Maori, whales and "whaling" an ongoing relationship

M W Cawthorn
53 Motuhara Road
Plimmerton

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1. Polynesian navigation

The ancestors of modern Polynesians are believed to have originated in mainland Asia and moved south before island-hopping across the Pacific. Starting from Taiwan, they voyaged through the Philippines and Indonesia to western Polynesia then moved, island to island, to eastern Polynesia, the Cook Islands and Tuamotus, where the culture we recognise as Maori became established. From eastern Polynesia, and particularly Raiatea, they radiated to the northern and southern limits of the Polynesian triangle, Hawaii and New Zealand, respectively. These journeys were physically and intellectually demanding, requiring a sophisticated knowledge of the construction and use of large double-hulled voyaging canoes and the techniques necessary to find their way to various islands, and then to safely return home. The navigators of the canoes were of high or chiefly status, thus:"He tangata matauranga nga kaiwhakatere o nga waka". Their knowledge was passed down by oral tradition from generation to generation, often through navigators' clan or "guild" systems such as existed in Tonga. Included in this elite group of navigators were men such as Kupe, who discovered New Zealand, probably in the 10th century,Toi and his grandson Whatonga, who led the second migratory fleets in the 12th-13th century, and later Tupaia, a navigator-tohunga of Raiatea with extraordinary knowledge of Polynesian geography, who joined James Cook on the *Endeavour* in 1769 and assisted him on his first voyage.

Western navigation techniques, relying on compass, sextant and a precise measure of time, allowed voyagers to calculate latitude and longitude and aim for pin-point targets. Until the chronometer was invented, this was a somewhat inexact science and targets were often missed, occasionally with disastrous results. How then did the Polynesians, lacking such mechanical devices, accurately locate their destinations among the great arcs of small islands throughout the south Pacific? Their sailing directions were essentially a series of empirically derived astronomical courses from the home island. During the day they used the passage of the sun, and at night headed toward specific stars as they rose above the horizon. As Joseph Banks wrote:

> "The Polynesians' knowledge of the stars was very detailed. They know a very large part by their names, and the clever ones among them (navigators?) in what part of the heavens they are to be seen in any month when they are above their horizons." (Anon. 1988)

Polynesian navigation was different in one important respect from the western system. As a Tongan navigator told me,". . . our way is to find the forest, then locate our tree.You look first for a special coconut in the forest."

Why should these people, living in such a pleasant environment as the islands of Polynesia wish to leave their homes and move to other islands? There were three primary reasons. First, economics: islanders would travel to collect food and other products and barter for material goods. Second, civil unrest and warfare: usually this was a result of declining food availability, where excessive population size would drive sections of the population to find a

home elsewhere. Third, discovery: navigators would return to their island with tales of the advantages offered at the land they had discovered.

How would the navigators find new lands? First, they made deliberate voyages of exploration from their home islands. Canoes would be provisioned for a specific time at sea and the explorers set off, sailing down set headings, collecting navigational cues as they went and recording them as a sequential chant. After a predetermined time, they would turn about and retrace the reciprocal course to their home island, having added a whole new set of astronomical oceanographic and meteorological details to the sailing directions. The completion of this navigational feat was the collection of biological cues, the seasonal north-south migration routes of sperm, humpback and right whales, and birds such as bar-tailed godwits, shining and long-tailed cuckoos, all of which refined the accuracy of the sailing directions. Sailing instructions were set down in chants or karakia and passed from generation to generation of navigators painstakingly schooled to memorise and interpret the karakia. With these sailing directions passed on as an oral tradition, expeditions of settlement could take place long after the discovery of the destination. Toi, the navigator, with the karakia as his guide, led the "great fleet", carrying men, women, children, livestock and cropping plants such as taro and kumara to New Zealand two centuries after its discovery by Kupe.

2. Maori respect for whales

Each of the whales and birds used as navigational aids had special relevance and, overtime, assumed an importance which saw them included in the Maori pantheon of supernatural beings with different relevance to different tribes. One such tribe is the Ngati Porou of the East Coast, for whom two stories shape their relationship with whales. The first, the Paikea myth, sets out their philosophical relationship with whales; the second, the Tinirau and Ngae story is more pragmatic in its approach. In some accounts, "Paikea was said to have travelled from the ancestral homeland of Hawaiiki to Aotearoa on the back of a whale. He finally settled at Whangara, where he is now depicted at the top of a meeting house." (Orbell 1991) However, the story has been retold so many times that many versions exist and suggest that, to reach his destination, Paikea may either have been led by whales; have transformed into a whale; have ridden upon a whale; or even have done none of these things. Nevertheless, through Paikea, the Ngati Porou maintain the simple philosophy that they are a relation, if not a descendant of the whale, and hence, they should treat and respect whales as such.

The second, more pragmatic story is known throughout Polynesia. Ngae, or Kae as he is known by some, while fishing was blown off course and ended up at the village of Tinirau. There he was looked after and even treated to the delicacy of whale meat carefully taken from Tinirau's pet whale Tutunui. Ngae's desire to return to his home was aided by Tinirau's generosity in offering Tutunui as a means of conveyance with specific instructions to ensure his safe return. Ngae, however, does not follow these and deliberately causes

Tutunui's death. Tinirau kills Ngae, who is then eaten by Tinirau's people. The simple moral of this story is to enjoy but conserve a resource. In the case of whales, the Ngati Porou have a clear philosophy. Whales are revered relations in the tribal area, but despite this they are a resource to be used, respectfully, in the Tinirau tradition (Ngata 1999).

The pre-European Maori had no history of maritime whaling, that being the active pursuit and capture of medium to large whales by harpooning or other means. They relied instead on incidental captures and strandings. The reasons were that their canoes were unsuited to this type of fishing; whaling was too dangerous; and fish were abundant and easy to catch using existing technology. Artefacts such as harpoon points and similar equipment for taking large mammals at sea are sparse in the New Zealand archaeological record. Dolphins were harpooned on occasions. At Akaroa about 1840, a dolphin hunt was conducted by two canoes of Ngai Tahu,the harpooner using a bone-tipped wooden lance and flax line. The dolphin was chopped into pieces, briefly roasted and a dozen men ate about 25 kg of meat before turning the remainder over to the women and children (Anderson 1998). Small coastal dolphins were probably also taken in large beach seines (Cawthorn 1997). On other occasions, species such as pilot whales, which have a predisposition to mass stranding, would have been assisted ashore and, along with any large whales which had stranded, would have been considered a gift from the sea, from Tangaroa, and exploited for their meat, fat, oil and bone. Through history, strandings have been (and still are) an occasion for awe, for sorrow (at the death of a distant relative), and ultimately a cause for elation at the bounty provided (Ngata 1999).

3. Arrival of European whalers

In the late 18th century, this reliance on strandings and natural events changed with the arrival in the south Pacific of European whalers intent in the pursuit of two valuable commercial commodities, whale oil - especially sperm whale oil, a fuel for lighting - and whale bone (baleen) from right whales, which was used as a precursor for sprig steel in the manufacture of buggy whip handles, corset stays, and parasols. The process of trying out oil from both sperm whales and "black" or right whales was very wasteful. As soon as the whalebone, blubber and sperm whale heads were secured, the carcass was cut adrift, to eventually sink or wash ashore thus providing Maori with a much greater supply of whale meat and fat than was previously available.

In 1827, as John Boultbee observed: "As we were pulling along shore on our way, we saw a number of wild looking fellows on a rocky beach cutting a whale into junks and carrying it away, they were as greasy and dirty as might be expected from the nature of their employment. It seems the Lynx had been in these parts, and struck several whales which got away, and this was one of them". Twelve years later, in 1839, Ernst Dieffenbach was observing whaling operations at Te Awaiti in Tory Channel. He noted: "As soon as the process of cutting was over, the natives, who had come with their canoes

from the Sound, cut off large pieces of flesh which they carried off to feast upon:' Removal of meat for local consumption became a common practice at bay whaling stations around New Zealand (Cawthorn 1999).

Rules for distribution of the spoils from a stranding were rigidly adhered to. Each hapu of the community was allotted a share of any stranding which occurred within the group's territory. Failure to observe these rules led to inter-family quarrels which could cause fluctuations in the membership of the community (Ballara 1995).

The first record of a visit to New Zealand waters by a whaling vessel is that of the *William and Ann,* which anchored in Doubtless Bay in 1792 (Moreton 1982). About this time European sealing around the southern coasts and off-shore islands began. Although a few young Maori joined the gangs there is no evidence of extensive Maori participation in this trade. Seals were taken by early Maori for their meat, energy-rich fat and skins. Recent studies suggest that in the north of the North Island, Maori may have exhausted their seal fisheries as early as 1300 (Anon. 1988). European sealing began in the south of the South Island in the last decade of the 1700s. The dried skins were sent to China and salted skins to Europe. Abuses by European sealers soon led to the rapid depletion of seal fisheries.

Gangs killed seals on the rookeries, disrupting the colonies, and all seals available including breeding females were taken. In some areas Maori protested, demonstrating that their protection and conservation practices had maintained stocks. There is evidence, however, that elsewhere Maori later joined with sealing gangs, splitting profits (Anon. 1988). By the 1820s sealing was in rapid decline, and by the 1840s the fishery was reduced to commercial non-viability.

The arrival of the *William and Ann* at Doubtless Bay in 1792 and the *Britannia* around the Three Kings and Northland in 1793 made an indelible impression on local Maori and influenced their future relationship with whaling.

For young Maori the adventure of voyaging in foreign whaleships and the challenge of chasing and harpooning whales was often exhilarating. The skippers of the whalers, often from Nantucket, were frugal, hardworking Quakers with a strong kinship ethic (Salmond 1997). They often took black and native Americans as crew and, in the south Pacific, impressed by the seamanship of Polynesians, soon recruited Maori (usually referred to as "New Zealanders") and other Pacific Islanders (Kanaks) as crew.

In 1803 the whale ship *Alexander* visited the Bay of Islands and a 16 year old Maori youth, Teina, joined her crew as a sailor. On reaching Australia, Teina stayed with the Governor, Philip Gidley King. The *Alexander* returned to the New Zealand whaling grounds and made a successful voyage, taking a number of whales. Teina and another Maori, Maki, remained aboard the *Alexander* for the next three years, visiting Tahiti, Brazil, St Helena and eventually England, where Teina and two Tahitians subsequently died. Maki, however, survived and worked as a carpenter before being "crimped" on to another English vessel (Salmond 1997).

In 1804, a New Bedford whaler *Hannah and Eliza* took aboard at least two Muriwhenua Maori into her crew and, during the next two years of whaling off Northland, spoke to at least fifteen other ships, some of which also took on Maori crew (Salmond 1997). Inevitably, many Maori and other Polynesians suffered abuse from unscrupulous captains.

Governor King's enthusiasm for New Zealand and his obvious concerns and affinity for Polynesians, developed since having Teina as a guest, led to his issuing a "Government and General Order" published on the front page of the *Sydney Gazette*. It read as follows:

> . . . It is therefore, hereby strictly forbid sending any Otaheitian, Sandwich Islander or New Zealander from this Settlement to any island or other part of this coast, on any sealing or other Voyage, to any place to the eastward of Cape Horn ...
>
> During their stay here, those whose service they are employed in are not to beat or ill-use them; but if those who brought them to this Colony, are not able to maintain and employ them, they are to report it to the Governor, who will take measures for their employment and maintenance until they can be sent home. And it is to be clearly understood that all such Otaheitians, &c., are protected in their properties, claims for wages, and the same redress as any of His Majesty's subjects."

This proclamation is particularly significant, for it extended to Maori (and other Polynesians) some of the civil rights of British subjects 35 years before the Treaty of Waitangi (Salmond 1997).

The crews of these whale ships were not exclusively mainland Maori. In 1791, the Chatham Islands were discovered by Lt William Broughton on HMS *Chatham*. A Moriori, Hororeka, had left the island in about 1800 aboard a British sealer and returned in 1807. Later that year he shipped aboard the whaler *Commerce* and, having previously spent time at the Bay of Islands, was able to act as the Master's interpreter with Maori, despite the differences in his dialect. Following the invasion of the Chatham Islands by Ngati Tama and Ngati Mutunga, one Moriori, named Koche, escaped at least twice from slavery under the Maori chief Matioro, the second time aboard an American whaler. Koche never returned to the Chatham Islands and it is presumed he died in the United States. However, he was the only one of his people to leave an account of the invasion of the Chathams and the fate of the Moriori which he related to the American lawyer Ewing in about 1850 (Anson 1910).

Relations between Maori and the whalers were by and large cordial. The Maori skill as market gardeners allowed them to develop a thriving trade as provedors to the whalers, whose main priorities for supplies were fresh water, firewood (for galley stoves and trypots), and fresh vegetables and root crops. However, a number of unsavoury incidents culminating in the killing and eating of 70 persons from the *Boyd* in 1809 led to a period of suspicion and bloodshed between some whaling crews and Maori tribes. Nevertheless, by 1826 Maori were prominent in whaling crews working the New Zealand grounds. Their courage and familiarity with the sea made them excellent boat hands and boat-steerers, with such records of success that stories of their deeds are now part of popular whaling history.

One of the best-known is recorded in Herman Melville's *Omoo.* After a long and tiring pull after a whale the Maori harpooner missed his first three strikes. The derision and curses of his crew was hard to bear; the next time the boat was alongside the whale he sprang on to the whale's back with his harpoon and disappeared in a welter of foam. The whale line smoked out of the tubs, indicating the whale was fast and moments later the Maori harpooner climbed back aboard, honour restored (Melville 1847).

Perhaps Melville's best known harpooner is the character Queequeg from *Moby Dick*. Queequeg is described as, "a native Rokovoko, an island far away to the west and south. It is not drawn on any maps; true places never are." He had a full facial moko, tattooed legs and arms and had brought up (to a New England whaling port) a number of `embalmed' New Zealand heads which he was selling (Melville 1851). When Queequeg ended his story to Ishmael he "embraced me and pressed his forehead against mine,. . ." a hongi perhaps?

The whaleships were international melting pots - with crews made up of Europeans, Maori and other Polynesians, American Indians, Negroes, Azoreans, Portuguese, Cape Verde Islanders and others. Thus it was not surprising that wherever whaleships' crews came ashore one of their contributions was to add substantially to the genetic diversity of the human inhabitants of the area. Contact between Maori women and whale crews began as soon as whalers arrived. When the Sydney whaler *Australian* was in Cloudy Bay in the spring season of 1837, Captain Rhodes invited girls aboard, writing, "The ladies at the Bay were very condescending, and took lodgings on board the ship, to the great satisfaction of the sailors." (Druett 1991)

Even more famous (or notorious) than Cloudy Bay was Kororareka in the Bay of Islands, which for a few busy years was known as "the whorehouse of the Pacific". The trader *Eagleston* called there in April 1834, and recorded that the women were "fond of visiting ships . . ."

John B Williams, of Salem, the second American Consul to the Bay of Islands, was outraged by the libidinous behaviour of American and other whaling crews. In his journal he fulminated:

> "Merciful Heavens. When a ship arrives her decks are almost instantly lined with native women - a floating castle of prostitution. [But] how can it be different when the Masters and Officers set the example?"

Despite the inevitable spread of venereal diseases the "marriages of convenience" between Maori and whale ship crews continued. Occasionally lasting friendships and relationships were forged. A British captain,William Brind of the Emily, combined the fabled comforts of the Bay of Islands and the companionship of a wife at sea by taking a Maori girl, the daughter of the chief Pomare, on a whaling voyage in 1827.

4. Shore whaling stations

Concomitant with the influx of foreign whalers into New Zealand ports in the early 1800s was the establishment of shore-based whaling operations. On the vessels, Maori whalemen had learned many skills useful not only to whaling but which could be put into practice ashore, for example, coopering, carpentry, and boatbuilding. These skills were to prove of particular value in later New Zealand settlement.

The earliest shore whaling stations were established in the South Island and the first began operation near Cook Strait in 1827, soon to be followed by many others in both islands before British sovereignty entered with the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. In almost all cases, at the commencement of the season, negotiations were entered into with the local tribe on whose land the station was situated. As part of the deal, wives were often provided, thus binding the whalers by "marriage" to the local tribe. This arrangement was usually carried out though consultation with the chief. The Maori wives generally looked after the whalers by attending to the cooking, making flax ropes and at times tending vegetable gardens. Many of the whalers' partners ultimately became permanent and legal wives, but often they had to wait some years before the union could be solemnised by a visiting Christian missionary.

The taking of wives was a mutually beneficial political manoeuvre. The local chief had a sound money-making enterprise with employment, boats, trypots, and the other paraphernalia of whaling at this fingertips, while the whaler had, through marriage, the protection of the tribe during often troubled times. During the 1830s there was often a good deal of warlike skirmishing between tribes, especially in the South Island, between the Otakou and Murihiku Maori. It is not surprising, therefore, that Captain Angelm of the *Lucy Ann* reported serious trouble with the Maori at Otakou when the vessel returned to Sydney in August 1834. Her cargo included not only oil and whalebone but also a number of Maori hostages (Tod 1982).

Despite the increasing numbers of American and other nationality whaleships working the New Zealand coast, shore stations increased during the decade 1830-40. At the Otakou station at the entrance to Dunedin Harbour, Weller began operation in 1833 with an equal number of Maori and Europeans, but four years later had twice as many Maori as Europeans. By 1839, Taiaroa, the main chief of the area had a European-style residence and numerous whale boats, and was running a shore whaling station. Further south at Awarua (Bluff) Shortland (1851) noted:"Here (Awarua) was the best managed and most successful whaling establishment on the coast. The boats were all partly manned by the natives, and one entirely so, the young chief Patuki, or Topi,. . . being its headsman." Howells even had a crew of Maori women (Anderson 1998).

Shortland (1851) also made a very important observation regarding the desirability of whale boats, "the natives have, however, ceased to travel by land, if they can avoid it, since they have so generally obtained possession of whaling and sealing boats; for these are easily managed, and by a few hands."

The manifest superiority in sailing and sea-keeping qualities of whale boats and seal boats over canoes was quickly recognised. Ngai Tahu obtained their first European boats as spoils in skirmishes with sealers and runaway sailors, and also by stealing them from anchored ships, as from the *Matilda* in 1814, but the main source was by purchase during the 1830s, after sealing was abandoned and sealing boats became available. From then on, the traditional ocean-going canoes were progressively abandoned (Anderson 1998).

In the 1840s and later, the male Maori preoccupation, in the South Island at least, was boats, both whale boats and seal boats, which carried them around to the fiords. However, these boats, like canoes, were not without their dangers. In 1844, the highly respected Ngai Tahu chief, Tuhawaiki, was swept off a whale boat by the scything blow of a steering oar in heavy seas off Timaru and drowned, according to conventional tradition. By the 1860s, the preference was changing to cutters, used for fishing but desired by all of the young men for racing. The consequence was a heavy toll by drowning (Anderson 1998).

At shore stations, as on whaleships, Maori were soon included in boat crews and were adept boatmen and harpooners. The shore stations' boats pursued right whales, which would enter bays on the high tide and leave them on the ebb. Shore-based whalers soon had competition from the foreign whaleships which would anchor in the same bays to pursue whales during the season.

Sperm whaling continued but, as the demand for bone increased, more and more British, Sydney and French vessels turned to right whaling. In 1834 they were joined by the first American right whalers in New Zealand waters.

Despite the increased competition, numbers of shore stations grew between 1830 and 1840, and the numbers of Maori involved increased proportionally. At the same time, there were growing numbers of Maori employed on American ships which stayed in New Zealand waters and depended on local supplies for food and provisions.

5. Decline of whaling

Over-exploitation of right whales around the New Zealand coast led to a dramatic decline in catches through the 1840s. Nevertheless some local whalers hung on; among them was Paddy Gilroy, Master of the *Chance,* who was immortalised by the author Frank Bullen (1901) in *The Cruise of the Cachalot.* Paddy Gilroy whaled out of Bluff and was famous for his handling of the *Chance* on the Solander Whaling Ground. In describing Gilroy, Bullen noted (1901),

> "Captain Gilroy, familiarly known as Paddy.... was credited with numerous half-breed progeny - certainly he was greatly mixed up with the Maoris [sic], half his crew being made up of his dusky friends and relations by marriage.

> There were 16 white men board the *Chance* including the skipper, drawn as usual from various European and American sources, the rest of her large crew, of over 40 all told, being made up of Maori and half-breeds."

As right whales declined from over-fishing, many shore stations ceased operation. The owners went farming as land was opened up following the arrival of settlers in New Zealand. Maori continued working alone from some sites in the Bay of Plenty and along the North Auckland coast. The Bay of Plenty whaling was a continuation of use by Maori of stations once used by Europeans over a century earlier.

With the demise of right whales, stations continued to close down. In Southland many of the rank-and-file whalers turned to the land. By the 1850s many of the European whalers, most with Maori wives and children, were farming near Invercargill and Riverton. John Howell, of Jacobs River whaling station at Riverton, had married a high-born Maori woman and through her gained land which he ultimately expanded to great acreages.

Right whales were, by this time, rarely seen along the shore. However, humpbacks were taken for their oil, which was of sufficient value to fund commercial ventures. The Maori use of revenue was unlike that of Europeans, whose "lay" system gave the largest share to station owners and decreasing portions to headsman, boat-steerer, and crew. The Maori system of communal ownership allowed oil revenues to be used for the benefit of the tribe as a whole. Whaling was being treated more as a sport and source of prestige, or *mana,* rather than a rivalry for ownership of a carcase. Whaling now was regarded somewhat as a rewarding seasonal pastime.

In this form whaling persisted until about 1900 from about 6 sites north of the Bay of Islands and ended there with the introduction of dairy farming. Along the East Coast of the North Island, at Mahia Peninsula, whaling persisted a few years longer.

In the Bay of Plenty, whaling by all-Maori crews from Te Kaha persisted until about 1934. In the early 1900s almost all suitable coves in the eastern Bay of Plenty were used as whaling sites by at least 12 small concerns. All of these used open whale boats, hand harpoons and lances in the mid-19th century style.

One of the best contemporary reports of such whaling is that of Eruera Stirling. He spoke of boats working from Ruakokere, Orete and Waihau Bay where, in many cases, whaling revenue was a financial mainstay for people in the eastern Bay of Plenty (Salmond 1997). Similar ventures were undertaken south to Mahia through the 1860s. Boats from Hahia, Waiopawa, and Wairoa were all recorded in the *Hawkes Bay Herald* as having taken humpbacks and right whales. However, it is noticeable from these accounts that the whales are all of small size, judging by the very low oil yields produced.

Gradually whaling was supplanted by diary farming; the boats and equipment rotted away and the whalers moved to other occupations. However the closing of the romantic open-boat method of whaling gave way to modernised methods, albeit in a greatly reduced industry. By 1910 there were but two

large operations remaining in New Zealand. Both used power-driven whale chaser boats. The first of these was at Whangamumu, Bay of Islands, and was established by H F Cook in 1890. Cook shipped to New Bedford and back to New Zealand in one of the last American sperm whaling ships to visit this country before beginning his own operation which was staffed almost exclusively by Maori or part-Maori whalers.

The Whangamumu operation was unique in the Southern Hemisphere for its modus operandi. Nets were stretched across the channel through which migrating humpbacks had to pass. The whales would become entangled and were then harpooned and towed into the bay for processing. In 1910 a steam powered catcher boat was purchased and the netting method abandoned.

As mentioned above, the first shore-based whaling station to begin operating in New Zealand had been that established by Captain John Guard in 1827 at Te Awaite (Tarwite) in Tory Channel adjacent to Cook Strait. A number of shore stations were sited in Tory Channel and, during the height of the bay whaling period, some 20 boats would operate from Te Awaite alone. The Tory Channel whaling station established in 1909 by Joseph Perano was, until its closure in 1964, New Zealand's longest continuously operating whaling station. Te Awaite on Arapawa Island was the site of a substantial Maori population in the early days and, until the company ceased operations after an unbroken run of 54 years, at least two-thirds of the staff were either Maori or of Maori descent.

6. Whaling from offshore islands

During the history of whaling in New Zealand, whaling stations were also sited on four major offshore islands: Kapiti (known as Entry Island in the 1800s); Auckland Island 1850-1852; Campbell Island 1909-1916; and Great Barrier Island 1956-1962 respectively. Kapiti and its offshore islets was the location of eight whaling operations over time. Most of these worked under the protection of the warlord Te Rauparaha until the collapse of the right whale stock in about 1840. The London-based whaling firm of Enderby & Co. had operated in the South Pacific since 1788, and in 1806 one of their Masters, Captain Abraham Bristow, discovered the Auckland Islands and took possession of them for the British Crown the following year. From the year of discovery, the Auckland Islands were a target for sealers, but in 1840, three scientific expeditions, US, British and French respectively, stopped there briefly on their way south. The British expedition leader, Sir James Clark Ross, wrote a glowing recommendation for the islands as a site for a whaling operation. This convinced Charles Enderby, one of the owners of Enderby & Co., to establish the Southern Whale Fishery Company in 1849. Three of the Company's ships sailed from Britain with a complement of colonists and all the paraphernalia required to establish Britain's smallest colony, with Enderby as the Leiutenant Governor. The *Samuel Enderby* was the first to anchor in Port Ross on 4 December 1849 (Dingwall et al. 1999).

To the surprise of the colonists, the islands were already inhabited. Late in 1842, the belligerent Ngati Mutunga chief Matioro, with 40 Maori and 24 Moriori slaves, sailed from the Chatham Islands to the Auckland Islands aboard the brig *Hannah*. They established a pah on Crozier Point overlooking Port Ross and eked out a miserable existence until the arrival of Enderby and his colonists seven years later. The Southern Whale Fishery Company was spectacularly unsuccessful. Between 1850 and 1852 only one right whale was taken (Dingwall et al. 1999). At its height, the colony boasted about 300 people, including Moriori, Maori and Europeans, but it was not sustainable and was abandoned in 1852. The settlement's prefabricated buildings were dismantled and shipped back to New Zealand and Australia with the occupants. They were soon followed by Matioro with 30 Moriori and Maori plus children. The last Maori and Moriori settlers from the Auckland Islands returned to the Chatham Islands in February 1856 (Maynard & Dumas 1937).

The only other New Zealand subantarctic island to be the site of a whaling station was Campbell Island. Between 1909 and 1916, the Te Awaiti Maori whalers, led by the Norton brothers, whaled out of Northwest Bay, taking about 27 right whales. On the other side of the island, in Northeast Harbour, the somewhat more sophisticated whaling operation of Messrs Jagger and Cook landed about 29 right whales and one fin whale. The latter group of whalers used a steam chaser and motorised towboat compared with the Te Awaiti whalers' open boat and hand harpoons. Almost all the whalers at these two stations were Maori or part-Maori.

The last large offshore island whaling station to operate in New Zealand was Whangaparapara at Great Barrier Island. This operation ran under a variety of companies from 1956 to 1962 when the New Zealand humpback stock crashed. Catches petered out thereafter and the station, with about 50% Maori and part-Maori workers closed in 1962 (Tommesen & Johnsen 1982).

7. Significance of whaling in New Zealand

Now, New Zealand's association with whales is of a non-consumptive nature. Whale Watch Kaikoura is a thriving eco-tourism company, based in Kaikoura, which exploits the behaviour of sperm whales which are either transient or semi-resident in the deep nearshore waters south of the Kaikoura Peninsula. Each year the company, which is wholly owned and operated by Ngai Tahu Maori, take thousands of tourists to view sperm whales. This is the very same area where Captain Robert Fyffe pursued whales and landed his catch at his whaling station 157 years ago.

Whaling in New Zealand covered a period of about 172 years from 1792 to 1964. During the first 50 years the industry was of genuine significance to New Zealand, as it was the first externally financed and controlled staple industry in the country. Its exploitation history was brief. It imported tech-

niques to take whales, rapidly grew to its climax, and almost as swiftly declined and ended (Moreton 1982). At no time did the industry engage large numbers of New Zealanders or create great wealth, but it was significant for the symbiosis which developed between European/Pakeha New Zealanders and Maori.

Through whaling, Maori were able to travel the oceans of the world and absorb a great range of skills which they brought back home. Above all, they learned English, the language of Pacific Whaling. In 1840 the French whaling surgeon Thiercelin said (Mortelier 1995):

> "There is not a Maori who does not know a few words of the (English) language and some speak and write it fluently."

Some European whalers had learned Maori, and whalers of both races were able to assist when settlement commenced.

The advent of whaling in New Zealand altered Maori agricultural practices. They were able to quickly expand their production to provide for the wants of the whaling fleets. In exchange they were able to acquire iron tools - and muskets and gunpowder. But agricultural production for trade had a far greater influence on Maori society and culture than guns.

The whalers were, by the nature of their trade, travellers. Like many workers in a specialised field they formed a sort of informal "guild", and harpooners, gunners, flensers, engineers and others would journey widely to work out the seasons at various, often remote whaling stations. Thus the names commonly associated with whaling in New Zealand could be found at places like Norfolk Island where Nortons, Heberleys, Kennys, and Jacksons from Marlborough and Great Barrier occurred. Similarly, contract flensers from Australia and Norfolk island worked at Great Barrier and Tory Channel. Within this "guild" whalers from New Zealand of Maori or part-Maori descent figured prominently.

European whalers married Maori women and purchased land from Maori as a hedge against declining whale stocks and a failing industry. From these purchases European agricultural practices were introduced to the country - probably causing more long-term changes to the New Zealand landscape than any other influence. The co-operative nature of whaling and the intermarriage which accompanied the industry has left a lasting legacy for New Zealand society in the persistent names of old whaling families such as Carrol, Delamere, Barrett, and Jones.

Today, the Maori ethos toward whales is gaining strength as young Maori are becoming more aware of their relationship with the marine environment. Large-scale commercial whaling may be a thing of the past and certainly the Maori of today do not generally support a resumption of this practice. Nevertheless, they have expressed support for other indigenous people around the world who have similar legal and or cultural and traditional rights to sustainably harvest whales to satisfy their own needs. Equally, there is a strong move by Maori in New Zealand to convince government to recognise their right, enshrined in the Treaty of Waitangi, to collect meat from stranded whales

for human consumption. In this we see a continuum back to the respectful Paikea philosophy concerning whales and as a resource to be carefully utilised, in the Tinirau tradition.

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Appendix 1

Numbers of whaling shore stations and locations in New Zealand (after Prickett, undated)

Foveaux and West Coast South Island Total: 10
Bluff, Preservation Inlet, Riverton,ToeToes, Mussel Beach, Tokanui, Omaui, Clue, Waikawa

Otago Total: 7
Moeraki, Molyneux, Otakou, Purakanui, Taieri, Tautuku, Waikouaiti

Banks Peninsula, Timaru, Motunau Total: 7
Goashore, Ikoraki, Island Bay, Little Port Cooper, Motunau, Peraki,Timaru

Kaikoura Total: 5
Amuri Bluff, Rangi-inu-wai, South Bay, Waiopuka, Waipapa

Port Underwood Total: 6
Cutters Bay, Ocean Bay,The Neck, Kakapo Bay, Ocean Bay,Tom Canes Bay

Tory Channel Total: 5
Fishing Bay,Te Awaiti, Yellerton, Tipi Bay, Jackson Bay

Kapiti Island Total: 8
Waiorua, Te Kahuoterangi, Rangatira, Taepiro, Wharekohu, Motungarara, Tohoramaurea,Tokomapuna

Mana Total: 3
Mana, Paremata, Korohiwa

Palliser Total: 1
Te Kopi

Hawkes Bay Total: 13
Long Point, Moeangiangi, Mohaka, Pourerere, Rangaiika, Waikokopu, Whakaari, Mahia, Moemotu, Portland Island, Putotaranui,Te Hoe, Wairoa

East Coast Total: 9
Cape Runaway, Mawhai, Port Awanui, Turanganui, Whangara, Kawakawa, Papawhariki, Tokomaru, Waikuha

North Island West Coast Total: 4
Ngamotu (1), Wanganui, Ngamotu (2)

Coromandel and Northland Total: 6
Gt Mercury Island, Outu, Whangaparapara (Gt Barrier), Kennedy Bay,