

Pounamu Speculation in 1840s New Zealand

Julia Bradshaw

Canterbury Museum, 11 Rolleston Avenue, Christchurch 8013, New Zealand

Email: jbradshaw@canterburymuseum.com

The first large-scale export of unworked jade (pounamu or greenstone) from New Zealand occurred during the early 1840s when pounamu was taken from the southern end of Te Tai o Poutini, the West Coast of the South Island, to China. This venture is likely to be the first sizeable export of New Zealand minerals by Europeans. The venture combined the skills and knowledge of local Māori and newly resident Pākehā mariners with capital from Sydney. In the mid-1840s pounamu was taken directly to the North Island, further disrupting the pounamu trade network that had been controlled by Ngāi Tahu until the destruction of Kaiapoi Pā in 1831. The supply of several tons of pounamu to the North Island prior to the commercialisation of the central Westland source in the late-1860s is likely to have influenced the number of taonga made during the contact period.

Keywords: Barn Bay, China, economics, jade, Milford Sound, mining, nephrite, New Zealand, Ngāi Tahu, Sydney

Introduction

Jade is valued throughout the world as a stone of great beauty and utility. Pounamu or New Zealand jade is nephrite, one of the world's two types of jade (the other is jadeite). Nephrite was, and still is, extremely important to Māori because of its incredible toughness, its ability to hold a sharp edge, its stunning appearance and its spiritual significance. It has been utilised since the earliest days of settlement in New Zealand (Anderson 1998: 208) and has driven waves of migration to Te Wai Pounamu, the waters of pounamu (South Island).

Pounamu was one of the most important components of the trade networks that spanned New Zealand before European settlement (Rout and Reid 2019: 69) and it has been found in archaeological sites throughout the country. The pounamu trade to the North Island was controlled by hapū (sub-tribes) of Ngāi Tahu (Gibbs 2001: 219), the iwi (tribe) whose tribal territory covered most of Te Wai Pounamu from the eighteenth century (Stevens 2017: 12).

After the introduction of metal by early European visitors from the late 1700s, pounamu

decreased in value as a tool (Anderson 1998: 75) although its symbolic and ornamental value remained high. When the Crown extinguished native title in Southland in 1853 and Te Tai o Poutini (the West Coast) in 1860 it assumed that it now owned the pounamu found there, a fallacy which Ngāi Tahu spent many years trying to rectify. In 1997 The Ngai Tahu (Pounamu Vesting) Act returned rights and control of pounamu to Ngāi Tahu.

All New Zealand jade is found in Te Wai Pounamu (South Island), most of it in three districts: South Westland, Central West Coast and Whakatipu (see Fig. 1).

As well as being a source of nephrite, South Westland is the only source of bowenite (tangiwai) in New Zealand. Both of which are collectively known as pounamu by Māori and greenstone by Pākehā (non-Māori New Zealanders). Bowenite is found in the vicinity of Piopiotahi (Milford Sound) and nephrite from north of Whakatipu Waitai (Martins Bay) to Awarua (Haast River) (Beck et al 2010: 61) as shown in Figure 2.

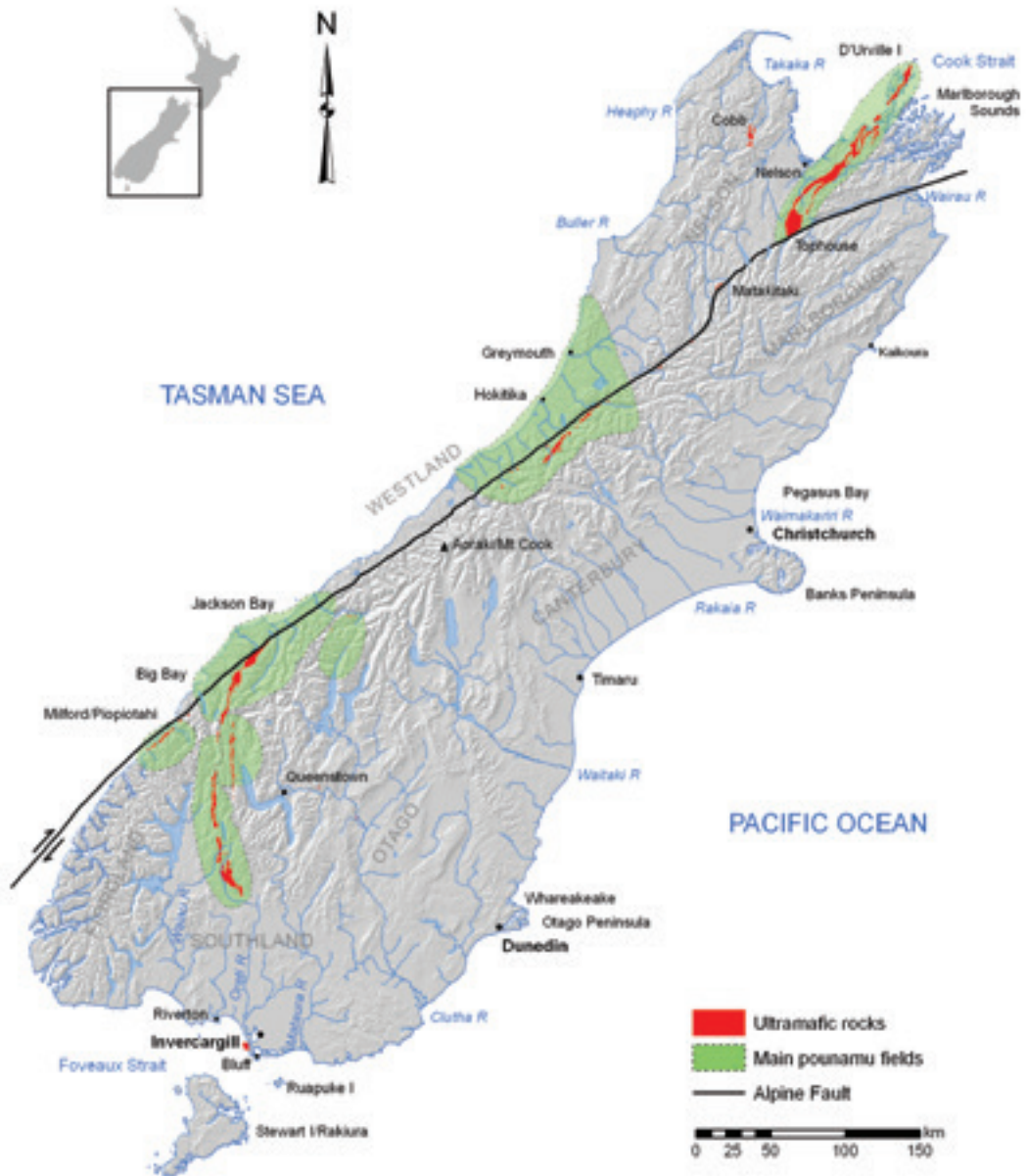


Figure 1. Map of Te Wai Pounamu (South Island), New Zealand showing main pounamu fields. Map drafted by Simon Cox and provided courtesy of GNS Science 2021.

The Whakatipu district was another important source for southern Māori in pre-European times. Both the Whakatipu and the South Westland sources were little utilised after the introduction of metal by sealers and whalers and were entirely forgotten by Pākehā after the 1840s (Beck et al 2010: 70) although Kāti Māhaki (the South Westland hapū) still knew of and collected the stone.¹

The other important source of nephrite is Te Tai o Poutini (the central part of the West Coast). This was the primary source for Ngāi Tahu during the pre-contact period (Anderson 1998: 208). The discovery of a goldfield in Te Tai o Poutini in late 1864 led to a gold-rush and the development of ports. This, along with the recognition from the late 1860s by Pākehā lapidarists of the value of “greenstone” (Beck and Mason 2002: 122, 130) and the assumption that the Crown owned all minerals led to the almost complete disruption of Ngāi Tahu’s traditional pounamu trade network from the mid-1860s. This article is about an earlier phase of Pākehā commercial interest in pounamu which resulted from partnerships that allowed access to Ngāi Tahu knowledge and skills.

The importance of pounamu to Māori was not lost on Europeans during the contact period and ultimately led to attempts to trade unworked stone. The first of these attempts occurred in South Westland but the story of the venture is virtually unknown, partly due to the area’s remoteness but also because of the lack of written accounts of the project.

Each pounamu source has distinctive characteristics and experienced eyes can often tell which field stone comes from. What makes South Westland nephrite identifiable is the accessory minerals, which show as numerous black flecks and tiny ragged brassy sulphide crystals as shown in Figure 3 (Beck and Mason 2002: 50).

Noted jade expert Russell Beck (1941–2018) undertook an inventory of pounamu taonga (treasured items) held in New Zealand museums and noted over 70 mere (club-like weapons) and other items, particularly in the

North Island, produced between the 1840s and 1860s that were made from South Westland nephrite, perhaps even from one stone from Papaki (Barn Bay) (Beck et al 2010: 93). Beck wrote a preliminary account of the retrieval of pounamu from Papaki during the 1840s including the breaking up of a large boulder that he dubbed the Anglem stone (Beck et al 2010: 91–93) and was planning to expand the story.

This paper is a continuation and expansion of aspects of Beck’s work and tracks the exploitation of the South Westland pounamu resource during the 1840s by Māori-Pākehā families and their international partners and considers the significance of the venture. Journalist Robert Carrick wrote about “New Zealand’s First Mining Speculation” in a general way in 1900 and made the point that more work needs to be done “before southern New Zealand history approximates reliability” (Carrick 1900: 234).

This paper is not a review of traditional Ngāi Tahu trade but a contribution to the conversation about Ngāi Tahu adoption and adaptation of European ideas and practices as discussed by Anderson (1998), Stevens (2015) and others.

Pounamu in Southwest New Zealand

Utilisation of the South Westland source is long-standing. Archaeologist Ray Hooker reported that adzes found in South Westland were overwhelmingly of early manufacturing methods (Hooker 1986: 22). Beck also noted that adzes and other tools found in the area all show evidence of oxidation (caused by exposure to oxygen and soil acids) on their surfaces (Beck et al 2010: 61), some advanced as in Figure 4.

Until at least the 1840s Ngāi Tahu from southern Te Wai Pounamu and Te Tai o Poutini were still retrieving bowenite from Piopiotahi and knew of and occasionally utilised the South Westland nephrite source. Reverend Johann Wohlers, the Lutheran Missionary based on

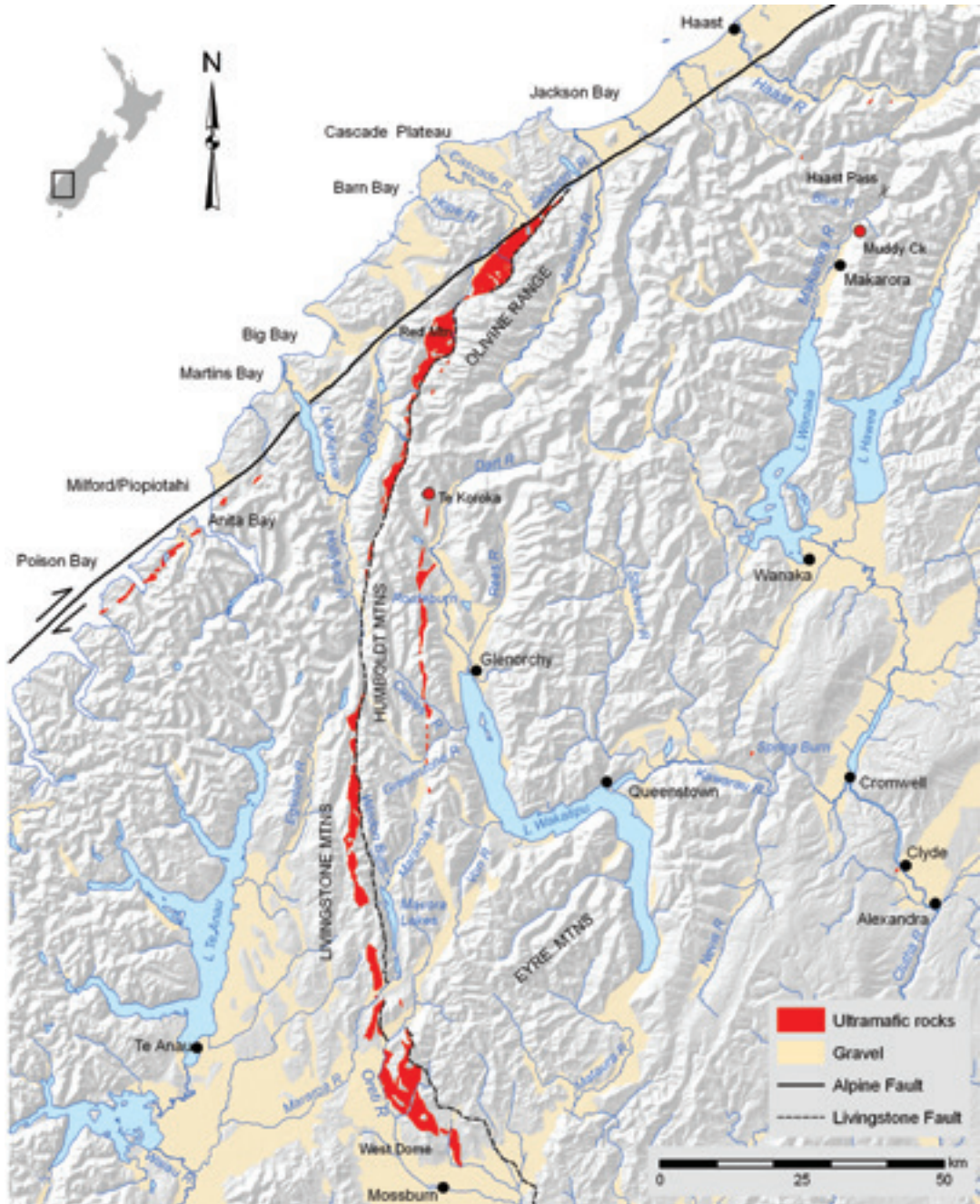


Figure 2. Map showing the sources of pounamu in South Westland and the Whakatipu district which is found around ultramafic rocks indicated. Map drafted by Simon Cox and provided courtesy of GNS Science 2021.

Ruapuke Island at the eastern entrance to Foveaux Strait, wrote that in the 1830s pieces of pounamu, “broken out of the rocks” were brought to the island from the West Coast by young Māori who went there in European vessels (Chapman 1891: 591). At Arahura, Te Tai o Poutini, in 1846 Charles Heaphy saw mere being made from locally sourced stone but was told that pounamu was also found at “Wakatipo” (Whakatipu Waitai in South Westland) and that tangiwai (bowenite), used for ear ornaments, was found near Milford Sound (Taylor 1959: 241).

Early Pākehā in South Westland

Captain Cook’s visit to southwest New Zealand in 1773 publicised the existence of large numbers of fur seals there. Sealing was established by 1792 but by the mid-1820s indiscriminate slaughter had seen seal numbers collapse (Begg and Begg 1973: 112, 122). Whalers followed, most of them operating from New South Wales, Tasmania

and the United States of America but in 1829 a shore-based whaling station was established at Preservation Inlet in Southern Fiordland (Begg and Begg 1973: 168). By the late 1830s there were at least another four stations in southwest New Zealand (Shortland 1851: 300).

The development of these whaling stations was significant because these semi-permanent bases generated a “sustained period of cross-cultural interaction” (Stevens and Wanhalla 2017: 136) and relationships between Māori women and Pākehā men. An alliance crucial to this story is the one made between Te Anau (later Maria Te Anau) and William Anglem. Te Anau was described by Reverend Wohlers as being “from a very noble family” and a close relative of Ngāi Tahu leader Topi Pātuki (Richards 1995: 95).

William Anglem (also Anglim, Anglin, Hughlin)² was Captain of one of the ships associated with the whaling station at Preservation Inlet. According to his friend William Thomas, Anglem was born in Limerick, Ireland, in about 1804. He had been placed in a

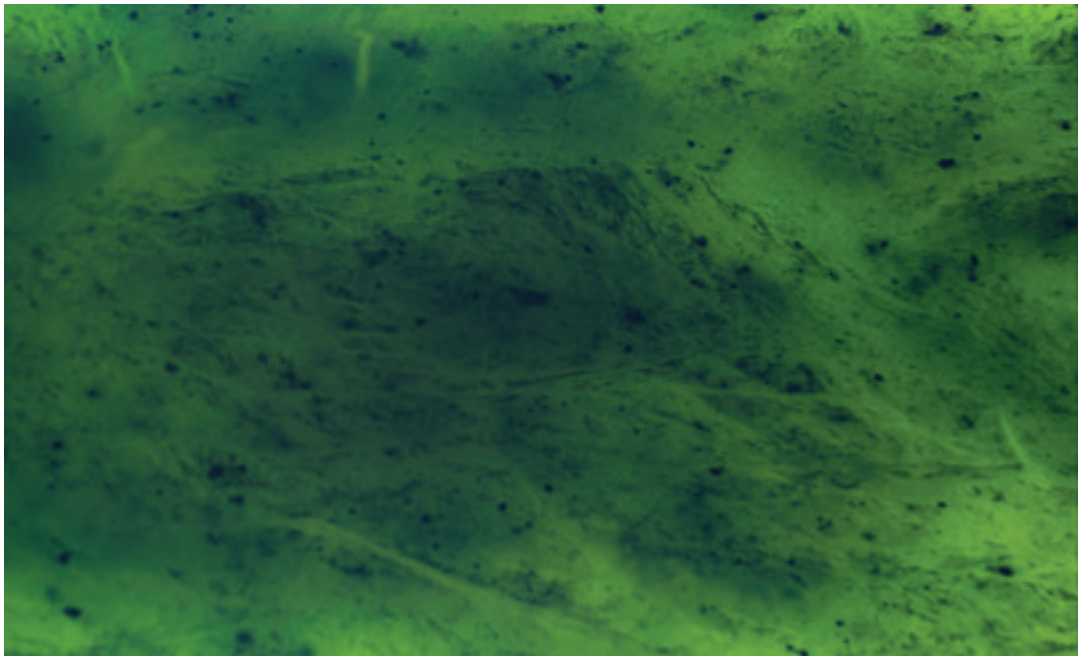


Figure 3. Close-up of pounamu mere identified as being made from the South Westland source showing the characteristic black inclusions. Canterbury Museum E149.690

monastery as a child where he received a very good education and could speak at least four languages, later adding Te Reo Māori to this list (Anglem, not dated). He was expected to become a priest but instead left for a life on the sea (Dudfield 2011: 82). Anglem had arrived in Hobart by 1821 when he shipped as crew on the *Campbell Macquarie* (Tasmania Outwards Shipping Lists 1821) and had risen to the position of Captain by 1829.

Anglem and Maria Te Anau's first child, Ellen, was born at Puysegur Point at the entrance to Preservation Inlet in about 1830³ (Beattie 1920: 50). The family were subsequently based at The Neck, Rakiura (Stewart Island) (Howard 1940: 92–93) but lived in Sydney for a time where Ellen was baptised in 1834.⁴ Captain Anglem had an important role in the pounamu speculation, as the person on the ground, and his relationship with Maria Te Anau and her whānau (family) was a crucial part of this.

The Pounamu Speculation

During the 1830s the Pacific Ocean was busy with maritime traffic. Ships came from the United Kingdom to the Australian continent via the Cape of Good Hope and on their return journey sailed north to Canton and Manila to pick up cargoes of tea and silk for the European market. Ships often travelled empty from Australia (having delivered convicts or supplies) and merchants looked for products to fill them. To do this they began exploiting resources in the Pacific such as sealskins, kauri spars, harakeke, sea cucumbers, sandalwood and mother-of-pearl (Tyron 2009: 40). Pounamu is another resource that was tried.

There were two main speculators behind the South Westland pounamu venture. Captain Ranulph Dacre (1797–1884) (Fig. 5), was a trader based in Sydney, who had been trading in northern Aotearoa New Zealand since the mid-1820s (Rogers 1995: 14). Henry Elgar



Figure 4. This adze is one of a cache found in the dunes at Barn Bay by James Nolan probably during the 1950s. It was made by hammer-dressing and grinding, an early technique. The orange surface is the result of oxidisation, confirming that it was made hundreds of years ago. Canterbury Museum E164.285

(1816–1852) was the son of an English banker. He was listed as a foreign resident of China in 1836 and was based either at Canton or Macao (*The Chinese Repository* 1837: 427). In June 1840 Elgar travelled to Sydney where he was involved in speculations with Dacre (Kerr 2018).

During the late 1830s and early 1840s speculators in Australia and further afield were extending their search for new opportunities to southern Te Wai Pounamu (Fig. 6). At the same time, with sealing at a virtual standstill, interdependent Māori and Pākehā whānau in the Foveaux Strait region were looking for new sources of income (Smith 2002: 10, 17). It is impossible to confirm who approached who about the potential of pounamu but Shortland records that a sealer who had seen a large block of greenstone at Piopiotahi heard in Sydney that this sort of stone was valuable in China and thought that “he had a mine of wealth within his reach” (Shortland 1851: 35). This sealer could have been William Anglem who regularly visited Sydney.

By whatever means, eventually the connection was made between pounamu and the demand for jade in China and a venture was born.

Captain Anglem travelled to Sydney in late 1841 and it is safe to say that, with all of the main players gathered together (Dacre, Elgar and Anglem), this is when the venture started. On 3 January 1842 Henry Elgar’s ship *Anita* (a newly-built 26 metre clipper schooner) left Sydney with Elgar, his wife Anna Maria (also known as Anita) and Captain Anglem on board (*The Sydney Herald*, 4 January 1842: 2). The *Anita* arrived at Wellington on 19 January 1842 and 12 days later was reported as having sailed for Manila (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 22 January 1842: 2; 2 February 1842: 2).

This was the first of several instances of subterfuge. The *Anita* was actually heading south. Two and a half months later the *Anita* arrived back at Wellington from the “South Island” (rather than Manila) (*New Zealand*



Figure 5. Speculator Ranulph Dacre. Reproduced from *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, 1902.

Gazette and Wellington Spectator, 16 April 1842: 2) and it seems likely that it had on board the first cargo of pounamu. My view is that the *Anita* had collected a load of bowenite (tangiwai) from Anita Bay, Piopiotahi. This source was well used by Māori, was reasonably accessible and, as the stone is a type of serpentine rather than nephrite, it is relatively easy to split into smaller pieces for transport.

Meanwhile, in Sydney, Dacre had bought the *Royal Mail*, a 19 metre long schooner, and sent it to Wellington where it arrived about 10 days after the *Anita* (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 27 April 1842: 3). The *Royal Mail* was refitted for transporting pounamu and Anglem took over as Captain (*Colonist in Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 November 1842: 4).

On 6 May 1842 both the *Anita* and *Royal Mail* were reported as leaving Wellington for Manila (*New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 7 May 1842: 2). While the *Anita* did



Figure 6. During the 1830s and 1840s mariners were recording coastal features, adding names and noting existing place-names as shown in this section of the map of New Zealand produced by Wyld in 1843. Places relevant to this article are indicated. Auckland Libraries Heritage Collections, Map 1640

go to Manila, almost certainly with pounamu as there were few other exports from New Zealand to Manila at the time, the *Royal Mail* headed south. Anglem's daughter Ellen remembered that her father returned from Sydney to Rakiura as Captain of the *Royal Mail* and "picking up all the old natives here, he took them around to Milford to get greenstone" (Beattie 1920: 50).

Finding Nephrite

This may have been when the search began for nephrite rather than bowenite (tangiwai). While valued for its beauty, Māori viewed bowenite as an inferior stone because its relative softness made it less useful as a tool (Heaphy in *Otago Daily Times*, 20 January 1863: 4; Natusch 2017: 141). Having lived with Māori for more than 10 years Anglem would have known of the difference between the two stones and in conference with his Māori relatives may have decided that it was better to supply nephrite to the Chinese market.

Māori had to be involved in the search because it takes knowledge and experience to recognise nephrite in its natural state. As James Stack explained, nephrite resembled the surrounding boulders "and only the trained eye can detect its presence" (Chapman 1891: 514). To find pounamu a "tohunga performed certain religious rites, and retired to rest alone, and in his dreams a spirit would come and indicate the spot where a stone would be found" (Chapman 1891: 515).

Stack's observations tally with those of the aforementioned whaler William Thomas who was probably part of Anglem's party. He remembered that at first the speculators couldn't find the greenstone. Thomas recounted:

Captain Anglem came to Bluff and got a very old Maori who had travelled a great deal on the West Coast, to go with him and point out the greenstone which they [Pākehā] could not distinguish from other rocks... [this man] went off into a deep

sleep, as he called it, and when he awoke he took them straight to the spot (Dudfield 2011: 83).

Further corroboration of Māori involvement in finding the stone comes from Anglem's family. Although rarely recorded in written sources it is apparent that Māori wives journeyed with their Pākehā husbands. For example, Caroline, the daughter of Captain Robert Brown and Te Wharerimu (Ngāi Tahu) (Stevens 2008: 79), often accompanied her husband Captain Howell and "repeatedly went on whaling expeditions, taking her turn in the boat and at times using the harpoon" (*Otago Witness*, 4 May 1899: 21). Maria Te Anau also travelled with her husband. The couple's son Christopher was conceived in about September 1842 when Anglem (and therefore also Maria) was based at Piopiotahi (Mackay 1876: 18).

Most of the small number of mentions of this greenstone recovery give Piopiotahi as the source of the pounamu (*New Zealand Colonist*, 9 September 1842: 2; *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, 10 September 1842: 2). While the speculators were happy to let people think they were retrieving stone from Piopiotahi there are contemporary accounts that give the location as Papaki (Barn Bay), about 60 kilometres further north.

Well-known sealer and whaler Thomas Chaseland (also known as Chasling, see Church 2008: 137–141), who was working out of Jackson Bay in late 1842 (Howard 1940: 371), found men at Papaki "left behind to blast the rock and pack it in boxes" (Dudfield 2011: 84).

Dr David Monro of Nelson who sailed along the east coast of Te Wai Pounamu in 1844 recorded that he heard a lot about the "West Side" from both Māori and Pākehā at Awarua (Bluff) (*Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 5 October 1844: 124). He was told that a block of several tons lay on the beach at "Barn Bay" and it was here that Anglem was working.

This location makes sense as the northern end of Papaki is one of the few places on



Figure 7. Captain Henry Fox of the *Wave*.
Reproduced from Batson, 1963.

this part of the coast where you can safely land a whaleboat. The Tahutahi (Cascade River) mouth, further north, could also be entered by whaleboats in good conditions and physical evidence (detailed later) indicates that pounamu recovery took place between these two places.

After the first overseas shipment of greenstone, which, as mentioned, was probably bowenite from Anita Bay, Piopiotahi was simply used as the only safe anchorage point for the larger vessels required to transport the stone to Asia. Whaleboats were used to travel along the coast and collect the pounamu (Fox 1886: 1).

After the discovery of at least one large pounamu boulder in the vicinity of Barn Bay, probably in September 1842, there was a flurry of activity. In early October Captain Anglem and the *Royal Mail* arrived at Sydney and were variously reported to have come from Wellington in ballast and from a sealing voyage (*The Australian*, 10 October 1842: 2) and “to obtain supplies for the sealing parties which she has left on some of the islands” (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 October 1842: 2). Tellingly the *Royal Mail* was not reported as bringing any sealskins. It appears that Anglem, having found a large boulder or boulders of pounamu,

needed to report to the investors and get instructions on how to proceed.

Anglem took the *Royal Mail* from Sydney to Nelson to give a written command from Dacre to the master of another of Dacre’s ships, the 61 ton *Wave* (Fox 1886: 1). Captain Henry Fox (1819–1891) (Fig. 7) was instructed to sail in company with the *Royal Mail* to Piopiotahi and the two ships left Nelson in early November 1842 (*Nelson Examiner*, 5 November 1842: 2). They anchored in Harrison Cove and, as Fox later remembered, over the next 6 weeks:

Captain Anglin [sic], with some gangs of sailors employed by him, in their large boats, were absent at different times along the coast, collecting the greenstone, none of which I was informed, was found in Milford Haven [Piopiotahi], which was purely chosen as a convenient and secure harbour for the vessels. The boat’s crews, I was told, were sworn to secrecy as to where they got it, &c., and we certainly got no information from them. Finally the greenstone, about two tons, which I may say I never saw till we got to Manila, was brought on board in hardwood cases, heavily strapped with iron, and I sailed with it direct to Manila about the middle of December (Fox 1886: 1).

Withholding or providing misleading information was typical of sealers, whalers and other speculators (Ballantyne 2012: 127). For example, Captain Cheyne, who was employed by Dacre and Elgar on another venture, was bitter about not being able to enter Sydney Harbour to receive medical attention in case news of his arrival was leaked (Shineberg 1971: 64). After leaving Milford Sound, Captain Fox called into Nelson and stated he was going to Fiji (*Launceston Advertiser*, 9 Feb 1843: 3) but actually went to Manila to deliver the stone to Henry Elgar.

After the departure of the *Wave*, Anglem remained in South Westland to obtain more nephrite. While retrieving bowenite from Anita Bay had been relatively straight forward,



Figure 8. The coastline between Tahutahi (Cascade River) mouth and Papaki (Barn Bay) on a fine calm day. Photograph by Daryl Munro.

collecting nephrite from the coastline further north was quite a different proposition. Some of the pounamu being retrieved would have been carried or dragged over medium to large boulders, as shown in Figure 8. William Thomas recalled that the syndicate had great difficulty trying to break up the boulders and that “they could not manage if for a long time” but “at long last a man came and drilled holes in it and they blasted it with powder” (Dudfield 2011: 83).

Anglem and several of his men were injured in a mistimed explosion in January 1843 and had to seek medical assistance at Nelson. Both of Anglem’s hands were “dreadfully shattered” and he had been partially blinded while another two men also received eye injuries (*Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle*, 21 January 1843: 183). It had taken 12 hours in a whaleboat for the party to get back to Piopiotahi and then another ten days for the *Royal Mail* to reach Nelson. Anglem had a

finger amputated and lost the sight in one eye (Dudfield 2011: 83).

On the same day that Anglem and party arrived at Nelson seeking help, the *Anita* was leaving Wellington for Piopiotahi. They would have arrived to find the *Royal Mail* absent but probably found a message left for them on Post Office Rock, off Fox Point (Fig. 9), which sealers and whalers used to leave notes for each other in bottles (*Otago Daily Times*, 2 April 1864: 5).

After a month at Nelson recovering from injuries, Anglem and the *Royal Mail* left Nelson (*Nelson Examiner*, 18 February 1843: 2) and joined the *Anita* at Piopiotahi where they both remained until about May. Enough pounamu must have been retrieved to justify both the *Anita* and *Royal Mail* sailing to Manila where they had arrived by July 1843. The *Anita* then left for China, probably with Henry Elgar on board to conduct sale negotiations (*The Australian*, 11 September 1843: 3).

As bowenite is also found in China, the jade



Figure 9. Anita Bay looking towards Fox Point with Post Office Rock visible off the end of the point. *Auckland Weekly News*. Auckland City Library AWNS-19071024-1-2

dealers in Canton might have been familiar with it and were perhaps willing to buy the speculator's first shipment. Unfortunately, later shipments of nephrite did not meet with the same success. Although nephrite was more highly-valued by Māori than bowenite, it appears that Chinese jade dealers were unimpressed with it. As previously mentioned, nephrite from South Westland is known for its black specks and colour variations and Shortland records that the Chinese saw this as a flaw (Shortland 1851: 36).

Edward Cunningham (1823–1889), who had worked in China for Russell & Co, which in 1842 was the largest American trading house in China, heard about the arrival of the nephrite. He remembered that the jade dealers in Curio Street, Canton, realising that a sudden influx of jade would ruin them, declined to buy it at any price (Kinnicutt 1889: 89).

Based on his own experience, jade prospector Daryl Munro has suggested that another reason the jade was rejected was that

the use of explosives resulted in some of the nephrite being crazed or fractured (as in Fig. 10). Anglem and his men wouldn't have known that crazed jade is unworkable.⁵ Anglem himself later said that the Chinese refused to buy the stone "as they could not work it" (*Evening Post*, 24 August 1886: 2).

All sources agree that the venture had been a costly failure. Elgar was most likely ruined and his schooner, *Anita*, was subsequently advertised for sale at Canton (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 16 October 1843: 2). Captain Dacre lost heavily, reputedly £10,000 (*New Zealand Herald*, 11 October 1884, supplement: 1). Not only had the bulk of the stone not sold but it had been a lot more difficult, and therefore more expensive, to quarry than they had anticipated.

Elgar did not forget about the jade though. It had been placed in Russell & Co's storage ship at Cumsingmoon near Macao and in about 1851 Cunningham, who was now a junior partner in the firm's Canton business, was surprised to



Figure 10. A fragment of nephrite found by Daryl Munro at Watson Bluff north of Barn Bay. The piece has clearly been broken off a larger rock by the use of explosives. Note the fractures in the upper left side. Photograph by Julia Bradshaw



Figure 11. A piece of pounamu with an oxidised drill hole (on left) found by Robert Long at Barn Bay. Photograph by Robert Long

receive a request to uplift the stored pounamu. Fifty boxes were collected by the original depositor and storage fees of US\$7,000 paid (Kinnicutt 1889: 89–90). This must have been Elgar, who was still based in Asia, but he died shortly afterwards and the final destination of this pounamu is unknown.

For Anglem and his family the venture had been a disaster. The injuries Anglem suffered during the mistimed explosion are likely to have caused long-term health problems and he almost certainly returned from Asia without a penny. Anglem was back at Rakiura by February 1844 (Howard 1940: 380) but must have worked his passage home on another vessel as the *Royal Mail* was still in China (*The Sydney Morning Herald*, 20 June 1844: 2).

The failure of the venture would have also affected the other Māori-Pākehā families involved. Shortland recorded that the workmen remained on the spot for several months “after

which having nearly exhausted their provisions, and ruined their tools, hopeless of receiving their arrears of pay, they concealed, by burying in the ground, the fruits of their labour, and then scattered” (Shortland 1851: 36).

Ngāi Tahu whānau were significantly involved in the pounamu venture through their knowledge and kinship but their individual contributions are difficult to ascertain as documentary sources only fleetingly mention some of the Europeans who were involved. The only crew members identified are William Thomas (married to Tukuwaha [Ngāi Tahu]) and whose detailed knowledge leads one to believe that he must have been there) and Nathaniel Bates, married to Hinepu (Ngāi Tahu) and later Kuihi Watson (Ngāi Tahu) (Stevens 2008: 77), who was one of the men injured in the mistimed explosion (Dudfield 2011: 83).

Subsequent Recovery of Pounamu

Māori-Pākehā families in Southland were aware of the opportunity offered by the abandonment of the speculation and acted on it. Shortland records that the year after the syndicate's failure some of the pounamu found its way to Wellington where it was sold to Māori for one shilling per pound of pounamu (Shortland 1851: 36).

Some evidence of these shipments has been found. In February 1845 Ulrich Prophet of Whanganui received "a large and valuable piece of greenstone" shipped on the *Katherine Johnstone* from Wellington (*New Zealand Spectator*, 15 March 1845: 3).

In March 1845 the *Rover's Bride* brought one ton of pounamu to Nelson and then carried on to Whanganui (*Nelson Examiner*, 15, 22, 29 March 1845). The captain of this vessel was James Joss, a sailing mate and neighbour of William and Maria Anglem at The Neck. Joss, the husband of Caroline Puaitaha (Stevens 2008: 89), was working in company with William Lovett of the cutter *Royal William* (43 tons). A month later, Joss and Lovett in their respective vessels arrived in Wellington from Piopiotahi via Nelson, each with another cargo of greenstone (*New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 12 April 1845: 1; *Wellington Independent*, 12 April 1845: 1).

In August 1846 the *Katherine Johnstone* delivered another two "pieces" of pounamu to Whanganui (*New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 29 August 1846: 2). All of these shipments of pounamu were from South Westland. If, as in Joss's first load, the amount of pounamu in each shipment was one ton then altogether perhaps four or five tons was taken to Wellington and Whanganui during 1845 and 1846.

In March 1846 Anglem himself arrived at Wellington in the cutter *Levin* (24 tons) (*Wellington Independent*, 25 March 1846: 2) and may have had pounamu with him. This was probably Anglem's last trip to the North Island. While at Wellington he met Colonel Edward



Figure 12. A partially blasted pounamu boulder, estimated to weigh 50 tons, in situ north of Barn Bay. Photograph by Daryl Munro

Godfrey and subsequently sent him charts he had made of southern New Zealand (Dudfield 2011: 86). Anglem said that he was destitute and would consider himself recompensed by "old clothes, hooks, nails – anything at all" (Hall-Jones 1944: 187). He died later that year, aged 46 years, after having a seizure while gardening at his home at The Neck, Rakiura (Dudfield 2011: 87).

Physical Evidence of 1840s Retrieval

A find of nephrite artefacts in the Cascade River area during the 1950s and the subsequent finding of gem-grade specimens in the area sparked a jade rush (Beck and Mason 2002: 50). From the 1970s onwards prospectors and others have found evidence of an earlier period of recovery of pounamu using metal tools and explosives.

Long-time jade prospector Daryl Munro



Figure 13. The drill hole found in a pounamu boulder cut up by Bernie Radomski and photographed by Russell Beck in 1987. For comparison, the size of the old New Zealand 50 cent coin shown is 31.75mm. The block's current location is unknown and it may have been cut up. Photograph provided by Ann Beck

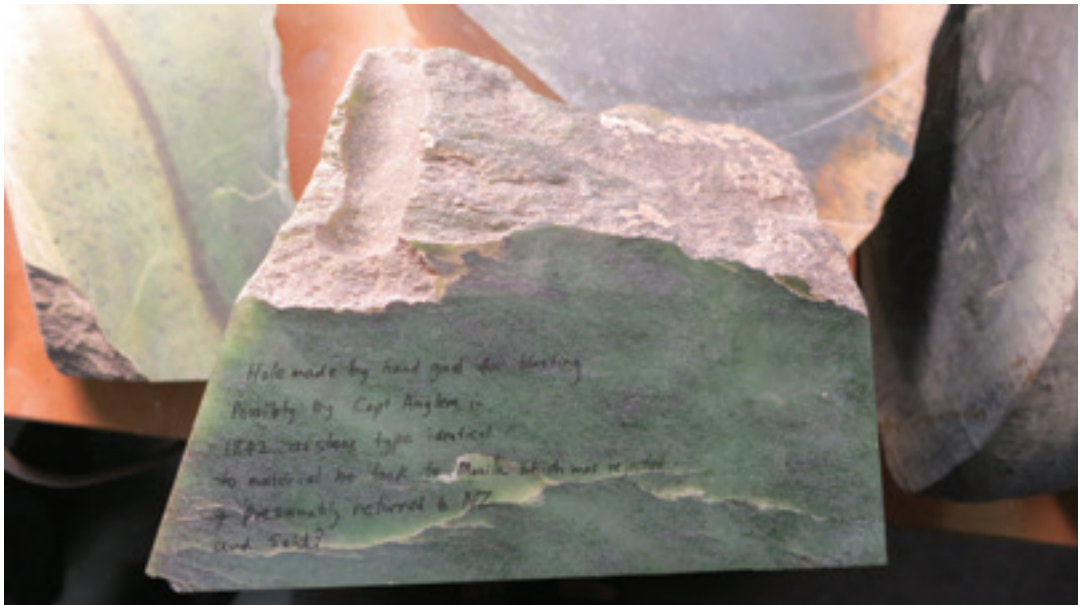


Figure 14. The drill hole found by Russell Beck in a piece of pounamu which probably came from the Devlin Brothers workshop in Dunedin. Russell Beck noted on the stone: "Hole made by hand(illeg) for blasting. Possibly by Capt Anglem in 1842 as stone type is identical to material he took to Manila which was rejected & presumably returned to NZ and Sold?" Photograph by Julia Bradshaw



Figure 15. Tūtoko's boulder. Otago Museum Collection GL3585. Photograph by Kane Fleury

remembers a large pounamu boulder in the Hope River estuary which had pieces blown out of it.⁶ Gorge River resident Robert Long remembers that in the early 1980s four or five large lumps of blasted pounamu were found around Hope River mouth (Fig. 11).⁷

Just north of Barn Bay, Munro found a boulder of approximately 50 tons which has had at least two large pieces (300–400 kg each) blown out of it (Fig. 12). Munro suggests that these pieces were too big for Anglem and his men to deal with so they were left behind. The stone is not great quality but the men are unlikely to have known that.⁸

Beck photographed part of a boulder found in the late 1970s by Bernie Radomski, Bill Radomski and Howard Smith which had an old drill hole made using metal tools which likely dates from Anglem's time (Fig. 13).⁹ Beck located another piece of South Westland nephrite (Fig. 14) with an old drill hole and was convinced that this specimen was part of the boulder that Anglem blasted, writing that "The stone has characteristic inclusions, the same as many mere in museum collections" (Beck, not dated).¹⁰

A fascinating mystery is presented by a large piece of pounamu (Fig. 15) previously in the possession of the rangatira Tūtoko and his whānau who had been based at Whakatipu Waitai since the 1830s (Madgwick 1992: 34). The family were visited by geologist James Hector in 1863 and they gifted Hector a large block of pounamu which is now at Otago Museum (GL3585).

Hector recorded that the stone had drill holes and marks of blasting (Hector 1863: 205). Hector's handwriting is hard to read but it appears he was told that it came from "white men" (Hector 1863: 205). Beck identified the stone as being very typical of South Westland nephrite, but not the "Anglem stone" and said that it could have come from any of the river mouths between Big Bay and Barn Bay (Beck 2015: 1). The boulder weighed about 81 kg



Figure 16. A large block of South Westland pounamu found at Paekākāriki in 1937. The drill hole and cut face are thought to have been made after it was taken to the North Island. Whanganui Museum 1937.21



Figure 17. Mere donated to Canterbury Museum in 1950 by Mrs Florence Ollivier. Canterbury Museum E150.938

and it may have been delivered by whaleboat, perhaps by either Anglem or Joss as a *koha*.

Another block of South Westland stone was found by Beck at Whanganui Regional Museum (1937.21). He identified the sawn block of pounamu (Fig. 16) as typical South Westland nephrite but again not the “Anglem stone” (Beck 1988). The 30 kg block was found buried in a swamp at Paekākāriki, north of Wellington, in 1937 (*Levin Daily Chronicle*, 5 April 1937: 8). The piece has an old bore hole. It is likely that this is some of the stone recovered from South Westland by Joss and others in 1845.

Beck identified 20 taonga at the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa as having been made from Barn Bay type stone using post-contact technology.¹¹ It is beyond this paper’s scope to report on post-contact taonga made from South Westland stone held by museums. However, it is worth noting an interesting example from Canterbury Museum’s collection. A mere that was presented to Canterbury Museum in 1950 by Mrs Florence Ollivier of Christchurch was identified by Russell Beck as exhibiting characteristics of the Barn Bay source (Fig. 17). When it arrived at the Museum, Director and Ethnologist Roger Duff noted that the mere, which is thought to have come from Rotorua, was “post European work but possibly done by a Māori craftsman, beautifully balanced”. It is significant that Duff noted that taonga made from nephrite with distinctive “black flecks”, a noticeable feature of South Westland pounamu, were “peculiar to post European work” (Canterbury Museum Ethnology Register entry E150.938). This suggests that South Westland stone may have become the primary source of pounamu during the mid-nineteenth century, especially in the North Island.

Conclusion

The first export of large quantities of unworked pounamu from New Zealand was underway by March 1842. This constitutes the country’s first substantial export of minerals, pre-dating

mining for manganese and copper (Hector 1869: 361) by about 6 months.¹² The venture was the result of interdependent Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā families in southern New Zealand looking for economic opportunities as the sealing and whaling industries that brought them together declined. This activity also stemmed from Sydney-based speculators continuing to search for new trade items.

Despite the lack of written records, it is clear that the difficulties associated with finding nephrite meant that Māori were crucially important to the speculation. The pounamu venture was thus the result of knowledge sharing between Ngāi Tahu and Pākehā as earlier illustrated in the sealing and whaling industries which are described in more detail by Stevens and Wanhalla (2017) and others.

The pounamu speculation undertaken in South Westland during 1842–1846 was the first European experience with raw pounamu and arguably marks the beginning of the colonisation of pounamu by Pākehā. The trade, which bypassed traditional Ngāi Tahu networks, previously disrupted by the destruction of Kaiapoi Pā in 1831, took pounamu directly to the North Island.

The settler state assumed it owned minerals on land the Crown purchased from Māori, including pounamu, despite this being a taonga with possession guaranteed under the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840. The 1864 discovery of a payable goldfield in Te Tai o Poutini (purchased by the Crown in 1860) and the ease with which large quantities of pounamu could now be shipped from the West Coast saw Ngāi Tahu lose control of that source as well, but this has since been clawed back.

While perhaps 15 tons of pounamu was sent to China in the 1840s, it is the pounamu taken directly to Wellington and other places within the country that is of greater interest in New Zealand. A number of taonga in domestic museums are made from stone from this source.

Further work on identifying taonga held by museums that are made from South Westland

stone may shed further light on how the direct transport of pounamu affected the supply and manufacture of taonga pounamu, in the North Island in particular. It may be that taonga pounamu became more widely available after Ngāi Tahu lost exclusive control of the supply (ownership of pounamu was returned to Ngāi Tahu in 1997 as part of the iwi's Treaty Settlement).

It is likely that stone came from multiple places, definitely Papaki but also the beaches and river mouths north and south, such as Tahutahi (Cascade River) and possibly even as far south as Te Hokiauau (Big Bay).

Confirmation of the venture has been found locally. At Barn Bay and nearby, evidence of drilling and blasting can be seen on pounamu boulders and pieces found there. Taonga identified as being made from South Westland stone that exhibit the use of metal tools in their making can be traced back to this 1840s period of exploitation through the skill of their manufacture.

The venture also provides insights into the organisation and connections of mariners and their families on New Zealand's imperial frontier – both with one another as well as with merchants in Australia and Asia. This highlights both the secrecy involved, which was also a hallmark of the sealing industry in which many of the same people were participants, as well as the amazing organisation of the venture given the challenges of communication at the time.

Some of the names associated with the expedition survive in present day place-names. The name Anita Bay (known to Ngāi Tahu as Hupokeka) remembers the first voyage of the schooner *Anita* while Fox Point is named after the Captain of the schooner *Wave* which took pounamu to Manila in January 1843. The name Post Office Rock has not survived but Anglem's role in southern New Zealand is remembered in the naming of the tallest peak on Rakiura (also known as Hananui), as well as through his many Ngāi Tahu descendants who continue to carry his name.

Acknowledgements

I was privileged to know Russell Beck and am pleased to be able to extend his work into this mystery that intrigued us both. My warm thanks to Ann Beck for her assistance and interest in this project. I am very grateful to peer reviewers Michael Stevens and Dougal Austin and also to Bob Kerr, Roger Fyfe, Paul Madgwick, Phil Moore and Daryl Munro for their comments and suggestions. Thank you also to the following for their contributions: Emma Burns, Simon Cox, Robert Long, Simon Nathan, Libby Sharp, Howard Smith and Natalie and Cyril Win.

Endnotes

- 1 Paul Madgwick, email to author, 23 March 2021.
- 2 Anglim or Anglin appears the most common spelling in early records but over time this has changed to Anglem and this modern spelling, which is preferred by the whānau, has been used in this paper. For more details about the origin and variations of the name see *O'hANGLUINN, The Surname 'Anglin* by Aidan Anglin, 2011. https://issuu.com/aidan-anglin/docs/the_surname_anglin [cited 11 Nov 2020].
- 3 Death Certificate Ellen Gilroy, 1926/9804. Births, Deaths & Marriages, Department of Internal Affairs, New Zealand. <https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/search>.
- 4 Baptism Record, Ellen Angline 1834: 383/1834 V1834383 129. Available from: <https://familyhistory.bdm.nsw.gov.au/lifelink/familyhistory/search?0> [cited 6 October 2020].
- 5 Daryl Munro, interviewed by author, 1 January 2021.
- 6 Daryl Munro, interviewed by author, 1 January 2021.
- 7 Robert Long, emails to author, November 2020.
- 8 Daryl Munro, interviewed by author, 1 January 2021.
- 9 Russell Beck's notes from a personal communication with Bernie Radomski, December 2009.
- 10 Russell Beck, handwritten notes, courtesy of Ann Beck.

- 11 Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. 2021. List of 20 taonga identified as having been made from Barn Bay pounamu by Russell Beck, supplied by Dougal Austin, Senior Curator, Mātauranga Māori, 4 February 2021.
- 12 See also *Nelson Examiner*, 10 December 1842: 158; *New Zealand Colonist*, 13 December 1842: 2; *Daily Southern Cross*, 22 April 1843: 2.

References

- Anderson A. 1998. *The Welcome of Strangers, An ethnohistory of southern Maori A.D. 1650–1850*. Dunedin: Otago University Press.
- Anglem W. Not dated (c.1830s). Dictionary Māori–English. Unpublished manuscript. Alexander Turnbull Library. MS-Papers–4357–9.
- Ballantyne T. 2012. *Webs of Empire: Locating New Zealand's Colonial Past*. Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Batson C. 1963. *Gold Fleet for California: Forty–Niners from Australia and New Zealand*. Auckland: Minerva.
- Beattie H. 1920. The Southern Māori and Greenstone. *Transactions and proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 52: 45–52.
- Beck RJ. 1988. Handwritten notes on items at Whanganui Museum, 18 January 1988.
- Beck RJ. 2015. Report on Nephrite Specimen at Otago Museum, unpublished.
- Beck RJ, Mason M. 2002. *Mana Pounamu, New Zealand Jade*. Rev. ed.. Auckland: Reed Books.
- Beck R, Mason M, Apse A, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. 2010. *Pounamu: The jade of New Zealand*. Auckland: Penguin/Viking.
- Begg AC, Begg NC. 1973. *Port Preservation*. Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs.
- Carrick R. 1900. New Zealand's First Mining Speculation: Record–Narrative of the South. *The New Zealand Mines Record* 3: 232–234.
- Chapman FR. 1891. On the Working of Greenstone or Nephrite by the Maoris. *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 24: 479–539.
- Church I, editor. 2008. *Gaining a Foothold: Historical Records of Otago's Eastern Coast, 1770–1839*. Dunedin: Friends of the Hocken Collections.
- Dudfield D, editor. 2011. *Grandfather's yarns: The tales of William Thomas*. Invercargill: Dornie Publishing.
- Fox H. 1886. *New Zealand Herald*. 16 October 1886, supplement: 1.
- Gibb M. 2001. Are New Zealand Treaty of Waitangi Settlements achieving justice?: The Ngai Tahu Settlement and the return of Pounamu (greenstone) [PhD thesis]. Dunedin: University of Otago.
- Hall-Jones FG. 1944. *Kelly of Inverkelly: the story of settlement in Southland, 1824–1860*. Invercargill: Southland Historical Committee.
- Hector J. 1863. Expedition towards the West Coast of Otago. Diary. Alexander Turnbull Library: qMS-0944.
- Hector J. 1869. On Mining in New Zealand. *Transactions and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 2: 361–383.
- Hooker RH. 1986. *The Archaeology of South Westland Maori*. Hokitika: New Zealand Forest Service.
- Howard BH. 1940. *Rakiura: A History of Stewart Island, New Zealand*. Dunedin: AH & AW Reed.
- Kerr R. 2018. *The Mysterious Henry Elgar and his Crown Survey*. Available from: <https://portphillippioneersgroup.org.au/pppg5je.htm> [cited 7 June 2019].
- Kinnicutt L. 1889. Nephrite and Jadeite. *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* Vol 6, part 1: 84–90. Available from: <https://www.americanantiquarian.org/proceedings/48218046.pdf> [cited 27 June 2019].
- Mackay A. 1876. Half–caste Claims in the South and Stewart Island. *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives* G–9: 18.
- Madgwick P. 1992. *Aotea: A history of the South Westland Māori*. Hokitika: P Madgwick.
- Natusch S. 2017. George Albert Hansard's journal of the voyage of the 'Acheron'. Hocken Collections, PC-0900.
- Richards R. 1995. *Murihiku Reviewed: A revised history of Southern New Zealand from 1804 to 1844*. Wellington: Lithographic Services.

- Rogers F. 1995. Ranulph Dacre and Patuone's Topknot: The Vicissitudes of a 19th-Century Royal Navy Officer Who Became a Pacific Trader and Timber Merchant in Australia and New Zealand. *The Journal of New Zealand Studies* 5, 1: 13–18. Available from: <https://ojs.victoria.ac.nz/jnz/article/view/482> [cited 2 April 2020].
- Rout M, Reid, J. 2019. *Tribal economies – Ngāi Tahu: An examination of the historic and current tīti and pounamu economic frameworks*. Christchurch: Ngāi Tahu Research Centre. Available from: <https://www.canterbury.ac.nz/media/documents/ngai-tahu-research-centre/ntrc-contemporary-publications/The-historic-and-contemporary-pounamu-and-titi-economies.pdf> [cited 3 March 2021].
- Shineberg D, editor. 1971. *The Trading Voyages of Andrew Cheyne 1841-1844*. Pacific History Series: 3. Canberra: Australian National University Press. Available from: <https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/115108/2/b1119571x.pdf> [cited 15 June 2019].
- Shortland E. 1851. *The Southern Districts of New Zealand: A journal, with passing notices of the customs of the Aborigines*. London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longmans.
- Smith IWG. 2002. *The New Zealand Sealing Industry: History, Archaeology, and Heritage Management*. Wellington: Department of Conservation.
- Stevens K. 2008. 'Gathering Places': *The Mixed Descent Families of Foveaux Strait and Rakiura/Stewart Island, 1824–1864* [BA (Hons) thesis]. Dunedin: Otago University.
- Stevens K, Wanhalla A. 2017. Intimate Relations: Kinship and the Economics of Shore Whaling in Southern New Zealand, 1820–1860. *The Journal of Pacific History* 52: 2, 135–155.
- Stevens MJ. 2015. A 'Useful' Approach to Māori History. *New Zealand Journal of History* 49: 1, 54–77.
- Stevens MJ. 2017. Ngāi Tahu Whānui. In: Brown H, Norton T, editors. *Tāngata Ngāi Tahu: People of Ngāi Tahu, Volume 1*. Christchurch: Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books.
- Tasmania Outwards Shipping Lists. 1821. William Anglam. Available from: <https://stors.tas.gov.au/NI/517551> [cited 6 April 2020].
- Taylor NM, editor. 1959. *Early Travellers in New Zealand*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- The Chinese Repository Volume 5. 1836–1837. Available from: <https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044024615031?urlappend=%3Bseq=451> [cited 20 January 2021].
- The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*. 1902. Auckland Provincial District. Christchurch: Cyclopaedia Company.
- Tyron D. 2009. Linguistic Encounters and Response in the South Pacific. In: Jolly M, et al, editors. *Oceanic Encounters: Exchange, Desire, Violence*. Australia National University E Press. Available from: www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt24h8jn [cited 2 April 2020].