

## 6.2.8 **Doubtful Sound and Thompson Sound**

### *History*

These two interconnected fiords appear to have been used repeatedly by John Grono. The former is shown on Shortland's map of southern New Zealand as 'Gronows', while the latter was named by him after the owner of two of his vessels (McNab 1907: 109-110). However there are no specific voyaging references to his presence there. It seems likely that his first visit was in either 1805 or 1809, as the above reference to his naming of Thompson Sound was from another vessel apparently engaged in ship-based sealing there in 1809-10. It seems likely that most of Grono's activities there were either ship-based, or utilised a shore base in Doubtful Sound. This is widely reputed to have been at Grono Bay on Secretary Island (Hall-Jones 1976: 15), although I can find no primary evidence to confirm this. Boulton also travelled through Thompson Sound in 1826, and stayed in 'a small harbour at the S. end of the Sound' (Starke 1986: 51) which probably indicates continued use of Grono Bay by boat-based gangs.

### *Archaeology*

There has been little surveying in these sounds (McGovern-Wilson 1985: 4), and only three sites were previously recorded. Added here is a record for Grono Bay (B43/9) based upon historical and recent references. Surface assessment of this site is required.

## 6.2.9 **Dagg Sound**

### *History*

The only voyaging reference to this fiord is the supposition that it was visited in 1803-04 by William Dagg, captain of one of the first British whale ships to have done some sealing on the New Zealand coast, and after whom it appears to have been named (Richards 1995: 17). His activities were clearly ship-based and are unlikely to be represented in the archaeological record.

### *Archaeology*

The sound has not been systematically surveyed (McGovern-Wilson 1985: 4), and no sites have been reported.

## 6.2.10 **Coal River**

### *History*

There are no voyaging references to this locality, but Boulton camped there briefly in 1826 and encountered another boat-based gang (Starke 1986: 51).

### *Archaeology*

There has been incomplete survey of this bay (McGovern-Wilson 1985: 4). Two archaeological sites have been reported, but neither appears to be related to sealing.

## 6.2.11 **Breaksea Sound**

### *History*

The only specific references to sealing activity here are from 1803 when one sealer from a ship-based gang was drowned while trying to land on Breaksea

Island (McNab 1907: 80), and 1946 when *Kekeno* worked an island there (Scadden 1996: 86–87). Boulton's boat-based gang passed through the entrance of this fiord to gain access to the Acheron Passage (Starke 1986: 51), which provides a sheltered northern entrance to Dusky Sound, and other sealers using this route may well have taken seals from the islands at its mouth.

### ***Archaeology***

There has been limited surveying in this sound (McGovern-Wilson 1985: 4) and only five sites have been reported. None have disclosed any indications of sealing activity.

## **6.2.12 Dusky Sound**

### ***History***

Dusky Sound is the only locality in New Zealand mentioned in relation to voyages commencing prior to 1803, and is suggested for 6 of the 8 known voyages to Fiordland between 1803 and 1807, indicating that it was the major focus of early sealing activity. It was also definitely visited in 1825, 1826, and 1862, by poachers after 1894, and during the 1946 open season. It seems highly likely that numerous other sealing voyages also touched here.

The only place within Dusky Sound to which specific reference has been made in relation to voyaging accounts is Luncheon Cove on Anchor Island, which was the base for the *Britannia* sealing gang of 1792–93. It is probable that Boulton's 1826 reference to a sealing base on 'Iron Island' (using mariner's slang for an anchor) is to the same place (Starke 1986: 52), and in 1899 Richard Henry (n.d.b) recorded the recollections of a sealer who had frequented that place in earlier years. *Kekeno* used it as a base for ship-based sealing in 1946 (Sorensen 1969: 30–42; Grady 1986: 37; Scadden 1996: 88).

Other places in Dusky Sound that have been suggested as potential sealing camps include Henry's (n.d.a) reference to the remains of a sealing camp at Goose Cove and Begg & Begg's (1966: 51–52) suggestion of one at Cascade Cove.

### ***Archaeology***

Dusky Sound has been extensively surveyed (McGovern-Wilson 1985; Smith & Gillies 1997, 1998) and 65 archaeological sites have been recorded. Three of these are listed in CINZAS<sup>5</sup> as 'Sealers' Camps'. For reasons outlined below these are all rejected as sealing sites, and another one definite and five possible sealing sites are added.

**Anchor Island**—Five sites at Luncheon Cove are associated with sealing. The *Britannia* base has been identified as A44/4 (Fig. 16). Two of the localities suggested for its main house have been excavated and shown to relate to other activities: ship-building, also undertaken by the gang; and a later dwelling (Smith & Gillies 1997). There are numerous other localities around this harbour with surface indications of dwellings, including one large and two small

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<sup>5</sup> Central Index of New Zealand Archaeological Sites. This is an electronic index to information held in the NZAA Site Recording Scheme, maintained by the Department of Conservation.

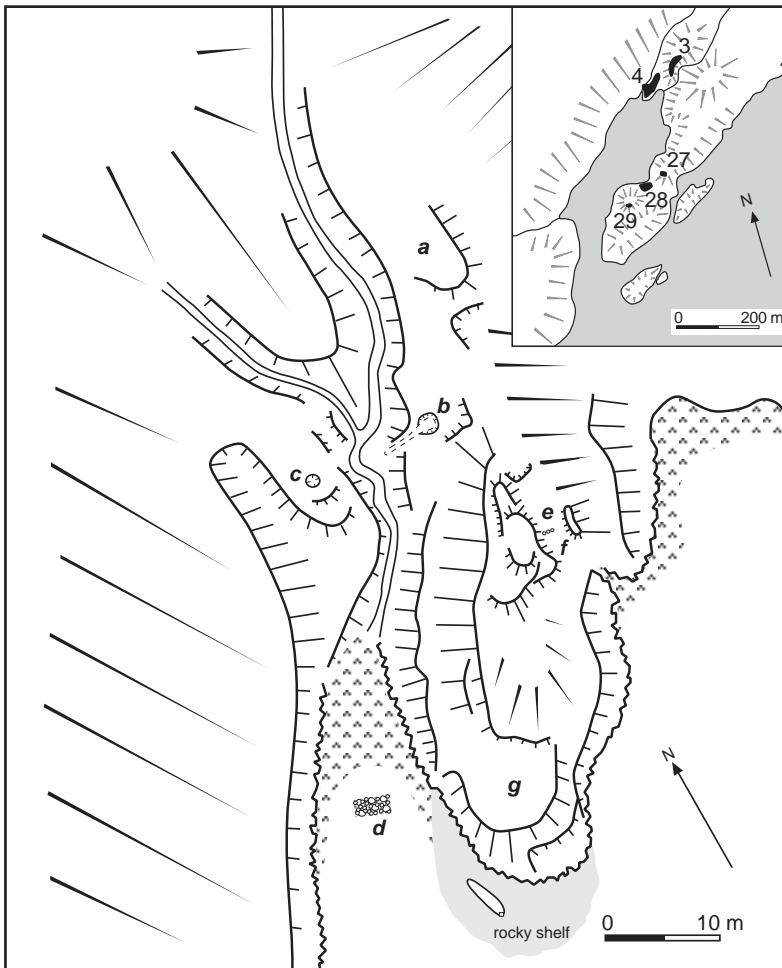


Figure 16. Site of the *Britannia* settlement at Luncheon Cove, Anchor Island (A44/4). Features include: **a**—probable site of *Britannia* gang's house; **b, c**—pits associated with their ship-building activities; **d**—probable keel support structure; **e, f**—collapsed punga huts; **g**—site of later dwelling. **Inset:** Positions of site A44/4, and four other NZAA sites in the area.

terraces at A44/4, and terraces (some with collapsed punga huts) at A44/3, 27, 28, and 29 (see Fig. 16, inset). It is likely that further archaeological remains will be discovered there providing information about the first European settlement in New Zealand, and its longest serving and most frequently used haven for sealers.

CINZAS lists A44/15 as a sealers' camp, although the justification for this seems minimal. The record is based upon Coutts (1969: 207) reading of Richard Henry's (n.d.a: 57) description of a 'possible trypot site' 'on an island at the head of the lake on Anchor Island' which I cannot find at the quoted source. This seems a most unlikely place for a sealing site, and no rationale for its association with the industry has been posited. It has never been relocated.

**Nook Harbour**—A boat run (B44/33) at the southern end of this small harbour in Duck Cove is 'one of the best examples in Dusky Sound' (McGovern-Wilson 1985: S156/58) and was said by

fishermen in the mid 1970s to be an old sealer's boat run. On this basis, however, its association with the sealing industry must be considered conjectural at best.

**Cascade Cove**—Begg & Begg's report of a sealers' camp and boat run (B45/3) is almost certainly the same location that Henry (1895: 52) described as 'a hut with an iron chimney which may have been 10 or 12 years deserted', suggesting that it probably post-dates the main sealing period. It is not considered here to be a sealing camp.

**Goose Cove**—A44/14 was recorded on the basis of Henry's (n.d.a: 50, 60) description of an old sealing camp at the south end of Goose Cove. This was probably the hut of William Wheeler, taxidermist, who lived there from the 1870s until 1882 (Begg & Begg 1966: 86; McGovern-Wilson 1985: S156/28). It has not been relocated.

### 6.2.13 Chalky Inlet

#### *History*

Chalky Inlet was sighted during *Endeavour's* pioneering voyage in 1803, and may have been worked the following year by *Contest*, probably pursuing ship-based sealing. More definite references to Chalky Inlet derive from seven voyages, all in the period 1821–30. Five of these are associated with the three shore-based gangs known to have been stationed there between 1821 and 1824,

and the other two appear to have been ship-based sealing in the vicinity in 1829–30. Boulton's boat-based gang also visited there in 1826.

Three specific localities are alluded to in the historical record. The location of huts used by at least one of the shore-based gangs is shown on de Blouville's chart at the head of Lee Bay, Southport (Begg & Begg 1973: 119, 135). Boulton's boat-based gang stayed in a large dry cave 'at the head of the harbour' (Starke 1986: 54), which Begg & Begg (1979: 165) also place at Southport. Another probable base was in a large cave on the outer shore of Cape Providence, the northern entrance to the inlet. Boulton referred to the cape as 'Cave Point' (Starke 1986: 54), suggesting that it was well known to the sealers; and in 1905 a piece of slate (Fig. 17) was found there, inscribed with messages by crew or gangs from two separate vessels, probably in late 1823 (Begg & Begg 1973: 110–111, 121). Boulton also mentioned a safe harbour at Chalky Island, and here, at Sealers Bay (Begg & Begg 1979: 165), it is said that 'a few sealers lived at one time, cultivating the soil for vegetables' (Begg & Begg 1973: 102).



Figure 17. Piece of slate found in Grono's Cave by Harry Roderique in 1905 bearing two messages inscribed in 1822 or 1823. The first, by the master of the *Samuel*, is incomplete and reads 'Lon.../Richard Jones Esq. Owner/John Dawson master/ Beware of the Natives plenty at/ Preservation'. The second, by Grono or one of his crew, reads 'Brig Elizabeth/ John Grono Mas/called at this place/the 23<sup>rd</sup> December/Brooks/Edward Norton'. *Photo courtesy of Southland Museum and Art Gallery*

### ***Archaeology***

Chalky Inlet has been thoroughly surveyed (McGovern-Wilson 1985) and 61 archaeological sites have been recorded. Two of these are listed in CINZAS as sealers' camps, and another 10 are considered here as potential sealing sites. All but one of these sites are clustered around either Southport or Cape Providence.

**Cape Providence**—Grono's Cave (A45/8) on the outer shore of the Cape is the site in which the inscribed slate was found, and further evidence recovered there (Hall-Jones n.d.) indicates that it can be identified confidently as a repeatedly used sealers' camp. Two caves (A45/1, A45/2) within 200 m to the south of this site have also disclosed evidence suggestive of use during the 19<sup>th</sup> century and thus should also be considered as possible sealing camps. A rock-shelter (A45/5) about 500 m north of Grono's Cave, is 'streaked with black smoke suggesting that at some time in the past seal fat had been burnt here' (Hall-Jones n.d.: 1), raising the possibility that this could have been a site at which seal blubber was rendered into oil. He also suggested that the headland above this site was an ideal lookout for vessels coming down from Dusky Sound, or round from Chalky Inlet. A fifth site (A45/13) on the inner shore of the Cape has evidence for use during the 1890s in the form of names and a date on the cave ceiling.

**South Port**—A new site (B45/78) has been recorded at the eastern side of Lee Bay, where de Blosseville's 1824 chart indicates what appear to be three sealers' huts. A later timber mill (B45/48) was located at the western side of this bay, and this or other activity may have obscured evidence of their presence, but further field survey is warranted.

Three of the caves (B45/20, 29, 30) excavated by Coutts (1972) at the northern end of Southport contained European artefacts (Fig. 18), which he interpreted as evidence of contact between Maori occupants of the cave and European seamen. However the subsequent emergence of historical evidence for the use of a cave at Southport by Boulton's boat-based sealing gang makes it likely that at least some of these items derive from their activities, and perhaps those of other sealers. Coutts (1972: 131) noted that similarities in textiles, buttons, and glass artefacts suggested direct connections between the sites, and it is proposed here that all three should be considered as probable sealing camps. In addition two small caves on Garden Island (B45/23, 63) have yielded possible evidence of 19<sup>th</sup> century occupation and can be considered as potential sealing camps.

**Sealers Bay, Chalky Island**—The only site recorded in this bay is a cave (B45/9) which appears to have had historic period occupation, and in the light of the historical evidence should be considered as a possible sealing camp.

## **6.2.14 Preservation Inlet**

### ***History***

This harbour was also sighted by *Endeavour* in 1803 (McNab 1907: 80), but no sealing appears to have been done there. It may have been one of the 'four new harbours' explored by *Contest* in 1804–05 (Richards 1996: 23), probably for ship-based sealing. The only definite reference during the early phases of sealing is from Bunker's 1808–09 chart, which shows that *Pegasus* anchored there between the Cording Islands and Cuttle Cove, presumably during ship-based sealing (see Fig. 6). Other than one mention in 1822–23, all of the other voyaging refer-

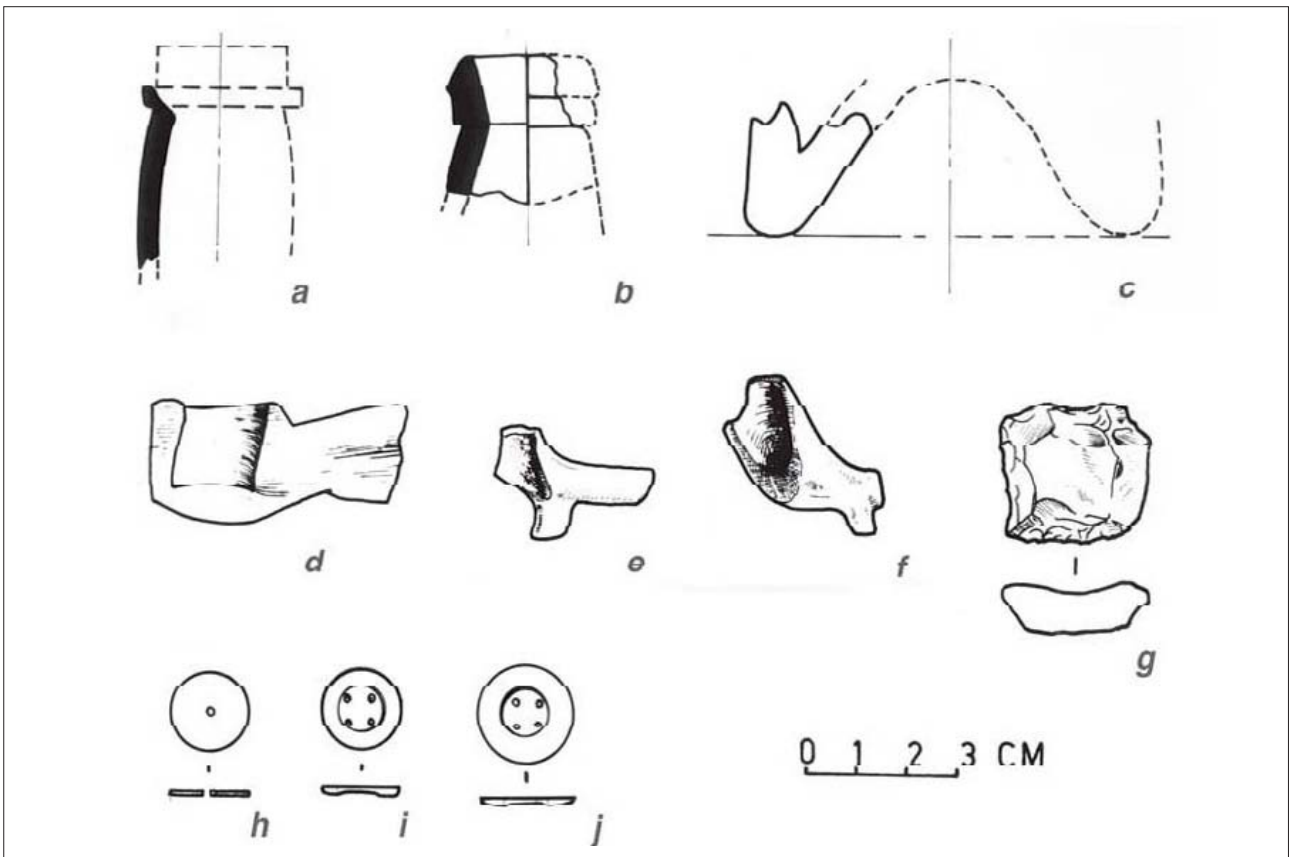


Figure 18. Selected artefacts excavated from the Southport Caves (after Coutts 1972). *a, b, c*—glass bottle fragments; *d, e, f*—pipe fragments of wood (*d*) and clay (*e, f*); *g*—gun flint; *h, i, j*—bone buttons. (*a, b, c*—B45/20; *d, f, g, h, j*—B45/21; *e, i*—B45/11). Reproduced by permission of the Anthropology Department, Otago University, Dunedin.

ences are from the period 1830–36, and relate to ships returning small parcels of skins from the Cuttle Cove whaling station. Ship-based sealing at Gulches Head—the northern entrance to the sound—was undertaken at least twice by *Kekeno* during the 1946 open season (Sorensen 1969: 30–42; Scadden 1996: 86).

### **Archaeology**

Archaeological surveys of Preservation Inlet (McGovern-Wilson 1985) have covered all of its accessible shorelines and identified 73 archaeological sites. For none of these has any association with the sealing industry previously been proposed.

Neither the foregoing review of sealing strategies, nor the historical information summarised above, suggest that this interpretation should change. All of the early sealing appears to have been ship-based, which would leave little or no archaeological trace. Part-time sealing was later undertaken from Cuttle Cove (B45/26), which was first and foremost a whaling station, and it is difficult to see how anything distinctive to the sealing industry could be found there. The sealing undertaken from Cuttle Cove was almost certainly by boat-based gangs, who might have camped for short periods in caves or rock-shelters. Thirty-one of these with evidence of occupation have been recorded in Preservation Inlet, but all except one are within 5 km of Cuttle Cove and, significantly, no closer to the mouth of the sound where the seal colonies

occurred. Furthermore, surface observations of the occupation deposits in these sites have not disclosed artefacts or faunal remains indicative of 19<sup>th</sup> century occupation, although as suggested earlier ephemeral sealing camps may not have left such remains.

### 6.3 FOVEAUX STRAIT

The known and probable voyages operating in Foveaux Strait provide much less precise locational data than those in Fiordland. In part this may be because many of the seal colonies initially exploited there are likely to have been on small islets and reefs in the Strait, thus favouring a ship-based strategy. In addition at least some of the shore-based activities in the Strait operated from

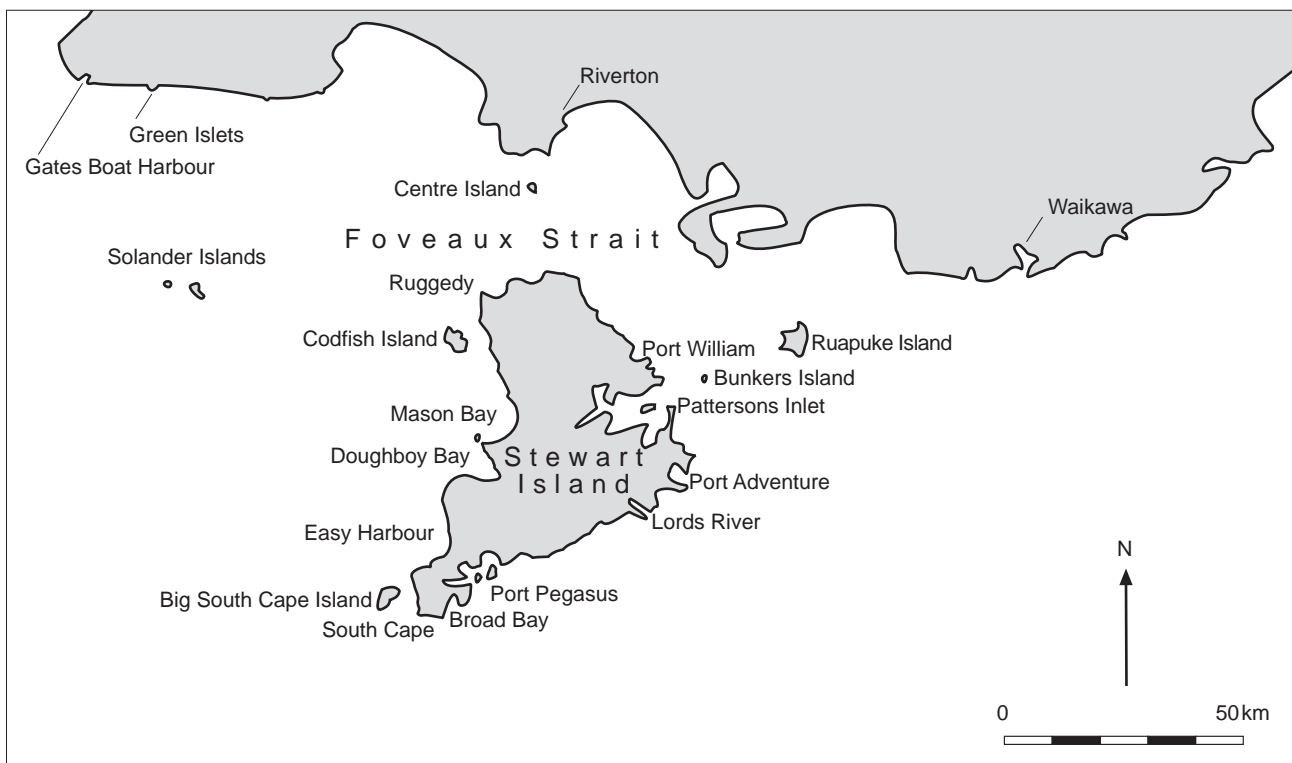


Figure 19. Foveaux Strait and Stewart Island, showing major localities discussed in the text.

the northern shores of Stewart Island, and are considered here as part of the latter area (Fig. 19).

#### 6.3.1 Gates Boat Harbour

##### *History*

A gang set down by *General Gates* during August 1821 in Chalky Inlet spent some of its time at Gates Boat Harbour. Soon after encountering the *Snapper* at Chalky Inlet in December 1822 they returned to Gates Boat Harbour to recover their cache of skins (Richards 1995: 33). No further details of their activities there are known.

##### *Archaeology*

Of the two sites recorded here (B46/18) is the most likely to relate to sealing. It is a rock-shelter with midden. European materials, some at least relatively recent, occur on the surface.

### 6.3.2 Solander Islands

#### *History*

Because of their prominent position at the western entrance to Foveaux Strait the Solander Islands are mentioned in passing in many voyaging accounts, but only five or six of these describe sealing activities there. The first, *Endeavour* in 1803, was clearly conducting ship-based sealing. *Pegasus* in 1808–09 may also have done this, as ‘many seals’ is inscribed beside the islands on Bunker’s chart (Fig. 6). The remaining voyages relate to the setting down and uplifting of shore-based sealers, at least some of whom were there from 1809 to 1813 (Ross n.d.: 19, 22, 30). A ship-based gang, separated from their vessel on the West Coast, also spent several months on the island in 1809–10 (Kerr n.d.: 32–33).

Other activity there is indicated by Edwin Palmer’s recollection that there were English sealers there in 1826, and that he had been sealing there some time later while he lived at Codfish Island (Hocken n.d.). In 1914 *Antelope* was engaged in ship-based sealing there (Cumpston 1968: 271), as was *Kekeno* in 1946 (Sorensen 1969: 30–42) before returning to set down a gang which camped for part of its stay in ‘Sealer’s Cave’ in East Bay on Big Solander Island (Grady 1986: 37–39; Scadden 1996: 85–86, 88).

#### *Archaeology*

The *Kekeno* gang reported that charcoal from earlier occupation of Sealers Cave could be observed in 1946 (Grady 1986: 39), and on these grounds it is recorded here as an archaeological site (B47/1). However they also found that the cave was flooded by heavy seas, which may explain why the only archaeological survey there (Gillies 1985) was unable to locate any evidence of 19<sup>th</sup> century occupation. This survey also tested two rock-shelters in East Bay (B47/2, 3) and found charcoal stained soil, although no convincing evidence of the age of occupation. It is possible that caves and rock-shelters elsewhere on both of the islands in the group have evidence of occupation. The Southland Museum and Art Gallery has a small sealskin purse (Fig. 20) from Solander Island, although its precise origins and associations are not known.



Figure 20. Sealskin purse with brass button, reputed to have been found on Solander Island. *Photo courtesy of Southland Museum and Art Gallery*



### 6.3.3 Ruapuke Island

#### *History*

Bunker's chart shows seals in the vicinity of Ruapuke (see Fig. 6), suggesting that *Pegasus* may have conducted ship-based sealing in the vicinity. The only confirmed voyaging account is also of this type; during *Snapper's* 1823 visit 'one boat was almost always employed in seal hunting, and a good number were always killed' (McNab 1907: 204). Boulton visited Ruapuke several times during 1827, and reported at least two Europeans (probably deserted sealers) there (Starke 1986: 86), but gives no indication that they were engaged in the trade.

#### *Archaeology*

Twelve sites have been recorded on Ruapuke, of which at least five have evidence of early historic occupation (Coutts & Jurisich 1972), although which of these were visited by sealers in the 1820s is not clear. What is clear is that these were Maori hamlets, rather than sealing sites.

### 6.3.4 Waikawa

#### *History*

In late 1809 the *Sydney Cove* set down a gang at 'Molyneux's Straits', evidently meaning Foveaux Strait (Howard 1940: 36). Richards (1995: 20) suggests that this may have been at Waikawa Harbour, although neither confirmation of that nor more precise locational data is available.

#### *Archaeology*

Some 30 sites have been recorded around the harbour (Teal 1976). At least six of these show evidence of 19<sup>th</sup> century activity, but these can be attributed to the whaling and timber milling known to have taken place there.

### 6.3.5 Other localities

#### *History*

Other places at which ship-based activity probably took place may be inferred from Bunker's chart (see Fig. 6) which shows that he anchored in the vicinity of Green Islets and Riverton on the south coast. The chart also shows 'seals' in the vicinity of Centre Island and two islands in the vicinity of Ruapuke. Bunker's Island is named on Edwardson's 1823 chart of Foveaux Strait (Begg & Begg 1973: 140). None of this activity would be expected to leave an archaeological record.

## 6.4 STEWART ISLAND

The number of specific localities recorded for Stewart Island is similar to that for Fiordland, although for many of these the number of recorded visits is small and detail of activities limited (see Fig. 19).

### 6.4.1 Codfish Island

#### *History*

There are only two sealing voyage accounts referring directly to this island, although other evidence makes it clear that it was utilised more frequently. The earliest reference is on Bunker's 1808 chart, which shows that *Pegasus* anchored there in Sealers Bay (see Fig. 6), and subsequent evidence indicates that a shore-based gang was landed and at that time the place was known as Pegasus Island (Ross n.d.: 20; Richards 1982: 25, 1995: 19). *Pegasus* replaced this gang on a second voyage the following year, returning later in the same voyage to collect them (Richards 1982: 26).

Edwardson's 1823 sketch plan of the anchorage at 'Codfish Island' (Begg & Begg 1973: 142) shows 'sealers' huts' towards the western end of Sealers Bay and, considering the time elapsed since the *Pegasus* gangs were there, it seems likely that there had been subsequent shore-based activity there. As noted above (section 5.2.4) a resident community was established by sealers here about 1825, although Boulton's observations suggest that most of the men were living with their Maori wives at Mason's Bay in 1827-28 (Starke 1986: 94). The more substantial community established there soon afterwards persisted through to about 1850 (Howard 1940: 66), although it seems unlikely that much sealing was undertaken from there after about 1830.

#### *Archaeology*

Two sites are reported from Sealers Bay. D48/5, at the western end of the bay was recorded from literature as the location of a resident community established c. 1825, and coincides with the position of the huts in Edwardson's chart. D48/21 near the eastern end of the beach has yielded a midden and ovens along with clay pipe fragments and barrel hoops, and thus is potentially of similar age.

### 6.4.2 Mason's Harbour

#### *History*

Located at the southern end of Mason Bay, in the lee of the Ernest Islands, this harbour is said to have been named after Robert Mason, mate of the *Pegasus* on its voyage in 1808-09 (Begg & Begg 1979: 207), suggesting that this ship may have called there. It was visited briefly by *Gurnet* in 1827 (Starke 1986: 91), but only to deliver Boulton to a Maori village there, rather than for sealing, and it is recalled elsewhere as 'a known heavedown for sealers in easterly weather' (Anderson n.d.). Although Howard (1940: 37) proposed it as a suitable locale for shore-based operations, there is at present little evidence that this took place.

#### *Archaeology*

Fourteen sites have been recorded in Mason Bay, including one (D49/28) which is almost certainly the village visited by Boulton. This has recently been excavated (Anderson pers. comm.). Neither this, nor any of the remaining sites can be considered to be sealing sites.

### 6.4.3 Doughboy Bay

#### *History*

There are no historical references to sealing activity here, but Howard (1940: 36) suggested it as a possible location for shore-based gangs.

#### *Archaeology*

A cave site (D49/3) was recorded as a 'sealers' base' on the basis of hearsay. No evidence of historic occupation has been located there, but it is reputed that a more recent regular inhabitant of the cave systematically scraped off all the sealers' graffiti 'because he couldn't bear the thought that other people had been there before him' (NZAA Site Record Form D49/3).

### 6.4.4 Easy Harbour

#### *History*

There are only two direct voyaging references to sealing at Easy Harbour. In 1826 *Alligator* was reported leaving Port Pegasus for sealing there, and in 1830 *Industry* was wrecked in a gale there. However it is clear that there had been earlier activity. A sealing gang is known to have been located there in 1809 (Howard 1940: 36), and de Blosseville recorded that an English sealer had escaped from Maori by hiding in a cave on Kackakow (Mokinui or Big Moggy) Island, just off Easy Harbour (McNab 1907: 206), and Palmer related a similar story involving a Scotsman, a Tasmanian woman, and her son (Hocken n.d.). These stories may relate to one of the *General Gates* gangs. Palmer also suggests that he went sealing on 'Cundy's' (Kundy) Island immediately north of Easy Harbour.

#### *Archaeology*

No sites have been recorded in the vicinity of Easy Harbour, and it appears that no surveys have been undertaken there. Both the shores of the harbour and its outlying islands have archaeological potential, and remnants of the *Industry* wreck may also survive.

### 6.4.5 'South Cape'

#### *History*

At the outset of the sealing period the whole southern end of New Zealand was referred to as 'South Cape', and even after the discovery of Foveaux Strait both this term and 'South Cape Island' continued to be applied generally to Stewart Island, making precise attribution of place difficult. Of the eight direct voyaging references that have been recorded, three are almost certainly to places elsewhere on the island, and this is almost certainly the case for one or two of the shore-based gangs said to have been landed there. The voyages about which there is reasonable certainty, and the shore-based gangs with which they were associated, derive from the periods 1809-10 and 1819-24. Palmer's recollections (Hocken n.d.) indicate that there was also boat-based sealing in the vicinity in 1826-27, although this might have been by a gang based in Port Pegasus.

There is limited evidence for exactly where the shore-based gangs may have been situated. The earliest, in mid 1809, was landed 'on the island off the South Cape' (Richards 1982: 25) which is probably Big South Cape Island. Murderer's

Cove on this island is likely to have been the base for at least one of the shore parties, as it is reputedly the scene of the massacre of a sealing gang, although this or another attack may have taken place at 'Yankee Boat Harbour', on the Stewart Island coast opposite (Howard 1940: 38, 125; Richards 1995: 33). Both these localities, and perhaps others in the vicinity have the potential to yield surviving archaeological evidence.

### ***Archaeology***

There has been no systematic archaeological survey of the South Cape area and its outlying islands, and the only recorded site is a findspot of prehistoric artefacts on Big South Cape Island. While there is clearly potential for the discovery of sealing sites in this area, it is likely to be difficult to distinguish them from sites of both earlier and more recent Maori activity there.

## **6.4.6 Broad Bay**

### ***History***

There are no historical references to sealing activity here, but Howard (1940: 36) suggested it as a possible location for shore-based gangs.

### ***Archaeology***

Partial survey (Williams 1982) has identified five sites, including two rock shelters (D50/8, D50/9) with indications of European occupation. However these appear to be more recent than the sealing era, and they are not considered here as sealing sites.

## **6.4.7 Port Pegasus**

### ***History***

Port Pegasus ranks alongside Dusky Sound as one of the earliest and most frequently visited sealing harbours. Known initially as 'Port South' or 'Southern Port' its attraction seems to have been at least in part as a sheltered port for 'wooding and watering' *en route* to or from the subantarctic islands. Twelve voyages appear to have undertaken some sealing there. Two voyages in 1804-05 relate to the setting down and uplifting of O.F. Smith's boat-based gang, and the vessel from which the harbour takes its name appears to have been engaged in ship-based sealing there in 1809. The remaining visits were all between 1823 and 1829, and most appear to have been for ship-based sealing, but one shore-based gang was there in 1826-27. Boulton's boat-based gang also visited there in 1827, and the shipbuilders resident from 1826 to 1833 also appear to have done some sealing. There is no precise historical information about where any of these gangs based there operations.

### ***Archaeology***

All of the shores of Port Pegasus have been surveyed for archaeological sites (Cave 1980; Williams 1982) and 33 have been recorded. These include D49/17 which has been identified through archaeological investigation as the location of William Stewart's shipbuilding settlement (McGovern-Wilson & Bristow 1994), from which some part-time sealing was undertaken. Of the remaining sites known around the harbour, three (D49/18, D49/19, D50/5) consisting of clusters of hut terraces seem the most likely candidates for sealing camps.

#### 6.4.8 Lords River

##### *History*

There are no direct voyaging references to this harbour. It is shown on Smith's 1804 sketch of Stewart Island as 'Port S.E.', and was presumably named after Simeon Lord, owner of several sealing vessels, probably by Bunker or Stewart in 1808-09, although perhaps by Grono (Begg & Begg 1979: 128). There is nothing to indicate anything other than ship-based sealing here.

##### *Archaeology*

Archaeological sites were recorded here in 1979 (Cave 1980), but none are suggestive of sealing activity.

#### 6.4.9 Port Adventure

##### *History*

There are no direct voyaging references to this harbour, although inferences have been drawn from its names. Smith's 1804 sketch shows it as 'Port Honduras' prompting speculation that *Honduras* was stationed there at the time, and from what is known of its movements in 1804-05 it could well have been engaged in ship-based sealing there (Ross 1987: 25-37). It is presumed that the modern name is after *Adventure* which was sealing in Foveaux Strait in early 1809 (Richards 1995: 19), and may also have operated from there.

##### *Archaeology*

Port Adventure was surveyed in 1979 (Cave 1980) and six sites have been recorded there. None of these are suggestive of sealing activity.

#### 6.4.10 Pattersons Inlet

##### *History*

Smith named this 'Port N.W.' in 1804, and Bunker's chart showed that *Pegasus* anchored in two different locations there in 1808-09 (see Fig. 6), probably during ship-based sealing operations. It has been suggested that the absence of this prominent harbour from all other charts up to 1834 may indicate that it was not frequented by sealers (Howard 1940: 340-341).

##### *Archaeology*

None of the 36 sites recorded on the shores or islands of Patterson's Inlet is suggestive of activity by sealers.

#### 6.4.11 Port William

##### *History*

There are seven voyaging accounts relating to this harbour which appears to have been one of the major bases for early sealing operations in Foveaux Strait. Bunker's chart shows that *Pegasus* anchored there in 1808-09 (see Fig. 6). Three voyages relate to the setting down, provisioning and uplifting of a shore-based gang in 1809-11, and another two vessels may have undertaken ship-based sealing from there in 1823.

This record almost certainly underestimates the extent of shore-based activity there. Edwardson's 1823 chart shows the location of a 'house where the boy

Eben' Denton was killed' (Begg & Begg 1973: 145). Denton [or Deaton as in Richards 1995: 33] was a member of a gang set down by *General Gates* at 'South Cape' in 1821. Boulton also visited there in 1827, finding a cask of flour belonging 'to some sealers or other' (Starke 1986: 67).

### ***Archaeology***

Two contact-period villages are recorded in Port William, Potirepo (E48/6) at the northern end of the beach and Maori Beach (E48/1). Neither is shown on Edwardson's chart, so presumably were not in use in 1823, although the shore-based gang in 1809–11 appear to have lived with a Maori community (Anderson 1998: 65) which may have occupied one of these localities. The position of the house shown on Edwardson's chart appears to be at or close to the location of E48/1, so in this case use by sealers can be confirmed.

## **6.4.12 Other localities**

### ***History***

Other places on Stewart Island suggested by Howard (1940: 36) as potential locations of shore-based stations include Bungaree, Murray River, Christmas Village, Lucky Beach, and Ruggedy, all along the northern coast. Of these only Ruggedy is mentioned in the voyaging accounts, as a possible destination for men deserting from the *Brothers* sealing gangs and as 'something of a meeting place for sealers' (Entwhistle 1998: 31–32, 178).

### ***Archaeology***

Archaeological sites have been recorded at all of these places, but appear to be either pre-European or later historic settlements.

## **6.5 OTAGO**

Most of the recorded voyages by sealing vessels to Otago appear to represent port visits to acquire provisions. There are only two definite and four possible instances of sealing. Of the latter, the earliest is *Unity* in early 1809. Entwhistle (1998: 21–23) has argued that this was the first vessel to enter 'Port Daniel' (Otago Harbour) and that it may have been sealing on the coast, but there is no confirmation of this. Later possibilities include *Wellington* and *Samuel* in 1823, and *Gurnet* in 1827, although in none of these cases is there any clear indication that they took seals on the Otago coast. However seals were still present, at least on the South Otago coast, as Palmer reported that in 1826 he went by open boat from Ruapuke to Taieri Heads and back 'sealing all the way down' (Hocken n.d.). In the 1946 open season 11 seal skins were taken on the Catlins coast (Sorensen 1969: 26).

### **6.5.1 'Isle of Wight' and 'Ragged Rock'**

#### ***History***

In November 1809 *Brothers* landed 8 men on the 'Isle of Wight' and three on 'Ragged Rock' just south of Port Daniel. It has generally been presumed that the former is White Island (e.g. Salmond 1997: 521), but Entwhistle (1998: 21, 29)

has argued that it is more likely that the 'Isle of Wight' was Green Island and 'Ragged Rocks' the modern White Island. Both gangs had abandoned these stations before their ship returned for them.

### ***Archaeology***

There is an 'unconfirmed report of midden remains possibly associated with early sealers' on White Island (NZAA Site Record Form: I44/113), but this appears to have been recorded from literature rather than field observation. No survey appears to have been conducted on Green Island. While potential for archaeological remains cannot be ruled out, the small size and storm-swept nature of both these islands suggest that it is not likely.

## **6.6 OTHER REGIONS**

### **6.6.1 Canterbury**

#### ***History***

There are four known visits by sealing vessels to Banks Peninsula, but none of these involved sealing there. Indeed, the earliest investigation suggests that there were no seals there. The master of *Pegasus*, S.R. Chace, reported that in late 1809 'we then surveyed Banks Island, it joins to the main ... We found no seals' (Richards 1982: 26). The following year Robert Mason, in *Brothers*, sailed south from Cook Strait 'examining the coast all the way along to Banks Island where I anchored one night' (Enwhistle 1998: 145). McDonald (n.d.: 4573) reported that while serving on *Governor Bligh*, probably in 1815-16, two weeks were spent in a harbour on 'Banks Island' trading for potatoes and mats. *Antarctic's* unsuccessful search for seals in New Zealand during 1830 included a visit to Port Cooper (Ross n.d.: 62).

### **6.6.2 Cook Strait**

#### ***History***

At least eight sealing vessels are reported in or around Cook Strait, and it is likely that many more passed through it. However none of these provide any evidence of sealing there. In 1809 *Pegasus* 'discovered several small islands but no seals on them' (Richards 1982: 26) as did *Brothers* in 1810 (Enwhistle 1998: 145). Most of the remaining visits appear to have been for provisioning, repairs, or simply passing through the strait. In 1829 the sealer *Hunter* was wrecked on Kapiti Island *en route* to the sealing grounds (Ross n.d.: 64). There is one report of seal skins arriving in Sydney from Te Awaiti, on *Waterloo* in 1832 (Ross n.d.: 82), but it seems likely that these were taken by gangs working along the west coast.

This evidence contrasts with Sherrin's (1886: 235) report that seals 'were found in Cook Strait at an early period in immense numbers' and Heaphy's (1863: 175) assertion that sealers had visited the Brothers Islands. Neither author provides any supporting evidence. It is also noteworthy that during all Cook's visits to Queen Charlotte Sound between 1773 and 1777 he reported only one sea lion and made no mention of fur seals (Smith 1985: 437-438).

### 6.6.3 North Island

#### *History*

The available evidence suggests that there were no successful sealing voyages to the North Island. There are two recorded attempts to find seals. In 1810 *Brothers* 'went to the islands near Cape Egmont & did not get seals there' (Entwhistle 1998: 145) and in 1826 *Sally* 'stood for Taranaki close to Sugar loaves. Then first landed to get pigs for muskets. Then went north for seals but found none' (Hocken n.d.). That both these vessels looked for seals on the Sugarloaf Islands might suggest that others had found them there, but there is no existing evidence that this was the case. It has been reported elsewhere (Molloy n.d.: 14) that *Star* was sealing at Mercury Bay on the Coromandel. However its cargo of skins was almost certainly taken at the Chatham Islands before visiting the New Zealand coast (Ross n.d.: 23).



# 7. Discussion

Four factors need to be considered in developing a management strategy for historic places of the European sealing industry:

- Accurate definition of place
- Appropriate representation of variation within the industry
- Potential threats to their heritage values
- Opportunities for their interpretation

These are discussed below, and specific management recommendations are outlined in Appendix 4.

## 7.1 DEFINITION OF PLACE

Some of the localities considered above should be discounted as historic places of the European sealing industry. Although the North Island, Marlborough Sounds, Canterbury, and Otago Harbour were sometimes visited by sealing vessels, there is no convincing evidence that the industry was ever pursued there. At a more specific level, several sites previously attributed to the activities of sealers in Dusky Sound appear to have alternative, more recent explanations. The same is probably the case for most of the beaches along the north coast of Stewart Island (section 6.4.10).

There are 30 localities for which land-based sealing activity can be suggested. These vary considerably in terms of the precision with which the location of the activities can be defined (see Table 5 and Fig. 21, next pages). There are 12 places for which the historical evidence provides reasonably precise locational information. At least half of these (group 1) have already been confirmed by archaeological observations. In each case one (or more) specific archaeological sites have already been identified, and others with untested potential located, indicating that they are best considered as **historic areas**. These must be considered the premier historic places of the industry, and managed accordingly. The localities in group 2 have equally precise historical data on location, but await proper archaeological assessment at the conjectured sites. Further investigation by survey and/or test excavation is clearly a priority.

For most of the remaining places the historical data provides only a general indication of the location of sealing activities. For nine of these (group 3) one or more archaeological sites have been proposed as a possible specific location. Further investigation of these may provide confirmation of this possibility. A similar situation obtains for one archaeological site (group 4) which has conjectured sealing associations but no direct historical data. Further investigation of this unusual site should be considered a priority.

There are also six known or probable sealing localities (group 5) which have not yet been surveyed to determine the presence of specific sealing-related archaeological sites. Of these, the Kahurangi-Wekakura, Easy Harbour, and South Cape areas would appear to be particularly promising. Another four

localities (group 6) have been partially or completely surveyed, but none of the recorded sites are suggestive of association with the sealing industry. While this may be due to inadequacies in the archaeological surveys, or the loss of sites through erosion, it is perhaps more likely to reflect the ephemeral nature of the sealing activities in these places. The best recognition of these localities is an acknowledgement of the generalised, or putative association with sealing in the presentation of heritage information concerning the place.

TABLE 5. LAND-BASED SEALING LOCALITIES GROUPED BY QUALITY OF LOCATIONAL DATA.

LOCALITY	SITES CONFIRMED	SITES CONJECTURED
<b>1. Precise historical data, confirmed by archaeological observation</b>		
Open Bay Islands	F37/18, **	F37/20
Luncheon Cove	A44/4	A44/3, 27, 28, 29
Cape Providence	A45/8	A45/1, 2, 5, 13
Southport—Caves	B45/11, 20, 21	B45/23, 63
Solander Is	B47/1	B47/2, 3
Sealers Bay, Codfish Is	D48/5	D48/21
<b>2. Precise historical data, further archaeological assessment required</b>		
Arnott Point		F36/**
Anita Bay, Milford Sound		D40/1
Head of George Sound		C41/13
Grono Bay, Doubtful Sound		B43/9
Southport—Huts		B45/78
Port William—Denton's Hut		E48/1
<b>3. Generalised historical data, conjectured archaeological associations</b>		
Cape Foulwind		K29/1
Caswell Sound		C41/7
Nook Harbour		B44/33
Sealers Bay, Chalky Is		B45/9
Gates Boat Harbour		B46/18
Doughboy Bay		D49/3
Port Pegasus		D49/18, 19, D50/5
Port William—Murray's Camp		E48/1 or 6
White Island		I44/113
<b>4. No historical data, conjectured archaeological associations</b>		
Sutherland Sound		C40/1
<b>5. Generalised historical data, no archaeological survey yet undertaken</b>		
Kahurangi-Wekakura		
'Arnott' River		
Looking Glass Bay		
Easy Harbour and adjacent islands		
South Cape and adjacent islands		
Green Island		
<b>6. Generalised historical data, surveyed but no likely sites located</b>		
Cascade Beach		
Coal River		
Waikawa		
Broad Bay, Stewart Is		

\*\* Sites with sheet numbers followed by /\*\* indicate newly submitted records that have not yet been allocated numbers.

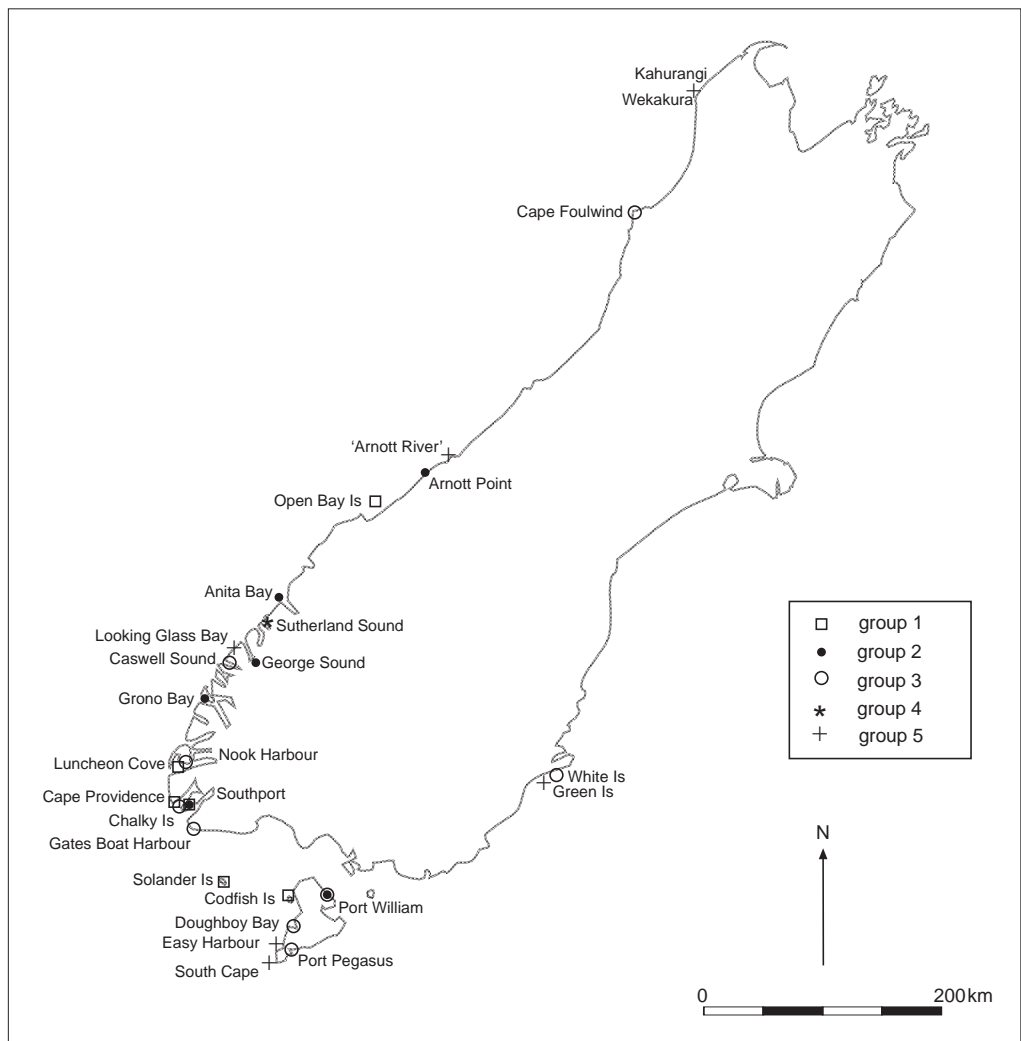


Figure 21. Historic places of the New Zealand sealing industry. Groups 1 to 5 are defined in the text (under section 7.1) and listed in Appendix 4.

A final group of localities can be more or less securely identified with sealing, but, on present evidence, the activities there seem to have been ship-based rather than shore-based, and it is highly unlikely that any physical evidence of them will have survived. These include Bligh, Nancy, Dagg, and Breaksea Sounds, Ruapuke Island, Masons Harbour, Lords River, Port Adventure, and Pattersons Inlet. For all but three of these (Breaksea, Ruapuke, Patterson's) their connection with sealing is celebrated through their place-names, which were either bestowed by or commemorate sealers. Any attempts to change these place-names should be resisted, and their associations with sealing should be highlighted in the presentation of heritage information.

## 7.2 REPRESENTATION OF VARIATION

The six proposed **historic areas** (group 1) encompass a broad-ranging sample of potential variation in site type, chronology and land-based sealing activity (Table 6). Significant features of this are summarised briefly below.

TABLE 6. SITE TYPES AND TEMPORAL OCCURRENCE OF LAND-BASED ACTIVITIES AT SEALING LOCALITIES.

GROUP LOCALITY	TYPE	1792-1802	1803-07	1808-12	1813-22	1823-29	1830-39	1840-71	1872-94	1895-1913	1914-46
1. Luncheon Cove	Huts +	S	?	?	?	B	?	?	?		
Open Bay Islands	Huts			S	?	B					
Sealers Bay, Codfish Is	Huts			S		S/R	R	R			
Solander Is	Caves			S		S					?
Cape Providence	Caves +				?	S					
Southport—Caves	Caves					B					
2. Grono Bay, Doubtful Sound	?huts			?	?	B					
Southport—Huts	Huts				S						
Port William—Denton's Hut	Hut				S						
Head of George Sound	Huts				?	B					
Anita Bay, Milford Sound	Hut					B					
Arnot Point	Cave					B					
3. Port William—Murray's Camp	?huts			S							
White Island	?open			S							
Gates Boat Harbour	?cave				S						
Port Pegasus	?huts					S/B					
Cape Foulwind	?huts						S	S			
5. South Cape	no data			S							
Easy Harbour	no data			S							
Green Island	no data			S							
Wekakura-Kahurangi	no data						S				

Notes: + = and other site components, S = Shore-based gang, B = Boat-based gang, R = Resident sealers, ? = land-based activity suspected

**Luncheon Cove** is the earliest sealing place in New Zealand. It was the only place from which land-based sealing was undertaken in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, and was undoubtedly the most frequently used haven for shore-, boat-, and ship-based gangs throughout the entire course of the industry. It has also been used extensively by other maritime industries, so it is not necessarily the case that all physical features there derive from the activities of sealers. Archaeological features that can be confidently identified with sealing include dwelling structures and remains of industrial activities undertaken by sealers as an adjunct to their primary pursuit. This is the only 'open-air' sealing locality at which archaeological excavations have been undertaken. Although this showed very poor survival of organic remains, it illustrated that valuable information about aspects of sealer's activity can still be recovered, and that further sealing-related archaeological remains are likely to be present at Luncheon Cove.

The **Open Bay Islands** were home to one of the longest-serving marooned shore-based gangs, as well as later boat-based gangs. There appear to be at least two, and possibly three huts there, including what is possibly the only stone dwelling constructed by sealers. It is likely that archaeological remains there have suffered less disturbance than at most other sealing sites. For this reason they may provide the best opportunity for future research-oriented archaeological investigation.

**Sealers Bay, Codfish Island** was also a base for early shore-based gangs, but its major significance is as the location of the only substantial resident-sealing settlement in New Zealand. The condition of archaeological remains there has not been properly assessed, but it seems likely that further investigations there would be productive.

**Solander Island** was used by shore-based gangs not only in the first quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but also during the final open season of the industry and probably at unrecorded times in between. Recent archaeological assessment of the best-known site on the island suggests that no physical evidence survives, although this is not the case for two other recorded sites, and the possibility of other sites there has not yet been tested.

**Cape Providence** may provide one of the most complete 'sealing landscapes'. There is at least one cave that was used by shore-based gangs, a possible oil-rendering site and probable lookout. Test excavations have shown that there is archaeological evidence of occupation by sealers, as well as earlier Maori. Further archaeological investigation is likely to produce valuable information about both phases of occupation.

The **Southport caves** were used by boat-based gangs in the mid 1820s. They are the only caves used by sealers to have seen substantial archaeological excavation. This demonstrated the richness of the archaeological record of both sealer and earlier Maori occupation that can be recovered from cave sites. The extent of previous excavations suggests that there is only limited potential for further archaeological investigation.

There are two main weaknesses in the representation of the sealing industry provided by this group of localities. On a regional basis, the northern part of Fiordland, Westland, Stewart Island, and Otago regions are poorly represented in this sample. In chronological terms it does not include any places with confirmed activity during the 1813–22 period, and post-1830 sealing is represented only at Codfish Island, which is probably atypical. These deficiencies can be addressed, in the main, by prioritising further investigation at group 2–6 localities.

### 7.3 THREATS TO HERITAGE VALUES

By their very nature most localities associated with the sealing industry are remote, and few are likely to be threatened by development. Fossicking has been in the past, and will continue to be, the major threat to the archaeological integrity of these localities. The premier historic areas in frequently used harbours such as Luncheon Cove and Southport are probably at greatest risk,

but all of the group 1 localities should be monitored regularly to detect fossicking, and mitigative action taken when it occurs. This may take the form of recording what is possible from disturbed archaeological deposits, or where the deposits are under serious threat, organising salvage excavation. A similar monitoring regime should be instituted at group 2 localities, but cannot be considered a high priority for localities in the remaining categories.

Almost all of the places identified in this study have amenity values independent of their association with the sealing industry, principally because of their natural heritage status or associations with other historical events. In most situations this is likely to enhance site protection, but the possibility that these other values might conflict with preservation of sealing heritage cannot be ignored. In view of the very small number of places that can be confidently associated with the sealing industry, it is proposed that consideration of this aspect of heritage should take precedence over other amenity values.

#### 7.4 OPPORTUNITIES FOR INTERPRETATION

Remote location limits the potential for on-site interpretation of sealing sites to a wide audience. The greatest opportunities would seem to exist at four of the Group 1 and 2 localities. Grono Bay is well located to take advantage of existing tourist traffic in Doubtful Sound, and the Denton's Hut site at Port William is right on a major Stewart Island walking track. As already noted the harbours at Luncheon Cove and Southport are well-frequented. In these, and any other cases, careful consideration needs to be given to balancing the positive value of interpretation against the increased threat to site integrity that it might encourage in these remote localities.

## 8. Conclusion

The sealing industry brought a significant number of both temporary and permanent residents to New Zealand shores in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. With only a few exceptions, the places where these sealers operated and lived have not been well known. Detailed analysis of both historical and archaeological information has been employed to redress this. Careful examination of the available data shows that only six specific historic places associated with this industry can be identified with certainty, while another six can probably be added after further archaeological examination. A further 18 localities have less certain or precisely locatable associations with the sealing industry. Recommendations for heritage management have been prioritised to reflect the significance of the small number of places that can be confidently related to this industry.

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# Appendix 1

## NEW ZEALAND MAPS AND CHARTS OF THE SEALING ERA

Maps consulted in the course of this research include the following.

*Sketch of a strait dividing the Southern Island of New Zealand.* O.F. Smith, 1804. Alexander Turnbull Library F-96061-1/2. Reproduced in Howard (1940: 18). Shows harbours on the eastern shore of Stewart Island.

*South end of New Zealand.* Eber Bunker, 1808–09. Mitchell Library Z M2 982.42/1809/1. Reproduced in Begg & Begg (1973: fig. 7). Shows the south-western portion of Fiordland, western half of Foveaux Strait, and northern part of Stewart Island.

*Sketch of Southern Port on S.E. of Stewart Island.* William Stewart, 1809. Reproduced by Howard (1940: 30). Detailed chart of Port Pegasus.

*Map of Foveaux Straits.* W.L. Edwardson, 1823. Reproduced by Begg & Begg (1973: fig. 21). Shows central portion of Foveaux Straits, northern and western shores of Stewart Island.

*Sketch of the anchorage of Goulburn Island.* W.L. Edwardson, 1823. Reproduced by Begg & Begg (1973: fig. 20). Sketch chart of Henrietta Bay, Ruapuke Island.

*Codfish Island at the entrance of Foveaux Strait.* W.L. Edwardson, 1823. Reproduced by Begg & Begg (1973: fig. 22) and Howard (1940: 63). Sketch chart of 'Codfish Anchorage' showing Sealers Bay on Codfish Island and the adjacent coast of Stewart Island.

*Sketch of Port William in Foveaux Straits.* W.L. Edwardson, 1823. Reproduced by Begg & Begg (1973: Figure 23) and Howard (1940: 54). Sketch chart of Port William, Stewart Island.

*Baie Chalky.* Jules de Blosseville, 1824. Reproduced by Begg & Begg (1973: fig. 19). Chart of Chalky Inlet, based on information supplied by Edwardson.

*South West extreme of New Zealand.* M. Duperrey, 1824. Reproduced by Howard (1940: 51). Foveaux Strait and Stewart Island, mostly based on Edwardson, but western and southern shores of Stewart Island based on map by Norie, 1820 [not consulted], which appears to have derived from Stewart's 1809 observations (Howard 1940: 127).

*Chart of New Zealand from original surveys.* T. McDonnell, 1834. Mitchell Library, Z M3 980 1834/1. Probably based on some first-hand observations (Howard 1940: 127).

*Chart of Stewart Island.* Wing, 1844. Reproduced by Howard (1940: 124). Western coast based on recollections of Edwin Palmer, who had been sealing there from 1826.

*Southern districts of New Zealand.* Shortland (1851). Reproduced by Begg & Begg (1979: fig. 15). Mostly based on 1838 Admiralty chart, but Fiordland coast taken from a drawing by Edward Meurant, a sealer who had worked there at some time prior to 1844.

# Appendix 2

## SHORE-BASED AND BOAT-BASED SEALING GANGS IN NEW ZEALAND

GANG REF.	LOCATION(S)	MEN	DEPOSITED/ UPLIFTED	SHIP(S)	MONTHS ASHORE	TYPE	COMMENTS
Britannia	Luncheon Cove	12	D. Nov 1792 U. Oct 1793	<i>Britannia</i> <i>Britannia</i>	11	Shore	
Smith's	East Coast of Stewart Island	?	D. ?Dec 1804 U. ?Jan 1805	<i>Honduras Packet</i> <i>Independence</i>	2?	Boat	Exploring/mapping Stewart Is. en route to Antipodes
Pegasus A	Codfish Island	?	D. c. Sep 1808 U. c. Jul 1809	<i>Pegasus</i> <i>Pegasus</i>	10	Shore	
Fox A	Solander Island	5	D. late 1808? U. May 1813	<i>Fox</i> <i>Perseverance</i>	c. 52?	Shore	
Pegasus B	Codfish Island	?	D. c. Jul 1809 U. c. Jan 1810	<i>Pegasus</i> <i>Pegasus</i>	10	Shore	
Pegasus C	I. off 'South Cape'	?	D. c. Jul 1809 U. c. Jan 1810	<i>Pegasus</i> <i>Pegasus</i>	10	Shore	
Fox B	Port William	≥7	D. Oct 1809 U. Jan 1811	<i>Fox</i> <i>Boyd</i>	15	Shore	Provisioned July 1810
Endeavour	Solander Island	6	D. c. Jul 1809 U. c. Dec 1810	<i>Endeavour</i> <i>Santa Anna</i>	17	Shore	Boat crew separated from ship on West Coast, made own way to Solander
Brothers A	'Isle of Wight'	8	D. Nov 1809 U. May 1810 (2)	<i>Brothers</i> <i>Brothers</i>	6+	Shore	
Brothers B	'Ragged Rock'	3	U. mid 1810 (2) U. Jan 1811 (3)	<i>Governor Bligh</i> <i>Boyd</i>		Shore	9 deserted, 4 killed
Sydney Cove A	'South Cape'	6	D. Nov 1809	<i>Sydney Cove</i>	4-7	Shore	Attacked Mar-Aug 1810, Caddell survives
Sydney Cove B	'Molyneux Strait'	?	D. Nov 1809 U. late 1810/ early 1811	<i>Sydney Cove</i> <i>Sydney Cove</i>	12?	Shore	3+ desert to 'Ragged Rock' Apr/May 1810, 3 killed late 1810
Easy Harbour	Easy Harbour	?	1809	?	?	Shore?	Reported by Howard (1940: 36)
Sydney Cove C	'South Cape'	?	D. Jan 1810 U. ?	<i>Sydney Cove</i> <i>Sydney Cove</i>	?	Shore	
Active	Open Bay Islands	10	D. Jan 1810 U. Nov 1813	<i>Active</i> <i>Governor Bligh</i>	45	Shore	
King George	'Open Bay'	11	1818	<i>King George</i>	?	Shore	Reported by Marmon (Richards 1995: 101)
Gen. Gates A	'South Cape'	?	D. late 1819 U. Aug 1821	<i>General Gates</i> <i>General Gates</i>	22	Shore	May have included Tasmanian woman and 2 children
Gen. Gates B	'South Cape' (Port William?)	6	D. Aug 1821 U. Oct 1821 (2)	<i>General Gates</i> <i>Gov. Macquarie</i>	3	Shore	4 killed

GANG REF.	LOCATION(S)	MEN	DEPOSITED/ UPLIFTED	SHIP(S)	MONTHS ASHORE	TYPE	COMMENTS
Gen. Gates C	Chalky Inlet/ Gates Boat Harbour	12	D. Aug 1821 U. Dec 1822	<i>General Gates</i> <i>GG/Snapper</i>	16	Shore	Moved when attacked, 4 killed
Gen. Gates D	Chalky Inlet	?	D. Dec 1822 U. Jan 1823	<i>General Gates</i> <i>Elizabeth</i>	2	Shore	'Arrested' and removed by Grono
Gen. Gates E	South Cape Is.	?	D. Dec 1822	<i>General Gates</i>	4-7?	Shore	All killed c. Apr-Jun 1823
Elizabeth A	Chalky Inlet	?	D. Dec 1822 U. Sep/Oct 1823	<i>Elizabeth</i> <i>Elizabeth</i>	20	Shore	
Wellington	?no data ?Codfish Island	40?	D. May/June 1825	<i>Wellington</i>		Shore? Boat?	Deserters may have estab. Codfish sealers' settlement
Elizabeth B	Open Bay/?West Coast?		1825	<i>Elizabeth</i>	?	Boat	Inferred from Boulton
Elizabeth and Mary	Port Pegasus	?	D. Apr 1826 U. May 1827	<i>Eliz. and Mary</i> <i>Eliz. and Mary</i>	13	Shore	
Elizabeth C Elizabeth D Elizabeth E	West Coast	24?	D. Apr 1826 U. Sep 1827	<i>Elizabeth</i> <i>Elizabeth</i>	18	Boat Boat Boat	3 mobile boat crews, Boulton and some others desert
Chaseland's	Fiordland	?	?1826	?	?	Boat	encountered by Boulton
English sealers	Solander Is.	?	?1826	?	?	Shore?	reported by Palmer (Hocken n.d.)
Price's	Stewart Island/ Foveaux Strait	?	1827	-	-	Boat	'Resident' sealers from Cod- fish, joined by Boulton
Industry	Foveaux Strait	?	D. Nov 1830	<i>Industry</i>	?	?	Ship wrecked Feb 1831. No info. on gang
Admiral Gifford	Rocks Point	?	D. May 1832	<i>Admiral Gifford</i>	?	?	Killed
Te Awaiti A	Toropuhi	?	1836	<i>Harriett</i>	2-3?	Shore?	Whalers from Te Awaiti
Te Awaiti B	Cape Foulwind	?	Between 1836 and 1845	?	?	Shore?	Reported by Allan (1965)
Te Awaiti C	Cape Foulwind	?	1846	?	?	Boat	Reported by Brunner (1959)

# Appendix 3

## INVENTORY OF HISTORIC PLACES OF THE SEALING INDUSTRY

The following inventory summarises historical and archaeological information for each locality with a definite or probable association with the sealing industry. Where possible, the following information is given: a brief summary of the historical association with sealing; [where specific archaeological sites have been identified] NZAA Site Number, Site Name, Grid Reference, Brief site description and assessment; category [groups 1 to 7] for heritage management recommendations (see section 7 of main text, and Appendix 4, next).

### ***Kaburangi–Wekakura***

Historically recorded area of shore-based sealing in 1830s, but specific sites have not been reported. Requires systematic archaeological survey. Group 5.

### ***Cape Foulwind***

Probable location of shore-based sealing in 1830s or early 1840s.

**K29/1          Tauranga Bay          GR: 2381800    5936900**

Midden and ovens with European artefacts in upper part of deposit. Association with sealer activity is conjectural. Group 3.

### ***Arnott Point***

Historically recorded location of cave used by boat-based gang in 1820s.

**F36/\*\*          Arnott Point          GR 2204600    5713900**

Cave site, recorded from literature. No archaeological remains were reported, but requires field inspection to assess archaeological value. Group 2.

### ***Open Bay Island***

Historically recorded location of marooned shore-based gang 1810-13, and hut and garden used by boat-based gangs in the mid 1820s. Three recorded archaeological sites, all Group 1.

**F37/18          Open Bay Island 1          GR: 2178900    5696900**

A rectangular stone structure, probably a hut or storehouse. This site has considerable potential for archaeological investigation.

**F37/20          Open Bay Island 2          GR: 2178600    5696800**

Four pieces of timber that are possible remains of a hut. Requires closer investigation to determine its status.

**F37/\*\*          Open Bay Island 3          GR: 2179400    5697100**

Charcoal and European artefacts that probably represent a former hut location. This site has considerable potential for archaeological investigation.

### ***Anita Bay, Milford Sound***

Historically recorded location of a hut used by boat-based sealing gangs in the mid 1820s. Probable location suggested at:

**D40/1          Anita Bay 1          GR 2095000    5611600**

A prehistoric stone-working area, late 19<sup>th</sup> century garden area, and reputed site of early 19<sup>th</sup> century hut. Little prospect of intact archaeological remains of sealers' activities. Group 2.

### ***Sutherland Sound***

No historical record of sealers' activity, but this possibility was raised by the excavators of the site.

**C40/1            Sutherland Sound 1            GR: 2081000    5594400**

Cave with floor divided into room-like compartments by boulder walls. Excavation in 1951 was not able to determine age of structure. Potential for further investigation. Group 4.

### ***George Sound***

Historically recorded location of huts used by boat-based gangs in the mid 1820s.

**C41/13            George Sound 2            GR: 2071700    5565500**

Hut site, recorded from literature. Requires field survey to assess archaeological value. Group 2.

### ***Caswell Sound***

Historical reference to boat-based sealing in the mid 1820s. Possible site on basis of artefact content.

**C41/7            Caswell Sound 2            GR: 2053200    5561100**

Campsite with midden and artefacts, including a copper stud. Further investigation may clarify association with sealing industry. Group 3.

### ***Grono Bay, Doubtful Sound***

Historically recorded location of huts used by boat-based gangs in mid 1820s, and probable location for earlier shore-based gangs.

**B43/9            Grono Bay            GR: 2035100    5529400**

Recorded from literature. Requires field survey to assess archaeological value, but potentially very significant site. Its location gives it potential for interpretation to tourist market. Group 2.

### ***Luncheon Cove, Dusky Sound***

Historically recorded location of the first shore-based sealing gang in 1792-93, huts used by boat-based gangs in the 1820s, and a port for numerous sealing ships throughout the entire history of the sealing industry. One archaeological site is definitely related to these activities, and another four are probably related. All Group 1.

**A44/4            Luncheon Cove 1            GR: 2006500    5473900**

Hut sites and location of ship building activity by sealing gang in 1792-93. Excavated in 1997. A very significant site with considerable potential for interpretation.

**A44/3            Luncheon Cove 2            GR: 2006500    5473900**

Three terraces, probably hut sites. Possibly related to activities of sealers.

**A44/27            Luncheon Cove 4            GR: 2006600    5473800**

Terrace with collapsed remains of ponga hut. Possibly related to activities of sealers.

**A44/28            Luncheon Cove 5            GR: 2006500    5473700**

Terrace with collapsed remains of ponga hut. Possibly related to activities of sealers.

**A44/29            Luncheon Cove 6            GR: 2006600    5473800**

Large terrace, probably a hut or larger dwelling site. Possibly related to activities of sealers.

### ***Nook Harbour, Dusky Sound***

Based solely on 1970s report that the feature derives from the activities of sealers.

**B44/33          Nook Harbour 2          GR: 2015400    5477300**

A large boat run, said to be one of the best examples in Dusky Sound. Group 3.

### ***Cape Providence, Chalky Inlet***

Historically recorded location of caves used by shore-based gangs in the the early 1820s. Five archaeological sites. All Group 1.

**A45/8          Grono's Cave          GR: 2003600    5447100**

Large cave from which a slate inscribed with two messages from sealers was recovered. Excavation in 1972 revealed evidence of prehistoric Maori occupation as well as European sealers.

**A45/1          Grono's South 1          GR: 2003600    5447100**

Cave with evidence of prehistoric Maori occupation and probable evidence of sealers. Excavated in 1972.

**A45/2          Grono's South 2          GR: 2003700    5446900**

Cave with evidence of prehistoric Maori occupation and probable evidence of sealers. Excavated in 1972.

**A45/5          Sealer's Point          GR: 2003300    5447400**

Overhanging cliff blackened by smoke with old seal bones nearby. Possible lookout on headland above.

**A45/13          Landing Bay 2          GR: 2004700    5446700**

Cave with midden, Maori rock drawings, and a partially legible list of European names with an 1890s date.

### ***South Port, Chalky Inlet***

(a) Historically recorded location of caves used by boat-based gangs in the mid 1820s.

**B45/11          Southport 1          GR: 2014900    5444700**

Cave with evidence of prehistoric and historic period occupation, the latter almost certainly relating to activities of sealers. Excavated in 1969. Group 1.

**B45/20          Southport 10          GR: 2014900    5445100**

Cave with evidence of prehistoric and historic period occupation, the latter almost certainly relating to activities of sealers. Excavated in 1969. Group 1.

**B45/21          Southport 11          GR: 2014900    5445100**

Cave with evidence of historic period occupation, probably by both Maori and sealers. Excavated in 1969. Group 1.

**B45/23          Garden Island 1          GR: 2014300    5444200**

Cave with midden and 19<sup>th</sup> century artefacts. Association with activities of sealers conjectural. Excavated in 1969. Group 2.

**B45/63          Garden Island 7          GR: 2014300    5444500**

Cave with evidence of prehistoric and historic occupation. Association with activities of sealers conjectural. Excavated in 1969. Group 2.

(b) Historically recorded location of huts used by shore-based gangs in the early 1820s.

**B45/78          Lee Bay 2          GR 2015700    5442200**

Hut site, recorded from de Blosseville's chart. Requires field survey to assess archaeological value. Group 2.



### ***Sealers Bay, Chalky Island***

Reputed location of sealing camp and gardens, but no historical documentation.

**B45/9            Chalky Island 2            GR: 2010200    5443100**

Cave with midden and European artefacts. Association with activities of sealers conjectural. Group 3.

### ***Gates Boat Harbour***

Historically recorded location of shore-based gang in early 1820s.

**B46/18            Gates Harbour 2            GR: 2022300    5426300**

Rockshelter with midden and European artefacts. Group 3.

### ***Solander Island***

Historically recorded location of shore-based gangs 1809-13, in the mid-1820s and 1946. Three newly recorded archaeological sites. All Group 1.

**B47/1            Solander Island 1            GR: 2041600    5387000**

Large cave in which charcoal from earlier occupation was reported in 1946, but no evidence was discovered during test excavations in 1985. Wave action during heavy seas may have destroyed archaeological remains.

**B47/2            Solander Island 2            GR: 2041600    5386800**

Rockshelter test-excavated in 1985 showing charcoal-stained soil. Association with sealing is conjectural.

**B47/3            Solander Island 3            GR: 2041600    5386700**

Rockshelter test-excavated in 1985 showing charcoal-stained soil. Association with sealing is conjectural.

### ***Sealers Bay, Codfish Island***

Historically recorded location of shore-based gangs in 1808-09, huts used by boat-based gangs in the mid 1820s and a resident community of sealers from 1825 to 1850. Two archaeological sites, both Group 1.

**D48/5            Sealers Bay 1            GR: 2100700    5369300**

Recorded from literature. Requires field survey to assess archaeological value, but potentially very significant site.

**D48/21           Sealers Bay 2            GR: 2101300    5369000**

Midden and ovens along with 19<sup>th</sup> century artefacts.

### ***Doughboy Bay, Stewart Island***

Reputed location of shore-based sealing gang, but no historical documentation.

**D49/3            Doughboy Bay Cave        GR: 2107300    5339900**

Cave reputedly used by sealers, but no surviving archaeological evidence. Group 3.

### ***Easy Harbour, Stewart Island***

Reputed location of a shore-based gang in 1809, and the documented shipwreck of a sealing vessel in 1830. No sites have been reported. Systematic archaeological survey of the harbour and outlying islands is required. Group 5.

### ***South Cape, Stewart Island***

Historically documented activities of shore-based gangs at 'South Cape' in 1809-10 are conjectured to have been at Murderers Cove on Big South Cape Island and at Yankee Harbour on the adjacent coast. Boat-based gangs may also have operated there in the mid 1820s. No sites have been reported. Systematic archaeological survey of the entire South Cape area and adjacent islands is required. Group 5.

### ***Port Pegasus, Stewart Island***

Historically documented location of shore-based and boat-based gang activities in the mid 1820s. Three archaeological sites, all Group 3.

**D49/18      Islet Cove 1                      GR: 2103400    5320700**

Hut sites, apparently European. Association with the activities of sealers is conjectural.

**D49/19      Islet Cove 2                      GR: 2103500    5320900**

Hut sites, apparently European. Association with the activities of sealers is conjectural.

**D50/5        Kelp Point 1                      GR: 2102500    5319700**

Hut sites, apparently European. Association with the activities of sealers is conjectural.

### ***Port William, Stewart Island***

Historically recorded location of shore-based gangs in 1809–11 and 1821, and boat-based gangs in the mid 1820s.

**E48/1        Maori Beach                      GR: 2134800    5361200**

Recorded from literature as a former Maori village. Its location corresponds with that of a sealers hut (Denton's) shown by Edwardson in 1823. Requires field survey to assess archaeological value. Group 2.

**E48/6        Potirepo                              GR: 2134800    5363500**

Recorded from literature as a contact-period Maori village and later whaling, goldmining, and fishing station. Association with activities of sealers is conjectural. Group 3.

### ***Green Island and White Island, Otago***

The 'Isle of Wight' and 'Ragged Rocks' are historical recorded locations of shore-based gangs in 1809–10, and it is conjectured that these are respectively the modern Green and White Islands. Neither has been surveyed archaeologically although one site has been recorded.

**I44/113      White Island                      GR: 2315900    5471900**

Unconfirmed report of midden possibly associated with the activities of sealers. Requires field survey to assess archaeological value. Group 3.

# Appendix 4

## HERITAGE MANAGEMENT RECOMMENDATIONS

Heritage management recommendations concerning the known or potential historic places of the New Zealand sealing industry are summarised below. They are organised in relation to the six groupings of sealing localities (identified in this study, see section 7.1) which are listed below by DOC Conservancy. Further locational information for each locality is discussed in relevant parts of section 6 and Appendix 3.

### A4.1 Site groups

SITE GROUP	CONSERVANCY		
	SOUTHLAND	WEST COAST	OTAGO
1.	Luncheon Cove Cape Providence Southport—Caves Solander Island Sealers Bay, Codfish Island	Open Bay Islands	
2.	Anita Bay, Milford Sound Head of George Sound Grono Bay, Doubtful Sound Southport—Huts Port William—Denton's Hut	'Arnott Point'	
3.	Caswell Sound Nook Harbour, Dusky Sound Sealers Bay, Chalky Island Gates Boat Harbour Doughboy Bay Port Pegasus Port William—Murray's Camp	Cape Foulwind	White Island
4.	Sutherland Sound		
5.	Looking Glass Bay Easy Harbour and adjacent islands South Cape and adjacent islands	Kahurangi-Wekakura	Green Island
6.	Coal River Waiakawa Broad Bay, Stewart Island	Cascade Beach	

### A4.2 Recommendations

#### *Group 1*

These localities have precise historical information about the location of past sealing activity that has already been confirmed by archaeological observation. They are the premier historic places of the New Zealand sealing industry and should be acknowledged and managed accordingly.

- They should be registered as **historic areas**.
- Their association with the sealing industry should have primacy over other considerations in management.
- They should be monitored regularly to detect site damage.

- Salvage archaeological investigation should be undertaken when site integrity is threatened.
- Favourable consideration should be given to research-oriented archaeological investigations designed to enhance understanding of sealers and sealing.

### ***Group 2***

These localities have reasonably precise historical information about where sealing took place with at least one archaeological site suggested as a possible location of this. However appropriate archaeological assessment has not yet been undertaken.

- Archaeological survey and/or test excavation of conjectured sites should be conducted in the near future.
- Where the precise location of sealing activities can be confirmed they should be managed as for Group 1 localities.
- Where precise location cannot be confirmed they should be managed as for Group 6 localities

### ***Group 3***

These localities have generalised historical information about the location of past sealing activity with one or more archaeological sites conjectured as a specific location.

- Archaeological survey and/or test excavation of these conjectured sites should be conducted in the medium-term future.
- Where the precise location of sealing activities can be confirmed, consideration should be given to inclusion of these sites in the Group 1 management regime.
- Where precise location cannot be confirmed, they should be managed as for Group 6 localities.

### ***Group 4***

This group contains a single site without any historical evidence of sealing associations, but archaeological features that could relate it to the industry.

- Archaeological survey and/or test excavation of this site should be conducted in the medium-term future to determine its association with the sealing industry.
- If its sealing associations can be confirmed, consideration should be given to inclusion of this site in the Group 1 management regime.

### ***Group 5***

These localities have generalised historical information about the location of past sealing activity but have not yet been surveyed archaeologically.

- Archaeological surveys should be conducted in the medium-term future to locate potential sealing sites and assess options for their management.
- Areas that would appear to be particularly promising include Kahurangi-Wekakura, Easy Harbour, and South Cape.

### ***Group 6***

These localities have generalised historical information about past sealing activity but do not have specifically identifiable historic places relating to the industry.

- The historical association of these localities with the sealing industry should be acknowledged in presentation of heritage information.
- The possibility that sealing-related historic places may yet be discovered should be considered during any future archaeological investigations.

### ***Group 7***

An additional group of localities which were associated with ship-based sealing activity and do not have any land-based historic places, but have place names that were either bestowed by, or commemorate sealers.

- The historical association of Bligh Sound, Nancy Sound, Dagg Sound, Masons Harbour, Lords River, and Port Adventure, should be recognised through the retention of these place-names, and be acknowledged in presentation of heritage information about these places.