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'Gathering Places': The Mixed Descent Families of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, 1824-1864

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Notes on Language and Terminology

Although in common usage throughout the nineteenth century, the use of the term ‘half-caste’ is now more problematic, connotating as it does biological notions of racial identity which were both fixed and hierarchical. Nevertheless, the use of the term ‘half-caste’ is necessary in this study, given its frequent use at the time, to convey the popular understandings of race held by colonial administrators, settlers and Māori during the period of the study. However, except in quotations, I have used parentheses around the term ‘half-caste’ and similar variations (‘quarter-caste’ etc). The term mixed race holds similar problematic connotations and I have therefore chosen to use the term ‘mixed descent’ in preference, despite its somewhat imprecise meanings.

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 themselves. Again, quotations are an exception, as are situations in which the official usage does not follow this dialect (such as the 1991 Ngāi Tahu Waitangi Tribunal Report).
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Introduction

In 1876, the Member of the House of Representatives for Southern Māori, Hori Kerei Taiaroa, called on the colonial government to take economic and social responsibility for the welfare of the mixed descent population in the South Island, because their fathers had not taken notice of them, and had not provided for them. During all these years they had been living with, and had been brought up by, their Native mothers. Some of them had obtained land, but, on the contrary, others were simply squatting on what belonged to the Maoris.¹

Colonial race relations in southern New Zealand, as Taiaroa demonstrates, were more complex than a simple division between the colonized Kāi Tahu population, the colonial government, and the growing settler society it represented.

Throughout the nineteenth century, ‘half-castes’, or individuals of mixed Māori and European/Pākehā decent, represented a growing proportion of the southern Māori population. Taiaroa hints at the marginal and ambiguous position of this mixed descent population in nineteenth century New Zealand: ‘half-castes’ appear to be an economically disruptive group who are neither fully integrated into the social fabric of Kāi Tahu society, nor that of the growing population of Pākehā settlers. Indeed the very level of official discussion over and investigation into the management of the ‘half caste’ population from the mid-nineteenth century is striking. Numerous petitions and government debates questioned the place of this in-between and liminal population in the new colony. These include parliamentary debates in 1860, 1870, 1873, 1876, and 1891 and resulting legislation, particularly the various Half-Caste Land Grants Acts (1877-1885), censuses and surveys, as well as numerous petitions and land claims from Kāi Tahu, individuals of mixed descent, and early settlers who had married Māori.²

¹ New Zealand Parliamentary Debates (NZPD), Vol. 20 (1876), 454.
² As well as this legislation, the Half-Caste Disability Removal Act was passed in 1860, which made legitimate mixed descent children born to Māori-Pākehā couples before they had legally married, and therefore gave these children the legal right to inherit property. However, this Act grew out of the situation in the North Island, aiming to promote regular Christian unions, assimilation as well as individualisation of land, and had less relevance for the southern mixed descent population.
This dissertation explores the social world of the mixed descent or ‘half caste’ population based around Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island up until the purchase of Rakiura by the Crown in 1864. I examine the extent to which individuals of mixed descent in this region developed a distinct identity and the processes by which this happened: namely, through marriage practices and patterns, and the attempts of colonial officials to define, categorise and control this ambiguous and potentially disruptive group. I further examine the ways in which the government’s view of the mixed descent community in Foveaux Strait and Stewart Island, as embodied in the terms of the Rakiura/Stewart Island purchase and subsequent related legislation and debates, corresponded with, and/or diverged from, these individuals’ own sense of identity. The 1864 purchase is the key moment which frames this study, though many of the sources examined date from after this event, as the subsequent land claims and petitions made by mixed descent children and their parents provide important insights to personal notions of identity and political rights.

Interracial marriage was particularly prevalent throughout the nineteenth century, particularly in the south, though its impact has often been overlooked in national histories. The predominant historiographical and popular perception of interracial sexual relationships, focusing on the Bay of Islands, has characterised interracial intimacy as a ‘sex industry’, emphasising the economic aspects of sexual encounters. Although undoubtedly true of some relationships, this view ignores the wider spectrum of interracial intimacies, which included shorter and longer term partnerships and marriages and were motivated by a range of political, social and economic factors. Erik Olssen, Judith Binney and Barbara Brookes have identified interracial marriage and mixed descent families as promising areas for future research, primarily because it can push Māori history beyond the ‘Treaty-straightjacket’. Research carried out in the context of the Waitangi Tribunal has led to a focus on historical narratives of Māori dispossession from land and resources and the subsequent impact on political and economic status. I argue that histories of

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5 Howe, “Two Worlds”, 57; Paul Monin, This is my place: Hauraki Contested, 1769-1875 (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 1-2.
interracial marriage and mixed descent families in New Zealand represent a fruitful area of research that incorporates a wider variety of social, cultural, economic and political issues than are examined in the context of the Tribunal.

Despite the limited attention given to the subject in most national histories, some recent scholarship has highlighted the continued significance of those longer term interracial relationships. Kate Riddell views interracial relationships in the North Island as part of a ‘control test’ for power on the colonial frontier. The shift from interracial marriage as a form of alliance for Māori, to a Pākehā-controlled attempt to assimilate the indigenous population, was emblematic of cross-cultural relationships in the frontier contact zone, particularly in the context of the New Zealand wars. Her work exposes how struggles for colonial authority and cultural autonomy played out through interracial marriage and hybridity. 6 Judith Binney’s work on nineteenth century interracial marriage in the Poverty Bay area explores the local political and economic impact of such relationships. 7 Power relations were often at play in these relationships, because “Māori women were both ‘property’ and a means of access to property”. 8 Both Binney and Riddell foreground the contestations of colonial power through interracial marriage, rather than the positive intimate aspects of interracial relationships.

While these studies have potential as models and contrasts for this study, the dynamics of interracial marriage in the South Island were significantly different from those in the North Island. Given the size of the Māori population, the extent of interracial marriage and the proportion of mixed descent children in the North Island remained small. Throughout the period (1861-1921) in which censuses were taken recording the ‘half-caste’ population, mixed descent individuals across the North Island never consisted of more than around fourteen percent of the population, and during the 1860s and 1870s this proportion was considerably lower. 9 By contrast, interracial marriage was far more extensive in the south. In 1844, New Zealand Company surveyor Frederick Tuckett estimated that from Banks Peninsula to Riverton “two-thirds of the native women, who are not aged, are living with Europeans”, hinting at the fact that interracial relationships between these newcomers and Kāi Tahu had a rapid and extensive demographic

7 Binney, “‘In-between’ Lives”.
8 Ibid., 111.
impact on the southern population. This difference can be attributed both to the smaller size of Kāi Tahu population, and to the nature of early European economic activity in southern New Zealand (sealing and whaling) which involved prolonged interaction with the local population and both temporary and permanent settlement along the southern coasts.

Censuses and population returns from the later nineteenth century indicate mixed descent individuals made up an increasing proportion of the Kāi Tahu population. This was particularly true in the far south, where ‘half-castes’ formed ten percent of the Māori population (and 24 percent of the children) in Otago and Southland in 1844. Atholl Anderson’s Race Against Time clearly establishes the demographic significance of interracial marriage throughout the early colonial period in Otago and Southland. From the 1820s onwards, but particularly in the 1830s and 1840s, he identifies 140 newcomer males intermarried with Kāi Tahu women, in unions that produced numerous mixed race descendants. In drawing out the demographic trends within these families across subsequent decades, Anderson queries the “historical processes which in varying degrees transformed the racial composition of Māori and removed them from their cultural roots.” This study seeks to expand on his findings and address some of the questions Anderson raises through an examination of the experiences of the men and women who intermarried and the mixed descent children of such unions, whose historical voices have often be marginalized or ignored.

Research by Angela Wanhalla on mixed descent families at Maitapapa, on the Taieri River, has approached these questions in a community-based study focused on issues of hybridity and identity from 1830 through to 1940. During this period, the Maitapapa community underwent rapid social change, from the establishment of a whaling station in 1839 and the organised colonization of the area by British in the late 1840s, through to the disintegration of the community in the early twentieth century. Wanhalla argues that although land loss, the

13 Anderson, Race Against Time, 3. Anderson also suggests the fact that mixed descent families in southern New Zealand tended to patrilocal (in contrast to matrilocal interracial marriages that were characteristic in the North Island) meant that mixed descent families tended to be more visible in southern New Zealand.
14 Anderson, Race Against Time, 1.
destruction of mahika kai (food resources and cultivations), poverty and economic marginalization underpinned the experience of colonialism for Kāi Tahu, a continued history of interracial marriage was the crucial factor underlying social change, outward migration and the associated loss of cultural knowledge and personal ties with the physical community at Maitapapa. Her research provides a valuable example of the ways in which issues of identity, hybridity, colonialism and gender are interconnected and experienced within the nexus of the interracial marriage and the whānau (family). Along with Riddell and Anderson, she calls attention to the particular dynamics of interracial marriage in southern New Zealand, which suggests the potential for further research in this area, especially in the Foveaux Strait region.  

The social and political issues surrounding interracial marriage were arguably most significant in the far south, in the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, where sustained interaction between Kāi Tahu and the early Pakehā settlers had begun earlier and continued longer than elsewhere in New Zealand. The earliest partnerships of Māori women and Pakehā newcomers began in the 1820s at the sealing settlement established at Whenua Hou/Codfish Island and continued as interracial interaction increased with the advent of shore-based whaling at Preservation Inlet in 1829 and the establishment of further coastal whaling stations along the southern and eastern coasts of Southland and Otago in subsequent decades. By 1864, the year that Rakiura/Stewart Island was purchased by the Crown, 68 percent of the Foveaux Strait population was of mixed descent.  

The 1864 purchase of Rakiura/Stewart Island represents a particularly significant historical moment for interracial intimacy and hybridity in colonial New Zealand. In the Deed of Sale, the colonial government acknowledged 'half-castes' as a legal and social entity separate from both the Kāi Tahu and from the Pakehā settler community, requiring distinct management and protection by the colonial administration. The terms of the purchase include provisions for the establishment of a 'half caste' reserve at The Neck on Rakiura/Stewart Island, separate from those lands set aside as Native Reserves. This provision represents a marked break from previous land purchases in the South Island, which made no mention of, or provisions for, the mixed

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I argue that the unique terms of this purchase are indicative of the particular dynamics of interracial marriage in the Rakiura/Stewart Island and Foveaux Strait region which underpinned a shift in government conceptualisation and policy towards issues of race, particularly as it related to land tenure and reserves.

The existing secondary literature on the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island area has focused on the success story of the expansion of European settlement and the colonial economy in the southern New Zealand. Although the earliest settlers in the area often figure prominently in local histories of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island settlements, their position as ‘founding fathers’ and agricultural pioneers tends to be emphasised at the expense of their significant and enduring engagements with Māori or mixed descent women, or the Kai Tahu community more generally. By contrast histories of Kai Tahu are characterised by themes of dispossession and loss, and conversely of resistance and survival, which centre on struggles to maintain land and mahika kai (food resources) in the face of colonization and expanding agricultural settlement. The long struggle for compensation and redress through Te Keremā (The Claim) figures prominently in these histories. Although undeniably a significant part Kai Tahu history, the history of Te Keremā does not embody the totality of the Kai Tahu experience of colonialism, which included such “exceptions to colonial rule” as tītī harvesting, as well as more intimate encounters of colonialism such as interracial marriage.

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This dissertation is therefore focused on the ways in which colonialism 'played out on the ground', in what Pickles and Rutherford call the embodied encounter zone.\(^2\) In this conceptualisation, the encounter or contact zone represents both a physical and a cultural site of interaction. Centring the study in a specific place has the advantage of revealing personal narratives and experiences of colonialism as they are shaped by local conditions and avoids inappropriate totalising generalisations and metanarratives about 'colonialism'. This focus on the specific and dynamic interaction of colonisation 'on the ground', as understood through the lens of interracial marriage, follows in the tradition of postcolonial scholarship, which exposes the limitations of grand overarching historical schemas and draws attention to the voices of previously marginalised groups. The work is framed by the notion of 'gathering places': the sites in which mixed descent families encountered each other and the state, as well as ideas about class, religion and respectability.

In this approach, family narratives and personal experiences are particularly significant in understanding the ways in which colonialism was a social and cultural enterprise as well as a political and economic one. In contrast to the broader narratives of Kāi Tahu history, numerous and detailed family histories and whakapapa have been produced by the descendents of the early mixed descent unions.\(^2\) Although sometimes little known, these family histories contain a wealth of detail on the mixed descent families in the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island area. They detail the numerous connections between various families across generations as well as adding personal and family stories that might otherwise be lost to the archival record. This dissertation aims to place some of these whakapapa and family histories back into the history of southern New Zealand, in order to explore the highly personal meanings and experience of colonialism for Kāi Tahu.

\(^2\) Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherford, introduction to Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada’s Colonial Past, ed. by Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherford (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2006), 3.

Nevertheless, a focus on personal and place-specific experiences does not mean an ignorance or rejection of historical theory, or of the wider significance of, and trends in, colonial history. I aim to reveal the local contours of interracial marriage and colonialism in Foveaux Strait and the broader relationship with theories of interracial intimacy in colonial histories internationally. My research draws on recent scholarship on interracial marriage, identity and hybridity in other former colonial societies, of which there has been increasingly numerous and sophisticated studies in the past decades. Such studies, particularly the pioneering work by historians of gender and colonialism in Canada, inform this research and offer direction for the interrogation of these issues in a New Zealand setting. Like the early economic activities of whalers who settled in New Zealand with their Māori, and later mixed descent, wives, the fur trade centred on resource exploitation and significant economic exchange with the indigenous population. Sylvia Van Kirk demonstrates that this economic exchange necessitated cultural exchange as well, and reveals the importance of interracial marriages in negotiating cultural boundaries between the traders and the various Indian tribes. Out of these interactions, a distinct ‘social and cultural complex’ emerged, incorporating the customs and values of both cultures, which lasted over two centuries in the Canadian West and underpinned the economic basis of the fur trade. However, as colonial settlement increasingly replaced company-organised trading in the nineteenth century, mixed descent families found themselves in an ambivalent and sometimes marginal position in an increasingly racist and sexist society. A similar set of shifts mark the history of the mixed descent families in southern New Zealand.

27 Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties.
28 Sylvia Van Kirk, “Colonized Lives: The Native Wives and Daughters of Five Founding Families of Victoria,” in In the Days of our Grandmothers: a Reader in Aboriginal Women’s History in Canada, eds. Mary-Ellen Kelm and
While Van Kirk states Canadian history is exceptional in that “in most other areas of the world, sexual contact between European men and native women has usually been illicit in nature and essentially peripheral to the white man’s trading or colonizing ventures”\(^{29}\), I assert that interracial marriage was also a vital component of the colonial society and economy in New Zealand’s far south, and has continued to shape perceptions of Kāi Tahu in contemporary society. As Hana O’Regan has explored, the extent and influence of interracial marriage and continued social, economic and political interaction with Pākehā from the nineteenth century has shaped the perception of Kāi Tahu as the “white tribe”.\(^{30}\)

While this dissertation draws upon the personal and embodied experiences of interracial marriage and hybridity in the far south, this history must also be understood within the broader colonial project, and tied to questions of colonial power and authority. Interracial marriage and hybridity was a reality in the colonies and was followed by state management and intervention. The management of sexuality and intimacy was critical to imperial projects. Interracial unions and mixed race children threatened and undermined the crucial hierarchies of race and distinctions between the binaries of ruler and ruled upon which rested the moral basis of colonisation. Hybridity, with the ambiguities, boundary crossings and negotiations of identity it entails, is a key concept which encapsulates these ideas.\(^{31}\) The concept of hybridity and ‘colonial desire’ has been applied effectively to scholarship on mixed descent individuals and communities in a range of localities, though further elaboration of the significance of this theory in a New Zealand context is needed.

In colonial Indonesia Ann Laura Stoler argues that the on-going political discourse on sexuality, concubinage, marriage and domesticity, and racial hybridity figured so predominantly in the thinking of imperial administrators because these issues underpinned the “boundaries of European membership and the internal frontiers of the colonial state”.\(^{32}\) Discrepancies between prescription and practice continually characterised the colonial administration’s attempts to...

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29 Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, 14.


31 Young, 5-20.

32 Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power, 110.
maintain hierarchical racial distinctions between the European colonisers and the Indische population, as concubinage, mixed marriages and mixed descent children were a constant element in colonial society. Her concept of interracial intimacy as a “dense transfer point” between cultures is of particular value, and is here developed in a New Zealand setting.\(^{33}\) Adele Perry also demonstrates the ongoing disjunction between prescription and practice in early colonial British Columbia, up until its entry into the Confederation in 1871. Despite attempts of the colonial administration to create a settler society that conformed to norms of European respectability, male homosocial culture and mixed marriages meant that British Columbia remained literally and symbolically “on the edge of empire.”\(^{34}\) In all these works, interracial marriage provides the nexus which connects ideologies of race and gender to the historiography of imperialism.

This study draws on international scholarship to connect an analysis of localised experiences of interracial marriage to colonial rule as it affected the personal and familial aspects of life in southern New Zealand. While unique in many regards, interracial intimacy and the contours and challenges of cross-cultural identity for these partners and their mixed descent children in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island resonate with the experiences of mixed descent families in other settler colonies, especially Canada. In both Canada and New Zealand, while interracial marriage acted as an important method to negotiate the cross-cultural encounter within the context of the early colonial economies of the fur trade, sealing and whaling, mixed descent families were increasingly subject to scrutiny and prejudice as formal settlement and governance increased.

Chapter One explores the nature of interracial intimacy in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island throughout the early to mid nineteenth century. This chapter details the mixed descent unions and families in the area up until the 1860s, and reconstructs the networks and associations that show these families constituted a social community. I demonstrate the prevailing practices and patterns of interracial partnerships were long-lasting, monogamous and generally affectionate marriages, whether or not solemnised in the Christian sense. I foreground the intimate and personal aspects of encounter to highlight the important place of Māori women in the


\(^{34}\) Adele Perry, On the Edge of Empire; Adele Perry, “‘Fair Ones of a Purer Caste’: White Women and Colonialism in Nineteenth-Century British Columbia,” Feminist Studies 23, no. 3 (Autumn 1993), 501-524.
construction of early colonial society, whose roles and agency within this context have frequently been overlooked.35

Chapter Two examines the social world and networks established through interracial marriage in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, focusing on the experiences of the first generation of mixed descent children. The continued connections and influences of Kāi Tahu society and traditions on this community are explored, along with the growing influence of Pākehā society, and related concepts of status and respectability with the advent of increased European settlement from the late 1840s. The conflict experienced within some mixed descent families highlights various tensions between the differing cultural values and expectations of Māori and Pākehā as colonial settlement gathered pace throughout the nineteenth century.

Chapter Three turns to examine the official view of this community held by the government, as expressed through policy and legislation such as the 1864 Rakiura purchase terms. This official colonial view was largely shaped by the many colonial agents who directly encountered the mixed descent community in southern New Zealand. The shifting conceptualisation of race and identity in mixed descent people was arguably forced on the government ‘from below’, and influenced by the context of the New Zealand Wars as government awareness of the ambivalent and unsettling position of this group grew. Conversely, official policy had a distinct impact on how colonialism was experienced ‘on the ground’ through the promotion of particular definitions of racial hybridity. Old Land Claims and Middle Island Half-Castes Land Grants cases from the 1840s to the 1880s indicate the power of the state to legitimise certain forms and expressions of racial identity.

This chapter is therefore also about hybrid identities. I argue that during the nineteenth century, and particularly in the context of land claims legislation, the identity and cultural affiliations of mixed descent individuals was constructed in relation to both the social world in which these individuals lived and the racial categories imposed by colonial authorities. Although a particular mixed descent identity was articulated in the region during a particular historical context, it was neither as bounded nor as discrete as the government’s attempts to define and categorise mixed

descent peoples. Rather, many mixed descent individuals appear to have held a much more flexible perception of their place in Māori and in Pākehā society, and were able to assert their 'half-caste' status in very particular ways in order to gain land and compensation. While a distinct mixed descent community and identity can be distinguished in the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island area during the early to mid nineteenth century, it was also a fluid identity that was specific to an historical moment and place.
Interracial marriage provided Māori iwi with a peaceful strategy to deal with the advent of newcomers. Yet, the process of interracial marriage between Foveaux Strait Kāi Tahu and newcomers in the early and mid-nineteenth century entailed much more than simply the integration of outsiders into the framework of tribal society. Along with the economic and environmental transformations they wrought in the area, I argue that during a particular historical moment in the early to mid-nineteenth century, the southern sealers and whalers and their Kāi Tahu partners created a new community which drew on iwi values and traditions, but which also stood somewhat apart from the Kāi Tahu whānui.

In order to understand the dynamics of the cultural encounter in the region, it is essential to explore the interracial relationships that underpinned the creation of this distinctive mixed descent population in the mid-nineteenth century. This chapter examines the diverse alliances formed, the nature of marriage practices, and the extent of interracial marriage in the region, highlighting women's active role in the process. Details of the initial Kāi Tahu-newcomer marriages in the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island region prior to 1864, and the first generation of mixed descent children from these partnerships, are listed in Appendix A. This chapter, drawing on examples from these relationships, begins by exploring the patterns and experiences of interracial marriage in the area, as well as changes and exceptions to the normative practice of monogamous and permanent unions. The second section turns to examine the meaning and function of interracial marriage as a cultural encounter, at both an individual and societal level.

1. Patterns of interracial intimacy during the 1820s to 1850s

Sealing gangs spent extended periods based on island or coastal settlements from 1805, establishing the conditions for sustained cultural interaction with Kāi Tahu, of which interracial marriage formed a crucial component. Although earlier relationships between Kāi Tahu and

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visiting Europeans existed and may have produced mixed descent children, the first recorded mixed descent families established a permanent sealing settlement at Whenua Hou/Codfish Island off the north-western coast of Rakiura/Stewart Island around 1823 or slightly before. Around this time Whenua Hou/Codfish Island was allocated to Pakeha men and their families by chief Tukete, based at Putatara pa on Raikiura/Stewart Island. This strategy allowed him to trade conveniently with the sealers while avoiding potential conflict between the newcomers and local Maori.

Throughout the 1820s and 1830s, Sealers Bay/Koropupu on Whenua Hou/Codfish Island was the heart of Foveaux Strait sealing. Although there were many brief scroungers, the diverse and colourful “Codfish mob” (many of whom had abandoned former sealing gangs) gave the community continuity through the sealing seasons. While this settlement and the cross-cultural interaction it entailed took place within the context of the sealing industry, most of the men remained in the region after the industry declined in the 1830s. These families removed to other locales in Foveaux Strait, where the men became involved in other seafaring activities as whalers, pilots and boat-builders, or in resource-based industry and agriculture. When Bishop Selwyn visited in 1844, the total population of the island remained around forty. Many of the families settled on Rakiura/Stewart Island, at Smoky Cove, Murray River, or later The Neck in Patersons Inlet. Thus, it was “not that the [Whenua Hou] settlement failed, but that it changed its locale to

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2 For example, John Boulthee had a short-term relationship with a Maori woman (possibly Kaibibbi) during the period he spent sealing in the Foveaux Strait area between 1826 and 1827, a relationship which may have produced a child. John Boulthee, Journal of a Rambler: The Journal of John Boulthee, ed. June Starke (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 1986), 57, 65 and 85.

3 The precise date of European settlement on Whenua Hou/Codfish Island is the subject of historical debate. The different evidence and opinions are summarised in Angela Middleton, Two Hundred Years on Codfish Island (Whenuahou) – from Cultural Encounter to Nature Reserve (Invercargill: Department of Conservation Southland Conservancy, 2007), 9-10; see also Basil Howard, Rakiura: A History of Stewart Island, New Zealand (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W. Reed, for the Stewart Island Centennial Committee, 1940), 62 and Atholl Anderson, Race Against Time: The early Maori-Pakeha families and the development of the mixed-race population in southern New Zealand (Dunedin: Hocken Library, 1980), 5-6.

4 Middleton, 9-10.

5 Edward Weller, quoted in Howard, 66. George Davis’ reminiscences list the names of the newcomers who married and formed the nucleus of the Sealers Bay settlement in the 1830s, which hint at their diverse origins. Reminiscences of George Davis / [transcribed by John Wixon] (Misc-MS-1988), Hocken Library (hereafter HL).


7 Middleton, 8.

8 These included the Antoni, Carter, Chaseland, Edwards, Greenwood, Newton, Owen, Smith, Watson and Woodman families, as detailed in Appendix A. Howard, 65-66; F.G. Hall-Jones, Historical Southland (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers Co., Ltd., 1945), 37. For further details on the identities of the Codfish Island settlers see also Middleton, 14-25 and 76-81.
Although the physical settlement has disappeared, Whenua Hou/Codfish Island remains a significant site for Kāi Tahu today. These early partnerships are commemorated by carvings at Te Rau Aroha Marae at Bluff, and by a pouwhenua (carved pillar) on the island. Such memorials are indicative of the central place of Māori women in interracial unions as "founding mothers" of the contemporary Kāi Tahu whānui.

Many more interracial partnerships were established with the advent of shore-based whaling along the southern and western coasts of the South Island, beginning with the first station established at Preservation Inlet in 1829 (see Map 1). The whaling station represents a key space of early cultural contact, integrating both Māori men and women in the new economic venture, albeit in gender-specific ways. To a much greater degree than short-term sealing settlements, the founding of whaling stations involved significant population movement for Kāi Tahu, who tended to gather around these new economic and social opportunities offered around the coast. While Kāi Tahu men frequently joined the Pākehā newcomers as crew on whaling vessels, Kāi Tahu women relocated to whaling stations as the wives of male newcomers. The differential integration of Kāi Tahu men and women into the early resource economy highlights that early interracial relationships, as well as the contact experience more generally, occurred in a gendered manner.

As well as companionship, Kāi Tahu women were economically involved in maintaining these whaling stations, though the significance of their roles in the early resource economy was minimised by contemporary observers. Wohlers describes the potato cultivations, pig breeding and household responsibilities undertaken by Kāi Tahu women as sidelines to the central

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occupation of their husbands in the whaling industry.\textsuperscript{14} Yet such activities were central to sustaining the shore-based whaling stations, as well as a significant source of trade in their own right. These women further maintained the settlements while their partners were away at sea for extended periods, while occasionally Kāi Tahu women were also involved in whaling itself.\textsuperscript{15} These examples illustrate that the early interracial partnerships were integral within the broader social and economic world of the area.

\begin{center}
\textbf{Map 1: Location and operating dates of whaling stations in Otago and Southland}
\end{center}

Map reproduced courtesy of Angela Wanalla

The interracial partnerships we have the most information about tend to be the families of men with social and economic standing in the early settlements and who tended to marry women with

\textsuperscript{14} Wohlers, Ruapuke Report Number 7, December 31\textsuperscript{st} 1845, North German Missionary Society, Bremen: Papers relating to Rev. J.F.H. Wohlers, Ruapuke Station (hereafter Wohlers Collection) (MS-0967/014), HL.

\textsuperscript{15} Wohlers, Letter to Committee of Administration, June 5\textsuperscript{th} 1855, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/925), HL; F.G. Hall-Jones, \emph{Kelly of Inverkelly: The Story of Settlement in Southland 1824-1860} (Invercargill: Southland Historical Committee, 1944), 36.
chiefly relations. For example, in Basil Howard's thorough history of Rakiura, biographical details of settlers at the Neck are only provided on Lewis Acker, Captain William Anglem and James Joss and their families, for Howard felt that no other individuals left sufficient archival information from which to reconstruct their life. All these men held positions of status as ship captains, harbour pilots and successful traders. Anglem was also given a government land grant for his services to cartography. As a result, accounts and analysis of interracial marriage and families in Foveaux Strait are disproportionately influenced by the experiences of these more prosperous and visible families. The absence of any archival presence (such as probates) is an indication of either the fact that many of these men died or left the region before the apparatus of government was established, or of their marginality in colonial society.

Given that many relationships were established in the 1820s, it is perhaps unsurprising that the historical record reveals little about some of these early interracial intimacies. By the 1840s many interracial couples had already been living together for “two-and-twenty years in this solitude”. In his diary Bishop Selwyn noted that John Kelly and Hinetuhawaiki had been living together for at least twenty years when he married them during his 1844 visit to Ruapuke, as had many other partnerships detailed in Appendix A. The longevity of these unions points to their ongoing significance, and challenges histories of interracial intimacy in New Zealand that centre on sex and exchange alone.

When many of these unions were first established, there was no means to formalise the marriage in the European sense. Rather, these partnerships can be considered marriage ‘after the custom of

16 These men include Captain John Howell (Jacob's River), Captain William Andrew Anglem (Stewart Island), Captain William Stirling (Bluff), Thomas Chaseland (Toitoi) and James Joss (Stewart Island).
17 Howard, 88-98.
18 Alexander Mackay to Walter Henry Pearson, April 17th 1874, Case files – Addenda [William Andrew Anglem, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 19A), Archives New Zealand, Wellington (hereafter ANZW). Mackay recommends a grant of no less than 100 acres to Stirling's descendants in acknowledgement of the services rendered for the government.
19 Numerous other individuals and families, such as that of Jack the Bowman and Black Swan, remain little more than names in the written historical record. These names appear in George Davis’s list of those present on Codfish Island in the 1830s but any other information about their identities is largely speculative. See Reminiscences of George Davis / [transcribed by John Wixon] (Misc-MS-1988), HL.
21 Middleton, 18.
the country' in that they were recognised and accepted by the wider community.22 Such marriages were generally both monogamous and permanent, lasting until the death of one of the partners. There is also evidence that some Māori women and their Pākehā partners participated in a Māori ceremony. Captain John Howell’s marriage to Kohikohi, the daughter of chief Patu of Ratatoka/Centre Island, in 1836 involved escorting the bride to her new home at Aparima/Riverton, followed by days of feasting and celebration. Public acknowledgement was the most significant aspect in confirming the union:

When he held out his hands and drew her to him the congregation of whalers and Maoris on the beach bore witness to the fact that he gladly accepted her, as his wife.23

The Christian marriage ceremony of Howell to his second mixed descent wife, Caroline/Koronaki Brown, was also preceded by a Māori ceremony a year earlier.24

Bruce Biggs argues ceremonial rituals, like those for Kohikohi and Howell, were the domain of the chiefly families.25 Other marriages were confirmed more simply by pākūwhā (handing over of wife to husband), often after the couple had been living together for some period. It is likely that such public acknowledgement and acceptance was all that early interracial marriages consisted of, though there is generally little information available to confirm this.26 Whether or not some form of marriage rite was used, it is clear that the acceptance of the wider community was generally a crucial factor in such early interracial marriages. In contrast to colonies that legally restricted and publicly censured interracial intimacy, even early government officials appear to have made allowance for customary unions between Kāi Tahu and newcomers. In Mantell’s 1852 census, he distinguishes between those ‘married, legally’ and those ‘married, not

22 This phrase, a translation of ‘a la façon du pays’, is taken from Sylvia Van Kirk’s Many Tender Ties, where it is applied to the customary marriages between fur trader employees and local Indian women in Western Canada, in which the union was formally recognized through distinctive marriage rites which drew on both Indian and European traditions. See Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties, 36-44.

23 Eva Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi: The Story of Captain Howell and his Family, 2nd ed. (Invercargill: Craig Printing Ltd., 2000), 10. Nathaniel Bates and his first wife Hinepu were similarly married according to Māori tradition around 1839-40; Linda J. Scott, Finlay Bayne and Michael J. F. Connor, Nathaniel Bates of Riverton: His Families and Descendants (Christchurch: Bates Reunion Committee, 1994), 17. For other examples, see Appendix A.

24 Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi, 23.

25 Biggs, based on the evidence of Elsdon Best, states that “The patrician, or aristocratic wedding... consisted of a ceremonial at which ritual spells known as whakapiiri (cause to cling), and ohaoha (blessing) were repeated over the couple. A feast was held which was known as umu kootore (kai kootore, kai reperepe). The whole ceremony was generally known as umu kootore (oven of the tail end)... [this ceremony] distinguished the aristocratic from the ordinary wedding.” By contrast, being found after a night together was a common means by which a couple would make public their relationship, though generally it would take sometime living together for the union to be accepted. Bruce Biggs, Māori Marriage: An Essay in Reconstruction (Wellington: Polynesian Society Incorporated, 1960), 40-41.

26 Biggs, Māori Marriage, 40-41.
legally’, indicating that even a relationship not formalised in a civil sense could still be considered a marriage by officials as well as community members.\textsuperscript{27}

However, when the opportunity arose to have their relationship solemnised by a Christian missionary, most interracial couples choose to confirm their relationships in this manner and have their families baptised. Both Bishop Selwyn and Reverend Wohlers, report being “[met] everywhere with a hearty reception” from mixed descent couples on their visitations.\textsuperscript{28} A number of couples travelled around the region specifically to have their unions solemnised or children baptised. In 1840 Irishman John Kelly took his family from Ruapuke to Otago Heads in order that his two mixed descent children be baptised by the Catholic Bishop Pompallier.\textsuperscript{29} Rather than await sporadic missionary visits to the Foveaux Strait shores, James Spencer and Mere Kauri journeyed on foot to the mission station at Waikouaiti and became the first recorded Christian marriage in the South Island on January 27\textsuperscript{th} 1841.\textsuperscript{30} In later years, many others travelled across to Ruapuke from Rakiura/Stewart Island or the northern Foveaux Strait settlements for the purpose of having their unions consecrated by Wohlers.\textsuperscript{31} Such journeys demonstrate that formalised marriage was indeed meaningful for individual couples, though perhaps for varied reasons.

The decision to solemnise marriage was probably influenced in part by the desire to retain social standing within the emerging colonial society. Male newcomers in partnerships with Kai Tahu women clearly realised the impact of the arrival of missionaries as well as greater numbers of settlers on social values and status, and saw adhering to Christian standards such as marriage as a (perhaps unwanted) necessity of remaining respectable in European eyes. Certainly, this is how James Watkins, missionary at Waikouaiti, characterised the reception he met when he arrived in the region in June 1840:

\textsuperscript{27} ‘Census of the Native and Half-Caste Population resident in the Southern Portion of the Middle Island and the Island of Ruapuke, including the West Coast as far North as the River Grey, taken by Walter Mantell, Esq., in 1852,’ in Alexander Mackay, \textit{Compendium of Official Documents relative to Native Affairs in the South Island Volume II} (Wellington: Government Printer, 1872), 275-277.

\textsuperscript{28} Wohlers, \textit{Memories of the Life of J.F.H. Wohlers}, 162; Wohlers, Ruapuke Report Three, December 31\textsuperscript{st} 1844 and Ruapuke Report Number 7, December 31\textsuperscript{st} 1845, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/014), HL.

\textsuperscript{29} Wohlers, Ruapuke Report Three, December 31\textsuperscript{st} 1844, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/014), HL; F.G. Hall-Jones, \textit{Historical Southland}, 77; see also Hall-Jones, \textit{Kelly of Inverkelly}.


\textsuperscript{31} Wohlers, Report Number 4, May 1\textsuperscript{st} 1845, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/014); Wohlers, Report Number 13: Second Quarterly Report 1847, June 30\textsuperscript{th} 1847, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/018), HL.
The white men almost generally are living with Native women, and my coming here is
looked upon rather suspiciously by them, for they know enough of Christianity to be
aware that if it prevails they must either marry the women or lose them.\textsuperscript{32}

Kāi Tahu women, too, appear to have appreciated the benefits of having their relationships with
the newcomers formalised in the European sense. As early as 1846, Wohlers observed that “now
girls who are lucky enough to get a European husband insist on being officially married.”\textsuperscript{33} This
resolution he ascribes in part to an “especially strong religious feeling,” but also to “the
precaution of tightening the bond as firmly as possible.”\textsuperscript{34} Wohlers’ statements suggests that Kāi
Tahu women had an awareness of the meaning and function of Christian marriage, and valued the
opportunity to solemnize their relationships as a means of tightening the spiritual and physical
ties of their newcomer partners both to their families and to the Foveaux Strait region.

Wohlers and Watkins attributed the fervent desire of interracial couples to be married and for the
women and children to be baptised, to the growing influence of Christianity.\textsuperscript{35} Wohlers also notes
the impact of family life in reforming the moral attitude of the otherwise rough Foveaux Strait
settlers. He states that because of the growing presence of Christianity and an “amiable” family
life these men found in New Zealand, “the hearts of the fathers turned to the children, and the
unbelievers to the wisdom of the just”.\textsuperscript{36} It is likely that both Christian values and the pleasures
derived from their family life played a part in the popularity of formal marriage, especially in the
context of an increasingly numerous and influential European settler population from the late
1840s.

While monogamy prevailed, there were exceptions which attracted the notice and ire of
missionaries. Indeed, the commentary on those exceptional cases indicates the very prevalence of
monogamous partnerships. In 1847, Wohlers describes a case of polygamy as “a relic of the

\textsuperscript{32} Reverend James Watkins, quoted in ‘Ninety Years Ago: First South Island Mission. Diary of the Rev. James
Watkins. Struggles with the Language,’ The Press, June 30\textsuperscript{th} 1931, Newspaper clippings album, number 6, 18, James
Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/A/6), HL.

\textsuperscript{33} Wohlers, Report Number 10: Travel Report from 30 June to 17 July 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017),
HL.

\textsuperscript{34} Ibid.

\textsuperscript{35} Reverend James Watkins, quoted in ‘Ninety Years Ago: First South Island Mission. Diary of the Rev. James
Watkins. Struggles with the Language,’ The Press, June 20 1931, Newspaper clippings album, number 6, 18, James
Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/A/6), HL; Wohlers, Memories of the Life of J.F.H. Wohlers, 162.

\textsuperscript{36} Wohlers, Memories of the Life of J.F.H. Wohlers, 162.
past”, stressing the general transformation of interracial relationships from such unwholesome practices to proper Christian families. On his first visit to Whenua Hou/Codfish Island in 1844, Bishop Selwyn married three of the five men then living there but refused to marry one of the others, Joseph Honour, because he was living with two Māori women, Popoia and Waa. He did not marry the other couple, as Thomas Greenwood was “kino’d” by his partner Pipi/Pipa, who refused to marry him. Despite Pipi/Pipa’s refusal to confirm their relationship by Christian standards, this did not mean a rejection of the relationship itself, as she and Greenwood were later recorded living together at Murray’s River on Stewart Island. Her actions are indicative of the agency Māori women could exert in the context of interracial relationships and highlight the fact that European concepts of marriage may not have held much relevance in interracial partnerships, at least during the early 1840s.

In accordance with Māori marriage practices, interracial marriages were not necessarily permanent, even though this was the general tendency. Shortly before his death in 1876, Benjamin Turner, a resident of Sealers Bay in the early 1820s, recalled his interracial relationship during his time at Whenua Hou/Codfish Island:

I had fallen in with a chief’s daughter, and took her as my wahine but as it happened our time was very short together, as she wanted to go back to her own tribe. A large canoe came to where we were shifted to, and her brother returned me back the musket I had given him for her, and we parted.

Some Kāi Tahu women clearly had autonomy over their relationships with newcomers, which included the possibility to end such partnerships, as Turner’s partner did. Moreover Turner’s wife could continue to draw on whānau (family) support after marriage despite residing away from the iwi settlement, indicating the sustained connections between Kāi Tahu and mixed descent families in and around Foveaux Strait. Despite the degree of individual partnership choice, the

37 Wohlers, Letter (undated) on visit to Stewart Island and Tautuku in Report Number 14, December 12th 1847, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/018), HL.
38 Bishop Selwyn, quoted in Middleton, 32.
39 Middleton, 17. In the Ruapuke Registers, Wohlers also records that George Printz and William Shephard refused to be married to their respective partners, Pokuru/Margaret and Jane Pi, which otherwise appear to have been monogamous and lasting unions. Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, Baptisms, 1850-1885, 5 (Entry 52) and 13 (Entry 170).
40 Biggs, 78-79.
41 Quoted in “Death of Mr. Benjamin Evans Turner,” Daily Southern Cross, 6 October 1876.
exchange of a musket to confirm the relationship highlights that interracial marriage was still subject to the conventions, approval and acknowledgement of the wider community.42

In other cases, given the transient nature of sealing and whaling as an occupation, some Kāi Tahu-newcomer relationships were perhaps more in the nature of ‘short term marriages’, lasting until the departure of the sealing or whaling vessel, or until new economic or social opportunities arose. In the 1850s, Wohlers expressed dismay at the “foolish men” who abandoned their Māori wives and mixed descent children in the hope of gaining fortunes at the Australian and Californian gold diggings.43 Many of these men never returned to their families. However, in a number of cases this was because of misfortune at sea rather than clear cases of desertion.44 The desire for respectability could also be a factor behind cases of abandonment, as was the experience of Irihapeti Pātahi in her relationship with whaler Edwin Palmer, or in the case of the Haberfield family.45

Yet the relationship of whaler Joe Davis and his Kāi Tahu partner46, as recalled by granddaughter Mrs Selwyn, complicates the concept of ‘abandonment’ in the context of interracial marriage. Although he had returned to America before she was born, Davis remained a symbolic and practical presence in his granddaughter’s life, for he continued to send money from America to his daughter. Indeed, on Davis’ death, his brother travelled from the United States to meet his Māori relatives, but unfortunately died before the meeting could occur. As a result, the

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42 Indeed, the community sanction of this marriage choice may have been an important factor in enabling Turner’s wife to draw on their support to conclude the relationship, a contrast to the experience of Irihapeti Pātahi, who found herself marginalised after going against the union favoured by her family to marry Edwin Palmer. Angela Wanhalla, “One White Man I Like Very Much: Intermarriage and the Cultural Encounter in Southern New Zealand, 1829-1850,” Journal of Women’s History 20, no. 2 (2008): 34-56.

43 J.F.H. Wohlers, My dear friend Tuckett. letters from a Foveaux Strait outpost in the 1850s, ed. Sheila Natusch (Wellington: Nestegg Books; Christchurch: Nag’s Head Press, 1998-1999), 64; Wohlers, First Quarterly Report, January-March 1853, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/023), HL.

44 Wohlers recounts the poignant family farewells upon the departure of Howell’s schooner Amazon from Jacob’s River in 1848, the anxious wait for husbands, fathers and fiancés to return, and the grief of two mixed descent women at the death of their fathers. Wohlers, Report covering October 1848 to the end of 1851 at Ruapuke Mission Station, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/020), HL. See also discussion in Lee family file, RM; Howard, 85.

45 For an exploration of Irihapeti Pātahi’s experience, see Wanhalla, “One White Man I Like Very Much”. The case of the Haberfields is discussed by Alexander Mackay in relation to grants of ‘half-caste’ land. The land allocated to the mixed descent children of William Isaac Haberfield and Meriana Teitei was granted to William on his family’s behalf. However, since the death of his wife William had “married a European woman, and has turned away all the children of the former marriage, thereby preventing them from deriving any benefit from the land that was given in the first place as a maintenance for them.” Mr. A. Mackay to the Secretary for Crown Lands, June 15th 1875, Papers relative to Half-caste Claims in the South and Stewart Island, Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives (AJHR) 1876 (G-9), 17-18.

46 Herries Beattie suggests that this was either Tapu or Whakatipu.
connection between Selwyn and her relatives in the United States was lost. 47 Although the other circumstances around this story are unknown, from this narrative it is clear that Davis did not completely abandon his family in New Zealand in the sense of cutting off all ties. Rather, he actively sought to maintain at least limited contact with and provide support to his mixed descent family. This example points to the complexity behind apparent cases of desertion, and the importance of personal narratives in understanding the dynamics of interracial marriage.

II. Reasons for the prevalence of interracial marriage

In the Foveaux Strait region, permanent and monogamous unions acknowledged and supported by the wider community and solemnised where possible, characterised the intimate relationships between Kāi Tahu women and newcomers during the early nineteenth century. The predominance of interracial marriage in southern New Zealand, in contrast to short term or casual allegiances more prominent in the North Island, can be attributed to a number of factors. Interracial marriage had social and economic functions as well as personal meaning for Kāi Tahu and newcomers in Foveaux Strait within the context of the cultural encounter centred on an intensive resource-based economy.

Literature on interracial relationships in colonial settings emphasises that exogamous marriage, or ‘marrying in’, frequently acted as a form of social control, offering a means to mitigate the disruptive potential of liminal and ambiguous outsider figures. 48 The locally renowned story of ‘Pakehā-Māori’ Jimmy Caddell, the young member of the Sydney Cove sealing crew captured by Kāi Tahu in 1810, who later married Tokitoki (daughter of chief Purerehu and niece of Honekai), offers an example of the way interracial marriage could perform an integrative function in southern New Zealand. 49 His story also indicates the power exercised by high ranking Kāi Tahu

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47 Notebook entitled, ‘Causal Allusions to the whalers made by Maoris in interviews given to Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’, 13-14, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9), HL.
49 Unlike most of the later newcomers, Caddell also adopted Māori dress, received a full facial moko/tattoo (an indicator of status) and became known as ‘Jimmy the Māori’, preferring to remain with his family in New Zealand than return to ‘civilisation’ when the opportunity arose in the 1820s. Untitled extract from The Southland Times, May 18 1926, Newspaper clipping album, number 19, James Herries Beattie Papers, (MS-582/A/19), HL; Anderson, Race Against Time, 4-5.
women in marriage choice, for Caddell was reputedly spared from the fate of his companions because Tokitoki had thrown a mat over him, making him tapu and thereby saving his life.\(^{50}\)

‘Marrying in’ had mutually beneficial social, political and economic aspects for both the indigenous group and the European partner in the context of resource-based colonial economies.\(^{51}\) The material benefits Māori gained through close relationships with Pākehā in the early contact period is commonly understood as a key reason why Māori actively sought to retain Pākehā residents in their area, as missionaries or as husbands. As noted, chief Tukete provided the earlier sealers and their families with a settlement protected from Māori attack in order to ensure the trading opportunities they brought. In this manner, interracial marriage in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island during the early nineteenth century may be conceived of in the mould of the ‘my Pākehā’ phenomenon described by Paul Monin in Hauraki.\(^{52}\)

Interracial marriage also appears to have been closely linked to social standing for Kāi Tahu women and their whānau. Certainly, Anderson notes that the patterns of interracial marriage in southern New Zealand closely reflected the social hierarchy, as “the daughters or nieces of prominent chiefs generally became partners of Europeans who stood out in some way” especially whaling station owners or managers.\(^{53}\) This pattern suggests that during this period such men held enough standing in the eyes of Kāi Tahu to marry well, and were perceived as matches which either maintained or improved social status.\(^{54}\)

The wives of newcomers also acted as social mediators, averting conflict between Kāi Tahu and the early sealers. George Davis, a sealer at Whenua Hou/Codfish Island and later of Riverton, recalled an incident in the 1833, in which “eleven large canoes, fully manned, left Ruapuke, to destroy all the white men then living on Codfish Island. Some of the wives (native women) belonging to the white men got information that the chief (Tabucca), alias Old Wig (Bloody

\(^{50}\) F.G. Hall-Jones, *Historical Southland*, 31.
\(^{52}\) Paul Monin, *This is my place: Hauraki contested, 1769-1875* (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2001), 87-100.
\(^{54}\) For further discussion of the wider social considerations in ‘aristocratic’ marriages in Māori society, see Biggs, *Māori Marriage*. 24
Jack), and about 200 natives were coming to kill every white man.” As a result, the men living at Codfish were prepared to defend themselves, and seeing this, the invaders quickly made peace. Through interracial marriage, women were thus able to use their pivotal position between the two societies to avert conflict between their husbands and their relatives.

As well as avoiding potential conflict, for newcomer men marriage offered land and resource rights through a “ready-made kin network”. Most significantly, interracial marriage gave newcomer men the consent of local Kāi Tahu to “an untested right to use the small areas on which they dwelt.” The access to resources enabled through such relationships was an important factor rooting these men to the Foveaux Strait area, and allowed them to establish small fishing, agricultural and trading settlements around the Foveaux Strait coast. In most cases, these rights were not confirmed by formal title to the land, a fact that could lead to dispossession in later decades as a result of subsequent government purchases. Thus in the earlier part of the century interracial marriage was crucial in enabling newcomers to settle the Foveaux Strait landscape during a period in which land and resource rights continued to be defined by Kāi Tahu authority.

Despite such benefits, John Howell appeared initially reluctant to take a Māori wife, but did so after pressure from local Kāi Tahu and his fellow whalers, who felt his refusal to marry was the cause of tension with Māori. Howell agreed to marry Kohikohi despite having never met her, indicative of the influence and control that local Kāi Tahu and the wider community played in shaping interracial relationships in the early nineteenth century. Such examples highlight the fact that interracial intimacy was never divorced from the wider social and political context, and suggest that such relationships drew men into the obligations as well as the privileges associated with kinship networks. As Erik Olssen has noted, “the wider network of kin relations was

55 Reminiscences of George Davis / [transcribed by John Wixon] (Misc-MS-1988). See also ‘Death of a Centenarian’, a newspaper clipping for the obituary of Mrs Nathaniel Bates, 18, Newspaper Clippings Album, number 5, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/A/6), HL.
56 For another similar instance see also Reminiscences of George Davis / [transcribed by John Wixon] (Misc-MS-1988), HL; in which Mrs Wixon’s describes an incidence in which the wife of Big George Davis, Kutamaimai, mediated a conflict over muttonbirding rights between Lewis Acker and Taukumea.
58 Anderson, Race Against Time, 28.
59 Edward Shortland, Sub-Protector of Aborigines, quoted in Mackay, Compendium Volume I, 6; Shortland, The Southern Districts of New Zealand, 115.
60 Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi, 8-9.
paramount... and the organisation of Māori society meant ‘that marriage partnerships formed neither the primary social nor economic unit, as they did in European society’.”

However, the notion that marriage always performed a simple integrative function is contradicted by Wohlers. Discussing the reasons why the early baptisms he performed, such as that of Hinetuhawaiki, did not raise objections from Ruapuke Kāi Tahu, he states that “as the wife of a European, they had no authority over the second.”\(^6\) Such a statement suggests that interracial marriage in some ways removed these women from the web of community expectations and obligations that characterised Kāi Tahu society. Moreover, the patrilocal residence of most mixed descent families physically removed Kāi Tahu women from the local kāika. David Haines regards the resultant loss of control over the process of interracial marriage as a factor contributing to the loss of power of Kāi Tahu rākatira in the early to mid nineteenth century.\(^6\) As such, Kāi Tahu-newcomer marriages around Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island had a more complicated impact on the Foveaux Strait landscape; for while in many respects they helped incorporate newcomers and new economic opportunities into existing social networks, such marriages simultaneously ‘married out’ a large proportion of the southern Kāi Tahu population.\(^6\)

To focus solely on the economic societal functions performed by marriage is to obscure the personal and affective reasons Kāi Tahu women and newcomers entered into relationships in nineteenth century Foveaux Strait. There is substantial evidence to demonstrate the affection between men and women early interracial marriage in southern New Zealand. On visiting the Codfish Island sealers in 1844, Bishop Selwyn noted that “the great hold upon these men is their love of their children”, a belief that was reiterated by Wohlers who observed that “the love and

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\(^6\) Wohlers, Memories of the Life of J.F.H. Wohlers, 147.

\(^6\) David Haines, “Te Kāi A Te Rakatira: Kāi Tahu Leadership 1830-1844” (BA (Hons) Diss., University of Otago, 2003), 51. Haines’ findings resonant with Kate Riddell’s work in the North Island, which position marriage as a ‘control test’ for colonial power on the frontier. Riddell, “A ‘marriage’ of the races?”.

\(^6\) Sylvia Van Kirk identifies a trend from ‘marrying in’ to ‘marrying out’ in Western Canada. While a similar pattern occurs over time in southern New Zealand, these processes also happened simultaneously from the earliest Kāi Tahu-newcomer marriages. Angela Wanhall further discusses this concept in a New Zealand setting with regards to interracial marriage at Tairiri. Van Kirk, “From ‘Marrying-In’ to ‘Marrying-Out’”; Angela Wanhall, “Marrying ‘In’: The Geography of Intermarriage at Tairiri, 1830s-1920s,” in Landscape/Community: Perspectives from New Zealand History, eds. Tony Ballantyne and Judith A. Bennett (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2005), 73-94.

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devotion of Māori women to their European men is too great."65 The length of the relationships, associated with the permanent settlement of the newcomers in the region, the establishment of domestic life and attempts to provide families with material comforts suggest that these relationships were meaningful at a personal level and underpinned by affective ties. Similarly the frequent emphasis on the significance of family life within these settlements made by early observers draws attention to the positive and permanent nature of these relationships, a point returned to in subsequent chapters.66

Observers also suggested that life was materially easier for women who married newcomers than for those that married within Kāi Tahu society. Wohlers suggested that Kāi Tahu women had "an ardent desire for a decent house and family life" which underlay their engagement in interracial relationships. 67 He records:

The women seem to feel very happy in their position. At any rate their standard of living is far higher than it would be among the Māori, even if occasionally they are treated a bit more severely, which may be necessary to civilise them slightly. But not only do they have far better food and clothes to wear than among the native, they also become mothers of a number of children, while the marriages among natives are mostly barren.68

Although he speaks from a highly Eurocentric perspective, it does appear that their newcomer husbands attempted to provide materially for their wives. Wohlers comments on the many dresses brought by the Pākehā men for their wives, as well as their improved appearance and material wealth after marriage.69 Though shaped by Wohlers' emphasis on the civilisation of Kāi Tahu women, these examples draw attention to the variety of personal benefits that could be associated with interracial marriage.

The varied personal, social and economic motivations that underpinned early interracial marriages illustrate their significance beyond simple relationships of exchange during a period in which Kāi Tahu authority remained central in Foveaux Strait. The following description of the

62 Bishop Selwyn, quoted in Anderson, The Welcome of Strangers, 214; Wohlers, Letter (undated) on visit to Stewart Island and Tautuku in Report Number 14, December 21st 1847, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/018), HL.
66 Wohlers, Memories of the Life of J.F.H. Wohlers, 158, 162; Bishop Selwyn, quoted in Middleton, 32.
67 Wohlers, Memories of the Life of J.F.H. Wohlers, 170.
68 Wohlers, Report Number 10: Travel Report from 30 June to 17 July 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017), HL.
69 Wohlers, Report Number 4, May 1st 1845, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/014), HL; Wohlers, My dear friend Tucker, 144.
relationship between Puna and Thomas Chaseland encapsulates many aspects of these early interracial marriages:

Woman’s Island for the tītī (muttonbirds) of Rakiura belonged to Tuhawaiki – Parapara, who conveyed it to Puna, the wife of Chaseland or Tame Titireni, and she became the boss of the island. Her husband and she went to Chatham Islands and were wrecked. They built a boat and put sufficient food on it and came back here. She was a great tohunga and pulled one of her hairs, said a karakia and put it in the sea, so they had a safe voyage and landed at Moeraki.\(^70\)

The marriage between Puna and Chaseland was a partnership in which both were active participants. In particular, this narrative demonstrates Puna’s status and knowledge through her ability bring the pair to safety, while also highlighting the continued importance of Māori knowledge and traditions in interracial relationships. More generally, Ellison’s account illustrates that this relationship took place in what remained at this time a Māori world, in which land rights were determined according to Kāi Tahu principles and whakapapa.

**Conclusion**

Interracial marriage around Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island began early in the nineteenth century and had an extensive impact on Kāi Tahu demography and geography during this period. While at a community level such relationships acted to help integrate newcomers smoothly into the Foveaux Strait landscape, they were also motivated by a range of varied personal reasons. Given the extent and longevity of interracial marriage throughout the sealing and whaling era and their tendency to be patrilocal, these partnerships involved mutual (and generally mutually beneficial) processes of social and economic exchange between Kāi Tahu and newcomer. In this way, interracial marriage was a key site of the early colonial cultural encounter in southern New Zealand, and one which highlights the centrality of Kāi Tahu women in negotiating the place of newcomers. And, as will be seen, although Kāi Tahu-newcomer marriage throughout the nineteenth century transformed the social and cultural landscape of Foveaux Strait, it can also be conceptualised as an ongoing process of cultural adaption, continuing from

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\(^70\) Ellison, quoted in Notebook entitled, ‘Casual allusions to the whalers made by Maoris in interviews given to Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’, 2, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9), HL.
earlier iwi migrations into the area.\textsuperscript{71} The 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 the collective Kāi Tahu identity.”\textsuperscript{72}


Chapter Two: The Social World and Cultural Affiliations of Mixed Descent Families

The early colonial frontier, in New Zealand and elsewhere, is commonly depicted as a highly masculine space: the domain of hardy and adventurous men seeking escape from the urbanised and feminised space of the metropole. Recently scholars have interrogated the accuracy of this view, demonstrating, literally and symbolically, the significance of gender and intimacy on the colonial frontier. Interracial marriage foregrounds the important place of Kāi Tahu women in the emergence of the sealing and whaling industry as ‘a socio-economic complex’ in southern New Zealand. A focus on interracial marriage not only reconfigures our perception of the frontier to incorporate indigenous women as significant historical actors; it also necessitates a reconsideration of how we understand the lives of newcomers and the families they formed in the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island. This chapter explores the social world of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island in the early to mid nineteenth century in which mixed descent families lived, and pays particular attention to interracial marriage in the formation of this society. An examination of the settlement patterns and social networks of these families demonstrates the emergence of an interconnected mixed descent community during this period.

I: Locating the mixed descent population

The record of the early newcomer settlements in southern New Zealand derive primarily from observations made in letters, reports and diaries of visiting missionaries and colonial officials.  

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2 Adele Perry suggests that “perhaps the core point to emerge from the intersection of feminist and post-colonial scholarship... [is] that gender, sexuality and intimacy are constituent of, rather than merely reflective of, colonialism,” Adele Perry, “The Autocracy of Love and the Legitimacy of Empire: Intimacy, Power and Scandal in Nineteenth-Century Metlakahtlah,” Gender and History, 16, no. 2 (August 2004), 261. See also Phillippa Levine, ed., Gender and Empire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).


4 Early commentators in the 1840s and early 1850s include Edward Shortland, Sub-Protector of Aborigines, in 1843-1844; Frederick Tuckett (on the Deborah selecting a site for the Scottish Free Church settlement) in 1844; Bishop Selwyn in 1844 and 1851; Captain Stokes of the Acheron in 1850-51; Walter Mantell in 1851-52. For an overview of their visits to and observations of the region, see Edward Shortland, The Southern Districts of New Zealand: A Journal, with Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines (1851, reprinted Christchurch: Copper Press, 1974); Atholl Anderson, The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethnohistory of southern Māori A.D. 1650-1850 (Dunedin: 30
These visitors arrived in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island after mixed descent families had been established in the region for years, and their (sometimes contradictory) descriptions of the communities they encountered were crucial in shaping the official view of the mixed descent population in the area, and are now used as key historical sources on nineteenth century Kāi Tahu history. 

Of particular significance are the extensive letters, reports and registers of Johannes Wohlers, a North German missionary who established a non-denomination mission on Ruapuke in 1844. Unlike his contemporaries, who were visitors to the area, Wohlers was embedded within the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island community, living among the Kāi Tahu and mixed descent families of the area for over forty years. His reflections on life in the area provide rich and intimate detail at a level not found in the writings of temporary visitors. Indeed, the highly personal aspects of Wohlers’ experiences as a solitary European man within the Kāi Tahu community emerge strongly in his writing. 5 His views on race, civilisation and gender roles also permeate his reports, in which the families and communities he encounters are assessed against his European and Christian worldview. 6 Given that the voices of most mixed descent families in the early to mid-nineteenth century are largely absent from the archive, Wohlers’ historical record provides the most depth on the lives and experience of these individuals.

In his visitations throughout the area in the 1840s and 1850s, Wohlers recorded communities of mixed descent families living at Jacob’s River/Aparima, Bluff/Awarua, Oreti/New River, Oue and Tautuku on the northern coast of Foveaux Strait; Otaku, Smoky Cove, and later The Neck, Port Williams and Halfmoon Bay on Stewart Island (see Map 2). 7 Many of these settlements were initially whaling stations, or later, at strategic coastal points, the centres of maritime trading and construction industries. Interracial communities were generally small in size, initially


5 Wohlers was a single missionary upon his arrival in New Zealand. In 1849 he married Eliza Palmer of Wellington, who he felt would be both a helpmate in his missionary endeavours on Ruapuke and an essential safeguard against the temptation of local women. Wohlers, Report Number 12, September 10th 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017), HL.


7 Wohlers, Report Number 10: Travel Report from 30 June to 17 July 1846 and Report Number 12, September 10th 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017); Wohlers, Report Number 14, December 21st 1847, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/018); Wohlers, Letter to Committee of Administration, June 5th 1855, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/025), HL; Anderson, The Welcome of Strangers, 183.
consisting of somewhere between two and ten families, or up to ninety inhabitants.\textsuperscript{8} The small size of these settlements in itself suggests connections may have existed between those families living within close proximity. It is particularly notable that none of the mixed descent families lived in complete geographic isolation.\textsuperscript{9} Moreover, Wohlers notes that a number of families shared households at The Neck on Stewart Island.\textsuperscript{10} At Murray’s River on the east of Stewart Island, Bishop Selwyn noted a “good roomy house – 4 Englishmen living there with native women” in 1844.\textsuperscript{11}

Connected to the early colonial resource economies, these communities were generally in locations separate from existing Kāi Tahu kāika. In contrast to the coastal stations, Anderson notes that southern kāika tended to be orientated around the location of mahika kai, or during the early decades of the nineteenth century, strategically located in relation to iwi politics and conflict.\textsuperscript{12} Nevertheless, physical separation of communities was not indicative of isolation. The newer settlements were often close to Kāi Tahu villages, while there was also significant movement of the Kāi Tahu population toward the whaling stations and early towns in order to take advantage of the associated economic and social opportunities.\textsuperscript{13} As well as having a significant level of involvement in the whaling industry, Kāi Tahu also established significant potato cultivations in order to trade with local stations.\textsuperscript{14}

Indeed, the significant overlap between the spaces in which Kāi Tahu and newcomers existed is highlighted by the multiple and overlapping place names of early settlement sites. Present-day Riverton in the nineteenth century was called Jacob’s River (after a now unknown early inhabitant) and Aparima interchangeably. Although these names were often applied

\textsuperscript{8} In 1846, Jacob’s River was the largest, and also one of the oldest, settlements in the area boasting ninety inhabitants. Bluff/Awarua had a population of around forty. The size of other settlements were estimated by the number of households and families: The Neck had eleven households, some with multiple families and around 24 ‘half-caste’ children; Otaku and Tautuku both had six families, while New River/Oue consisted of just two. Wohlers, Report Number 10: Travel Report from 30 June to 17 July 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017); Wohlers, Report Number 14, December 21\textsuperscript{st} 1847, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/018); Wohlers, Letter to Committee of Administration, June 5\textsuperscript{th} 1855, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/025), HL.

\textsuperscript{9} The only exception is the Acker household in Horseshoe Bay, where Wohlers noted during the baptism of William, Henry, Mary Ann and Oliver that, “this being a solitary place there were no godfathers to be found.” Ruapeke Registers Vol. 1 Baptisms, 1856-1885, 8 (Entries 106-109).

\textsuperscript{10} J.F.H. Wohlers, Report Number 10: Travel Report from 30 June to 17 July 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017), HL.

\textsuperscript{11} Angela Middleton, Two Hundred Years on Codfish Island (Whenuahou) – from Cultural Encounter to Nature Reserve (Invercargill: Department of Conservation Southland Conservancy, 2007), 33.

\textsuperscript{12} Anderson, The Welcome of Strangers, 184, 211.

\textsuperscript{13} Shortland, Southern Districts of New Zealand, 40; Anderson, The Welcome of Strangers, 211.

\textsuperscript{14} Anderson, Welcome of Strangers, 211; Shortland, Southern Districts of New Zealand, 40.
indiscriminately, official Henry Tacy Clarke makes a clear distinction between the whaling station (Jacob’s River) on one side of the river, and the Kāi Tahu kāika (Aparima) on the other. The multiple names applied to these settlements suggests that categorisations of the landscape into settler and indigenous spaces was often complicated by the actual mobility of Kāi Tahu and mixed descent families during this period. Despite this, across the nineteenth century whaling stations sites, in which the majority of early mixed descent families lived, became known primarily by their European names, indicating that they were colonized (rather than Kāi Tahu) spaces, at least in the minds of those who held the power to name and map the early colony.

Map 2: Settlements of mixed descent families in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, 1840s and 1850s, based on Wohlers’ reports and recorded residences of families in Appendix A.

As well as geographic proximity, there was a great deal of fluidity between mixed descent and Kāi Tahu settlements throughout the early nineteenth century. Kāi Tahu employees in whaling and other maritime industries, as well as relatives of the wives and children of newcomers, were

15 Henry Tacy Clarke, ‘Copy of Mr Clarke’s Report on the Condition of the Ngāi Tahu Tribe,’ in Alexander Mackay, Compendium of Official Documents relative to Native Affairs in the South Island Volume II (Wellington: Government Printer, 1872), 89. See also Wohlers, ‘Visit to Māori Villages on Mainland, 20/12/1857 – 20/1/1858’, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/026), HL.
often present in settlements of mixed descent families, at least temporarily. At The Neck in 1846, Wohlers observed there were “No natives here with the exception of the wives of the European men and some relations of these women who in this case must be considered members of the family.” Similarly, a number of mixed descent families also lived temporarily or permanently within Kāi Tahu kāika. For example, John Kelly and Hinetuhawaiki/Mary were living on Ruapuke on Wohlers’ arrival in 1844, having previously established a trading post there in association with George and Kirihauatatu/Susan Moss. Indeed, Wohlers described Ruapuke as “a kind of gathering place where everybody, native or European who crosses through these waters comes ashore.” This description is one that could be aptly applied to the various mixed descent settlements in the Foveaux Strait area, which were characterised by frequent coming and going of local Kāi Tahu, visiting whalers and traders, as well as Wohlers himself.

Though observers like Wohlers make clear distinctions between native and ‘mixed’ spaces in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, such geographical distance did not represent social distance between the communities. George Howell recounts the familiar presence of a proportion of the Kāi Tahu kaik living on his father’s land, a reflection of the mutual social obligations between Kāi Tahu and newcomers that were created and sustained through interracial marriage. John Howell provided for these families “because it was his duty to do so. It was their land. He was only making use of it.” Howell’s first marriage to Kohikohi brought him a grant of land of 50,000 acres around the Jacob’s River area, providing him with wealth and status within colonial society. According to Kāi Tahu custom, newcomers integrated into the iwi through marriage were given trusteeship, rather than full ownership over the land, a fact clearly recognised by Howell. As George Howell’s memories attest, until the 1864 Rakiura purchase the world in which these mixed descent families lived was one that existed close to, and was in many ways governed by the norms and authority, of Kāi Tahu society.

16 Wohlers, Report Number 10: Travel Report from 30 June to 17 July 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017), HL.
17 F.G. Hall-Jones, Invercargill Pioneers (Invercargill: Southland Historical Committee, 1946), 17.
18 Wohlers, First Quarterly Report, May 1st 1845, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/014), HL. See also J.F.H. Wohlers, Memories of the life of J.F.H. Wohlers: Missionary at Ruapuke: An Autobiography, trans. John Houghton (Dunedin: Otago Daily Times and Witness Newspapers, 1895), 101. Wohlers frequently describes Ruapuke as a ‘centre or gathering place’ and it is from this description that the dissertation title is drawn.
20 Shortland, Southern Districts of New Zealand, 97 and 115.
II: Familial and social worlds

The frequent movement between and around Kāi Tahu kāika and mixed descent settlements indicates the formation of a community connected by broad social and economic ties. However, these mixed descent settlements had some notable differences in household and community life, representing an integration of Kāi Tahu and newcomer social practices within the context of interracial relationships. Continued intermarriage along with mutually supportive social networks seen in the practice of whākai (fostering) build a clear picture of the strong community networks that existed between mixed descent families. As such, during the early and mid nineteenth century, an emergent ‘sub-culture’ of interconnected mixed descent family can be identified in the Foveaux Strait region, comparable to that identified by Judith Binney in the eastern Bay of Plenty.  

The first child born at Whenua Hou was Thomas Brown in 1827, the son of Captain Robert Brown and Wharerimu. Many more mixed descent children were born to other couples in subsequent years. Growing up together, these mixed descent children held lifelong connections, which were reflected and reinforced by cross-generational interracial marriages. Some newcomers married the mixed descent children of their sealing companions after the death of their first Māori partner. Shortly after the death of his wife Puna in 1850, Thomas Chaseland married Pakawhatu/Margaret Antoni, the daughter of ‘Portugee’ Joseph Antoni and Pura/Esther Leah. Two of George Printz’s three wives were of mixed descent: Catherine Risetto (daughter of Lewis Acker and Mary Pi) and Matilda (daughter of John Howell and Caroline/Koronaki). Moreover, those women of mixed descent who married Europeans commonly married newcomers associated with the social and economic world of their fathers. One such example is the marriage of Ellen Anglem to Captain Patrick Gilroy, in 1847. Subsequent to the death of her

21 Judith Binney, “‘In-between’ lives: studies from within a colonial society,” in Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts, ed. Tony Ballantyne and Brian Maloughney (Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2006), 95.
22 Atholl Anderson, Race Against Time: The early Māori-Pōkehā families and the development of the mixed-race population in southern New Zealand (Dunedin: Hocken Library, 1990), 5.
24 Printz’s first wife was Kāi Tahu woman Pokuru. Hall-Jones, Invercargill Pioneers 1946, 39; see Appendix A.
father Captain William Andrew Anglem, the Gilroys lived together with the wider Anglem family on their Bluff land, continuing to whale together.\textsuperscript{25}

Moreover, Kā Tahu and mixed descent men frequently found employment on whaling vessels, and later, in ship-building enterprises through such kinship connections. For example, John Howell managed Johnny Jones’ station at Jacob’s River, but while he was engaged in overseeing his pastoral runs, his mixed descent brother-in-law Captain Thomas Brown and Captain ‘Paddy’ Gilroy acted as the station managers as well as captaining whaling ships.\textsuperscript{26} These relationships suggest that the early Foveaux Strait whaling and trading industries were maintained through a complex of both economic and social networks, and demonstrate that although interracial marriage was frequently gendered female for the local community, it also offered mixed descent men particular social and economic opportunities.

The tendency for mixed descent children to marry others of mixed descent was even more common during this period.\textsuperscript{27} The marriages between children of the early mixed descent families solemnized by Wohlers (recorded in Appendix B) suggest the significant interconnections between these families. One of the earliest of these marriages was between Elizabeth (as known as Noki, Betty or Lisbeth) Honour, the daughter of Joseph Honour and one of his Māori wives, Popoia, and Joseph Newton, the son of George Newton and Wharetutu/Anne, at Ruapuke in 1855. The other children of George and Wharetutu who survived into adulthood also married into other local mixed descent families, including Lee, Wybrow, Davis, and Whaitiri.\textsuperscript{28} During an 1855 visit to Jacob’s Creek/Aparima, Wohlers observed that almost all the families living in the community of about a hundred were related by marriage, an observation that probably held true.

\textsuperscript{25} See ‘Statement made by Patrick Gilroy, Ellen Gilroy (nee Anglem), John Parker and wife Elizabeth (nee Anglem), William Anglem Junior and Christopher Anglem, all of Bluff Harbour,’ in Case files – Addenda [William Andrew Anglem, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 19 A), ANZW.

\textsuperscript{26} Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi, 36.

\textsuperscript{27} J.F.H. Wohlers, My Dear Friend Tuckett: letters from a Foveaux Strait outpost in the 1850s, ed. Sheila Natusch. (Wellington: Nestegg Books; Christchurch: Nag’s Head Press, 1998-1999), 144; Anderson, Race Against Time, 9; Anderson, Welcome of Strangers, 195. In subsequent decades, marriages between mixed descent individuals and Pākehā also became increasingly common throughout the nineteenth century, particularly when the settler population in the Southland region increased.

\textsuperscript{28} Lew Dawson, Taproots Revisited: The Whakapapa of Wharetutu and George Newton, 1828 to the Present (Invercargill: Taproots Research, 1986). Other genealogies speak of similar interconnections between mixed descent families in each of the mixed descent settlements, while the fact that the Bragg, Owen and Robert family histories were written together illustrates the close relationships between these families. June McDougall, Bragg, Owen and Robert Families: Stewart Island Settlers (Dunedin: June McDougall, 1998).
for most mixed descent settlements in the area. Such kinship ties are indicative of lasting affinity between mixed descent individuals, either through family association within the context of the sealing and whaling industries, or from similar experiences and identities.

Aside from continued marriage, social support networks within the Foveaux Strait mixed descent community were created and reinforced by continued practices of whākai (fostering) and godparents. Whākai means literally to ‘nurture’ or ‘nourish, feed and raise’. The practice of whākai, or foster care, was common within Kāi Tahu society, and could function to relieve family stress, to strengthen whānau structures, as well as to benefit childless couples. It should be distinguished from European notions of adoption involving complete removal from biological parents and the attempted recreation of a normative nuclear family. By contrast, tamariki whākai (fostered children) retained knowledge of their whakapapa and associated rights, and social parents tended to be members of the same community. John Carter and Hinewaieriki, of Whenua Hou and later Papatiki, never had biological children but cared for Sarah Owen, Jane Dallas and Charlotte Goodwillie at different times during the 1850s. The Howell family took in the children of James Leader and his Māori wife after they were orphaned, until the son was able to manage his father’s farm at Gummies Bush and the daughters were married. In other instances, mixed descent children in the region were cared for by Kāi Tahu relatives on Ruapuke either if orphaned, or in order to attend the school that opened there in 1868. Whākai within the mixed descent community in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island reveal not only the social ties and support networks maintained between these families, but also with Kāi Tahu during the early nineteenth century.

Like the settlements as a whole, the households of mixed descent families were generally open and fluid during this period, reflecting both Kāi Tahu traditions of hospitality and the mobile social networks of the early resource-based economy. William Spencer’s recollections of

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29 Wohlers, Letter to Committee of Administration, June 5th 1855, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/025), HL.
30 Hana O'Regan, Ko Tahu, Ko Au: Kāi Tahu Tribal Identity (Christchurch: Horomaka Publishing, 2001), 55.
33 Wilson, Hakore Ki Te Iwi, 33-34. Other examples are listed in Appendix A.
34 Wohlers, Letter to Inspector Zahn, October 31st 1868, Wohlers Papers (MS-0967/027), HL; “Ruapuke Island. Chief a Remarkable Man IV,” The Mataura Ensign, July 3rd 1937, 15-16, Newspaper clipping album, number 13, James Herries Beattie Papers, (MS-582/A/13), HL.
growing up in Bluff during the 1840s and 1850s evoke this fluidity. He describes his father Jimmy Spencer (Timi Katoa) as

A man of unbounded hospitality whose residence... was the mecca of seafaring men and immigrants, and whose expressions of profuse welcome earned him his nickname, the literal interpretation of which is “Welcome”... My father’s house accommodated many people who were afterwards to be favoured by fortune in their farming ventures.\(^{35}\)

The hospitable and stable sense of community relationships recalled by William Spencer echoes the positive perception of the Foveaux Strait and Stewart Island/Rakiura held by most of the earlier visitors to the region. These communities were viewed as well-ordered and law-abiding in the sense that they were governed by an internal social discipline. Immediately prior to the Rakiura purchase, surveyor and crown agent for the Rakiura purchase, Theophilus Heale, described The Neck as “a little community which has grown up entirely without aid or care from the government, and which is remarkable for the general good order of its members.”\(^{36}\) Such descriptions situated the early mixed descent families as colonists and pioneers, through an emphasis on discipline, work and independence. The disruption of this order with increased settlement was a key factor necessitating the purchase of Rakiura/Stewart Island.\(^{37}\)

The descriptions of the Foveaux Strait made by Wohlers and Shortland also represent a peaceful and productive social world, often centred around family. On his arrival at Ruapuke Wohlers found

forty to fifty Europeans living on the shores of Foveaux Strait that had been engaged in whaling and sealing, but this business was already on the decline, and most of them had settled down, built houses, cultivated gardens, reared pigs, goats and poultry, and bartered their surplus products to whaling vessels for clothing and other necessities.\(^{38}\)

During his 1843 visit, Edward Shortland wrote of Jacob’s River/Aparima

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\(^{36}\) Theophilus Heale to Superintendent Southland, February 15\(^{th}\) 1864, in Mackay, *Compendium Volume II*, 56, italics added.


\(^{38}\) J.F.H. Wohlers, quoted in Mackay, *Compendium Volume I*, 21.
The huts of the residents were built on the southern slope of some well wooded hills, and being white-washed, and having near them green enclosures of corn and potatoes, presented, while shone on by the morning sun, the most smiling and refreshing aspect imaginable.  

Shortland and Wohlers draw attention to the transformation of the region into a productive and settled agricultural landscape by the early newcomers and their families. This was an important factor in establishing claims over the land in the view of a colonial administration which emphasised cultivation as the defining feature of land ownership, and one utilised by these families in subsequent land claims.

Wohlers frequently highlights cleanliness, health and presentation as virtues of mixed descent households and families to contrast the ‘uncivilised’ state of Kāi Tahu families, though these generalisations are perhaps more a reflection of his own cultural biases. Nevertheless, such accounts present a sharp contrast to early descriptions of northern settlements like Kororareka and the Bay of Islands, often characterised for licentious and lewd behaviour. In contrast to renegade ‘Pākehā-Māori’, who had abandoned the mores of European civilisation, the newcomer husbands and fathers of mixed descent families in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island were “a very respectable and industrious body”: the breadwinners and providers for their families.

However, accounts of drunkenness among the newcomers were frequently observed by visiting officials and missionaries. Shortland records that Thomas Chaseland, his steersman in Foveaux Strait, got “beastly drunk” after having been ashore less than two hours, at which point they were forced to return to sea. Indeed, accusations of drunkenness were perhaps the most common criticism levelled at the early newcomers, especially in the eyes of missionaries. Wohlers

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40 Wohlers, *Memories of the Life of J.F.H. Wohlers*, 161, 170. Atholl Anderson notes that missionary observations in particular were “predisposed to see evidence of acculturation in European ways as behaviour worthy of approval, while retention of Māori ways was often deplored”; an observation clearly borne out by the comparisons of mixed descent and ‘native’ families made by Wohlers. Anderson, *Race Against Time*, 25.
42 Bishop Selwyn, quoted in Middleton, 33; see also F.G. Hall-Jones, *Historical Southland*, 78.
commonly expressed frustration during visitations around Foveaux Strait that while the Kāi Tahu women were present at his services, their husbands were too inebriated to attend.\textsuperscript{44} By contrast family memories frame aspects of communal social life around the production and consumption of alcohol, highlighting the difference in social values of these men from that of the missionaries.\textsuperscript{45}

Through drunkenness may been a characteristic feature of life in these communities, Wohlers (amongst others) emphasises the positive moderating influence of family life on the men who settled with Kāi Tahu women in the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island region who “lived peaceably and respectfully amongst the Maoris as decent fathers of families.”\textsuperscript{46} Moreover, there is a conspicuous absent of violence recorded in the official archival record. Along with the general observations of lawfulness, this suggests affectionate family and interpersonal relationships existed within the mixed descent community. However, such generalisations are complicated by family accounts which hint at more diverse, and at times least positive, experiences within these households, such as suggestions of domestic violence in the Bates family history.\textsuperscript{47}

Observers emphasise that a particular form of respectable and productive masculinity existed within most mixed descent families in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island. These observers saw a positive association between Christian values and the industrious, clean and healthy mixed descent households they visited; and positioned the newcomer men not only as providers, but as civilising agents within their families. These descriptions contrast with the accounts of drunkenness, which highlight a very different form of masculinity. The failure to attend missionary services and continual drinking were seen as evidence of the ‘uncouth’ and morally degraded position of the whalers and sealers, who were seen as much in need of religion and ‘civilisation’ as their Kāi Tahu wives. While unflattering portrayals of these men as uncouth and uncivilised recur throughout discussions of the whaling settlements, it is the role of these men as fathers that is foregrounded. Bishop Selwyn claimed ‘whalefishers’ had a “standard of

\textsuperscript{44} Wohlers, Ruapuke Report Number Seven, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/014), HL; Wohlers, Report Number Twelve, September 10th 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017), HL.
\textsuperscript{45} Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi, 13-15.
\textsuperscript{47} Linda J. Scott, Finlay Bayne and Michael J. F. Connor, Nathaniel Bates of Riverton: His Families and Descendants (Christchurch: Bates Reunion Committee, 1994), 6, 8.
Marriage was thus a key site for cultural exchange in nineteenth-century Foveaux Strait. While
the mission station, whaling station, and trading post were important sites of early colonial
encounter, the home is a setting that has been frequently overlooked within histories of encounter
in New Zealand. In the home the transfer of language and cultural knowledge occurred. The
ability of mixed-descent individuals to act as translators and interpreters for early missionaries
and visitors reflects the earlier acquisition of English language in a bilingual home environment,
especially given that Māori served as the lingua franca of the area throughout much of the
nineteenth century. The young son of John Kelly and Hinetuhawaiki became Wohlers’
translator until the missionary gained fluency in Māori. Fluency in English meant mixed
descent children at times also assisted their Kāi Tahu family in bridging the cultural and linguistic
divide in order to correspond with colonial officials and other contacts within colonial society,
such as in petitions and letters regarding land grants. The ability to write to officials and
historians indicates that these mixed-descent children also received some education equipping
them with the skills to engage with the realm of colonial administration and government, and
allowing them to navigate between colonial and Kāi Tahu society.

Language was often retained, and traditions and knowledge were not always lost though the
process of interracial marriage, as Kāi Tahu mothers frequently served as significant sources of
social and cultural knowledge. The kinship ties and cultural affiliations with Kāi Tahu through
the mother’s side were maintained by mixed-descent families in multiple different ways,
indicative of a two-way process of cultural exchange within the intimate domains of the home. In
1918, Walter Douglas Joss wrote to James Herries Beattie requesting a copy of a Māori lullaby

48 Bishop Selwyn, quoted in Anderson The Welcome of Strangers, 214.
49 Given the diversity of newcomers in the early Foveaux Strait sealing and whaling industry (from predominantly
Britain but also Australia, America, Portugal and Lithuania), the area was a “melting pot of languages”, with Māori
providing the common means of communication. Lee family file, RM; Anderson Race Against Time; McDougall,
Bragg Owen and Robert Families; Stewart Island Settlers.
50 Wohlers, Memories of the Life of J.F.H. Wohlers, 104-105.
51 A number of mixed-descent individuals assisted in writing petitions regarding land claims on behalf of the wider
community, as will be discussed in Chapter Three. In other cases, mixed-descent children facilitate communication
between their Kāi Tahu mothers and settler society. For example, Margaret Wixon wrote to historian F.G. Frederick
Hall-Jones to provide information on behalf of her mother Teakikaikai/Emma. M. Wixon to Mr Hall-Jones, 8/7/42,
Letters from Maoris and Halfcastes, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/B/10), HL.
remembered from his youth. Joss' knowledge of Māori lullabies reveal much of the cultural milieu in which the first generation of mixed descent children were raised, signalling a continuation of aspects of Kāi Tahu culture with the homes of mixed descent families. Indeed, many individuals of mixed descent remained most comfortable communicating in Māori than in English, as is evidenced in letters written to Beattie and to colonial officials regarding land claims. Mixed-descent individuals were also key informants of James Herries Beattie, an early Southland historian, and provided him with Māori place names, whakapapa, history and songs. The continuation of such cultural knowledge at least within the first generation of mixed descent families highlights the importance of Kāi Tahu women as wives and mothers in maintaining knowledge of language, whakapapa, history and associated traditions.

Throughout the early and mid-nineteenth century, whakapapa remained a defining source of social identity for many mixed descent individuals, just as it did for Kāi Tahu. The connection through their mothers allowed mixed descent families continued access to iwi resources, and many mixed descent families utilised some of these rights throughout the nineteenth and twentieth century. In particular, Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island mixed descent families asserted their membership of the Kāi Tahu whānui through seasonal harvesting of tītī (muttonbirds) on the some of the twenty-one tītī islands surrounding Rakiura, which acted as a means through which tribal identity and networks were maintained. The Bragg, Bates, Stirling, Gilroy, Anglem families, represented by a member of the Ellison/Erihana family, all attempted to affirm their hereditary claims to tītī harvesting in early Land Court sessions in Invercargill, while Thomas Spencer and James Wixon lead a deputation to the government in 1913 requesting that the southern tītī industry be protected by tariff. In the personal histories of mixed descent families, individual and family participation in the traditional tītī economy are constantly

52 Walter Douglas Joss to James Herries Beattie, 20th April 1918, Letters from Maoris and Halfcastes, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/B/10), HL.
53 See Letters from Maoris and Half-castes, James Herries Beattie Papers, (MS-582/B/10), HL; and in Volume of papers relating to Native Reserves, especially the claims for half-caste natives in the South Island (MA-MT 6 Box 15), ANZW.
54 In the acknowledgments for a series on Kāi Tahu history and society published in the Otago Daily Times in the 1930s, the majority of the individuals that Herries Beattie credits are of mixed descent. James Herries Beattie, “The Southern Māori. Stray Papers. LIII - Acknowledgements,” May 2nd 1931, Otago Daily Times, 58-59, Newspaper clippings album, number 7, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/A/7), HL.
56 Newspaper cutting, May 31 1909, 13, Newspaper clippings album, number 5, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/A/5), HL.
highlighted, asserting a continuation between Kāi Tahu tūpuna (ancestors) and descendants today. 57

III: The impact of the growing settler world

Despite developing separate communities around new economic bases, interracial families retained strong connections with Kāi Tahu relatives and society, a relationship that altered as land sales and the pace of European settlement in the region increased. As the century progressed, this integration of two cultural traditions within the intimate setting of the family increasingly became the source of ambivalence for mixed descent individuals. Many of the tensions surrounding the social world and cultural affiliation of mixed descent individuals at mid century are exemplified by the experience of the Howell family of Jacob’s River/Aparima, which illustrates how class and respectability became of increasing importance as settler society became established in the southern regions from the 1850s. The Howell family has left a substantial imprint on the historical record, in the form of land claims, probates, family memories and contemporaneous observations made by Wohlers. 58 It is possible, therefore, to reconstruct aspects of the historical experience of this family in reasonable detail.

Drawing on the experience of his second wife, Caroline/Koronaki Brown, an exploration of these tensions reveals the pressures on mixed descent individuals to conform to particular societal norms as the values and institutions of European settlers increasingly replaced those of Kāi Tahu around Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island. I argue that the influences on mixed descent individuals, from within their families and from outsiders, altered significantly from the period of the first interracial unions in the 1820s, to the 1860s. Around the time of the Rakiura purchase, the non-Māori population first equalled and then exceeded that of the Māori population, in a


58 Case files - Addenda [Caroline Howell, Port William, Stewart Island, Eyre Mountain] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 2A), ANZW; Probate for HOWELL John - Fairlight Station – Runholder, 1876 (DAFG 9066 D328 Box 2 Record 76 and 93); Probate for HOWELL Caroline – Riverton, 1899 (DAFG 9071 D328 Box 324 Record 617) and Probate for HOWELL Caroline – Riverton – Widow, 1899 (DAFG 9066 D328 Box 11 908), Archives New Zealand, Dunedin (hereafter ANZD); Wilson, *Hakoro Ki Te Iwi*; Eva Wilson, “Howell, John 1810? – 1874.” *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, http://www.dnzb.govt.nz.
process popularly termed ‘swamping’. This demographic shift began in earnest in southern New Zealand with the beginnings of the Scottish Free Church settlement in Otago in 1848. The arrival of increasing numbers of European men, and later women and families, changed the dynamics of interracial marriage throughout the Foveaux Strait area.

Despite being established later than the other southern whaling stations, by the time of Wohlers’ visit in 1846 the Jacob’s River/Aparima settlement had become the largest and arguably most successfully in coastal Foveaux Strait, bringing in larger quantities of oil than other stations as well as expanding into pastoralism in the surrounding plains. As the manager of the Jacob’s River/Aparima whaling station from 1836, Captain John Howell was considered an influential force behind the success of the station and the founding father of Riverton. Through his leadership within the whaling world, his prominent marriage to Kohikohi, his substantial landholdings (gained through marriage) and his successful agricultural ventures in the Southland area, Howell established himself as a member of a small southern colonial gentry. As a result, John Howell and family are frequently mentioned among the pioneer families of the region in local histories. Yet most of these optimistic accounts overlook the tensions and ambivalences experienced within the Howell family home, as John sought to refashion himself from whaling elite to pastoral gentleman. Though other men within the whaling world had similarly successful careers, a number died young and therefore did not live through the significant changes to the Foveaux Strait world of the 1850s and 1860s.

At the age of thirteen, the ‘dainty and attractive’ daughter of Captain Robert Brown and Wharerimu of Whenua Hou/Codfish Island, Caroline/Koronaki Brown, became the second wife of John Howell according to native custom at Jacob’s River on August 10th 1845. Wohlers visited Caroline not long after the couple’s formal European marriage at Waikouaiti in 1846:

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61 F.G. Hall-Jones’ *Historical Southland*, 46, 49, 94 and 102-3; John Hall-Jones, *The South Explored: An Illustrated History of New Zealand’s Deep South* (Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1979), 47-49, 124-126; J.C. Thompson, *Records of Early Riverton and District* (Invercargill: Southland Times Co. for Riverton Celebrations Ltd, 1937), 5. The most comprehensive family history, including the personal memories of George Howell, is recorded by descendant Eva Wilson in *Hakoro Ki Te Iwi*, which I have found an invaluable source detailing the experiences of the family in the nineteenth century.
63 Eva Wilson, *Hakoro Ki Te Iwi*, 23.
She has lost her father when she was a child, and hence she has grown up among the natives without any European education. She does not know any English but that which she has learnt during the few months of her marriage. Howell wants to civilise her and to make her outstanding among other women. Hence he does not allow her to sit around among the other natives, nor to attend the Māori church services which are lead by a native teacher. This however is not hostility against Christianity but he won’t permit that his wife should sit among the natives and he does not want that the native teacher should exercise a popish compulsion on her faith... Caroline’s situation makes her indeed somewhat lonely; for she does not know, how to behave among the European women, of whom there are three in this place and hence she does not feel comfortable in their company. She is not allowed to keep close contact with the natives. Neither yet is she conscious of her status. Hence I tried to fill her with pride and put it to her that she was superior to the other women of this settlement. She was the wife of a gentleman and hence must not associate with women who stood far below her. One should think that such exhortations would impress the heart of a young and pretty women but I could not notice any such impression. If she would have her own way, she would bother very little with the household, but would sit among the natives most of the time. She really is still too young.  

Although not in her own words, Wohlers’ record of Caroline’s married life suggests a great deal about the social world of mixed descent families in southern New Zealand. Caroline/Koronaki’s narrative reveals much about the intimate aspects of family life in interracial partnerships, and about the many value judgments made about her behaviour, both as a woman of mixed descent and as a wife of a ‘gentleman’, by outside observers like Wohlers. Despite the pleasure that many found in interracial partnerships, the differing values and expectations held by Māori and Pākehā could also be source of conflict, not only in colonial society generally, but also at the familial and personal level within interracial relationships.

In many ways, the marriage of Caroline/Koronaki and Captain John Howell was typical of the trends in interracial marriage in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island in the mid nineteenth century. Remarriage within the community was frequent, given the fact that many Kāi Tahu

64 Wohlers, Report Number 12, September 10th 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017), HL.
wives died at a younger age than their partners, while newcomer husbands were frequently
drowned or lost at sea due to the dangerous nature of the early sealing and whaling industry.
Many individuals in the area had multiple partners during this period as a result. Whether
simply because of the relative number of young mixed descent women, personal preferences or
social attitudes, the second and subsequent partners of male newcomers in the region were
predominantly mixed descent or European. Similarly, the majority of the first generation of
mixed descent children married either other mixed descent individuals, or European men as
Caroline/Koronaki did, rather than Kāi Tahu.

The patterns of interracial marriage engaged in by Howell demonstrate that the social world of
mixed descent families was not static and unchanging. The presence of three European women in
Riverton in 1846 heralds a marked departure from the earlier decades of sealing and whaling in
which newcomers to the region were strictly male. The resultant changes on the social and
economic landscape had significant effects on the mixed descent population. Issues of education
and status gained greater importance for many mixed descent families, often emphasised by
Pākehā husbands and fathers concerned about their standing, and that of their children, in the
rapidly changing colonial society. For others, the issue of land ownership took on much greater
importance, for many mixed descent individuals found themselves in a state of poverty and
landlessness as surveying, government land sales and agricultural settlement expanded. In this
context, a division emerged between mixed descent families who remained embedded in the Kāi
Tahu and whaling environment, and those who sought to retain the pre-eminence they held
during the whaling era as this world was increasingly replaced as systematic European settlement
grew.

Increasing European settlement coincided with the decreased profitability of whaling. As a result,
John Howell increasingly focused his attention to pastoral development around the Jacob’s
River/Aparima area, utilising the 50,000 acres of land extending from Fairfax to Wrey’s Bush he
was gifted upon his first marriage to Kohikohi. Indeed, the land holdings gained through this

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65 These include Nathaniel Bates, William Palmer, George Printz, Hineawhitia, Waa and others, whose relationships are
detailed in Appendix A.
66 Anderson, Race Against Time, 9.
67 Ibid., 11.
68 Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi, 10. His second marriage also brought Howell access to land given to Caroline/Koronaki
Brown by Horomona Patu at Port William on Rakiraki/Stewart Island, which was eventually secured through an Old
Land Claim and exchanged for a grant around Eyre Mountain. See Walter Pearson to Land Claims Commissioner,
marriage gave him a significant material advantage and were a crucial factor enabling his transition to a colonial gentleman. From the mid 1840s, Howell began to import sheep and cattle from New South Wales and he increasingly focused his energy on his pastoral runs. At the time of his death in 1874 he held “106,000 acres of Leasehold land and 1000 acres of Freehold land, together with 40,000 sheep and 1,000 head of cattle in the Wakatipu area, besides an extensive area of land in the Riverton locality.” The wealth generated through these estates enabled Howell to provide his family with the right cultural capital, the right education and connections to maintain their privileged social and economic position throughout the nineteenth century.

Howell’s desire to distinguish his family as the leading family within the community was reflected in the changing space of the Jacob’s River area, as the settlement was transformed from whaling station to township. This transformation was mirrored by a shift in the heart of the European and mixed settlement to the north side of the river, initiated when Howell built “a home more befitting a prosperous landowner” on what is now Riverton’s main street in 1847. Many other families followed Howell’s lead and moved to the north side of the river, marking the beginning of the township in its present form. In the 1860s, the Howell family shifted again to a stately homestead on the Fairlight run (Run 352). Their Riverton property was retained as a ‘town house’, a reflection of the family’s wealth and their attempt to replicate the lifestyle of the upper class in the metropole.

For other mixed descent families too, housing provided a visible means of demonstrating material wealth and status. At Halfmoon Bay on Stewart Island, Lewis Acker had a cottage constructed of stone transported in from New River at great difficulty, which became known as ‘Ackers Castle’. Similarly the weatherboard home of James Spencer and Mere Kauri stood out as a sign of affluence among the other thatched houses in Bluff. The homes of mixed descent families were the sites of important social functions within the early community, as they hosted

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Wellington, November 17th 1870, Case files – Addenda [Caroline Howell, Port William, Stewart Island, Eyre Mountain] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 2A).

69 Obituary in New Zealand Mail, August 29th 1874. See also Eva Wilson, “Howell, John 1810? – 1874.” Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, www.dnzb.govt.nz; and Probate for HOWELL John – Fairlight Station – Runholder, 1876 (DAFG 9066 D328 Box 2 76 and 93), ANZD.

70 Wilson, Hakore Ki Te Iwi, 23, 25-26.

71 Ibid., 31-32.

72 Acker Family, 1834-1984, 12.

73 Ellis, 20-21.
missionary services and accommodated numerous guests. The house was thus a key space in which such families could display affluence, respectability and social refinement, attested to by family memories of the extensive social gatherings held within the Howell homestead.

As his economic ventures indicate, John Howell was clearly amongst those men who sought to transform their families into respectable members of settler society, a fact also reflected in the education he sought for his children. In the 1840s, Howell established a small informal school at Jacob's River/Aparima, with one of the more educated whalers, John Lidyard, as schoolmaster. Although his own children gained a basic education within the settlement, Howell sought a much more extensive education for them. Howell sent his eldest son George to live with his friend William Portland in Sydney to be educated alongside the Portland children. The social graces learnt here earned George the epithet "old gentleman Howell". All the Howell girls also received a thorough education at St Dominics Convent in Dunedin, where the sisters had a dormitory to themselves. This level of schooling was unusual for girls during much of the nineteenth century, and indicates the standing of the Howell family amongst the colonial elite in southern New Zealand.

While Wohlers notes the desire of most fathers to have their mixed descent children educated, the expense and geographical remoteness were important factors in limiting access to schooling for most families within the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island region in the mid-nineteenth century. Those who could afford to send their children away for an education, while many children from the Rakiura/Stewart Island families lived with relatives on Ruapuke once a school was opened there in 1868. Wohlers' comments on the wife of William Stirling, emphasise education as a marker of distinction in this context:

Mrs Stirling is a half-caste, but she had had the luck to have been educated by her father, an Englishman. She is the crown of women at Foveaux Strait and one cannot at all notice

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74 Wohlers, Report Number 10: Travel Report from 30 June to 17 July 1846, and Report Number 12, September 10th 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017), HL; Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi, 10; J.T. Thompson quoted in John Hall-Jones, The South Explored, 126.
75 Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi, 33; John Hall-Jones, The South Explored, 125-126.
76 Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi, 21.
77 Ibid., 25.
78 Ibid., 66, 71.
79 Wohlers, Report Number 10: Travel Report from 30 June to 17 July 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017); Wohlers, Report Number 14, December 21st 1847, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/018), HL.
80 Wohlers, Letter to Inspector Zahn, June 15th 1868, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/027), HL.
that she is a half-cast. She is so pretty, so friendly, so quick and so clever that one might envy Stirling for her.\textsuperscript{81}

Wohlers makes a powerful and positive association between education and the ability of mixed descent individuals to ‘pass’ within colonial European society through the learning (and unlearning) of the appropriate social skills.

In contrast, those men who failed to take an interest in educating their children were the subject of criticism. After suggesting to John Lee that his children would benefit from learning English, Wohlers expresses frustration that “the old man just could not see that it might be useful in many other respects if the boy [John Lee junior] could read English. He is a man who thinks he is really doing enough for his children – if only he provides sufficient to fill their belly with food.”\textsuperscript{82} From the perspective of both Howell and Wohlers, a ‘good’ (and therefore English) education was a key mechanism for mixed descent families to demarcate status and affluence from the 1840s onwards, and a means by which those families and individuals who did gain a suitable education could assert their right to a place in the polite society of the growing settler population.

Christianity was another means through which certain mixed descent families expressed their respectability, values and status. In the eyes of Wohlers and other missionaries especially, the active and public practice of Christianity distinguished the leading ‘gentlemen’ of the settlements from those men who “don’t lift a finger to civilise their wives.”\textsuperscript{83} During visitations around the Foveaux Strait settlements, Wohlers and Selwyn stayed and held their services within the houses of Howell, Stirling, and Anglem where Wohlers found “every comfort of a civilised life”.\textsuperscript{84} Through the public expression of Christianity along with associated social values, these men presented themselves as embodying a particular vision of masculinity: as educated, moral and responsible fathers and providers.

Marriage and kinship networks within European society also operated to ensure the Howell family’s prominence with the local Southland community. Just as an aristocratic marriage to Kohikohi brought with it both mana and the land that underwrote his wealth and agricultural

\textsuperscript{81} J.F.H. Wohlers, Report Number 12, September 10\textsuperscript{th} 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017), HL.
\textsuperscript{82} Wohlers, Report Number 10: Travel Report from 30 June to 17 July 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017), HL.
\textsuperscript{83} Wohlers, Report Number 4, May 1\textsuperscript{st} 1845, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/014), HL.
\textsuperscript{84} Wohlers, Report Number 10: Travel Report from 30 June to 17 July 1846, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/017); Wohlers, ‘Visit to Māori Villages on Mainland 20/12/1857-20/1/1858’, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/026), HL.
success, Howell's personal connections in the local settler community and politics were both indicators of, and a foundation for, his social and political prominence. The earliest European settlers at Jacob's River were relatives of Captain John Howell: his step-siblings William Stevens, George Stevens, Ann Paulin (nee Stevens) with husband John Paulin, and Elizabeth Stevens, who married settler Theophilus Daniel at Ruapuke. 85 William Stevens became a partner of the whaling station and worked with Howell to introduce the first cattle and sheep to the region. Previously the station storekeeper, son-in-law Theophilus Daniel became a Member of the Provincial Council, Member of House of Representatives for Wallace from 1882-1884, and Mayor of Riverton for two terms in 1879 and 1881. 86 Extended family thus provided economic partnerships and political connections for the Howells. Indeed, the leading citizens of early Riverton were all connected in this way. Whether operating within the context of Kāi Tahu or European settler society, such webs of kinship could be a crucial source of identity, status, wealth, social connections and obligations for mixed descent families like the Howells.

While Howell appears successful in cultivating himself and his family as a prominent and respectable family within European settler society, his transition was not necessarily an easy one for his wife. Her prominent marriage and the expectations it brought left Caroline/Koronaki feeling isolated from those Kāi Tahu relatives with whom she had previously associated. Despite recognising this, in his account Wohlers fails to appreciate that the importance of Western concepts of respectability and status emphasised by her husband and European society more generally held little meaning to Caroline/Koronaki, who at least during the initial stages of her marriage felt a more part of a Kāi Tahu cultural milieu than that of the emerging European colonial society. In part, this ambivalence, and the adjustments made in the context of her marriage, reflects the broader social and economic changes experienced by the Howell family from the 1840s onwards, embodied in the shift from the whaling station to the pastoral homestead. 87

As a person of part-European descent, Caroline/Koronaki was expected to be able to understand and conform to the values of European society better than a woman of 'full-blood' Kāi Tahu descent, despite the fact she had never lived in a European social setting, nor had the opportunity

85 Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi, 19; F.G. Hall-Jones, Historical Southland, 49.
86 Thompson, 27; F.G. Hall-Jones, Historical Southland, 49.
87 Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi, 31-32.
to learn the language or appropriate cultural affiliations. In some ways, Caroline’s situation is likely to reflect that of other mixed descent individuals who were brought up largely by their Kāi Tahu relatives, most commonly due to the death of their biological parents. However, many of these individuals remained ‘half-castes living as Māori’ in government censuses of the southern Kāi Tahu population, indicative that they remained largely within a Kāi Tahu milieu throughout their lives. In contrast, the disjunction between her childhood experiences and her social position after marriage placed Caroline/Koronaki in an uncomfortable liminal space. Without the upbringing within a mixed descent family, Caroline/Koronaki lacked the opportunities to learn the language and cultural capital that gave other mixed descent women a degree of ease in navigating between the different social worlds of their Kāi Tahu relatives and their newcomer husband. Although initially uncomfortable with her ambiguous positioning between these societies, through the course of her marriage she appears to have adjusted to her position ‘in-between worlds’. Her son recalls the pleasure she derived from shopping trips to Riverton in later years, while her probate indicates that on a material level, she was well provided for and held significant property in her own right.

**Conclusion**

In the early nineteenth century the mixed descent families of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island formed a community connected by social and kinship networks as well as through shared experiences and identification, family life, developing traditions and social practices. Yet, at least until the Rakiura purchase and the land claims that evolved out of it, the mixed descent community was not an isolated one, but rather maintained a range of social connections and obligations with local Kāi Tahu. Most families sought to preserve aspects of Kāi Tahu culture that they felt were significant to their identity and their ability to operate in Kāi Tahu society, such as whakapapa, language, history, songs and tītī harvesting. But in the eyes of observers like Wohlers and for some mixed descent families themselves, Christianity, education and whakapapa/kinship on the European side took on increasing significance in demarcating respectability in the changing colonial world of the mid-nineteenth century. For some, like the

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89 ‘Return of Half-Castes in 1833 living with the Natives’, *AJHR* 1876 (G-9), 23. Atholl Anderson notes that “Howell’s formal household was hardly typical of those in which most of the first few generations of mixed-race children grew up”. Anderson, *Race Against Time*, 27.

90 Wilson, *Hakoro Ki Te Iwi*, 66-67; Probate for HOWELL Caroline – Riverton – Widow, 1899 (DAFG 9066 D328 Box 11 908) and Probate for HOWELL Caroline – Riverton, 1899 (DAFG 9071 D328 Box 324 617), ANZD.
Howell's, the process of refashioning identity and asserting status in an emerging settler society was one that could be surrounded by ambivalence and loneliness for mixed descent individuals. Yet the experience of many other mixed descent individuals in the 1840s and 1850s represents more a continuation of the lifestyle of earlier decades, as they remained firmly embedded in the socio-economic world established through intermarriage and cultural encounters within the space of the whaling station.\textsuperscript{91} Such families existed close to Kāi Tahu kāika, rather than moving into the growing European townships. However, after the 1864 sale of Rakiura/Stewart Island, an increase in colonial interest in, and management of, hybridity began to affect the lives of all mixed descent individuals in the Foveaux Strait region.

\textsuperscript{91} Anderson, \textit{Race Against Time}, 27.
Chapter Three: The Politics of Hybridity in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island

The transformation of the Howells from whaling elite to colonial gentry took place within the broader context of formal settlement of the South Island, a process that had been facilitated by a series of land purchases between 1844 and 1864, which brought over thirty four million acres under the control of the colonial government, leaving only a small proportion under customary title. These purchases, and the subsequent legislation which stemmed from them, created new sites of encounter, as both Kāi Tahu and mixed descent families were increasingly forced to or sought to engage with the colonial government on a range of levels. Beginning in the 1840s, but particularly from the 1860s, increasingly marginalised Kāi Tahu and mixed descent families articulated their identity and rights within the spaces of the Native Land Court, on native reserves and in the offices of colonial surveyors and government administrators, seeking to gain economic security during a period of social and economic change.

This chapter examines the ways in which the colonial government sought to know and manage the mixed descent population in southern New Zealand, and the ways in which such management shaped the experiences and identity of mixed descent individuals in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island. The first part of the chapter explores the political and legal meanings of hybridity as expressed through the Murihiku and Rakiura purchases and the subsequent land grant acts and court proceedings. A growing body of legislature placed ‘half-castes’ in the South Island as group to be both ideologically and physically separated from ‘full blood’ Kāi Tahu, yet simultaneously recognised the growing size and importance of this mixed population as the future of the Māori race within the framework of the influential ‘dying race’ theory. While previous

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2 Based on social Darwinist principles and the observable population decline of Māori (and other indigenous peoples) during the nineteenth century, the ‘doomed race’ theory foresaw the dying out of the Māori population as the result of the cultural encounter with a physically and intellectual superior European race. In the New Zealand context, Riddell has argued that the decline of ‘full-blooded’ Māori and the growth of the mixed descent population represented two sides of the same coin: despite the inevitable and unstoppable disappearance of the former, the later group representing the survival of the Māori through progressive physical and social amalgamation with European settlers. Kate Riddell, “A ‘Marriage’ of the Races? Aspects of Intermarriage, Ideology and Reproduction on the New
chapters explore the tender and affective ties within Foveaux Strait, this chapter is therefore focused the ‘terse ties’ of colonial intimacy, linking the governance of the ‘half-caste’ population within Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island to broader scholarship which highlights the significance attached to the management of intimacy and hybridity throughout varied sites of colonialism. ³

Throughout the various sites of empire, ‘half-castes’ were an almost universal product of the interactions between newcomers and indigenous populations. ⁴ As living embodiments of the complexities and contradictions of the colonial encounter, ‘half-castes’ complicated attempts to sharply demarcate the boundaries between the colonizer and the colonized and were everywhere the subject of imperial policy. ⁵ Although New Zealand never enacted legislation against interracial marriage as other colonies did, interracial relationships and the mixed descent offspring they produced were nevertheless the subjects of intellectual and political debate, nowhere more so than in southern New Zealand. ⁶

While nineteenth century understandings of race revolved around blood quantum as a measure of both racial and cultural identity (and therefore social and political groupings) ⁷, classifications such as ‘half-caste’ or ‘nearly European’ did not necessarily or simply reflect the cultural affiliations and lived experiences of mixed descent individuals in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island. However, the categories ascribed by colonial officials did have a significant impact on the lives and identity of mixed descent families in the mid-nineteenth century, a number of whom integrated aspects of colonial racial classifications into the way they represented themselves through petitions and land claims, often for strategic reasons. The ability

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⁵ Young, 6-19; Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power*, especially Chapter Four (Sexual Affronts and Racial Frontiers: Cultural Competence and the Dangers of Métissage).
⁷ Salesa, 99-100. Moeke-Pickering, “Maori Identity Within Whanau: A Review of Literature” suggests that this continued to be true in the 1950s.
of mixed descent individuals to utilise the language of ‘race’ in particular situations, such as petitions and claims proceedings, demonstrates both the fluidity of seemingly static categorisation, and the degree of agency held by these individuals in defining their identity.

I. Defining and governing the 'half-caste' population

Accounts of the communities in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island made by Wohlers, Selwyn, Shortland, Mantell and others all circulated around the small network of government officials where they shaped and reinforced particular perceptions of the region and its mixed descent inhabitants. From these earliest encounters, colonial officials sought to define and control the presence of what they viewed as a potentially disruptive group though a range of strategies. As early as the 1840s, a view that the southern mixed descent population posed a threat to the goals of colonial administration emerged; and ‘half-castes’ as intermediary figures therefore required distinct forms of management and geographical separation from Kāi Tahu. Walter Mantell, in the completion of Kemp’s purchase in 1848 and in the Murihiku purchase of 1852, felt it necessary to promise that provisions would be made for mixed descent families, as their fathers “might, unless reassured to their prospects after the cession of land to the government, throw obstacles in the way of its acquisition”. Moreover, the grants for ‘half-caste’ families were to be separate from those lands reserved for natives to avoid the “subject[ing] the Natives therein to undue domination on the part of the White’s and half-castes of their families.”

In an 1856 enquiry into Native Affairs ‘half-castes’ were recognised by Bishop Selwyn as a “very important class of settler” in certain parts of New Zealand. In the final report, the committee explicitly situated the mixed decent population as a group requiring careful governance because occupying as they do an intermediate station between the Europeans and natives, have neither the advantages of the one, or, the other, and whose future destiny, may, by proper

8 Extract from the minutes of the Public Petitions Committee of the Legislative Council, Tuesday 20th July, 1869, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 20 13[e] Part 5), ANZW.
9 Extract from the minutes of the Public Petitions Committee of the Legislative Council, Tuesday 20th July, 1869, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 20 13[e] Part 5), ANZW.
10 Bishop Selwyn quoted in ‘No. 8 1856 Māori Affairs Classified Abstract of the evidence taken by the Board of Enquiry into Native Affairs’, Governor’s Messages – No. 29. Copy of Report of Board of Enquiry into Native affairs with Sundry Papers (LE 1 1890 1856/66), ANZW.
management, be directed in the well being of the Colony, or by neglect, be turned in a contrary course.\textsuperscript{11}

The report signals a growing awareness and questioning of the position of this liminal population in the developing colony. It also highlights that, despite a rhetoric which biologised racial identity, authorities were clearly sensitive to the socially constructed and changeable nature of hybridity, in which ‘proper management’ could ensure cultural loyalty and affiliation with the Crown.\textsuperscript{12}

While consideration of the place of ‘half-castes’ had been made verbally in Mantell’s earlier purchases, the purchase of Rakiura of 1864 marks a symbolic departure point from previous purchases. Negotiated with ‘full blooded’ Kāi Tahu alone, the terms of land purchases prior to 1864 did not make any direct mention of, or provisions for, those of mixed descent.\textsuperscript{13} In contrast, a growing awareness of the size and significance of the mixed descent population in the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island region, and in the colony more generally, resulted in specific provisions being made for ‘half-castes’ within the Deed of Purchase itself. Rakiura/Stewart Island was purchased for £6000 by Commissioner Henry Tacy Clarke on behalf of the Crown on June 29th 1864, following negotiations with Kāi Tahu in Aparima and Awarua.\textsuperscript{14} Along with 935 acres of reserved land set aside for Kāi Tahu, the Deed stated that “all that portion of land situated at the Neck (which has not been previously sold to Europeans) [was] to be reserved for the half-castes residing at the Neck”, a population that Clarke tentatively estimated to number twenty-eight.\textsuperscript{15} This was a vast underestimation, for Wohlers had in previous decades suggest that the Foveaux Strait ‘half-caste’ population numbered over a hundred.\textsuperscript{16}

The decision to make this unique provision for the ‘half-castes’ of Rakiura/Stewart Island at this time was in part influenced by the situation in the North Island. In the context of the New

\textsuperscript{11} ‘Land for Half-Caste Children’, 1856 Report of Board of Enquiry into Native Affairs, Governor’s Messages – No. 29. Copy of Report of Board of Enquiry into Native affairs with Sundry Papers (LE 1 1890 1856/66), ANZW.
\textsuperscript{12} The importance attached to the governance of mixed descent individuals and the cultivation of proper cultural affiliations in both Indische and mixed descent children is explored well in Stoler’s work on the Dutch East Indies. Stoler, Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power.
\textsuperscript{13} Atholl Anderson, Race Against Time: The early Māori-Pākehā families and the development of the mixed-race population in southern New Zealand (Dunedin: Hocken Library, 1990), 28-29.
\textsuperscript{14} An overview of the purchase is given in Waitangi Tribunal New Zealand, The Ngai Tahu Report, 1991, Chapter Fifteen.
\textsuperscript{15} Alexander Mackay, Compendium of Official Documents relative to Native Affairs in the South Island Volume I (Wellington: Government Printer, 1872), 17.
\textsuperscript{16} Wohlers, Letter to Committee of Administration, June 5\textsuperscript{th} 1855, Wohlers Collection (MS-0967/025), HL.
Zealand Wars the social and political allegiances of mixed descent individuals were of particular importance to both government officials and local iwi. More generally, colonial officials felt that providing guarantees of land to mixed descent families, and especially the fathers, might facilitate the further extinguishment of native title, as these intermediary families held influence with the indigenous population and were considered more likely to desire and engage in the individualisation of land holdings. In short, the desire to control the ambiguous and potentially subversive cultural and political loyalties of mixed descent families prompted increasing government attention to strategies to manage hybridity.

While both the national and international situation were clearly influential factors in the growing attention given to ‘half-castes’, the specificities of the situation on Rakiura/Stewart Island and around Foveaux Strait more generally were also significant in shaping the particular government response in the area. While Rakiura/Stewart Island had remained a colonial frontier in the two decades subsequent to the signing of the Treaty, from the 1860 reports began to filter back to the offices of colonial officials about the “irregular proceedings” and “illegal occupation” occurring in the region. The increase in European squatting had transformed Rakiura/Stewart Island into “a kind of Alsatia in which no law exists” in the minds of government officials; a marked contrast to the independent and self-governing mixed descent community based around The Neck in Paterson’s Inlet which Wohlers and Selwyn recorded living peacefully alongside Kai Tahu according to Māori authority. Such accounts necessitated government intervention, and therefore the acquisition of title to the land upon which a significant portion of the mixed descent population lived.

A few months prior to the 1864 purchase, the Chief Surveyor of Southland and Purchase Commissioner for Rakiura/Stewart Island, Theophilus Heale, made the following assessment of the impact of colonisation on the mixed descent settlement at The Neck:

The growth of the Colony in their vicinity has increased their disabilities without adding anything to their wealth and comfort. The original settlers are now aged men, but they

17 Riddell, “A ‘Marriage’ of the Races?”, 75-84.
18 ‘Pre-emptive Right of Old Settlers’, 1856 Report of Board of Enquiry into Native Affairs, Governor’s Messages – No. 29. Copy of Report of Board of Enquiry into Native affairs with Sundry Papers (LE 1 1890 1856/66), ANZW.
19 Mackay, Compendium Volume I, 16. These ‘irregular proceedings’ included cases of gunpowder trafficking and the violation of Customs ordinances, which highlighted the limited control that the colonial government was able to exercise in the area. See Basil Howard, Rakiura: A History of Stewart Island, New Zealand (Dunedin: A.H. and A.W. Reed, for the Stewart Island Centennial Committee, 1940), 141-142.
20 Alfred Dommett, quoted in Howard, 262.
ware generally surrounded by half-caste families... Very few of these old residents have prosecuted claims to the land on which they reside, which they originally occupied by the consent of its Native Owners, and which they have always considered as their own. Though they cannot now assert any legal title, I trust that whenever the Native Title to the island at large is extinguished, steps will be taken to secure the inheritance of these spots for their families. It would indeed be unfortunate if the advent of the Government should have the effect of depriving of their homesteads these earliest colonists, and if these numerous half-caste children should be left landless in the land which their fathers were the first Europeans to explore, and of which their maternal ancestors were the sole possessors.

Heale draws on a nexus of ideas about masculinity, colonisation, settlement and civilisation utilised by visitors describing the mixed descent Foveaux Strait community in the mid-nineteenth century. The lengthy and peaceful occupation, legitimised by Kāi Tahu consent, along with their productive and settled lifestyle situated these men as colonists and pioneers, with the right to government protection. The men Heale describes utilised these ideas to assert their identity as original settlers and respectable fathers in both Old Land Claims, and in appeals for land grants for their ‘half-caste’ families.

By the 1864 purchase then, the ‘half-castes’ of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island could claim legal entitlements to land under one or more of the distinct provisions or promises made to mixed descent families during the various Kāi Tahu land purchases. As well as this, some families who had purchased land around Foveaux Strait from Tuhawaiki prior to the signing of the treaty sought the validation of their purchases under the 1856 Land Claims Settlement Act, which derived out of the Old Land Claims investigated by Francis Dillon Bell. The families who made Old Land Claims around Foveaux Strait consisted primarily of those prominent within the whaling world, who had acted as station managers and ship captains.

21 Theophilus Heale to Superintendent Southland, February 15th 1864, in Mackay, *Compendium of Official Documents relative to Native Affairs in the South Island Volume II* (Wellington: Government Printer, 1872) 56. 22 The families in the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island area who pursued Old Land Claims include those of James Spencer, John Lee, William Andrew Anglem, James Joss, Caroline Howell, Edwin Palmer, Thomas Chaseland, William Stirling and Henry Wixon. While many of these men represent the elite of the whaling world, a number were living in a state of poverty by the time the claims were made. The family of James Spencer struggled to afford the administrative costs of the grant process, while Henry Wixon was living on the Waimate Native Reserve in 1862, having been unable to secure the title to his land to that date. See ‘LC 69/18 In the Claims of James Spencer, Nos. 426, Land Claims Court Wellington, July 3rd 1869’, Case files [James Spencer, Bluff Harbour] (OLC 1 Box 18 OLC 426); Henry Wixon to Walter Mantell, May 29th 1862, Case files – Addenda [Joseph Crocome, Hawksbury (18A); Henry Wixon, Hawksbury (20A); Richard Sizemore, Hawksbury (20B)] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 18A, 20A, 58
the mixed descent families in the area were able to secure land in this manner, many more were eligible under the promises made by Mantell and in the Rakiura Purchase. The rights to land at the ‘half-caste’ reserve at the Neck extended to include those throughout the area who were born or resided there under the 1873 Stewart Island Grants Act. As a result of his subsequent investigations and enumerations of the southern ‘half-caste’ population, in 1894 Alexander Mackay noted that “others named in the returns are equally entitled to a similar concession, [and] some measure will have to be undertaken to legalize the dedication of land to them in a like manner.” Consequently, ‘half-castes’ throughout the South Island were considered entitled to a small land grant, a population numbering significantly more than Clarke’s original 1864 estimate.

Once the title to Rakiura/Stewart Island had been obtained, the government felt little impetus to fulfil the commitments made to what came to be considered “a class of no political weight”. It was not until 1869 that the matter was brought to the attention of colonial administrators, by a petition to the Legislative Council made by Andrew Thompson of Hawksbury on behalf of his mixed descent wife, Mary Ann (nee Lowry). This petition instigated a select committee investigation into the issue of ‘half-caste’ lands, which found an “obligation does exist, and that the honour of the Crown is concerned in its faithful and immediate discharge.” The evidence presented to the committee emphasised the injustices and hardship caused by government

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20B), ANZW; as well as Old Land Claim case files for John Lee, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 8A and 17A); William Andrew Anglem, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 19A); James Joss, Bluff and Stewart Island (OLC 1 Box 42 OLC 833–835); Caroline Howell, Port William, Stewart Island and Eyre Mountain (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 2A) Edwin Palmer, Bluff Harbour (OLC 1 Box 16 OLC 364); Thomas Chaseland, Amukuri Rock, Toetoe (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 15A), ANZW.

23 Alexander Mackay to Under Secretary, Native Department, June 3rd 1868 and Alexander Mackay to Under Secretary, Native Department, October 6th 1869, Papers relating to Survey of Native Reserves in the Provinces of Otago and Southland, including Claims of Half-Castes at Stewart’s Island, AJHR 1870 (D-20), 4-5.

24 Alexander Mackay to the Under Secretary, Native Office, September 5th 1874, Papers relative to Half-Caste Claims in the South and Stewart Island, AJHR 1876 (G-9), 1.

25 In 1868, Alexander Mackay reported 94 ‘half-castes’ needed to be provided for under the Rakiura Deed of Purchase; by 1874 his enumeration had increased to 187 entitled individuals throughout Otago and Southland. See A. Mackay to the Under Secretary, Native Office, September 5th 1874, AJHR 1876 (G-9), 1; Mackay, Compendium Vol. I, 17; List of Half-castes to be Provided with Land at or near the Neck, Stewart’s Island, AJHR 1870 (D-20), 6.

26 Walter Mantell, quoted in Extract from minutes of Public Petitions Committee of the Legislative Council, Tuesday 20th July 1869, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 20 12[e] Part 5), ANZW.

27 Petition made by Andrew Thompson of Hawksbury to Legislative Council, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 20 12[e] Part 5), ANZW. As discussed in Section II, this petition also exemplifies the responsibilities these men took as husbands, fathers and providers, and one in which they clearly expected some form of government support for.

28 Report of Select Committee upon the Petition of Andrew Thompson, AJHR 1870 (D-20), 3.
inaction, with Walter Mantell noting that “from the non-fulfilment of promises made to them, families of promising children have fallen to ruin.”

During this period, inadequate and poor reserved lands placed strain on iwi relations and practices of land allocation for Kāi Tahu, and became a source of tension between Kāi Tahu and mixed descent families. As Hori Kerei Taiaroa expressed to Parliament in 1876, in the context of marginalisation and dispossession he felt the government, on behalf of their neglectful European fathers, should take some responsibility for the welfare of mixed descent individuals, a duty which had previously been carried by their Kāi Tahu relatives alone. This sentiment was expressed more strongly by Horomona Patu in 1886, subsequent to the first three Middle Island Half-Caste Land Grant Acts:

Listen, all you half castes of this Island, living at Aparima in the Waipounamu, that did not receive any land at the time of separation of Native lands in the year 1864. The chiefs did not separate any lands for the half-caste race at the time the land was separated to those who sold the land, any you halfcastes have not received any land. Five years ago the Government returned to you some land, and now you have received a name and land for yourselves, and your children; the halfcaste will understand, the lands that have not been dealt with will fall to the descendents of the vendors.

Despite maintaining social and kinship networks in the early part of the century, impoverishment and a scarcity of land generated friction between Kāi Tahu and those of mixed descent, as Kāi Tahu leaders stressed the economic differences between the ‘half-caste race’ and the ‘native’ population.

As a result of the pressures and petitions placed upon colonial administrators from below, the government was eventually compelled to act, albeit slowly. Alexander Mackay’s 1869 investigation into Thompson’s petition suggested the most effective way to provide for mixed descent families would be to make individual land grants (at a rate of ten and eight acres for men and women respectively) out of a larger block of ‘wasteland’; a solution that would be both cost-

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29 Walter Mantell, quoted in Extract from minutes of Public Petitions Committee of the Legislative Council, Tuesday 20th July 1869, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 20 12[e] Part 5), ANZW.
30 NZPD Vol. 20 (1876), 454.
31 Horomona Patu, Aparima (Riverton), to Native Minister, July 26th 1886, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 11 (MA 13 Box 21 13[c]), ANZW.
effective and prevent further quarrelling between families. During this time, the commitment to
provide for Rakiura/Stewart Island 'half-castes' was extended to all 'half-castes' in the South
Island, with land to be selected surrounding their birthplace or residence. As a result of this, as
well as of more extensive population surveys, the number of individuals to be provided for
increased markedly from Clarke's initial estimate of twenty-eight 'half-castes' at the Neck.
However, the government continued to employ a strict criteria with regards to blood quantum,
clearly demarcating between 'half-castes' and 'quarter-castes' or 'third-quarter castes'. The latter
two categories were excluded from the grants process, as a precaution against "open[ing] the door
to a large number of claimants". Yet, as the Bates family history records, colonial officials
found in difficult to disentangle the complex kinship networks that existed between mixed
descent families in the Foveaux Strait region, and were prone to make numerous errors in
recording not only the names of mixed decent individuals but also their racial category.

The allocation of grants to entitled individuals required first the identification of the beneficiaries
and the survey and selection of sections, and proved to be a time-consuming process for
surveyors and enumerators. Continued delays in enacting legislation to provide land grants, and
between passing the different Middle Island Half-Caste Land Grants Acts, speak of the
difficulties experienced by officials in identifying and locating the mixed descent population, but
also indicate that 'half-castes' were at best a marginal concern for the colonial government.
Officials cited the mobility and multiple names of mixed descent individuals as the problems
behind such delays, rather than drawing attention to the lack of interest and funding which also
hindered the completion of the grants process.
Colonial administrators also continually contested the meaning of the provisions for 'half-castes' made in the Rakiura Deed of Purchase throughout subsequent decades, indicating that despite the attempt to legally and precisely define the status and rights of 'half-castes', official definitions remained open to debate and interpretation. The basis of eligibility to 'half-caste' grants rested upon determining the purpose of the original provisions, an issue that was raised over whether the Anglem, Howell, Joss and Lee families should be eligible for land under both an Old Land Claim and under a promise made by the Crown. Alexander Mackay argued that this point revolved around whether it was the intention of the Government to make provision for the whole of the Half Castes as a body in consideration of their descent on their maternal side from the original proprietors of the sole, or whether it was merely intended to award land to those who were otherwise unprovided.

He, like most colonial official felt that the former principle was the one to be followed, making all ‘half-castes’ regardless of socio-economic standing eligible for a grant in recognition of descent, as evidenced by the inclusion of the above-mentioned families amongst the schedules of the Middle Island Half Caste Land Grants Act. The extension of such provisions to all ‘half-castes’ throughout the South Island in the first Middle Island Half Caste Land Grant Act further reflects this decision. However, despite acknowledging the ties of descent to Kāi Tahu, the admixture of European blood meant individuals of mixed descent were never simply included in the provision made for ‘full-blooded natives’.

difficulties in identifying and classifying ‘half-castes; and AJHR 1870 (D-20) for correspondence over the expense of surveying land for Native and ‘half-caste’ reserves.

38 P. Proudfoot to Colonial Secretary, June 21st 1855, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 20 12[e] Part 5), ANZW
39 Alexander Mackay to W.H. Pearson, Commissioner of Crown Lands, April 17th 1874, Case files – Addenda [William Andrew Anglem, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 19A), ANZW.
40 Mackay argued if an Old Land Claim disqualified individuals from the right to a ‘half-caste grant’, “it will appear that those who have claimed land through the forethought of their parents are to be treated with less consideration, than those who have descended from the thriftless and improvident.” With regards to this issue in Otago, Crown Land Commissioner Proudfoot had earlier stated he did not believe “that the mothers having married a European invalidates her right to or interest in what she would have been entitled to under other circumstances – that is, if she had remained with or had married one of her own tribe.” Therefore, he felt, mixed descent families should be given grants out of same provisions of ‘full-blood’ Kāi Tahu. Alexander Mackay to W.H. Pearson, Commissioner of Crown Lands, April 17th 1874, Case files – Addenda [William Andrew Anglem, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 19A), ANZW; P. Proudfoot to Colonial Secretary, June 21st 1855, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 20 12[e] Part 5), ANZW.
Throughout debates about the place of ‘half-castes’ within southern New Zealand, individuals of mixed descent were always considered separately from Kāi Tahu. Despite the view of the Superintendent of Southland, J.A.R. Menzies, that the ‘half-caste’ land could be provided out of the reserve funds for an ever-decreasing Kāi Tahu population, the official practice attempted to create geographic separation between the native and mixed descent population.\(^4\) The desire to physically delineate ‘half-castes’ from ‘full-blood’ Kāi Tahu mirrored the desire to maintain defined and bounded racial categories, rather than the actual observations made of a more complicated and overlapping social world lived in by mixed descent families.

While colonial officials attempted to create separate spaces in the Foveaux Strait landscape for mixed descent families, the blocks of land set aside for this purpose tended to adjoin Native Reserves, illustrating that colonial officials felt that the ‘native’ and ‘half-caste’ populations were similar enough to be managed by the same strategies. As the area available at the Neck was far too limited to accommodate all those entitled to land under the 1873 Stewart Island Grants Act, Mackay suggested that “some very good land well adapted for Native occupation” contiguous with the Native Reserve at Otaka that could set aside for Rakiura/Stewart Island ‘half-castes’ desirous of taking their claims on the mainland.\(^4\) His opinion suggests that ‘half-castes’ were suited to same sort of geographical spaces as Kāi Tahu, including ‘half-castes’ in this instance under the broad and shifting category of ‘native’. The chance to secure land in close proximity to Native reserves was generally looked upon favourably by mixed descent individuals, whom tended to remain largely embedded within the Kāi Tahu world despite the best attempts of colonial officials to establish both ideological and physical boundaries between these ‘races’.\(^4\)

II: The experience and response of the mixed descent families

The provision of both Kāi Tahu and mixed descent community with reserves and land grants necessitated the identification of the entitled individuals, and so heralded a period of intensive investigation into the Kāi Tahu population. Throughout the nineteenth century, numerous


\(^{4}\) Alexander Mackay to Under Secretary of Native Department, October 6th 1869, in Mackay, \textit{Compendium Volume II}, 64; \textit{AJHR} 1870 (D-20), 4.

\(^{4}\) Mackay to Under Secretary of Native Affairs, November 28th 1878, \textit{Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes}, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 19 12[b] Part 20), ANZW.
censuses and surveys (in 1848, 1852-1853, 1858, 1874 and 1891) mapped the changing demography of Kāi Tahu across the South Island landscape. This ‘periodic counting’ enabled the government to ‘fix, bound, control and intervene’. Failure to engage in the government enumerations meant the ‘erasure’ of a significant proportion of the Kāi Tahu population, and with it the loss of rights and land. As such, engagement with land claims was one fraught with ambivalence for mixed descent families: being counted in government statistics was crucial in order to gain land grants, but at the same time, ‘counting’ often meant being categorised and defined.

Despite the ambivalence with which engagement with government officials may have been regarded, the petitions and letters made by mixed descent individuals represent one of the few sources in which these individuals’ voices emerge in the historical archive, and reveal much about the experience of colonialism for these families. Suffering, hardship and impoverishment, often caused by the lengthy delays in having land grants affirmed, is common to all the petitions and letters. Henry Wixon, for instance, petitioned Mantell on multiple occasions regarding the title to the land he had been promised for his family in 1852:

i have been up to look at it and i cannot take possession of it without the Deeds and Mr John Jones of Waikouaiti has two surveyors cutting timber on it to the amount of 1 hundred thousand feet and there was 1 good house built of timber cut on the land [ill. words] and they have taken it away and i do not know what to do without the Deeds i have only a poor man with a Family of 10 children and i am living in Waimate Bush at present on the Native Reserve and the natives are very kind to me and my children but i should like for the children to live on there own land if it is at all possible before all the timber is taken off [sic].

As well as exemplifying the distress experienced by this family and the frustrations inherent in the prolonged grants process, Wixon’s words also emphasise his commitment and desire to

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45 As previously noted, the families like the Howells with large land holdings are better represented in the historical record, and often have family histories published, which contain quite different experiences than those poor and marginalised mixed descent families.
46 Henry Wixon to Walter Mantell, November 12th 1862, Case files – Addenda [Joseph Crocome, Hawksbury (18A); Henry Wixon, Hawksbury (20A); Richard Sizemore, Hawksbury (20B)] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 18A, 26A, 20B), ANZW.
provide for his family, a sentiment that recurs in other petitions made by husbands and fathers on behalf of their families, amongst them Andrew Thompson.

However, the poverty experienced by mixed descent families was not alleviated once they managed to acquire title to land, as the small size of the grants and the poor quality of the land, which was often in remote locations, was characteristic of the reserved land provided for both Kāi Tahu and mixed descent individuals. Mary Ann Thompson Tandy, in a letter to the Native Minister in 1893, protested the inadequacies of the grant of 12 acres she had received at Waitaki claiming it was “so very poor that no person could make a living on it [and] very unsuitable for poor people to settle on.” Thompson’s frustration reflects the situation of the majority of the Kāi Tahu, and especially the mixed descent population, by the end of the nineteenth century. In an investigation into the position of South Island Māori (including ‘half-castes) in 1890, Alexander Mackay found that over ninety percent had either insufficient or no land.

Although such accounts highlight the deprivations experienced by mixed descent families as government incursion and formal settlement increasingly impacted upon their lives, the Native Land Court, to which they brought petitions and claims, also represents a site in which mixed descent individuals could negotiate and appropriate the rigid racial categories applied by colonial officials. The Rakiura Deed of Purchase accorded those who could claim ‘half-caste’ status with particular rights. While such terms were largely meaningless in the context of the local social world in which they lived, mixed descent individuals learnt to articulate their identity through the rhetoric of racial classification when dealing with government officials. For example, when writing to request information about how to get land granted under the 1877 Middle Island Half-Caste Land Grants Act, A. Knudsen of Pidgeon Bay adopts the terminology of racial fractions, stating, “we, the half-casts, are anxious to have it settled”.

The ability to speak in the language of blood quantum used by colonial government in strategic settings demonstrates the agency mixed descent individuals brought to such encounters.

48 Mary Ann Thompson Tandy to Native Minister, January 9th 1893, Natives and Half-castes in the South Island – Correspondence regarding Land Grants (LE 1 1893/153 Box 329), ANZW.
49 Report by Mr. Commissioner Mackay Relating to Middle Island Native Claims, AJHR 1891 (G-7), 1-7. See also Wanhalla, “The politics of ‘periodic counting’”.
50 A Knudsen, Pidgeon Bay, to Mr Sheehan, April 16th 1878, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 19 12[b] Part 2), ANZW.
The self-representations made by the fathers of mixed descent families in Old Land Claims also illustrates the strategic manner in which these families drew upon concepts of whakapapa and kinship, land occupation and productive settlement to claim government support. James Spencer, William Andrew Anglem and John Lee all cite their long and undisputed occupation and the transformation of the land through buildings and cultivation in asserting the legitimacy of their claims.\textsuperscript{51} In doing so, these men echo the accounts of responsible and productive masculinity that existed within the mixed descent communities around Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island made by Wohlers and Selwyn. Moreover, the desire to secure land for their children is frequently emphasised in both Old Land Claims and petitions for ‘half-caste’ grants, highlighting both the ongoing importance of family within these communities and the expectation that the government should acknowledge their role as dependable husbands and fathers.

Petitioners emphasise the centrality of kinship and community for mixed descent individuals, as family members as well as mixed descent communities sought to ensure that they received their land grants in the same localities. Letters from the Bates, Bragg, Wybrow families, amongst others, make requests for contiguous sections for members of their extended families.\textsuperscript{52} In 1878, Thomas Gilroy wrote to Mackay on behalf of his parents, stating “mother she refuses the section at the Mokamoko on account of it not joining her husband.”\textsuperscript{53} The following day Gilroy wrote again to Mackay, this time on behalf of a group of mixed descent individuals based around Rakiura/Stewart Island and Bluff.\textsuperscript{54} He expressed the wishes of this community to have their selections made in “our bay” (Halfmoon Bay), where they spent seven months a year oystering.

\textsuperscript{51} Report of the Commissioners appointed to Examine and Report upon Claims to Grants of Land in New Zealand, February 4th 1841, Case files [James Spencer, Bluff Harbour] (OLC 1 Box 18 OLC 426); Chief Commissioner of Land Claims to J.D. Bell, May 22\textsuperscript{nd} 1860, Case files – Addenda [John Lee, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 8A and 17A); Statement made by claimants (Anglem’s children and partners), Case files – Addenda [William Andrew Anglem, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 19A), ANZW.

\textsuperscript{52} Letter from Nathaniel Bates, April 25\textsuperscript{th} 1874, Inwards letters to Mackay from South Island half-castes, Volume of papers relating to Native Reserves (MA-MT Box 15); Application made by John Bragg Kaiporohu on behalf of his family, Natives and Half-castes in the South Island – Correspondence regarding Land Grants (LE 1 1893/153 Box 329); James Wybrow, Toitoi, to Mr. Maitland, June 16\textsuperscript{th} 1882, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 11 (MA 13 Box 21 13[d]), ANZW.

\textsuperscript{53} Thomas Gilroy, Bluff, to Mackay, November 24\textsuperscript{th} 1878, Inwards Letters to Mackay from South Island half-castes, Volume of Papers relating to Native Reserves (MA-MT 6 Box 15), ANZW.

\textsuperscript{54} The individuals represented by Gilroy included John Parker, Mrs Parker, Mary Smith, James Spencer, Thomas Shephard, John Anglem, Hoani Korako, William Shepard, Ellen Gilroy, Thomas Gilroy, Henry West and Mary Ann Murphy. Thomas Gilroy, Bluff, to Mackay, November 25\textsuperscript{th} 1878, Inwards letters to Mackay from South Island half-castes, Volume of Papers relating to Native Reserves (MA-MT 6 Box 15), ANZW.
Clearly mixed descent families in the Foveaux Strait area continued to maintain not only the kinship connections, but also the socio-economic networks that had been established during the earlier whaling era.

Indeed, group petitions were a common strategy employed by the mixed descent communities in various localities around Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, through which ‘half-castes’ asserted a unified collective identity to colonial officials:

This is an application from us the half-caste residents at Awarua (the Bluff) – Friend, Sister; we, that are living in this part, are without lands. But in our opinion we have the right of title to certain Blocks on the side of our mothers. This is why we are asking that you would look into our grievance – Enough – From us, the half-castes in this District.  

Originally written in Māori and translated by government administrators, this petition indicates the petitioners felt strong affiliation with a Kāi Tahu social world, a point reinforced through the utilisation of whakapapa to assert their rights to land. Collective letters were written by the ‘half-castes’ of Aparima/Riverton, Otaki/Colac’s Bay and Te Panewha, Rakiura and Ruapuke. In other instances such the grant selection list sent by ‘the Native people and half-castes’ of Oraka, Kāi Tahu and mixed descent individuals approached the government together, complicating the social and geographical distance officials had endeavoured to create through the separation of reserved lands. Thus, the experience of the half-caste land claims process was one which both illustrated and reinforced the sense of community and identity that existed between mixed descent individuals in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island.

Unlike government officials, who encountered numerous frustrations in attempting to identify and categorise mixed descent individuals, ‘half-caste’ petitions demonstrate a clear awareness of the land grant processes and the status of the claims and grants of others in the area. This knowledge was frequently used in support of their petitions to colonial officials, with petitioners

55 Thomas Gilroy, Bluff, to Mackay, November 25th 1878, Inwards letters to Mackay from South Island half-castes; and Thomas Gilroy, Bluff, to Mackay, January 14th 1879, Inwards letters to Mackay from South Island half-castes, Volume of Papers relating to Native Reserves (MA-MT 6 Box 15), ANZW.

56 Letter from half-castes of the Bluff to Native Minister Balance, February 10th 1886, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 71 (MA Box 21 13[c]), ANZW.

57 George Howell and others, Aparima/Riverton, to T. Pratt, June 13th 1893; List from Oraki Colac’s Bay, submitted by Ann Parata, June 14th 1893; and William Spencer and others, Te Panewha, to Native Minister Cadman, June 10th 1893, Natives and Half-castes in the South Island – Correspondence regarding Land Grants (LE 1 1893/153 Box 329), ANZW.

58 Reiwha Maire and others, Otaka, to the Native Minister, June 24th 1893, Natives and Half-castes in the South Island – Correspondence regarding Land Grants (LE 1 1893/153 Box 329), ANZW.
frequently citing the land allocations made to other ‘half-caste’ families in support of their own claims. In 1879, John Arnett of Riverton requested 33 acres of land from the government, arguing that “my claim is equally as good” as those of Capt. Howell, Nathaniel Bates, James Leader and others who had already received their allocations. Knowledge of government policy, the status of local land claims, and the methods by which others had acquired their grants clearly circulated throughout the mixed descent settlements of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island in the 1860s and 1870s.

Mixed descent families also provided mutual support in legal proceedings, especially for Old Land Claims. In a dispute over the boundaries of the respective land claims of James Spencer and George Green at the Bluff, Spencer was able to call upon a number of the local community to give evidence in support of his case, including Patrick Gilroy, James Smith, Mary Smith, sons William and James Spencer, Topi Patuki, Susan/Kori Davies, wife Mary Ann Spencer, Lewis Longuet and William Shephard in support of his case. Similar statements of support from within local communities were used by William Andrew Anglem at Paterson’s Inlet and Caroline Howell at Port William to assert the validity of their claims, reinforcing that this was indeed a community based on cultural and kin affiliations.

Government officials in southern New Zealand also recognised the social networks maintained between mixed descent families. In 1878 Alexander Mackay chose to communicate with the ‘half-caste’ population around Riverton/Aparima through George Howell, “as I may not have time to write to all of the Half-Castes at Riverton and other places I enclose the particulars to you and will be obliged if you will make them known to all concerned.” The ‘particulars’ requested George Howell not only to pass on responses to the petitions of particular individuals but also to

59 John Arnett, Riverton, to J.A. Menzies, Chief Commissioner, Native Department, 6th [month ill.] 1879, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 19 12[b] Part 2), ANZW.
60 An account of the investigation into this dispute is given in Case files [James Spencer, Islet at Bluff Harbour] (OLC 1 Box 19 OLC 428 Parts 1-6) and Case files [James Spencer, Bluff Harbour] (OLC 1 Box 18 OLC 427), ANZW. George Green appears to have convinced Mary Ann Spencer, “partly by threats and partly by persuasion”, into signing away the title of the family’s land while her husband and eldest son were away. His fraudulent grant was overturned in The George Green’s Land Grants Cancellation Act 1868.
61 Walter Henry Pearson to Land Claims Commissioner Wellington, November 17th 1870, Case files – Addenda [Caroline Howell, Port William, Stewart Island, Eyre Mountain] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 2A); Statement made by claimants (Anglem’s children and their partners), Case files – Addenda [William Andrew Anglem, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 19A), ANZW.
62 Alexander Mackay to George Howell, November 19th 1878, Inwards letters to Mackay from South Island half-castes, Volume of papers relating to Native Reserves, especially the claims of half-caste natives in the South Island (MA-MT Box 15), ANZW.
organise the selections of land within Block IV of the Aparima Hundred. Mackay’s reliance on George Howell indicated Mackay was confident that Howell was in close contact with the wider mixed descent community and suggests an appreciation of the fact that those embedded within the community had the ability to ‘know’ the local ‘half-caste’ population much better than government officials.

In response to this request, within eleven days George Howell had “gathered the half-castes together to make their several selections” and forwarded the list complied back to Mackay. Mutual decision-making within the mixed descent community thus sped up the official process of land allocations and allowed local families to best coordinate the choice of sections between the interested individuals. Indeed, the ability to arrange the communal selections so quickly and to gain the co-operation of all local ‘half-castes’ indicates the frequent contact maintained between these families. It also affirms that Howell remained an influential figure within the mixed descent world, and that his education and the upward social mobility of his family within settler society helped him to assist in the preserving the rights of his family and community. Through their engagement with the government over land rights, George Howell and others all conformed to the rhetoric of racial identity employed by colonial officials. However, the view that the land claims process would lead simply to the individualisation of land holdings and maintain distinctions between ‘half-caste’ and Kāi Tahu was complicated by the fact the Foveaux Strait community continued to deal with issues over land allocation and use collectively.

Conclusion

Throughout the 1850s and 1860s, government land purchases, surveys and censuses generated a growing awareness of size and influence of the mixed descent population in the South Island, especially around Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island. Increasingly, colonial officials sought ways to categorise and control this ambiguous population, who blurred the literal and symbolic space between the races. The 1864 Rakiura purchase represented an attempt to crystallise the position and rights of the mixed descent population within region, as a group differentiated by blood from ‘native’ or ‘full blooded’ Kāi Tahu.

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63 Letter from George Howell, November 30th 1878, Inwards letters to Mackay from South Island half-castes, Volume of papers relating to Native Reserves, especially the claims of half-caste natives in the South Island (MA-MT Box 15), ANZW.
But as Damon Salesa states, “the category of half-caste was constantly in motion, anchored down only at particular moments in certain texts, as statues, ethnographies, censuses, judgments and myriad other acts of discourse”. 64 This was perhaps nowhere more true that in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island. Though officials set out to identify and contain ‘half-castes’ within a rigid and distinct geographical and ideological space, this process was complicated and contested not only by the lived experiences of mixed descent individuals, but also within the offices of colonial administrators, who themselves continued to debate the meanings contained within such legislation. Nevertheless, the policy and practices enacted to manage hybridity did impact upon the lives of mixed descent individuals in meaningful ways, for a number of whom the experience of colonialism was characterised by increasing marginalisation and poverty in settler society. However, the land claims process also opened up new spaces of engagement with the government, in which ‘half-castes’ were able to strategically assert their identity individually and collectively in attempts to improve their position and gain material benefit, as well as to contest the ways in which colonial officials sought to define them.

64 Salesa, 116.
Conclusion

By focusing on the experience of mixed descent families within Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, I have sought to explore the importance of marriage and family as 'gathering places': key spaces of early cultural encounter that have existed largely outside of the political framework and historiography of Crown-Māori relations. The particular experience of hybridity within this specific locality illustrates that both 'tense and tender ties' characterised the early colonial experience of mixed descent individuals in New Zealand.\(^1\) Each of the three chapters has explored the different spaces individuals gathered together as families and as a community during the early to mid nineteenth century. Initially these cross-cultural encounters took place within the gendered space of the sealing and whaling station, with the frequent marriage of Kāi Tahu women to newcomers a defining feature of the early contact period in southern New Zealand. Such relationships were important in underpinning the successful development of the early resource-based economy, and highlight that it was as much a social and cultural enterprise as an economic one. While there were a range of experiences of interracial intimacy, these relationships were overwhelming characterised by permanent and monogamous marriages and led to the formation of a significant mixed descent population within the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island region by the 1840s.

The homes of these mixed descent families represent the development of a new 'gathering place': a space in which hybrid and fluid cultural identities were formed, community relationships between both mixed descent and Kāi Tahu families affirmed, and the earliest engagement with both missionaries and government officials negotiated. While the communities of these mixed descent families centred around early whaling and trading stations, close social, cultural and physical ties were maintained with the surrounding Kāi Tahu kāika throughout the early to mid nineteenth century.

The social world within these settlements illustrate an historical moment in which an identifiable mixed descent community did emerge, yet it was neither as distinct or discrete as official observers and administrators made out in their attempts to delineate 'half-caste' and 'native' places in the Foveaux Strait landscape.

From the late 1840s, the gradual shift from marriages and services conducted by missionaries within mixed descent homes to gatherings within a church was representative of a larger demographic, social, political and economic shift in the Foveaux Strait landscape. The presence of formal colonial settlement in southern New Zealand opened up new sites of interaction and transformed older ones. As mixed descent settlements were transformed from whaling stations to colonial ports and townships, some prominent mixed descent families such as the Howells sought to refashion their identity and establish their status within the settler sphere. Within this world, Christianity, education, lifestyle and appearance became central in demarcating respectability. While physical and cultural hybridity allowed many mixed descent individuals to navigate within and between both the Kāi Tahu and settler social worlds, such hybridity could also be the source of loneliness and ambivalence. Caroline Howell’s experience of interracial marriage embodied the difficulty of occupying an intermediary position between different cultural milieus and fulfilling the expectations this position placed upon her.

The process of land acquisition which underwrote the process of formal European settlement itself created new ‘gathering places’ in which mixed descent individuals were forced to engage with government officials and in which they sought to articulate a collective identity. Early observers, followed by census enumerators, surveyors and land purchase commissioners, drew attention to the demographic and social significance of ‘half-castes’ around Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island. Most reports emphasised that the mixed descent families in this particular region lived primarily productive, settled and peaceful lifestyles, and were therefore deserving of government protection. Yet the potentially disruptive position of mixed descent individuals, whose very existence complicated racial boundaries, also necessitated government intervention to categorise, confine and manage this troubling population. The consequent impact of these ideas on the colonial government was most evident in the 1864 Rakiura Deed of Purchase which crystallised ‘half-castes’ as a distinct racial entity in the Foveaux Strait area, who occupied separate spaces both ideologically and geographically in the minds of colonial officials.

While such rigid definitions held little resemblance to the more complex and fluid lived experiences of mixed descent families in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, the racial categories imposed by the colonial government did shape the lives of mixed descent individuals in meaningful ways. Land sales, encroaching townships and pastoral runs disrupted the
occupation rights of mixed descent families which had previously been provided by their Kāi Tahu relatives; often leading to poverty, marginalisation, and at times tension between mixed descent and Kāi Tahu families. As a result, both the fathers of these families and mixed descent individuals asserted their rights to government aid and protection within the strategic sites of the Land Court and the offices and meeting places of the colonial administration.

Although these individuals were considered ambiguous and marginal in the nineteenth century, as figures who threatened Māori land ownership and troubled colonial officials with their ambiguous political and social allegiances, the place of mixed descent individuals within Kāi Tahu has been significantly reworked in the twentieth century. The contemporary conceptualisation of hybridity and indigeniety has shifted the historical perception of mixed descent individuals to include them as members of the Kāi Tahu whānui. Those women in early interracial marriages with sealers and whalers are represented as “founding mothers” of modern Kāi Tahu identity, illustrating the ways in which early newcomers have been incorporated into a drastically reconceptualised whakapapa. Moreover, interracial marriage has been crucial in shaping attitudes towards Kāi Tahu as the ‘white tribe’ today, in which hybridity in appearance and culture has raised questions over the authenticity of Kāi Tahu as ‘real’ Māori. Such responses perhaps highlight a continuation of the nineteenth century desire to define and categorise racial identity in simplistic terms, which, as I have shown in this dissertation, fail to account for the more complex and fluid lived experiences and personal identities of mixed descent individuals.

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2 David Haines, “Te Kāi A Te Rakatira: Kāi Tahu Leadership 1830-1844” (BA (Hons) Diss., University of Otago, 2003), 53; Angela Wanhalia, “Marrying ‘In’: the Geography of Intermarriage on the Taieri, 1830s-1920s,” in Landscape/Community: Perspectives from New Zealand History, eds. Tony Ballantyne and Judith A. Bennett (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2005), 78; Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson write that “Ngāi Tahu did not ‘disappear’ so much as transform themselves through intermarriage.” Perhaps the best evidence of this statement is found in the so-called ‘Blue Book’ listing ‘Ngāi Tahu Kaumatua Alive in 1848’, in which numerous mixed descent individuals from southern New Zealand are included, and whose descendents can therefore claim hereditary rights to Kāi Tahu resources. Te Maire Tau and Atholl Anderson, Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History - The Carrington Text (Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 2008), 204; Ngāi Tahu Māori Trust Board, Ngaitahu Kaumatua alive in 1848 as established by the Maori Land Court in 1925 and the Ngaitahu Census Committee in 1929 (Wellington: Printed by Wright & Carman, 1967).

3 Hana O’Regan, Ko Tahu, Ko Au: Kāi Tahu Tribal Identity (Christchurch: Horomāka Publishing, 2001), 25-26. There is also a significant emerging body of literature from sociology and psychology that explores the experience of being ‘half-caste’ in New Zealand today, but which does not always acknowledge explore the significance of the historical trajectory of interracial intimacies. See, for example, Avril Bell, “‘Half-castes’ and ‘White Natives’: The Politics of Māori-Pakeha Hybrid Identities,” in Cultural Studies in Aotearoa New Zealand: Identity, Space and Place, eds. Claudia Bell and Steve Matthewman (Auckland: Oxford University Press, 2004), 121-138.
Appendix A: Early intermarriages in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island and first generation mixed descent families

As far has been established, the details of the early Kāi Tahu-newcomer relationships in the Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island area have been compiled for reference below. Given the number of families listed, including individual whakapapa for each family was considered impractical. However, for each family, the relevant sources containing genealogical details (and at times also family histories and memories) have been footnoted for further reference.

The mobility of the early mixed descent families around the wider Otago-Southland region made it difficult to define who should be included in the table below, as did the multiple and cross-generational marriages between these individuals. I have attempted to include those families based primarily in the Foveaux Strait area, as well as those who spent a significant period in this region. There were, however, numerous other families (such as the Hughes) in this region for a time but who settled elsewhere, particularly at Otakou, Taieri or Moeraki.

Inevitably gaps remain in the details provided for many families, and there are families and individuals for whom little or no information has been found and who are therefore absent altogether. The available sources are also frequently contradictory and the difficulties in establishing particular details are acknowledged under ‘Other information’. Further research might resolve at least some of these issues.

For more general information on demographic patterns within early generations of mixed descent families across the wider Otago-Southland region, see Atholl Anderson’s Race Against Time.¹

<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anglem³</td>
<td>Captain William Anglem (also referred to as Harry)</td>
<td>Te Anau/Maria</td>
<td>c.1835</td>
<td>Ellen (Nera/Rena) Anglem c.1833- 15.12.1926 Elizabeth (Jane) Anglem c.1835- Mary Anglem c.1835- William Robert Anglem c. 1842- Christopher Anglem</td>
<td>The Neck, Rakirua/Stewart Island (1844)</td>
<td>Helen Anglem is also recorded as a child of this relationship, but further information about this individual, and whether she is one and the same as Ellen Anglem, is unknown. Captain Anglem was also possibly associated with a woman named Hutu.</td>
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</tbody>
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<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pura/Esther</td>
<td>Joseph</td>
<td>Married 7.2.1844 by</td>
<td>Margaret/Pakawhatu</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Pura previously the partner of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Antoni)</td>
<td>(Jose)</td>
<td>Bishop Selwyn</td>
<td>Remone/Antoni</td>
<td>Island (1844-1856)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Antonie Raymond/Remone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>c.1820</td>
<td>20.2.1837-</td>
<td>Joanna/Kamuku</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonie</td>
<td>Antonie</td>
<td>Daughter of Kauehe</td>
<td>Antonio Raymond</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20.2.1837</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.12.1840</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Susan/Kiore</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.1.1845-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Antonie</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848-1850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sarah Antonio</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.10.1849-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph Antoni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.8.1850</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Esther Antoni</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>5.10.1851-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hester/Hesta</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.7.1856-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Antoine</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1854-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Joseph?</td>
<td>-</td>
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</table>

1 Whakapapa and notes on Howell, Joss, West families, Wallace Early Settlers Museum; Garven, The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu Vol. 5, 85; F.G. Hall-Jones, Kelly of Inverkelly, 36; Howard, 90-93; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 19 (Entry 256), 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); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, Miscellaneous Births, Baptisms, Deaths, Marriages, 1844-1885, 20 (Entry 9) and 29 (Entry 79), HL; OASES Database, OSM; Case files – Addenda [William Andrew Anglem, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 19A), ANZW.

4 June McDougall, Bragg, Owen and Robert Families: Stewart Island Settlers (Dunedin: June McDougall, 1998), 109; Angela Middleton, Two Hundred Years on Codfish Island (Whenuahou) – from Cultural Encounter to Nature Reserve (Invercargill: Department of Conservation Southland Conservancy, 2007), 14; Garven, The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu Vol. 1. Table 8b, Vol. 4, 21, Vol. 5, 83; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 1 (Entry 16), 2 (Entry 17), 9 (Entry 118, Entry 122); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3 Marriages, 1850-1882, 19 (Entry 4); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, Deaths, 1850-1884, 21 (Entry 14), 34 (Entry 125), HL; List of Half-castes to be Provided with Land at or near the Neck, Stewart Island, Papers Relating to Survey of Native Reserves in the Provinces of Otago and Southland, including Claims of Half-castes at Stewart’s Island, AJHR 1870 (D-20), 5; Alphabetical List of Half-Caste Claims under The Stewart Island Grants Act, 1873, Papers relative to Half-Caste Claims in the South and Stewart Island, AJHR 1876 (G-9), 14.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name (Ballantine)</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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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ballantyne 5</td>
<td>Robert Lahey (Rauriki) Ballantyne c. 1808</td>
<td>‘Cramooh’/Mary</td>
<td>Married 5.2.1844 by Bishop Selwyn</td>
<td>Robert (Bob) Ballantyne c.1836/7-</td>
<td>The Neck, Rakiura/Stewart Island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bates 7</td>
<td>Nathaniel Bates 24.11.1819-13.7.1887</td>
<td>Hinepu Daughter of Pao and Te Whareraki of Otakou</td>
<td>Married c.1839-1840 according to Maori custom</td>
<td>Mary Ann Bates c.1840-17.11.1861 James Bates c.1845-28.8.1900 William Bates c.1845-1905</td>
<td>Halfmoon Bay, Rakiura/Stewart Island (1844) Jacob’s River</td>
<td>Hinepu disappears from the historical record after 1845. Descendants are unsure whether she died or was abandoned.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bates 8</td>
<td>Nathaniel Bates 24.11.1819-13.7.1887</td>
<td>Harriet/Kuihi Watson c.1832/3-1922 Daughter of Robert Watson and Parure</td>
<td>June 26th 1848, married at Ruapuke by Wohlers</td>
<td>Lydia Bates c.1848/9-Oct 1882 John Robert Bates 19.10.1852-15.5.1862 George Bates c.1853-17.12.1894 Richard Bates 8.1.1855-1910 Nathaniel Michael Bates</td>
<td>Rakiura/Stewart Island Jacob’s River/ Aparima Raymond’s Gap (from around 1880 lived on land here granted to Ann Williams under the 1877 Middle Island</td>
<td>In total, Nathaniel Bates is said to have fathered 33 children. However, only 27 are accounted for as children of his three partners listed here.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 16 (Entry 202); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 27 (Entry 69A); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 19 (Entry 7), HL; Notebook entitled, ‘Causal Allusions to the whalers made by Maoris in interviews given to Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9), HL; F.G. Hall-Jones, Kelly of Inverkelly, 37.

6 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 14 (Entry 178), 15 (Entry 199), 18 (Entry 238); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 25 (Entry 52), 29 (Entry 84), 29 (Entry 86); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 32 (Entry 101), HL; Notebook entitled, ‘Causal Allusions to the whalers made by Maoris in interviews given to Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9), HL.

7 Linda J. Scott, Finlay Bayne and Michael J. F. Connor, Nathaniel Bates of Riverton: His Families and Descendents (Christchurch: Bates Reunion Committee, 1994); Garven, The Genealogy of the Ngati Tahu Vol. 4, 24; F.G. Hall-Jones, Kelly of Inverkelly, 36-37; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 31 (Entry 95), HL.

8 Scott, Bayne and Connor; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 7 (Entries 81 & 82), HL.
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<th>Wife</th>
<th>Date of relationship</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Other information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bates</td>
<td>Nathaniel Bates 24.11.1819-13.7.1887</td>
<td>Ann Pauley nee Williams c. 1842/3-1899</td>
<td>Relationship began around 1864-1866. Never formally married as Bates already officially married to Harriet/Kuihi</td>
<td>Sarah Jane Pauley (Sarah Bates) 8.9.1863-</td>
<td>Jacob’s River/ Aparima Raymond’s Gap (from around 1880 lived on land here granted to Ann Williams under the 1877 Middle Island Half-Caste Land Grants Act)</td>
<td>A de facto partnership concurrent with on-going relationship with Harriet/Kuihi. Bates had meet adoptive mother of Ann Pauley, Titi Karaweko during employment at Centre Island in the early 1830s and also knew Ann’s father, James Williams, who arrived in Foveaux Strait with Captain Howell.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 Scott, Bayne and Connor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
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<th>Other information</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bragg²⁰</td>
<td>John Bragg</td>
<td>Waa</td>
<td>c.1820 - early 1850s (Wha, Wa, Ewha or Eva) Daughter of Kuao and Hinetokona</td>
<td>Relationship began around 1846 or 1847. Married 29.1.1851 at Halfmoon Bay by Bishop Selwyn</td>
<td>John Kaiporohu Bragg 26.5.1848-1933 Martha/Maata (Kula) Bragg 1850-1920</td>
<td>Halfmoon Bay, Rakiura/Stewart Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brown²¹</td>
<td>Captain Robert Brown c.1800 Died prior to 1844</td>
<td>Te Wharerimu</td>
<td>c.1800 Daughter of Tapui and Pitoeto</td>
<td>c. 1824-7</td>
<td>Thomas/Tame Brown c.1824/7- Caroline/Koronaki Brown c.1832-18.4.1899 Sarah/Tera Brown Fostered by the Edwards family</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁰ McDougall, 1-24, 297; Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 2, 47, Vol. 4, 167; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 26 (Entry 337), 29 (Entry 382), 30 (Entry 391), 31 (Entry 405), 32 (Entry 422), 35 (Entries 449 & 454), 36 (Entry 465) and 37 (Entry 475), HL.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Carter</td>
<td>John Carter</td>
<td>Hinewaeriki/Sarah</td>
<td>c. 1834? Married 5.2.1844 by Selwyn at The Neck</td>
<td>No biological children, but the recorded as foster parents of: Sarah (Sally or Tare) Owen 14.6.1854-1888 Daughter of John Owen and Tamiraki, in 1858 Jane Dallas Daughter of William Dallas and Motoitoi, in 1851 Charlotte Goodwillie c.1834- Daughter of Charles Goodwillie and Kura, in 1850, 1851 and 1858</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island (from 1834) Omaui Papatiki The Neck, Rakiura/ Stewart Island (1844)</td>
<td>Herries Beattie suggests John Carters was married a mixed descent woman named Nani – possibly a subsequent partner</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12 McDougall, 9-10; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 19 (Entry 1) and 31 (Entry 98), HL; Middleton, 16; Notebook entitled, ‘Causal Allusions to the whalers made by Maoris in interviews given to Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9), HL; F.G. Hall-Jones, *Kelly of Inverkelly*, 37.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chaseland 4 (Chasland, Chasling, Chaseling)</td>
<td>Thomas Chaseland (Tami Titereni) c.1802/3-5.6.1869</td>
<td>Margaret/Pakawhatu Antoni/Raymond 20.2.1837-</td>
<td>Married 15.8.1850 on Ruapuke by Wohlers.</td>
<td>Caroline/Kararaina Chaseland Aug/Sept. 1850-</td>
<td>Otaku/Murray’s River, Rakiura/ Stewart Island (1856)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mixed descent son of an Englishman and an unknown Australian Aborigine</td>
<td>Daughter of Anthony Raymond/Remond and Esther Leih Pura</td>
<td></td>
<td>Maria/Mararea Chaseland 5.6.1852-</td>
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<td>Thomas Chaseland 9.1.1854-</td>
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<td>John/Te Hopu Chaseland 26.6.1856-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>William Henry Chaseland c.1864-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Margaret Chaseland jnr.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chaseling) Mixed descent son Daughter of Anthony Maria!Maraea Chaseland</td>
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<td>of an Englishman Raymond/Remand and</td>
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<td></td>
<td>an unknown Esther Leah Pura</td>
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<td>5.6.1852-</td>
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<td>20.2.1837- Aug/Sept.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>1850-</td>
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<td>Stewart Island (1856)</td>
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<td>Chaseling) Mixed descent son</td>
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<td>Daughter of Anthony Maria!Maraea Chaseland</td>
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<td>of an Englishman Raymond/Remand and</td>
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<td>an unknown Esther Leah Pura</td>
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<td>5.6.1852-</td>
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<td>20.2.1837- Aug/Sept.</td>
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<td>1850- Stewart Island (1856)</td>
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<td>Chaseling) Mixed descent son</td>
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<td>an unknown Esther Leah Pura</td>
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<td>5.6.1852-</td>
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<td>20.2.1837- Aug/Sept.</td>
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<td>1850- Stewart Island (1856)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coupar 15 (Cooper)</td>
<td>Stewart Coupar</td>
<td>Atiru Te Mahana (Adelaide) Daughter of Tiorapu/Teioraki and Tuatara</td>
<td>Married 5.2.1844 by Bishop Selwyn</td>
<td>Ten or twelve children, including: Margaret Bruce Coupar c. 1840-</td>
<td>The Neck, Rakiura/ Stewart Island</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Helen Coupar c. 1842/4-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Ellen Coupar Rebecca/Ripeka Coupar c. 1844-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Louisa/Ruita Te Memeke Coupar 14.8.1846-1930</td>
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<td></td>
<td>William Coupar c. 1848-</td>
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<td>Robert (Rob) Coupar 8.12.1853-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>George Coupar</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

14 John Hall-Jones, “Chaseland, Thomas 1802/1803? – 1869”; Garven, The Genealogy of the Ngai Tahu Vol. 4, 21; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 9 (Entries 119, 120 & 121), 15 (Entry 191) and 19 (Entry 252); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 29 (entry 85), HL; Middleton, 17, 77; Alphabetical List of Half-Caste Claims under the Stewart Island Grants Act, 1873, AJHR 1876 (G-9), 14 and Copy of List of Half-Castes residing at the Neck, Stewart Island, in June 1864, as furnished by Mr. Commissioner Clarke, under date 3rd January, 1865, AJHR 1876 (G-9), 16.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dallas</td>
<td>William Dallas</td>
<td>Motoitoi Daugher of Te Whero and Urukehu</td>
<td>5.10.1856- James Coupar Phillis Coupar 27.6.1859-</td>
<td>Jane Dallas Fostered by Carter family Margaret Dallas Martha Dallas John Dallas? c. 1842-</td>
<td>The Neck, Rakiura/ Stewart Island (1844) Jacob's River/ Aparima</td>
<td>William Dallas subsequently married Margaret Anderson on 5.12.1854 at Ruapuke. Wohlers also records an individual named Motoitoi/Sarah in a relationship with Henry Hape in 14.2.1855. This is possibly a subsequent partner.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis</td>
<td>Joseph Davis</td>
<td>Mary Kaiea</td>
<td>Married 6.2.1844 by Selwyn at Otaku/Murray's River</td>
<td></td>
<td>Otaku/Murray's River, Rakiura/ Stewart Island</td>
<td>Joseph and Joe/John Davis are recorded with various Kāi Tahu partners, but little further information found on these individuals, and whether or not they are different people. Joseph Davis is recorded by Wohlers as the son of John Davis when he married Mary Ann Moss in 1859. He may in fact be the son of Joe/John Davis recorded here.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

15 Georgina Ellis, *Time and Tide: Ramblings, Recollections and Reminiscences of the Spencer Family*, 2nd ed. (Invercargill: Georgina Ellis, 2000); Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 3, 16, Vol. 4, 112; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 4 (Entry 47), 10 (Entry 128), 13 (Entry 177), 25 (Entry 329); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 26 (Entry 62); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 20 (Entry 8), 33 (Entry 33), 34 (Entry 118), HL; Return of Half-Castes to be provided with Land under the provision of The Stewart Island Grants Act, 1873, *AJHR* 1876 (G-9), 8.  
16 McDougall; Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 3, 67; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 5 (Entry 53); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 27 (Entry 72); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 29 (Entry 84), HL; Letter from Margaret Hurst nee Dallas and Martha Dallas to Minister of Native Affairs, December 19th 1892, Natives and Half-Castes in the South Island – Correspondence regarding Land Grants (LE 1893/153 Box 329), ANZW; Return of Half-Castes to be provided with Land under the provisions of The Stewart Island Grants Act, 1873, *AJHR* 1876 (G-9), 8.  
17 Middleton, 33.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Davis^18</td>
<td>Joe/John Davis</td>
<td>Tapu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Had children</td>
<td>Tiwai Point</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis^19</td>
<td>Joe/John Davis</td>
<td>Whakatipu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Had children</td>
<td>Tiwai Point</td>
<td>Fortrose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davis^20</td>
<td>George Davis (Rawiri) c.1808-25.2.1894</td>
<td>Kutumaimai Daughter of Pahihere and Huruhuru or Te Kai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Duncan Davis Sarah Alice (Hera Rawiri) Davis 1839-16.3.1875 Elizabeth Davis c.1841/3- William Davis 1856-1901</td>
<td>Halfmoon Bay, Rakiura/Stewart Island (1844) Jacob's River/Aparima</td>
<td>George Davis not a relative of Joe Davis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

^20 McDougall, 220; Garven, The Genealogy of the Ngati Tahu Vol. 6, 4; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 24 (Entry 45); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 31 (Entry 96), HL.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edwards22</td>
<td>Edward Edwards</td>
<td>Pania</td>
<td></td>
<td>John Edwards</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island Bluff</td>
<td>“son of an American who had left the place”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster23 (Forster)</td>
<td>James Foster</td>
<td>Tarewati</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ani Foster c.1842-</td>
<td>The Neck, Rakiura/ Stewart Island</td>
<td>John Connor (Tiaki Kona) was born at Stewart Island and also raised by French whaler Nicholas Robelia and Romatiki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foster24 (Forster)</td>
<td>James Foster</td>
<td>Waimea ('Whymere')</td>
<td>Married 17.2.1847 by Wohlers at Ruapuke</td>
<td>Jenny Foster Recorded as daughter of 'Tare Waimeha' Also cared for children by Foster's former wife: Ani Foster c.1842- Elizabeth Foster c.1844-</td>
<td>The Neck, Rakiura/ Stewart Island</td>
<td>Waimea subsequently married William Sherburd.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

21 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 20 (Entry 12) and 30 (Entry 89), HL; Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 1, Table 8c; Middleton, 17; Ellis, 24-25; Notebook entitled, ‘Causal Allusions to the whalers made by Maoris in interviews given to Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9), HL.
22 Middleton, 17; Notebook entitled, ‘Causal Allusions to the whalers made by Maoris in interviews given to Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9), HL.
23 “Family Biographies of the Taieri Mixed Descent Families”, Angela Wanhalla, personal papers, 9; Alphabetical List of Half-Caste Claims under The Stewart Island Grants Act, 1873, *AJHR* 1876 (G-9), 14; Copy of List of Half-castes residing at the Neck, Stewart Island, in June, 1864, as furnished by Mr. Commissioner Clarke, under date 3rd January 1865, *AJHR* 1876 (G-9), 16.
24 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 20 (Entry 11), HL.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
<th>Husband</th>
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<th>Date of relationship</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Other information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gilroy²⁵</td>
<td>Patrick (Paddy) Gilroy 10.5.1819-21.4.1903</td>
<td>Ellen (Nera or Rena) Anglem c.1833- 15.12.1926 Daughter of William Andrew Anglem and Maria Te Anau</td>
<td>November 1847</td>
<td>Thomas James Gilroy c.1849-</td>
<td>Bluff Oreti/New River</td>
<td>Paddy Gilroy has been immortalised in Frank Bullen's <em>The Cruise of the Catchalot</em>, the descriptions in which are frequently quoted in histories of early Bluff or southern whaling.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwillie²⁶ (Goodwilly)</td>
<td>Goodwillie (Probably Charles)</td>
<td>Tapuie Daughter of Taua Hora and Tupai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Sarah Goodwillie Tom Goodwillie</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwillie²⁷ (Goodwilly)</td>
<td>Charles Goodwillie</td>
<td>Kura</td>
<td></td>
<td>Charlotte Goodwillie Fostered by Carter family</td>
<td>The Neck, Rakiura/Stewart Island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goomes²⁸ (Goomes, Groomb, Groomes)</td>
<td>Emanuel/Manuel Goomes c. 1830</td>
<td>Joanna (Kamuku) Anthony/Antoni c. 1840 Daughter of Joseph Anthony and Esther Leah Pura</td>
<td>Married around 8.10.1858 by Wohlers at Ruapuke.</td>
<td>Manuel (Maniel) Goomes 10.8.1859- Richard John Goomes 16.2.1861- Esther Goomes 9.7.1863- Joseph Manuel Goomes 26.5.1865- Charles Franklin Goomes 1.8.1869-</td>
<td>Patersons Inlet, Rakiura/Stewart Island</td>
<td>Other children of this family noted to have died in infancy. Betsy, Eliza and Hesta Goomes all also recorded amongst the list of Half-Castes to be provided with land at the Neck, Stewart Island but do not feature in the whakapapa compiled by McDougall. Garven also records Manuel Goomes in relationship with</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

²⁷ McDougall, 9; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 25 (Entry 48), HL.  
²⁸ Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 14 (Entry 188B), 15 (Entry 189), 16 (Entry 214), 20 (Entry 263), 25 (Entry 335), 28 (Entry 367), 31 (Entry 413), 33 (Entry 427), 35 (Entry 453), Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 25 (Entry 50); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 32 (Entry 100), 36 (Entries 138 & Entry 139), HL; Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 1, Table 8b, Vol. 3, 11 & 55, Vol. 4, 21; McDougall, 109; List of Half-Castes to be Provided with Land at or near the Neck, Stewart Island, or elsewhere, *AJHR* 1870 (D-20), 5.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greenwood</td>
<td>Thomas Greenwood</td>
<td>Pipi/Pipa (Sally)</td>
<td>c. 1834</td>
<td>No children</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island</td>
<td>Hera Wira, but whether this was the partner of the father or the son is unknown.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Holmes      | John (James) Holmes | Tamairaki/Mary | Mary Anna/Merehana Holmes (also known as Mary Susanne Whitehouse) | Further details of relationship undocumented as over before arrival of missionaries in region. |

29 Middleton, 17-18, 24; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 10 (Entry 134), HL.
30 McDougall, 207-210, 272-275, 280.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
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<th>Residence</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honour 31</td>
<td>Joseph Honour</td>
<td>Popoia</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>c. 1837-1884 Island</td>
<td>Honours 31 Joseph Honour</td>
<td>On Bishop Selwyn's visit to Whenua Hou in 1844, he found Honour living with both Popoia and Waa, and refused to marry him on these grounds.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honour 32</td>
<td>Joseph Honour</td>
<td>Waa</td>
<td>1844</td>
<td>Dorcas Honour c.1837-1884 Mary Honour Jane Honour (Heni Kereti) c.1842-8.8.1865</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howell 33</td>
<td>Captain John Howell</td>
<td>Kohikohi (Koikoi)</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Teiti/George Robert Howell 1838-1937 Teriana/Sarah Ann Howell 1840-</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island</td>
<td>Jacob's River/Aparima</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31 McDougall, 3-4, 316; Middleton, 18; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 22 (Entry 25); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 30 (Entry 85), HL.
32 McDougall, 3-4, 316-320; Middleton, 18; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 31 (Entry 99), HL.
33 Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi; Eva Wilson, "Howell, John 1810? – 1874," Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, www.dnzb.govt.nz; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 31 (Entry 92), HL; Whakapapa and notes on Howell, Joss, West families, WESM.
34 Wilson, Hakoro Ki Te Iwi; Middleton, 15-16; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 6 (Entries 76 & 77) and 16 (Entry 209), HL.
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
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<th>Residence</th>
<th>Other information</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wharerimu</td>
<td></td>
<td>at Waikouaiti.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Fredrick William Howell</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Anna Maria Howell</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Thomas Theophilus Howell</td>
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<td>13.8.1855-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Matiāia Jane Howell</td>
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<td>10.9.1857-</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mary Elizabeth Howell</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Victoria Howell</td>
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<td>14.2.1861-23.1.1907</td>
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<td>Beatrice Howell</td>
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<td>14.2.1861-22.1.1864</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Robert Edward Howell</td>
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<td>5.11.1864-23.6.1933</td>
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<td>Blanche Ada Howell</td>
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<td>7.9.1866-5.4.1915</td>
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<td>James Leslie Theodore Howell</td>
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<td>16.6.1868-24.4.1929</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Gretchen Cecilia Daisy Howell</td>
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<td>1.6.1870-24.12.1892</td>
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<td>Ethel May Howell</td>
<td></td>
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<td>21.5.1872-6.4.1915</td>
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<td>Gerturde Frances Howell</td>
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<td>25.3.1874-3.12.1940</td>
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Hunter 35

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John Hunter</th>
<th>Jane Kawiti</th>
<th>After 1840</th>
<th>Louisa Hunter</th>
<th>Jacob's River/Aparima</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d.1875</td>
<td>Died around 1861</td>
<td>1853-1935</td>
<td>Charles Hunter</td>
<td>The Neck, Rakiura/Stewart Island</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Family Name</strong></th>
<th><strong>Husband</strong></th>
<th><strong>Wife</strong></th>
<th><strong>Date of relationship</strong></th>
<th><strong>Children</strong></th>
<th><strong>Residence</strong></th>
<th><strong>Other information</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joss&lt;sup&gt;37&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>James Joss</td>
<td>Caroline Pawaitaha or Puwaitaha (Puaitaha, Kuika, Kuikai) Daughter of Hinepipiwi and Pitaka</td>
<td>20.11.1842-1921 William Timaru Joss c.1845-24.12.1895</td>
<td>Walter Douglas or Kohiku Joss</td>
<td>The Neck, Rakiura/Stewart Island</td>
<td>There is some confusion over the children of Joss in Wohlers’ Ruapuke Registers, as he lists an Elizabeth Joss born around 1840-1841, who could either be the wife of Walter Douglas or the daughter by Julia Kurukuru, though in both circumstances the birthdate suggested is perhaps too early. A Margaret Joss is also recorded but further details unknown. In Volume 4, it is also recorded that “All christened by you (Wohlers). As also the mothers of them, The Squeker, named Caroline; the other Jane”, the latter possibly being Joss’ first wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joss&lt;sup&gt;38&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>James Joss</td>
<td>Julia Kurukuru</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mary Ann Joss Elizabeth Joss Julia Joss</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>36</sup> Howard, 93-98; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 20 (Entry 10) and 30 (Entry 87), HL; Whakapapa and notes on Howell, Joss, West families, WESM.

<sup>37</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 29 (Entry 87); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 20 (Entry 10), HL; Whakapapa and notes on Howell, Joss, West families, WESM; Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu*, Vol. 3, 32, Vol. 5, 39 & 77.

<sup>38</sup> Whakapapa and notes on Howell, Joss, West families, WESM; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 29 (Entry 83), HL; Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 3, 32.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kelly</td>
<td>John Kelly c.1800-16.5.1857</td>
<td>Hinetuhawaiki (Meri/Mary) c.1800-c.1850 Possibly the sister of Tuhawaiki</td>
<td>c. 1824 Married 1844 by Selwyn at Ruapuke</td>
<td>David Kelly c.1828- Katherine (Kitty) Kelly Mary Ann Jane Kelly c.1841/2-23.1.1915 Samuel Kelly David Kelly</td>
<td>Ruapuke (1840s) Bluff Seaward Bush, site of present day Invercargill (from c. 1856)</td>
<td>Hinetuhawaiki became one of the first Māori women baptised by Wohlers. Herries Beattie also discusses possibility Kelly had another wife prior to Hinetuhawaiki. This may possibly be Kuikui according to Garven. John Kelly married Christina Swan in 1850, after the death of Hinetuhawaiki.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leader</td>
<td>James Leader d. 5.1.1852</td>
<td>Meri Wehihore Daughter of Kiore and Whareau</td>
<td>1836</td>
<td>Eliza Leader James Leader c.1852/3- Elizabeth Leader</td>
<td>Jacob's River/ Aparima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>John Lee c.1780-c.1855/1856</td>
<td>Sarah/Timu Ngati Kahungunu</td>
<td>Married 5.2.1844 by Bishop Selwyn at The Neck</td>
<td>John Lee c.1825- Sarah Lee Dead by 1851 Thomas Lee Dead by 1851 James Lee c.1830-2, dead by August 1854 Elizabeth (Betsy) Lee c.1838-1945 Mary Ann Lee</td>
<td>Port Pegasus, Stewart Island from 1826 The Neck, Rakiura/ Stewart Island</td>
<td>Family history suggests that John Lee may have had a European wife in the mid 1820s, and that John Lee (junior) was a child of this relationship.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

40 Whakapapa and notes on Howell, Joss, West families, WESM; OASES Database; Middleton, 18; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 6 (Entry 69); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 2, 12 (Entry 12), HL; Schedule of application for land for Half-Caste families in the Province of Otago 1853, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 19 12 [6] Part 2), ANZW.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Moss</td>
<td>George Moss c.1810</td>
<td>Kirihautatu/Susanna c. 1815/1820- Daughter of Wahaka and Tuaru Also referred to as Ko Wirihana, Kirikauka, Kirihau, Kiddyhou, and Susan in Ruapuke Registers Daughter of Ko Whakaha and Ko Tuara, Kaiapoi</td>
<td>c.1835 Married 1844 by Bishop Selwyn at Ruapuke</td>
<td>Joseph Moss 22.7.1834- Mary Ann Moss c.1839/40-c.1912 Elizabeth Moss c.1843- Polly Moss</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island Ruapuke Oreti/New River</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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41 Lee family file, RM; Anderson, *Race Against Time*, 13; Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 4, 30; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 19 (Entry 2), 28 (Entry 75), 30 (Entries 86 & 88), 31 (Entry 95) and 35 (Entry 128), HL; OASES Database, OSM; Case files – Addenda [John Lee, Paterson Inlet, Stewart Island] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 8A & 17A), ANZW.

42 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 25 (Entry 53); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 19 (Entry 6), 23 (Entry 25) and 24 (Entry 34), HL; Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 1, Table 5c, Vol. 4, 102 &168; OASES Database, OSM; List of Half-castes to be Provided with Land at or near the Neck, Stewart Island, *AJHR* 1870 (D-20), 5.

<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>John Newton</td>
<td>Pi/Mary</td>
<td>c.1837</td>
<td>Alice Newton 1842-1850</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island</td>
<td>§Newton 44 Anderson, “Newton, Wharetutu Anne fl. 1827-1870”; Middleton, 19; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 7 (Entries 88 &amp; 89) and 17 (Entry 216), HL; Notebook entitled, ‘Causal Allusions to the whalers made by Maoris in interviews given to Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9), HL.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hannah Newton 1843-1850</td>
<td>Otaku/Murray’s River, Rakiura/</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Charley Newton 1847-</td>
<td>River Charley Newton</td>
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<td></td>
<td>David Newton 1849-1849</td>
<td>Steward Island (1844)</td>
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<td>Richard Newton June 1852-</td>
<td>Oreti/New River</td>
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<td></td>
<td>William Newton Feb 1855-</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Andrew John Newton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family Name</td>
<td>Husband</td>
<td>Wife</td>
<td>Date of relationship</td>
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<tr>
<td>Newton</td>
<td>John Newton</td>
<td>Kowhiowhio</td>
<td>c.1857-</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owen</td>
<td>John Owen</td>
<td>Tamairaki/Mary</td>
<td>c. 1839</td>
<td>Ann Holmes</td>
<td>Wheuna Hou/Codfish Island</td>
<td>Tamairaki/Mary earlier the partner of John (James) Holmes.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter of Kāi Tahu family, Jacob Haumai and Lisey Hinekoau</td>
<td></td>
<td>16.12.1836-6.9.1886</td>
<td>Jacob’s River/ Aparima (1844)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Daughter from Tamairaki’s relationship with John Holmes</td>
<td>Smoky Cave and Murray’s River, Rakiura/Stewart Island (also 1844)</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Roger Owens</td>
<td>The Neck, Rakiura/ Stewart Island by December 1888</td>
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<td>28.2.1840-1884</td>
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<td>John (or Jack) Owens</td>
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<td>12.7.1842-2.10.1880</td>
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<td>James Owens</td>
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<td>15.12.1844-ca.1850</td>
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<td>George Owens</td>
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<td>5.3.1847-1871</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mary (Kuiki, Queenie or Polly) Owens</td>
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<td>1.10.1851-15.7.1904</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jane (Tini, Jenny or Chloe) Owens</td>
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<td>1852-20.12.1934</td>
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<td>Sarah (Sally or Tare) Owens</td>
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<td>14.6.1854-1888</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fostered by John and Sarah/Hinewaieroki Carter</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Robert Owens</td>
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<td></td>
<td>30.7.1857-19.8.1877</td>
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</table>

45 Middleton, 19.
46 McDougall, 206-210, 250, 270-271; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 9 (Entry 114), 11 (Entries 150 & 151) and 12 (Entry 152), Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 28 (Entry 78); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 21 (Entry 15), HL; Middleton, 20; Copy of List of Half-Castes residing at the Neck, Stewart Island, in June, 1864, as furnished by Mr. Commissioner Clarke, under date 3rd January 1865, AHJR 1876 (G-9), 16.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Palmer</td>
<td>Edwin Palmer Sr. 4.3.1804-1886</td>
<td>Irihapati Patahi Niece of Kaioneone</td>
<td>Late 1820s - c.1850</td>
<td>Betsy Palmer 1829-</td>
<td>Preservation Inlet Tautuku</td>
<td>Edwin Palmer subsequently married Beatrice Fowler in 1851. Irihapati’s experiences of interracial intimacy are explored by Angela Wanhalla in “One White Man I Like Very Much.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer</td>
<td>William Palmer 18.7.1815-4.3.1903 Also known as George</td>
<td>Titi Hinewai Daughter of Te Maikoumaitai and Te Ruahine/Te Rahui</td>
<td></td>
<td>Five children with two Kāi Tahu partners: Elizabeth Palmer 1838-1924 Harriet Palmer d.1848 Mary Palmer 1843-1920 Eliza Palmer 1845-c.1853 Hannah Palmer 1847-1940</td>
<td>Tautuku</td>
<td>Titi Hinewai and Te Haukawe (Kuini) sisters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer</td>
<td>William Palmer 18.7.1815-4.3.1903</td>
<td>Te Haukawe/Kuini</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

49 McDougall, 280-282.
50 Ibid.
<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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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palmer</td>
<td>James Henry Palmer</td>
<td>c.1860-</td>
<td>John Edwin Palmer</td>
<td>c.1862-</td>
<td>George Palmer</td>
<td>1862-1929</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beatrix Fowler Palmer</td>
<td>1867-1935</td>
<td>Henry Palmer</td>
<td>1870-1895</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Charles Palmer</td>
<td>1873-1956</td>
<td>Frederick Palmer</td>
<td>c.1875-1958</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Amos Palmer</td>
<td>c.1877-1895</td>
<td>William Palmer</td>
<td>Bluff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parker</td>
<td>John Parker</td>
<td>c.1780</td>
<td>Kāi Tahu wife</td>
<td>Died by 1844</td>
<td>Mary/Tini-rau-waho Parker</td>
<td>c.1825/1831-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>John/Jack Parker</td>
<td>John/Jack Parker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>William Parker</td>
<td>Bluff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauley</td>
<td>George Pauley Snr.</td>
<td>c.1810-1848</td>
<td>Pahau</td>
<td>Dead by 1844</td>
<td>John Pauley</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>George Pauley Teone Poare</td>
<td>c.1837-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jacob’s River/ Aparima</td>
<td>Colac Bay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauley</td>
<td>George Pauley</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ann Williams</td>
<td>Married 6.5.1861, in</td>
<td>Joseph Pauley</td>
<td>Jacob’s River/</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Ann Pauley (nee Williams)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

51 Ruapuke Registers, Vol. 3, 20 (Entry 15); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 29 (Entry 79), HL; Middleton, 21; Notebook entitled, ‘Causal Allusions to the whalers made by Maoris in interviews given to Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9), HL; OASES Database, OSM.
53 Scott, Bayne and Connor.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teoti Poare</td>
<td>c. 1842/3-1899</td>
<td>the house of Mr Cameron, Riverton</td>
<td>1862-1868</td>
<td>Sarah Pauley</td>
<td>Aparima</td>
<td>subsequently left the Pauley home, with her children, to become the de facto partner of Nathaniel Bates. Although this is second generation marriage it is included here due to the interconnections with the Bates family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>George Pauley</td>
<td>Mary Pi</td>
<td>Mary Pi moved in to Pauley's household shortly after Ann moved out in the 1860s</td>
<td>No children</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauley</td>
<td>John Paulin</td>
<td>c. 1827</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Not an interracial marriage, but included here as the Paulins brought up many mixed descent individuals of these families and were embedded in the community through their connections to the Howell family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Price</td>
<td>Jack Price</td>
<td>Hineawhitia</td>
<td>c. 1827</td>
<td></td>
<td>Pahia/Cosy Nook (1826)</td>
<td>Hineawhitia subsequently the partner of John Williams c. 1827</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54 Ibid.
55 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 31 (Entry 97), HL; Schedule of application for land for Half-Caste families in the Province of Otago 1853, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 19 12 [b] Part 2), ANZW; Wilson, *Hakoro Kī Te Iwi*, 19; Scott, Bayne and Connor, 259; Thompson, 20-21.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Printz</td>
<td>George Printz 14.2.1827-8.9.1898</td>
<td>Pokuru/Margaret c.1820 Daughter of Huruhuru</td>
<td>1855 Not married</td>
<td>No children but foster parents of: George Printz c.1845- Son of Tanewha and Tahe</td>
<td>Jacob’s River/ Aparima Oreti/New River Pahia</td>
<td>Wohlers writes of Pokuru “She is living with George Printz a European since many years. He refuses to be married to her.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printz</td>
<td>George Printz 14.2.1827-8.9.1898</td>
<td>Catherine Risetto (nee Acker) 1842-26.8.1885 Daughter of Lewis Acker and Mary Pi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Harry Printz George Printz William Printz Lewis Printz Rupert Printz Annie Printz Ellen Printz Rachel Printz One or two other unnamed children</td>
<td>Jacob’s River/ Aparima Pahia Durwood Station</td>
<td>Catherine previously married to John Baptiste Risetto.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Raymond</td>
<td>Antonie (Raymonde or Raymond) Remone</td>
<td>Pura/Esther Leah c.1820</td>
<td></td>
<td>Margaret/Pakawhatu Remone/Antoni</td>
<td>Otaku/Murray’s River, Rakiura/</td>
<td>Pura the partner of Joseph Antoni from around 1839-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56 Anderson, *Race Against Time*, 8; Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 1 Table 5c; Middleton, 22.
57 F.G. Hall-Jones, *Invercargill Pioneers* (Invercargill: Southland Historical Committee, 1946), 38-39; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 5 (Entries 52 & 54), HL.
60 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 1 (Entry 16); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 19 (Entry 4); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 21 (Entry 14), HL; McDougall, 109.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Remone)</td>
<td>Dead by 1844</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20.2.1837-</td>
<td>Stewart Island</td>
<td>1840. Margaret is brought up in the Antoni household after Pura marries Joseph Antoni and at times her surname is recorded as Antoni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russell61</td>
<td>John Russell d. 11.11.1833</td>
<td>Meriana Teitei 1811-1852 Daughter of Tutupahi and Pikiraurahi of Pahia</td>
<td>Pokiri/Susan/Huahana Russell 11.11.1833-Nov. 1907 Fostered by Hineawhitia and John Williams</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island (until 1833)</td>
<td>Meriana Teitei subsequently moved north to Moeraki, marrying William Isaac Haberfield</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shephard62</td>
<td>William Shephard d. 9.6.1906</td>
<td>Jane Pi c.1815</td>
<td>Not formally married</td>
<td>William Shephard June 1851-</td>
<td>Bluff</td>
<td>Wohlers writes of Pi “She has been living with William Shepherd for many years. He will not be married.” Little detail is otherwise known of William Shephard and his other relationships, though he appears to have been a friend and advisor to Mere Kauri, the wife of James Spencer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shephard63</td>
<td>William Shephard d. 9.6.1906</td>
<td>Jane Rawaho</td>
<td></td>
<td>Thomas Shephard 2.4.1860-</td>
<td>Bluff</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherburd64</td>
<td>William Sherburd c. 1801/4</td>
<td>Waiamea (or Tarewhaititi) Daughter of Te Makahi and Hinetaupu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Jane Sherburd?</td>
<td>Papatiki (the ‘Old Neck”)</td>
<td>Waiamea previously the partner of James Foster and raised Tiaki and Ani Foster as well as her own daughter Jenny</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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62 Ellis; Ruapuke Registers Vol. i, 7 (Entries 84 & 85), HL; Evidence of William Shephard recorded by J. Newton Watt, Resident Magistrate in Case files [James Spencer, Bluff Harbour] (OLC 1 Box 18 OLC 427), ANZW.  
63 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 13 (Entry 170), HL.  
64 Sherburd family file, RM; “Family Biographies of the Taieri Mixed Descent Families”, 9-11.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Foster</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Foster. Ani and Jenny Foster married brothers Bill and Bob Sherburd, the sons of Waimea's second partner William Sherburd. The interconnections between these families are complex and difficult to clearly delineate, a problem Wohlers also appears to have experienced.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherburd65</td>
<td>William Sherburd c. 1801/4</td>
<td>Sarah Forster or Foster c. 1826 (‘Māori widow’)</td>
<td>Married 5.4.1861 at Ruapuke Mission House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wohlers writes “They being both aged persons, and having lived together for many years as husband and wife, their marriage was simply solemnized, after having just been baptised.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith66</td>
<td>Daniel Smith</td>
<td>Neke/Mary Dead by 1851</td>
<td>Married 6.2.1844 by Bishop Selwyn</td>
<td>Mary Ann Smith 8.2.1844- Jane Smith 20.9.1846- Samuel Smith 1848- Recorded living with Greenwood in 1851</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island Otaku/Murray’s River, Rakiura/ Stewart Island (1844)</td>
<td>Daniel Smith moved to Hawkes Bay by 1851. Thomas Jones of Otaku, who was born 1847, and recorded as the son of a European called Smith and Meke and adopted by Thomas Jackson, may also be a son of Daniel Smith and Neke.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spencer67</td>
<td>James Spencer 1790-1846 Also known by surname Power</td>
<td>Hineraukawakawa (Pina) From Temuka</td>
<td>Teone Paina c.1833-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bluff (1824 onwards)</td>
<td>Hineraukawakawa later married a European</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

65 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 26 (Entries 347 & 348), 27 (Entry 352), Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 26 (Entry 64); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 33 (Entry 109), HL.  
66 Ruapuke Registers Vol. 1, 9 (Entry 115); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 27 (Entry 68); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 21 (Entry 13), HL; Middleton, 24.  
67 Ellis; Hall-Jones, Bluff Harbour, 17-20.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Spencer⁶⁸</td>
<td>James Spencer 1790-1846  Also known by surname Power</td>
<td>Mere Kauri (Tini Rahau Rawaho or Mary Jane) c.1816-24.4.1876 Daughter of Hinerawaho and Te Aotu</td>
<td>Married 27.1.1841 ay Waikouaiti by James Watkins, recorded as the first Christian union in the South Island</td>
<td>James Spencer 23.2.1842-1903 William Te-paro Spencer 3.9.1844-1938</td>
<td>Bluff</td>
<td>Spencer managed the one of the Bluff whaling station from its establishment in 1836-1837, Mere Kauri remarried William Shephard on Ruapuke Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stevens⁶⁹</td>
<td>William Stevens</td>
<td>Irehapeti Daughter of Taki</td>
<td></td>
<td>Possible parents of: John G. Stevens Charles Stevens Rachel Matilda Stevens</td>
<td>Jacob’s River/ Aparima</td>
<td>William Stevens is recorded in the Bates family history as residing on a boat in Riverton with Irehapeti despite the fact his legal wife Nellie lived in the area. William Stevens is not related to the other Stevens family of Jacob’s River, who were related to the Howells.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirling⁷⁰</td>
<td>William Stirling 1810-19.12.1851</td>
<td>Mary Parker c.1825/31 Daughter of John Parker</td>
<td>Married 4.2.1844 by Bishop Selwyn</td>
<td>John Stirling c.1840-1.10.1920</td>
<td>Bluff</td>
<td>William Stirling the manager of one of the Bluff whaling stations, established by Johnny Jones in 1836.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirling⁷¹</td>
<td>William Stirling</td>
<td>Te Huikai Daughter of Takatamakere and Aweko</td>
<td></td>
<td>Teone Stirling</td>
<td></td>
<td>This relationship is recorded by Garven, and may be a relationship that predates Stirling’s marriage to Mary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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⁶⁹ Scott, Bayne and Connor, see Introduction; Garven, *The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu* Vol. 1, Table 9, Vol. 5, 59; Letter from John G. Stevens, Charles Stevens and Rachel Matilda Stevens to Native Minister, August 4th 1881, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 19 12[a] Part 1), ANZW.

⁷₀ Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 31 (Entry 96), HL; Hall-Jones, *Bluff Harbour*, 27-28; OASES Database, OSM.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Thomas72</td>
<td>William Thomas</td>
<td>Tukuwaha/Mary (Tukiwaka/Tukiwaho)</td>
<td>Married 5.2.1844 by Selwyn at the Neck</td>
<td>William Thomas Jnr. c.1835- Mary Thomas c.1836/7- Jane Thomas c.1838- Elizabeth Thomas c.1842- Eliza Thomas c.1844- Charles Thomas c.1846- John Thomas c.1848- George Thomas 14.4.1851- Emma Thomas 23.5.1853- Caroline Thomas 27.10.1854- Francis Thomas 3.7.1856-</td>
<td>The Neck and Paterson's River, Rakirua/Stewart Island</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watson73</td>
<td>Robert Watson</td>
<td>Parure</td>
<td>Died between Oct 1845-1848</td>
<td>Harriet/Kuhi Watson c.1832/3-11.5.1922 James Watson c.1836-</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island (c.1824) Halfmoon Bay, Rakirua/Stewart Island (1844)</td>
<td>Parure arrived in Foveaux Strait area around 1828-30 to avoid the conflict with Te Rauparaha further north.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

72 Raupuke Registers Vol. 1, 2 (Entry 27), 4 (Entry 48) and 9 (Entries 110 & 111); Raupuke Registers Vol. 4, 19 (Entry 4) and 28 (Entry 77); Duane Allen, “Plaque recognises Māori mothers”, *Southland Times*, 9.2.2000; Letter from son-in-law of Mr William Thomas to Alexander Mackay, December 6th 1878, Volume of papers relating to Native Reserves, especially the claims for half-caste natives in the South Island (MA-MT 6 Box 15), ANZW.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family Name</th>
<th>Husband</th>
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<th>Date of relationship</th>
<th>Children</th>
<th>Residence</th>
<th>Other information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>Henry West</td>
<td>Titapu</td>
<td>c.1836</td>
<td>Te Here/Harry West</td>
<td>Otakou</td>
<td>Te Here/Harry West brought up by grandfather Pokene as parents died during his childhood.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>c.1830</td>
<td>c.1820</td>
<td></td>
<td>c.1837-26.3.1904</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter of chief Pokene and Hinetaumai</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>John Williams</td>
<td>Hineawhitia</td>
<td>c.1836</td>
<td>Recorded having no biological children but cared for numerous others, including: Pokiri (Susan or Huhana) Russell 11.11.1833- Daughter of John Russell and Meriana Teitei</td>
<td>Preservation Inlet Halfmoon Bay, Rakiura/Stewart Island</td>
<td>Hineawhitia previously the partner of Jack Price.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter of chief Pahi and Piki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The parentage of Ann Williams remains disputed, as discussed in Scott, Bayne and Connor’s family history.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wixon</td>
<td>Henry Wixon</td>
<td>Teakikaika/Emma</td>
<td>Married 14.12.1851 at Waikouaiti</td>
<td>Elizabeth Wixon</td>
<td>Hawksbury Waikouaiti/Karitane Retired to Waimate</td>
<td>James Henry brought up by relatives on Stewart Island.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Wixen)</td>
<td>c.1805-1888</td>
<td>c.1830</td>
<td></td>
<td>c.1838-1905</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Also spelt Te Aki Kapinga and Teaki Kāka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>James Henry (Jimmy) Wixon c.1839-1925</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Daughter of Makuru and Te Kawe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>John Alias Morgan Wixon c.1841-1913</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Annie Wixon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

74 Whakapapa and notes on Howell, Joss, West families, WESM; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 25 (Entry 49); Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 31 (Entry 99), HL; McDougall, 318; OASES Database, OSM.
75 Anderson, Race Against Time, 8; Scott, Bayne and Connor, 270-271; Middleton, 22-23; Donaldson, James J. Genealogical Papers (MS-Papers-2332), ATL; Letter from Nathaniel Bates, Riverton to Alexander Mackay, April 25th 1874, Volume of papers relating to Native Reserves, especially the claims for half-caste natives in the South Island (MA-MT 6 Box 15), ANZW.
76 McDougall, 216-217; Garven, The Genealogy of the Ngāi Tahu Vol. 6, 2,3 & 5; Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 35 (Entry 131), HL; Notebook entitled, ‘Causal Allusions to the whalers made by Maoris in interviews given to Herries Beattie between 1900-1950’, James Herries Beattie Papers (MS-582/G/9), HL; Schedule of application for land for Half-Caste families in the Province of Otago 1853, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 19 12 [b] Part 2), ANZW.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wixon</td>
<td>Henry Wixon</td>
<td>Annie Kaikai</td>
<td></td>
<td>Listed with ten ‘half-caste’ children, as above. Some maybe possibly the children of Annie Kaikai, not Teakikaika/Emma</td>
<td></td>
<td>Annie Kaikai is listed as Henry Wixon’s wife in government papers on the Middle Island Half-Caste Land Claims and Henry Wixon’s Old Land Claim.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodman</td>
<td>Henry Woodman</td>
<td>Meke</td>
<td></td>
<td>No children but in 1844 recorded caring for: Elizabeth/Peti Hurene Brown c.1838- Daughter of Robert Brown &amp; Te Wharerimu</td>
<td>Whenua Hou/Codfish Island (1829, 1844) Smoky Cove, Rakia/Stewart Island Jacob’s River/ Aparima (1850s)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wybrow</td>
<td>James Wybrow</td>
<td>Temuka</td>
<td></td>
<td>James Wybrow</td>
<td>Toitoi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

77 Schedule of application for land for Half-Caste families in the Province of Otago 1853, Land Claims of South Island Half-Castes, Special File No. 10 (MA 13 Box 19 12 [b] Part 2), ANZW; Case files – Addenda [Joseph Croome, Hawksbury (18A); Henry Wixon, Hawksbury (20A); Richard Sizemore, Hawksbury (20B)] (OLC 1 Box 72 OLC 18A, 20A 20B), ANZW.

78 Middleton, 25.
<table>
<thead>
<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>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>79 (or Whybrow)</td>
<td>c.1815-18.6.1878</td>
<td>c.1820-25.9.1846</td>
<td>c.1842/4-&lt;br&gt;William Wybrow c.1844-20.11.1859 or 1861&lt;br&gt;John Wybrow&lt;br&gt;c.1846-1862</td>
<td>Tautuku Otara</td>
<td>have had a total of ten mixed descent children.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Marriages within the first generation mixed descent children in Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island recorded by Johannes Wohlers

The following table lists the marriages between the first generation children of mixed descent families of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island that were recorded by Johannes Wohlers in the Ruapuke Marriage Registers between 1845 and 1884. While there are numerous other sources in which further marriages are recorded or registered, these examples highlight the degree of interconnection between mixed descent families in this area during the mid-nineteenth century.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partner</th>
<th>Partner</th>
<th>Date of marriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Robert Ballantyne</td>
<td>Ani/Ann Foster (Forster)</td>
<td>October 13th 1861&lt;sup&gt;1&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Kaiporohu Bragg</td>
<td>Sarah Owen</td>
<td>Certificate to marry May 23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; 1873&lt;sup&gt;2&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Brown</td>
<td>Mary Thomas</td>
<td>October 28&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; 1851&lt;sup&gt;3&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Davis</td>
<td>Mary Ann Moss</td>
<td>January 29&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; 1859&lt;sup&gt;4&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Haberfield</td>
<td>Elizabeth Newton</td>
<td>October 23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; 1870&lt;sup&gt;5&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walter Joss</td>
<td>Elizabeth moss</td>
<td>April 3&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; 1864&lt;sup&gt;6&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Joss</td>
<td>Mary Ann Cameron</td>
<td>July 23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; 1882&lt;sup&gt;7&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Lee</td>
<td>Ann Lidiard</td>
<td>August 16&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; 1851&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Lee</td>
<td>Mary Ann Wilson</td>
<td>May 23&lt;sup&gt;rd&lt;/sup&gt; 1873&lt;sup&gt;9&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>David Lovett</td>
<td>Hester Antony</td>
<td>February 15&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; 1872&lt;sup&gt;10&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Wesley Moses</td>
<td>Phyllis Coupar</td>
<td>October 11&lt;sup&gt;th&lt;/sup&gt; 1876&lt;sup&gt;11&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>1</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, Marriages, 1850-1882, 27 (Entry 69A), HL.
<sup>2</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, Miscellaneous Births, Baptisms, Deaths and Marriages, 1844-1885, 36 (Entry 136), HL.
<sup>3</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 20 (Entry 9); Vol. 4, 28 (Entry 77), HL.
<sup>4</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 25 (Entry 53), HL.
<sup>5</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 34 (Entry 122), HL.
<sup>6</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 33 (Entry 115), HL.
<sup>7</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 29 (Entry 88), HL.
<sup>8</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 19 (Entry 7); Vol. 4, 28 (Entry 75), HL.
<sup>9</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 35 (Entry 128), and 36 (Entry 135), HL.
<sup>10</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 34 (Entry 125), HL.
<sup>11</sup> Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 29 (Entry 83), HL.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Partner</th>
<th>Partner</th>
<th>Date of marriage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>William Newton</td>
<td>Caroline Chaseland</td>
<td>November 16(^{th}) 1876(^{12})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jacob Newton</td>
<td>Margaret Moss</td>
<td>October 25(^{th}) 1872(^{13})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joseph Newton</td>
<td>Betzy Honors</td>
<td>May 11(^{th}) 1855(^{14})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Parker</td>
<td>Elizabeth Jane Anglem</td>
<td>June 5(^{th}) 1853(^{15})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Te-paro Spencer</td>
<td>Louisa Te Memeke Coupar</td>
<td>October 16(^{th}) 1866(^{16})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Stirling</td>
<td>Elizabeth Davis</td>
<td>January 22(^{nd}) 1858(^{17})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Isaiah Waitiri</td>
<td>Elizabeth Ballantyne</td>
<td>January 8(^{th}) 1878(^{18})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Te Here/Harry West</td>
<td>Dorcas Honour</td>
<td>September 30(^{th}) 1858(^{19})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Henry Wixon</td>
<td>Mary Clark</td>
<td>February 21(^{st}) 1880(^{20})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{12}\) Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 29 (Entry 29), HL.
\(^{13}\) Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 34 (Entry 126), HL.
\(^{14}\) Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 22 (Entry 25); Vol. 4, 30 (Entry 85), HL.
\(^{15}\) Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 20 (Entry 15); Vol. 4, 29 (Entry 79), HL.
\(^{16}\) Ruapuke Registers Vol. 4, 34 (Entry 118), HL.
\(^{17}\) Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 24 (Entry 45), HL.
\(^{18}\) Ruapuke Registers Vol. 3, 29 (Entry 86), HL.
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