – Oct 1882
5. Maria Bates c.1858-Oct 1916
6. Hennery (Harry) Bates c.1860-1914
7. Charles Bates 8.10.1862-1935
8. Martha Bates 8.5.1864-16.8.1930

Nathaniel worked as a whaler at Otakou, Purakanui and Stewart Island between 1838 and 1844.
Half moon Bay, Rakiura/Stewart Island (1844) Jacobs River.

Around 1837, at the age of 18 years, Nathaniel sailed to the South Island of New Zealand with his brother in law. Bates is referred to in Harwood’s Journal on 19 August 1838. “word was sent to Bates to ‘come over and bring all his tools”

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219 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 16 (Entry 202); Ruapuke Register Vol. 3, 27 (Entry 69A); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 19 (Entry 7), HL; Notebook titled ‘Casual Allusions to the Whalers made by Maoris in interviews with Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9) HL; Linda Scott, Finlay Bayne and Michael F. Conner, Nathaniel Bates of Riverton: His Families and Descendants (Christchurch, Bates Reunion Committee, 1994); Kate Stevens “Gathering Places: The mixed decent families of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, 1824-1864” (BA (Hons), diss., Dunedin, University of Otago, 2008), 79 and Bound transcript of Harwood's journal April 1838 to July 1842 (MS-0438/003) 19 August 1838, 20.

63
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Date of Death</th>
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<tr>
<td>Harriet Bates</td>
<td>19.2.1866</td>
<td>5.9.1920</td>
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<td>John Roberts Bates</td>
<td>16.9.1870</td>
<td>1955</td>
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<td>3. Sarah Jane Pauley</td>
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<td>Sarah Bates</td>
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<td>Elizabeth Bates</td>
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<td>Mary Ann Bates</td>
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<td>1949</td>
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<td>Charlotte Bates</td>
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<td>Annie Bates</td>
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<td>9.10.1898</td>
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<td>Alice Bates</td>
<td>30.6.1869</td>
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<td>John Paororo Bates</td>
<td>c.1879/80</td>
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<td>Selena Bates</td>
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<td>Lydia Bates</td>
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<td>Mother's Name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown</td>
<td>James</td>
<td>Tipare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burke</td>
<td>Patrick</td>
<td>Marry Waiwehi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burns</td>
<td>Richard</td>
<td>Pukio</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chaseland</td>
<td>Thomas</td>
<td>Puna/Mary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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221 Wesleyan Index (Entry 21), 33 (Entry 153), 5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Date of Birth</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Father's Name</th>
<th>Mother's Name</th>
<th>Marriage Details</th>
<th>Event Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaseling</td>
<td>c.1802/3-5.6.1869</td>
<td>Mixed descent son of Englishman and unknown Australian</td>
<td>James Taieri</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>daughter of Koroko, sister of Taiaroa Pakawhatu, also known as Margaret Antoni or Anthony, the daughter of Anthony Remond and Esther (or Hester) Lea Pura.</td>
<td>in Ōtākou he often visited and is recorded numerous times by Octavius Harwood in his journal. “issued whaling gear to Angas, Williams, and Chaseland”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crocome</td>
<td>Joseph Crocome</td>
<td>c.1811</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Arapera Raunika also known as Mary Anne and Arabella Raureka c.1820-21st Oct 1850.</td>
<td>Arrived at Ōtākou on Lucy Anne 9th May 1836, lived until 1838 but then moved to Waikouatī.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Arapera Raunika</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Left Ōtākou after Edward Weller attacked him with a bludgeon on October 25th 1838. This is recorded in great detail in Harwood journal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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224 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 269, 270), 9 (Entry 423), 14 (Entry 768), 26 (Entry 814), 27 and (Entry 866), 29 and Harwood’s journal, April 1838- July 1842, 24.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Davis</td>
<td>George Davis “Big George” (Rawiri) c.1808-25.2.1984</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kutumaimai</td>
<td>Daughter of Puhirere and Huruhuru of Te Kai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married by Rev</td>
<td>Wohlers in 1846</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duncan Davis</td>
<td>Sarah Alice (Hera Rawiri) Davis 1839-16.3.1875</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Davis</td>
<td>c.1841/3- William Davis 1856-1901</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrived at Otākou</td>
<td>in 1834 and worked for the Wellers for three years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Waikouati (1837-1838) Horse Shoe Bay, Stewart Island (1838-1883)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is referred to in 1838</td>
<td>in Harwood’s Journal Whether or not is the same Davis I am unsure. However it could well be as Davis was nearby living in Waikouati and could have possibly been receiving provisions from Harwood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis</td>
<td>George Davis d. 1863?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rihapeti Rauhapua</td>
<td>(Wesleyan index)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Tania Peti c.1851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otākou and Waikouati.</td>
<td>£145 was of claimed against the estate of George Davis in 1863 by a women named Poaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donaldson</td>
<td>Donaldson, Joseph</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Susan Russell</td>
<td>Married at Moeraki Jan 31 1850- by Charles Creed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie Donaldson</td>
<td>baptised 1854 James Donaldson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>baptised 1850</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Otākou and Waikouati.</td>
<td>Susan’s 1st husband George Harwood</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster</td>
<td>James Foster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.Tarewati (Anne)</td>
<td>Married Ann Tarewati on March 5 1844 at Half Moon Bay by James Watkin.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Married Ann Tarewati (Anne) c.1842 Elizabeth Foster c.1844 Foster Parents of John Connor (Tiaki Kona) 2. Jenny Foster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Waimea (Whymere)</td>
<td>Married 2. Jenny Foster</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked at Weller’s station in Otākou before 1844. Stewart Island.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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225 Reminiscences of George Davis [transcribed by John Wixon] (Misc-MS-1988) HL, 1-2; Garven, The Genealogy of Ngāi Tahu, Vol. 6 (Christchurch, P.D Garven, 2002), 4; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 24 (Entry 45); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 31 (Entry 96), HL and Harwood’s journal, 29 April 1838. 1.
226 Intestate [George Davis] – Dunedin- 1863 (DAAC D140 20) Archives New Zealand, Dunedin (Hereafter ANZ-D) and Wesleyan Index, (Entry 848), 29.
228 Wesleyan Index (Entry 240, 241), 8. (Entry 35), 34 and Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 20 (Entry 11) HL.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fowler</th>
<th>Geary</th>
<th>Goomes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>James Fowler</td>
<td>Maria Piharo/Maria Piharo Paora</td>
<td>Married 13.12.1843 at Otakou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wohlers at Ruapuke</td>
<td>Married 15th August 1844 at Waikouaiti by Charles Creed</td>
<td>Married 13.12.1843 at Otakou</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Is referred to in Harwood's journal, &quot;Issued slops to Horton and Fowler&quot;</td>
<td>William drowned at age seventy five in the harbour</td>
<td>Goomes is referred to in Harwood's journal numerous times, while he worked at the Weller's station.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

229 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 22), 33 and Harwood's journal, 19th December 1838, 28.
230 William Geary- Portobello Settler 1867 (DAAC D239 9073 6) ANZ-D and Wesleyan Index, (Entry 692, 693, 694), 23.
231 Garven, *The Genealogy of Ngāi Tahu*, Vol. 1. Table 8b, Vol. 3, 11 and 55, Vol. 4, 21; List of Half castes to be provided with land at or near neck, Stewart Island, or elsewhere, AJHR 1870 (D-20), 5 and Wesleyan Index, (Entry 48), 36.
Haberfield

| Habitwood | George (drowned in the Harbour) | Pokiri (Susan) Russell | George Harwood 1846- | Arrived at Otākou | Brother to Octavius Harwood. |
| Habitwood | Octavius Harwood b.1816 d.1900 | 1. Titapu, daughter of the chief Pokene 2. Piros- Chief Pokene’s niece | 1.c.1839 2. Not sure whether or not the married by Custom, Piro was his house maid. | 1. Titapu already had son Te Here (Harry) West. Octavius adopted him as own son. 2. Twin babies only daughter Mere Piro survived c.1848 | Arrived in Otakou in 1838 to run the supply store for the Weller’s. |


234 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 690, 691), 23 (Entry 869), 29 and Estate of Octavius Harwood- Portobello, Dunedin, Settler, 1900 (DAAC D239 9074 241) ANZ-D.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Mother</th>
<th>Relationship</th>
<th>Married</th>
<th>Married To</th>
<th>Comment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King</td>
<td>Emmanuel/Manuel</td>
<td>Pinana</td>
<td>Relationship most likely before 1836, but married Pinana at Purakanui on September 11th 1854.</td>
<td>Daughter Betsy King c.1836</td>
<td>Otakou (1838) Purakanui</td>
<td>Emmanuel King, was twenty nine years old when he worked as a whaler at Otākou in 1838. He is mentioned numerous times in Harwoods journal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McIntosh (Mackintosh)</td>
<td>Robert McIntosh</td>
<td>Married Warero</td>
<td>Married at Waikouaiti 10th August 1844</td>
<td>Otakou/Waikouaiti 1843</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray</td>
<td>John Murray</td>
<td>Sarah Mane Auaroa</td>
<td>Married at Otakou 1843</td>
<td>Otākou Purakanui Taieri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer</td>
<td>William Palmer</td>
<td>1.Irihapati Patahi</td>
<td>1.Late 1820s-</td>
<td>1. Betsy Palmer</td>
<td>Otakou</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

235 Wesleyan Index, 45.
236 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 44), 35.
237 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 23 ), 33
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>People</th>
<th>Events</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tandy</td>
<td>4.3.1804- 1886</td>
<td>2. Beatrice Fowler</td>
<td>c.1850</td>
<td></td>
<td>Preservation Inlet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.1851</td>
<td></td>
<td>Tautuku Buff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1829- Jane Palmer</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maitapapa, Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1830</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Meria Manaha</td>
<td>Married on 30th August 1843 at Waikouaiti</td>
<td></td>
<td>Otākou (1830)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Married on 7th January 1850.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Worked as the carpenter for the Wellers’ and is referred to in Harwood’s journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Bertha Gorham</td>
<td>1. Had daughter Maryanne Tandy was baptised in 1844</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Shaved Tandy’s head and bathed it in vinegar”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Son Thomas George Tandy baptised 1850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weller</td>
<td>Edward Weller</td>
<td>c.1814- 1893</td>
<td>1. Paparu - Daughter of Tahatu and Matau, d.1838</td>
<td></td>
<td>Otākou (1831-1840)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Nikuru Tairoa, daughter of Chief Tairoa and Hinewharewa Karetai.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Manger of the Wellers’ whaling station</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Mid 1830s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Around 1839</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Fanny/Pani Weller b.1835/36</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Nani/Hana Weller 1840</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wixon</td>
<td>Harry/Hennery Wixon</td>
<td>(Dutch Harry)</td>
<td>1. Tiaki Kaika (Emma Tiakikaika)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wixen</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Annie Kaikai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Married December 14th 1851 at Waikouati by Charles Creed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Seven of the children below are baptised and their parents noted as Henery and Tiakikaika’s. Some of these and the three other children may Otākou Waikouati Karitane</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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239 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 243), 8 (Entry 642), 21 (Entry 8), 32, (Entry 125), 44 and Harwood’s journal, October 4 1838, 24


241 Wesleyan Index, (Entry 666) 22, (Entry 667, 668, 669), 23, (Entry 678), 26 (Entry 762), 28; Garven, *The Genealogy of Ngāi Tahu*, Vol. 6, 2, 3 and 5 and Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 31 (Entry 131), HL.
| Woodham 242 | Henry Woodham | Meke | No children but in 1844 recorded as caring for: Elizabeth / Peti Harene Brown c.1838 Daughter of Robert | Otākou Whenua Hou / Codfish Island (1829, 1844) Stewart Island Jacobs River | Refered to in Harwood’s journal “Cammel, Woodham, Bradley and Antony Cr. By ¾ days labour rolling |

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242 Harwood Journal, 28 September 1838, 50 and Angela Middleton, *Two Hundred Years on Codfish Island (Whenuahou): From cultural encounter to nature conservation.* (Invercargill, Department of Conservation, June 2007), 25.
Appendix B: Whalers at Otākou.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Job</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Other information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Apes, William Elisha</td>
<td>An American Indian whaler noted for his great strength.</td>
<td>Otākou</td>
<td>In Harwood’s journal; “word was sent to Bates to ‘come over and bring all his tools.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bates, Nathaniel</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Nathaniel worked as a whaler at Otākou, Purakanui and Stewart Island between 1838 and 1844.</td>
<td>Halfmoon Bay, Rakiura/Stewart Island (1844) Jacobs River</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black, William</td>
<td>Boat builder</td>
<td>Otākou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “Issued provisions to Black.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bradbury, D.</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou and Taieri from 1837</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “Issued slops to Bradbury.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, Sam</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “Sam Brown returned from Murray’s.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown, William</td>
<td>Captain</td>
<td>Otākou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to Harwood’s journal; “Shipped an American the name of William Brown.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bryan, Patrick</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou 1838</td>
<td>Drowned when out in Chaseland’s boat by getting the line caught around his waist. He was buried behind the carpenters shop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clark, John</td>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>Otākou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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244 Linda Scott, Finlay Bayne and Michael F. Conner, *Nathaniel Bates of Riverton: His Families and Descendants* (Christchurch, Bates Reunion Committee, 1994)
245 Bound transcript of Harwood’s journal April 1838 to July 1842. George Craig Thomson Papers (MS-0438/003), 18 January 1838, 31.
246 Harwood’s journal, 4 December 1838, 27
247 Harwood’s journal, 14 February 1838, 32.
248 Harwood’s journal, 19 & 25 June 1838, 16.
249 Harwood’s journal, 19 August 1838, 16.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaseland, Thomas</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou</td>
<td>Mixed decent son of Englishman and unknown Australian Woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tami Titereni)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1802/3-5.6.1869</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cully, ? (Māori)</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “5 Moways [sic] employed cleaning bone, Cully absent”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1802/3-1869</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis George “Big George”</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou</td>
<td>Arrived at Otākou in 1834 and worked for the Wellers for three years.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Waikouaiti (1837-1838)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Horse Shoe Bay, Stewart Island (1838-1883)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dudu, ? (Māori)</td>
<td>Whaler/Cleaned bone</td>
<td>Otākou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to Harwood’s journal; “3 Moways [sic] employed as yesterday -Ruatai-Dudu and Mauaurua absent.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fowler, James</td>
<td>Pilot</td>
<td>Otākou and Waikouati</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “Issued slops to Fowlers and Johnson.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geary, William</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou and Portobello</td>
<td>William drowned at age seventy five in the Otago harbour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goomes, Emmanuel/Manuel</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou, Patersons inlet. Rakiura/ Stewart Island</td>
<td>Goomes is referred to in Harwood’s journal numerous times, while he worked at the Wellers’ station.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Goomez, Groomb, Grooms)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haberfield, William Isaac</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou</td>
<td>Arrived in Otākou on the</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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250 Harwood’s journal, 7 June 1838, 7 and 17 June 1838, 8.
252 Harwood’s journal, 30 September 1838, 21.
254 Harwood’s journal, 3 October 1838, 21.
255 Harwood’s journal, 19 December 1838, 28.
256 William Geary - Portobello Settler 1867 (DAAC D239 9073 6) Archives New Zealand, Dunedin (Hereafter ANZ-D)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>King, Emmanuel</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otkou</td>
<td>Emanuel King was twenty nine years old when he worked as a whaler at Otkou in 1838. Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “Issued provisions to Mr King.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauruarua, ?</td>
<td>Whaler/Bone cleaner</td>
<td>Otkou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “1 o’clock Ruatai, Dudu, Mauruarua left.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murray, John</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otkou, Purakanui, Taieri-1838</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “Sent word to Mr Brown that if Mr Murray got any worse to let him be brought up here.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phillipine, Mr</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otkou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “Issued Slops to Mr Phillipine and Angas.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quin, J.W.</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otkou 1838</td>
<td>Fell off a cliff and died and was buried behind carpenters work shop.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rickus, James</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otkou</td>
<td>Mentioned in Harwood’s journal as often not turning up to work.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruatai, ?</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otkou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “Issued spirits to Sutton and Major.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sutton, John</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otkou 1839</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tandy, Thomas</td>
<td>Carpenter</td>
<td>Oteku and Waikouaiti 1838</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tikolaki, ?</td>
<td>Whaler/cleaned</td>
<td>Otkou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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260 Harwood’s journal, 18 January 1838, 31.
261 Harwood’s journal, 30 October 1838, 21.
262 Harwood’s journal, 18 June 1838, 44.
263 Harwood’s journal, 4 July 1838, 11.
264 Harwood’s journal, 29, 30 May 1838, 6.
265 Wesleyan Index notes he married Korako, see (Entry 473), 16.
266 Harwood’s journal, 6 September 1838, 18.
267 Harwood’s journal, 15 September 1839, 52 and In Wesleyan Index it is noted John Sutton wife was Emma and they had two children named John and Amelia see Wesleyan Index: Transcript of Burial, Marriage and Baptism Registers of the Methodist Church, Waikouaiti 1840-1859 (MS-0440/063), HL, (Entry 541), 18 (Entry 597), 20.
268 Wesleyan Index (Entry 243), 8 (Entry 642), 21 (Entry 8), 32, (Entry 125), 44. Harwood journal, October 4 1838. 24.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Port/Date</th>
<th>Harwood’s journal</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weller, Edward</td>
<td>Manager/Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou 1831-1840</td>
<td>Referred to by Harwood as whaling out on the boats with the crews.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Williams, George</td>
<td>Whaler/bone cleaner</td>
<td>Otākou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s Journal.</td>
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<td>Wixon, Hennery/</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou 1838</td>
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<tr>
<td>Harry (Dutch</td>
<td></td>
<td>Waikouati Karitane</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Woods, Pat</td>
<td>Whaler</td>
<td>Otākou 1838</td>
<td>Referred to in Harwood’s journal; “Issued spirits to Woods”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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268 Harwood’s journal, 5 September 1838, 18
269 Harwood’s journal, 30 August 1838, 18.
270 Harwood’s journal, 6 September 1838, 18.
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