

# Endnotes

## Abbreviations

AJHR, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*

NZPD, *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*

## Chapter 1. Intimate Histories

- 1 Bruce Biggs, *Maori Marriage: An Essay in Reconstruction*, Polynesian Society, Wellington, 1960, p.27.
- 2 Biggs, *Maori Marriage*, p.27.
- 3 Biggs, *Maori Marriage*, pp.40–2, 45.
- 4 Herries Beattie, *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori: The Otago University Museum Ethnological Project*, Atholl Anderson (ed.), Otago University Press, Dunedin, 1994, p.95.
- 5 Biggs, *Maori Marriage*, p.33.
- 6 Biggs, *Maori Marriage*, p.83.
- 7 Biggs, *Maori Marriage*, p.47.
- 8 Hazel Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry: Māori Tribal Enterprise in Early Colonial New Zealand*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2006, p.12.
- 9 Atholl Anderson was the first scholar to examine the history of interracial marriage and mixed-descent people in southern New Zealand, in *Race Against Time: The Early Maori-Pakeha Families and the Development of the Mixed-race Population in Southern New Zealand*, Hocken Library, Dunedin, 1991.
- 10 See Atholl Anderson and Te Maire Tau (eds), *Ngāi Tahu: A Migration History. The Carrington Text*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2008.
- 11 Paul Monin, *This Is My Place: Hauraki Contested, 1769–1875*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 2001, p.92.
- 12 Edward Jerningham Wakefield, *Adventure in New Zealand from 1839 to 1844*, Whitcombe & Tombs, Christchurch, 1908, p.27.
- 13 Anderson, *Race Against Time*, p.4; Trevor Bentley, *Pakeha Maori: The Extraordinary Story of the Europeans who Lived as Maori in Early New Zealand*, Penguin, Auckland, 1999, p.62.
- 14 Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, p.197.
- 15 Petrie, *Chiefs of Industry*, p.48.
- 16 Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand*, Penguin, Auckland, 2003, pp.122–3.
- 17 James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, Penguin, Auckland, 1996, pp.152–3.
- 18 Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-trade Society, 1670–1870*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1980; Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1980; Adele Perry, *On the Edge of Empire: Gender, Race and the Making of British Columbia, 1849–1871*, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 2001.
- 19 Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, p.4.
- 20 Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*; Susan Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes*, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 2001.
- 21 David Haines, ‘In Search of the “Wahaheen”’: Ngai Tahu Women, Shore Whalers, and the Meaning of Sex in Early New Zealand’, in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds), *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 2009, p.50.
- 22 Haines, ‘In Search of the “Wahaheen”’, p.50.
- 23 Atholl Anderson, *When All the Moa Ovens Grew Cold: Nine Centuries of Changing Fortune for the Southern Maori*, Otago Heritage Books, Dunedin, 1983; Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethnohistory of Southern Maori, AD 1650–1850*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 1998; Bill Dacker, *The Pain and the Love – Te Mamae me te Aroha: A History of Kai Tahu Whanui in Otago, 1844–1994*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 1994; Harry Evison, *Te Wai Pounamu: The Greenstone Island: A History of the Southern Maori during the European Colonization of New Zealand*, Aoraki Press/Ngai Tahu Maori Trust Board, Wellington, 1993; Harry Evison, *The Long Dispute: Maori Land Rights and European Colonisation in Southern New Zealand*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 1997.

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- 25 Munro, 'Notes of a Journey', p.246.
- 26 Munro, 'Notes of a Journey', p.245.
- 27 Jill Hamel, *The Archaeology of Otago*, Department of Conservation, Wellington, 2001, pp.80–81.
- 28 Thelma Smith, *Tai-ari Ferry and Henley 'Our Native Place'*, Otago Daily Times & Witness Newspapers, Dunedin, 1941; Margaret S. Shaw, *The Taieri Plain: Tales of the Years that are Gone*, Otago Centennial Historical Publications, Dunedin, 1949; Gwen Sutherland, *Coast, Road and River: The Story of Taieri Mouth, Taieri Beach, Glenledi and Akatore*, Clutha Leader Print, Invercargill, 1962; Win Parkes and Kath Hislop, *Taieri Mouth and its Surrounding Districts*, Otago Heritage Books, Dunedin, 1980; Ronald J. Stuart, Henley, *Taieri Ferry and Otokia: A Schools and District History*, Reunion Committee, Outram, 1981.
- 29 Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 2002; Antoinette Burton, 'Rules of Thumb: British History and "Imperial Culture" in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-century Britain', *Women's History Review*, Vol.3, No.4, 1994, pp.483–501; Antoinette Burton, 'Some Trajectories of "Feminism" and "Imperialism"', *Gender and History*, Vol.10, No.3, 1998, pp.558–68; Antoinette Burton, 'Thinking Beyond the Boundaries: Empire, Feminism and the Domains of History', *Social History*, Vol.26, No.1, 2001, pp.60–71; Robert J. C. Young, *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, Routledge, London, 1995; Claire Midgley (ed.), *Gender and Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1998; Angela Wollacott, *Gender and Empire*, Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke, 2006; Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest*, Routledge, London, 1995; Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds), *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, Duke University Press, Durham, 2005; Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds), *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility and Intimacy in an Age of Empire*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 2009.
- 30 Monin, *This Is My Place*, p.1.
- 31 Bentley, *Pakeha Maori*, p.207.
- 32 Barbara Brookes and Margaret Tennant, 'Maori and Pakeha Women: Many Histories, Divergent Pasts', in Barbara Brookes, Charlotte Macdonald, and Margaret Tennant (eds), *Women in History 2*, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1992, p.39.
- 33 Anderson, *Race against Time*.
- 34 Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers*, p.195.
- 35 Erik Olssen, "'Where to From Here?': Reflections on the Twentieth-century Historiography of Nineteenth-century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.26, No.1, 1992, p.66; Erik Olssen, 'Families and the Gendering of European New Zealand in the Colonial Period, 1840–80', in Caroline Daley and Deborah Montgomerie (eds), *The Gendered Kiwi*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1999, p.40. Ann Laura Stoler called for a transnational approach to interrogating the intimacies of empire and colonialism, in Stoler, 'Tense and Tender Ties'. See also Stoler (ed.), *Haunted By Empire*, and Ballantyne and Burton (eds), *Bodies in Contact*.
- 36 Kate Riddell, 'A "Marriage of the Races"? Aspects of Inter-marriage, Ideology and Reproduction on the New Zealand Frontier', MA thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1996, p.33. See also Kate Riddell, "'Improving" the Maori: Counting the Ideology of Inter-marriage', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.34, No.1, 2000, pp.80–97.
- 37 See Sleeper-Smith, *Indian Women and French Men: Rethinking Cultural Encounter in the Western Great Lakes*, University of Massachusetts Press, Amherst, 2001, and Jean Barman, *Stanley Park's Secret: The Forgotten Families of Whoi Whoi, Kanaka Ranch and Brockton Point*, Harbour Publishing, Vancouver, 2005.
- 38 Nancy Cott, *Public Vows: A History of Marriage and the Nation*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 2000.
- 39 Barbara Brookes, 'Taking Private Life Seriously: Marriage and Nationhood', *History Compass*, Vol.1, No.1, November 2003, pp.1–4.
- 40 See Hana O'Regan, *Ko Tahu, Ko Au*, Horomaka Press, Christchurch, 2001.
- 41 The phrase 'hiding in plain view' is borrowed from Sleeper Smith, *Indian women and French men*.
- 42 J.R. Miller, 'Reading Photographs, Reading Voices: Documenting the History of Native Residential Schools', in Jennifer S.H. Brown and Elizabeth Vibert (eds), *Reading Beyond Words: Contexts for Native History*, Broadview Press, Peterborough, 2001, p.466.

## Chapter 2. Pātahi's Story

- 1 William Martin, 'A Pioneer's Reminiscences', p.38, MS-0206, Hocken Library, Dunedin. Martin's memoirs are based on his diary entries (23 April–15 October 1863), MS-0204, Hocken Library, Dunedin.
- 2 For a discussion of whaling in the New Zealand economy of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, see Jim McAloon, 'Resource Frontiers, Environment and Settler Capitalism: 1769–1860', in Eric Pawson and Tom Brooking (eds), *Environmental Histories of New Zealand*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2002, pp.52–68.
- 3 Matthew L. Campbell, 'A Preliminary Investigation of the Archaeology of Whaling Stations on the Southern Coast', MA thesis, University of Otago, 1992, pp.203–4.
- 4 See Peter Coutts, 'Merger or Takeover: A Survey of the Effects of Contact Between European and Maori in the Foveaux Strait Region', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol.78, No.4, 1969, pp.495–516.
- 5 Dorothy Harley Eber, *When the Whales Were Up North: Inuit Memories from the Eastern Arctic*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Montreal and Kingston, 1989, p.xii.
- 6 Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand: A Journal with Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines*, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1851, p.115.
- 7 Harwood Journal, 4 December 1838 and 8 January 1839, G. C. Thomson Papers, MS-0438/59, Hocken Library, Dunedin.
- 8 *Otago Witness*, 26 April 1927, p.76
- 9 Edward Weller to George Weller, 14 February 1839, G. C. Thomson Papers, MS-0440/05, Hocken Library, Dunedin.
- 10 Harwood Journal, 8 December 1840 and 9 December 1840, G. C. Thomson Collection Papers, MS-0438/002, Hocken Library, Dunedin.
- 11 Frederick Tuckett, cited in Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers: An Ethnohistory of Southern Māori A.D. 1650–1850*, University of Otago Press, Dunedin, 1998, p.194.
- 12 Frederick Tuckett, cited in Campbell, 'A Preliminary Investigation', p.48.
- 13 See T. A. Pybus, *The Maoris of the South Island*, Reed, Wellington, 1954.
- 14 Gavin McLean, *Moeraki: 150 Years of Net and Plough Share*, Otago Heritage Books, Dunedin, 1986, p.14.
- 15 David Haines, 'In Search of the "Wahaheen": Ngai Tahu Women, Shore Whalers, and the Meaning of Sex in Early New Zealand', in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds), *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 2009, p.50.
- 16 Martin, 'A Pioneer's Reminiscences', pp.17–18.
- 17 Lachy Paterson, *Colonial Discourses: Niupepa Māori, 1855–1863*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2006, p.37.
- 18 Martin, 'A Pioneer's Reminiscences', p.38.
- 19 Martin, 'A Pioneer's Reminiscences', p.38.
- 20 Paterson, *Colonial Discourses*, p.30.
- 21 Paterson, *Colonial Discourses*, pp.31–2.
- 22 Paterson, *Colonial Discourses*, p.44. See also Jane McRae, "'E Manu, Tena Koel!" "O Bird, Greetings to You": The Oral Tradition in Newspaper Writing', in Jenifer Curnow, Ngapare Hopa and Jane McRae (eds), *Rere Atu, Taku Manu! Discovering History, Language and Politics in the Māori-language Newspapers*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2002, pp.42–59.
- 23 Penny van Toorn suggests that, in texts produced from interracial encounter and cross-cultural exchange, the writing 'cross-dresses', becoming clothed in the ideology, institutions and practices of another culture; it also 'crosses the borders between categories of writing', and sometimes, I would argue, the borders between oral and written language. See Penny Van Toorn, *Writing Never Arrives Naked: Early Aboriginal Cultures of Writing in Australia*, Aboriginal Studies Press, Canberra, 2006.
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- 25 See Coral Beattie Papers, Ms-Papers-4280-008, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
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- 27 Martin, 'A Pioneer's Reminiscences', p.40.
- 28 The Visitation Book of Reverend Thomas Burns [1848–1858], p.66, Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.
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- 31 Barbara Palmer to Cath Brown, 28 October 2001, Barbara Palmer, Private Collection.
- 32 Reverend Thomas Burns, Visitation Book, p.103.
- 33 Barbara Palmer to Cath Brown, 28 October 2001, Barbara Palmer, Private Collection.
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- 36 Coral Beattie, 'Palmer, William McLeur (1815–1903)', in Jane Thomson (ed.), *Southern People: A Dictionary of Otago Southland Biography*, Dunedin City Council/Longacre Press, Dunedin, 1998, pp.375–6.
- 37 Martin, 'A Pioneer's Reminiscences', p.41.
- 38 Pat White, 'Sizemore, Richard (c.1800–1861)', in Thomson (ed.), *Southern People*, p.458.
- 39 Raewyn Dalziel, 'Men, Women and Wakefield', in Friends of the Turnbull Library, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the Colonial Dream: A Reconsideration*, GP Books, Wellington, 1997, pp.77–86.
- 40 Bruce Biggs, *Maori Marriage: An Essay in Reconstruction*, Polynesian Society, Wellington, 1960, p.25.
- 41 General Maori Information (Book 3), Herries Beattie Papers, PC-174, Hocken Library, Dunedin.
- 42 Margaret S. Shaw, *The Taieri Plain: Tales of the Years that are Gone*, Otago Centennial Publications, Dunedin, 1949.
- 43 William Adam to Margaret Shaw, 13 September 1948, Box 2, Shaw Papers, AG71, Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.
- 44 Thelma Smith to Margaret Shaw, undated, Box 2, Shaw Papers.
- 45 *Otago Witness*, 3 April 1886, p.17; Will of Edwin Palmer, DAAC/D239/26/1368, Archives New Zealand, Dunedin.
- 46 Smith to Shaw, undated, Box 2, Shaw Papers.

### Chapter 3. Interracial Families and Communities

- 1 See Atholl Anderson, *Race Against Time: The Early Maori-Pakeha Families and the Development of a Mixed Race Population in Southern New Zealand*, Hocken Library, Dunedin, 1991.
- 2 Sylvia Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur Trade Society, 1670–1870*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, 1980, p.2.
- 3 Van Kirk, *Many Tender Ties*, p.4.
- 4 Anderson, *Race Against Time*, p.40.
- 5 Judith Binney, "'In-Between' Lives: Studies from Within a Colonial Society', in Tony Ballantyne and Brian Moloughney (eds), *Disputed Histories: Imagining New Zealand's Pasts*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2006, pp.93–118; Kate Stevens, "'Gathering Places": The Mixed Descent Families of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, 1824–1864', BA (Hons) research essay, University of Otago, 2008.
- 6 Work has begun in this direction. On mixed-descent families, see Angela Wanhalla, 'Marrying "In": The Geography of Inter-marriage at Taieri, 1830s–1920s', in Tony Ballantyne and Judith A. Bennett (eds), *Landscape/Community: Perspectives from New Zealand History*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2005, pp.73–94. On racial categories, see Kate Riddell, "'Improving" the Maori: Counting the Ideology of Inter-marriage', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.34, No.1, 2000, pp.80–97. On the relationship between colonial and imperial policies, see Damon Salesa, 'Race Mixing: A Victorian Problem in Britain and New Zealand, 1830s–1870s', DPhil thesis, University of Oxford, 2000. For the most recent research on the relationship between shore whaling and interracial marriage, see Emily V. Owen, 'Inter-marriage: Its Role and Importance within Early New Zealand Shore Whaling Stations', MA thesis, Massey University, 2007; and David Haines, 'In Search of the "Wahaheen": Ngai Tahu Women, Shore Whalers, and the Meaning of Sex in Early New Zealand', in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton (eds), *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 2009.
- 7 Elizabeth W. Durwood, 'The Maori Population of Otago', *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol.42, 1933, pp.49–82.

- 8 Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand: A Journal with Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines*, Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, London, 1851, pp.77–8.
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- 11 Edward Shortland to Robert FitzRoy, 18 March 1844, in *British Parliamentary Papers. Colonies: New Zealand, 1846–47*, Irish University Press, Shannon, 1968, p.317.
- 12 Shortland to FitzRoy, 18 March 1844, p.317.
- 13 Johannes Wohlers, Travel Report, 1 May 1845, Wohlers Papers, 0428-04A, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- 14 Wohlers, Travel Report, 31 December 1845.
- 15 Wohlers, Travel Report, 31 December 1845.
- 16 Wohlers, Travel Report, 19 February 1846.
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- 18 Theophilus Heale to Superintendent of Southland, 15 February 1864, in Alexander Mackay, *A Compendium of Official Documents Relative to Native Affairs in the South Island: Volume II*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1872, p.56.
- 19 Alexander Mackay to Under-Secretary, Native Department, 3 June 1868, in Mackay, *Compendium: Volume II*, p.64.
- 20 *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand, taken for the Night of the 3rd of April 1881*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1882, p.12; see also John Hall-Jones, *Stewart Island Explored*, Craig Printing, Invercargill, 1994, and Basil Howard, *Rakiura: A History of Stewart Island, New Zealand*, Reed, Dunedin, 1940.
- 21 Riddell, “‘Improving’ the Maori”, p.88.
- 22 William Swainson, *New Zealand and its Colonization*, Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1859, p.28.
- 23 Swainson, *New Zealand and its Colonization*, p.28.
- 24 *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand, taken for the Night of the 1st of March, 1874*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1875, p.11; *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand, 3rd of April 1881*, p.11.
- 25 *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand, taken for the Night of the 28th of March, 1886*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1887, pp.8, 359; *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand, taken for the Night of the 5th of April 1891*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1892, pp.8, xlv; *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand, taken for the Night of the 12th of April 1896*, Government Printer, Wellington, 1897, p.7, and Appendix B – Māori Population.
- 26 This statistic is based on the census figure for the total Māori population of 41,969, and 2,254 ‘half-castes living as Maori’. In total, the mixed-descent population was 4,212, which equates to 10% of the total Māori population in 1886.
- 27 See Bill Dacker, *The Pain and the Love – Te Mamae me te Aroha: A History of Kai Tahu Whanui in Otago, 1844–1994*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 1994; Hana O’Regan, *Ko Tahu, Ko Au*, Horomaka Press, Christchurch, 2001; M. Jocelyn Armstrong, ‘Maori Identity in the South Island of New Zealand: Ethnic Identity Development in a Migration Context’, *Oceania*, Vol.57, No.3, 1987, pp.195–216; Te Maire Tau, ‘Ngāi Tahu – From “Better to be Dead and Out of the Way” to “To be Seen to Belong”’, in John Cookson and Graeme Dunstall (eds), *Southern Capital: Christchurch: Towards a City Biography, 1850–2000*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2000, pp.222–47; Stephanie Kelly, ‘Weaving Whakapapa and Narrative in the Management of Contemporary Ngai Tahu Identities’, PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, 2002.
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- 29 Hall-Jones, *Stewart Island Explored*, p.89.
- 30 *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand, 12th April 1896*, p.137.
- 31 Wohlers, Travel Report, 1 May 1845.
- 32 Johannes Wohlers, Ruapuke Report, 2 February 1845, Wohlers Papers, 0428-04A, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

- 33 The famous cases in New Zealand involve Thomas Kendall, lay missionary with the Church Missionary Society (CMS); the CMS printer William Colenso, who fathered a son with his Māori servant; and claims of rape against the Wesleyan missionary William White. For a detailed discussion of missionary views of interracial marriage, see Angela Wanhalla, 'The "Natives Uncivilize Me": Missionaries and Interracial Intimacy in Early New Zealand', in Patricia Grimshaw and Andrew May (eds), *Missions, Indigenous Peoples and Cultural Exchange*, Sussex Academic Press, Eastbourne, 2010.
- 34 Wohlers, Travel Report, 1 May 1845.
- 35 Wohlers, Travel Report, 19 February 1846.
- 36 Journal of James Watkin, 8 March 1841, G. C. Thomson Papers, MS-0440/04, Hocken Library.
- 37 Wohlers, Travel Report, 31 December 1845.
- 38 Mary Ellen-Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900–50*, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1998, p.15.
- 39 Wohlers, Travel Report, 30 June – 17 July 1846.
- 40 Sheila Natusch, *Brother Wohlers: A Biography of J. F. H. Wohlers* (2nd edn), Caxton Press, Christchurch, 1992, p.179.
- 41 Ernst Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, 1845, republished by Capper Press, Christchurch, 1974, p.42.
- 42 Wohlers, Travel Report, 1 May 1845.
- 43 Wohlers, Travel Report, 31 December 1845.
- 44 Stevens, "'Gathering Places'", p.20.
- 45 Stevens, "'Gathering Places'", p.19.
- 46 Stevens, "'Gathering Places'", p.21.
- 47 Linda J. Scott and Finlay P. Bayne, *Nathaniel Bates of Riverton, His Families and Descendants*, Bates Reunion Committee, Christchurch, 1994, p.5.
- 48 Stevens, "'Gathering Places'", p.23.
- 49 See Eva Wilson, *Hakoro ki te Iwi: The Story of Captain Howell and his Family*, Eva Wilson, Invercargill, 1976.
- 50 Wohlers, Travel Report, 19 February 1846.
- 51 Wohlers, Travel Report, 19 February 1846.
- 52 Dieffenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, p.41.
- 53 All Māori men aged 21 and over gained suffrage in 1867, twelve years before all non-Māori men in New Zealand. In the same year, four Māori electorates (Northern, Eastern, Western and Southern Māori) were established under the Maori Representation Act 1867.
- 54 Binney, "'In-Between" Lives', p.95.
- 55 Donald McLean, when Chief Land Purchaser and Colonial Secretary, found employment in the public service for the sons of prominent interracial families. See Ray Fargher, *The Best Man who ever Served the Crown? A Life of Donald McLean*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 2007.
- 56 Joan MacIntosh, *A History of Fortrose*, Times Printing, Invercargill, 1975, pp.39–47.
- 57 Andrew Sinclair, Otago Journal, 23 February 1860, Sinclair Papers, MS-1947, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- 58 Don Grady, *Sealers and Whalers in New Zealand Waters*, Reed, Auckland, 1986, p.186; Geoffrey W. Rice, *Heaton Rhodes of Otahuna: The Illustrated Biography*, Canterbury University Press, Christchurch, 2001, pp.35–6.
- 59 Janet Holm, *Caught Mapping: The Life and Times of New Zealand's Early Surveyors*, Hazard Press, Christchurch, 2005, p.253.
- 60 Sinclair, Otago Journal, 16 February 1860.
- 61 MacIntosh, *A History of Fortrose*, p.392.
- 62 Anderson, *Race Against Time*, p.9.
- 63 Acker Family Reunion Committee, *Acker Family, 1834–1984*, Acker Family Reunion Committee, Invercargill, 1984.
- 64 Scott and Bayne, *Nathaniel Bates of Riverton*, pp.17–20.
- 65 'Papers relative to the Claims of Half-Castes of the Ngai Tahu Tribe in the South and Stewart Islands', AJHR, G-9, 1876; The Register of Bishop Harper's Country Baptism Book, 1851–1890, Christchurch City Libraries.
- 66 G. F. Davis, 'Old Identities and New Iniquities: The Taieri Plain in Otago Province 1770–1870', MA thesis, University of Otago, 1974, p.79.
- 67 *Otago Daily Times*, 6 April 1985.
- 68 Peter J. Joseph to John Bowie, 15 August 1936, Shaw Papers, AG71, Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.
- 69 Return of Births and Deaths since June 1874 and Half-Castes at each place, MA 23/17, Archives New Zealand, Wellington.
- 70 *Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand, 28th of March, 1886*, pp.10, 369.
- 71 'Papers relative to the Census of the Maori Population', AJHR, G-12, 1886, p.15.

- 72 Ian Pool, cited in Anderson, *Race Against Time*, p.31.
- 73 Jennifer S. H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country*, University of British Columbia Press, Vancouver, 1980, p.220.
- 74 John Hanning to John Bowie, 25 March 1938, Shaw Papers, AG71, Otago Settlers Museum, Dunedin.
- 75 Alice Lees to Kitty Lees, 26 December 1874, cited in Frances Porter and Charlotte Macdonald (eds), *'My Hand Will Write What My Heart Dictates': The Unsettled Lives of Women in Nineteenth-century New Zealand as Revealed to Sisters, Family and Friends*, Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books, Auckland, 1996, p.100.
- 76 'Papers relating to the Census of the Maori Population', *AJHR*, G-2, 1878, p.8.
- 77 'Papers relating to the Census of the Maori Population, 1881', *AJHR*, G-3, 1881, p.9.
- 78 *National Census 1881*, p.90.
- 79 Ken W. Reid, *The Raids of West Taieri*, Ken W. Reid, Mosgiel, 1990, p.42.
- 80 Margaret D. Jacobs, 'The Eastmans and the Luhans: Interracial Marriage between White Women and Native American Men, 1875–1935', *Frontiers*, Vol.23, No.3, 2002, p.30. See also Katherine Ellinghaus, *Taking Assimilation to Heart: Marriages of White Women and Indigenous Men in the United States and Australia, 1887–1927*, University of Nebraska Press, Lincoln, 2006.
- 81 Jacobs, 'The Eastmans and the Luhans', p.30.

## Chapter 4. Boundary Crossings

- 1 Waitangi Tribunal, *The Ngai Tahu Report 1991*, Waitangi Tribunal, Wellington, 1991, pp.281–2. The Governor had waived the Crown's right of pre-emption, established under the Treaty of Waitangi, to allow this purchase to take place. It is also important to note that the size of the purchase block was given at the time as 400,000 acres, but it is now known to be much larger.
- 2 M. P. K. Sorrenson, 'How to Civilize Savages: Some "Answers" from Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.9, No.2, 1975, p.104.
- 3 *Ngai Tahu Report*, pp.311–12.
- 4 *Ngai Tahu Report*, pp.328–9.
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