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Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand's Clutha and Central Otago Districts: An Anthropological Onomastic Study of Scottish Place-Names

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the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
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Abstract

The Otago Region in the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand is inextricably linked to the Scottish diaspora of the 19th century. This thesis examines the prevalence of Scottish place-names in two Districts in Aotearoa New Zealand's Otago Region: Clutha and Central Otago. These place-names will be evaluated for their significance as cultural artefacts by using onomastic and anthropological methods, or anthropological onomastics. This research considers which place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts have Pākehā, or European, versus Indigenous origins, focusing heavily on the Scottish connections to the Region, and why those names in particular were transposed to, and remain in, the Aotearoa New Zealand landscape. I will analyse how these place-names have affected the social identity of the people and political climate of the Otago Region, and how that is demonstrated in the Otago namescape. Finally, I seek to fill in some of the gaps in the New Zealand Gazetteer regarding the history, origin, and the referent of the place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts to enable the Toitū Te Whenua Land Information New Zealand, and the New Zealand Geographic Board, to more efficiently utilise these place- names and evaluate them for official naming status.

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Epigraph: Kupu rere kē

My friend was advised to italicise all the foreign words in her poems.

This advice came from a well-meaning woman with NZ poetry on her business card

and an English accent in her mouth.

I have been thinking about this advice.

The convention of italicising words from other languages clarifies that some words are imported:

it ensures readers can tell the difference between a foreign language and the language of home.

I have been thinking about this advice.

Marking the foreign words is also a kindness:

every potential reader is reassured that although you're expected to understand the rest of the text,

it's fine to consult a dictionary or native speaker for help with the italics.

I have been thinking about this advice.

Because I am a contrary person, at first I was outraged - but after a while I could see she had a point:

when the foreign words are camouflaged in plain type

you can forget how they came to be there, out of place, in the first place.

I have been thinking about this advice and I have decided to follow it.

Now all of my readers will be able to remember which words truly belong in Aotearoa and which do not.

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is the result of my own work and that I have referenced sources in cases where ideas are not my own: any omission of an accurate reference is an oversight on my part and will be corrected. This thesis, or any part thereof, has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow, or any other institution.

Signature: _____

Printed name: Brittnee Leysen

Definitions/Abbreviations

Newspaper titles:

<i>Ashburton Guardian</i>	AG
<i>Auckland Star</i>	AS
<i>The Bruce Herald</i>	BH
<i>Clutha Leader</i>	CL
<i>Cromwell Argus</i>	CA
<i>Daily Southern Cross</i>	DSC
<i>Dunstan Times</i>	DT
<i>Evening Post</i>	EP
<i>Evening Star</i>	ES
<i>Grey River Argus</i>	GRA
<i>Hawke's Bay Herald</i>	HBH
<i>Lake Wakatip Mail</i>	LWM
<i>Lyttelton Times</i>	LT
<i>Marlborough Press</i>	MP
<i>Mataura Ensign</i>	ME
<i>Mt Benger Mail</i>	MBM
<i>Mount Ida Chronicle</i>	MIC
<i>Nelson Examiner and New Zealand Chronicle</i>	NENZC
<i>New Zealander</i>	NZ
<i>New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator</i>	NZGWS
<i>New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian</i>	NZSCSG
<i>The New Zealand Tablet</i>	NZTB
<i>New Zealand Times</i>	NZT
<i>Northland Age</i>	NA

<i>North Otago Times</i>	NOT
<i>Otago Daily Times</i>	ODT
<i>The Otago Witness</i>	OW
<i>Saturday Advertiser</i>	SA
<i>Southern Paper</i>	SP
<i>Southland Times</i>	ST
<i>The Star (Christchurch)</i>	SC
<i>Timaru Herald</i>	TH
<i>Tuapeka Times</i>	TT
<i>Wanganui Chronicle</i>	WC
<i>Wellington Independent</i>	WI

General Abbreviations:

Alexander Turnbull Library	ATL
Archives New Zealand	ANZ
Dictionaries of the Scots Language	DSL
Dictionary of New Zealand Biography	DNZB
Toitū Te Whenua Land Information New Zealand	LINZ
Geographic Information System	GIS
Honorary Geographic Board of New Zealand	HGBNZ
New Zealand Gazetteer	NZG
New Zealand Geographic Board	NZGB
New Zealand Geographic Board Hard Drive	NZGB HDD
New Zealand Society of Genealogists Scottish Interest Group	NZSG
Peopling of New Zealand Project (Ministry of Culture and Heritage)	PNZ
Treaty of Waitangi	TOW

Glossary of Māori terms

- hāpu | subtribe
- iho whenua | a custom of bonding to the land from birth by planting the
- whenua, placenta, in the land
- ingoa wāhi | place-names
- iwi | tribe
- kāinga mahinga kai | food-gathering settlement
- kaumātua | tribal elder
- kaupapa | discussion or topic
- Ngāi Tahu | Māori tribe in the South Island
- mahi | work
- mana | power
- marae | communal and sacred meeting ground
- mātauranga | traditional Māori knowledge
- mihimihi | a formal recitation of your genealogy
- mōkihi | a Māori raft
- Pākehā | New Zealanders of European ancestry
- papakāinga | village settlement
- Papatūānuku | the Earth Mother

- pepeha | how people identify themselves in te ao Māori. It is based on how they connect to their mountain, body of water, canoe, tribe(s), sub-tribe, marae, ancestors and family
- pounamu | greenstone, Aotearoa jade
- Rākaikautū | main figure in the South Island in Māori mythology and legend
- rakatirataka | leadership
- rohe | Region/District/area
- taunahanaha whenua | the naming of places
- tangata whenua | people of the land; Māori people, or Māori with ties to a specific area
- taonga | Māori knowledge and treasures
- tapu | taboo
- te reo / te reo Māori | the Māori language
- Te Waipounamu | South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand
- tikanga Māori | Māori tradition
- waiata | song
- waka | Māori canoe
- weka | a native brown-feathered bird
- whaikōrero | speech
- whakapapa | genealogies, including place in addition to people

- whānau | family
- wharepuni | sleeping house
- whenua | placenta, land

Note: I use the spelling of Ngāi Tahu and Kai Tahu interchangeably in accordance with the southern dialect of te reo Māori in which a k is used in place of ng.

1 Introduction

My interest in place-names of Aotearoa New Zealand came from my time spent in Auckland after my Anthropology degree, before moving to Glasgow, Scotland where I completed my master's degree. Whilst in Auckland, I found the contrast of Māori place-names intermixed with familiar English names reminiscent of my youth in Michigan, where I grew up surrounded by a multilingual namescape. I have always been fascinated by the stories behind place-names, with some of my favourites being those that gave an explanation for how certain land features came to be. For example, I grew up near Manoka Lake, in Greenville, Michigan, where legend says a Native American woman, Manoka, was crossing the lake to join her lover, a settler, when her father shot an arrow that killed her lover in his canoe on the lake. It is said Manoka then held him in the water until they sank and drowned together, with the lake being known to locals as a bottomless lake for the bottomless love Manoka felt for her lover. Sofia Evemalm covers the phenomenon of place-names related to drowning in her article, 'Murders, Drownings, and other Deaths: The Cultural Norms of Explaining Anthropo-Toponyms', which breaks down these names into two groups: (1) those thought to be associated with real historical individuals who were often largely unknown outside the immediate locality, (2) accounts that can be considered to be largely mythological (2018, 167-168). Real or imagined, as a child I took the warning evident in the tale of Manoka seriously, avoiding the small lake and the dangers it presented, exemplifying the effectiveness of a place-name and its meaning or origin story in influencing the behaviour of people.

Place-names can serve as warnings to the public such as places of strong currents, dangerous flora and fauna, or poor soil for farming, but they also are sites of memory. As a researcher of settler ancestry, I have often grappled with the fear of re-colonising spaces by collecting data on and about place-names, particularly those with Indigenous origins. It is for this reason I strive to reiterate my positionality throughout this thesis, and to acknowledge that the memory often captured relating to Indigenous place-names is viewed through a colonial lens.

This thesis will explore how place-names have affected the social identity of the people and political climate of the Otago Region, in the South Island of Aotearoa

New Zealand, and how that is demonstrated in the Otago namespace. In 1817, Captain James Kelly of the brig *Sophia* reports vaguely on the ‘destruction of the city of Otago’ (Griffiths 1990, 8). After 1831, whalers adopted the name *Otago*, with a long /a:/, perhaps representing some pronunciation variations of *Otago* (Griffiths 1990, 8). Purchased in 1844 by the New Zealand Company for their Scottish settlement, significant recorded debate followed concerning the official spelling of *Otago* (Potiki 2016, 7; Entwisle 1998, 136-139; Begg & Begg 1979, 271). When it comes to the question of credible dating of earliest place-names, both the report by Captain Kelly and the colloquial use of *Otago* by whalers are what may be considered credible sources.¹

Chapter Two of this thesis focuses on the literature underpinning this research, including comparative material from other colonised countries. In Chapter Three, I will explore the theories that ground the research in this thesis as an interdisciplinary study. My preconceptions on how to engage with place-names in colonial spaces were challenged when engaging with my work utilising *Kaupapa Māori* theory, versus engaging with my data exclusively through the work of Western anthropologists and onomasticians. Throughout the thesis, my assumptions on how a Western researcher would navigate the *Otago* namespace were challenged by the work of Laura Kostanski and by that of *Kaupapa Māori* theorists such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith. It was therefore considered necessary to outline in some detail their position and research, as seen in section 3.3.2 and section 3.2, respectively. Although the primary aim of this thesis is not to analyse *Māori* place-names, through engaging with *Kaupapa Māori* literature it became evident that the reasons for this needed explicit discussions, and this has been done in section 3.2. Laura Kostanski has worked extensively on the colonial namespace of Australia, and in particular on Scottish emigration and its impacts on the namespace. As a result, her ground-breaking research has helped pave the way for this research in a comparable setting. Consequently, elements of the groundwork provided by Kostanski and Tuhiwai Smith have helped shape

¹ Throughout this thesis, and especially in the thesis *Gazetteer*, the phrase ‘earliest mention in digitised records’ is utilised, to highlight where there might be even earlier mentions of the place-name in records that were inaccessible to me, or an oral tradition associated with the name that I am unaware of.

the overall approach of this thesis. On that basis their work will be covered in detail in this thesis.

After establishing the methodology and sources in Chapter Four, I will focus on the settlement of Scottish emigrants in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts in Chapter Five. Chapter Six will investigate settler and Māori interactions as evidenced in the namescape. Having explored the background and framework for engaging with Otago place-names in earlier chapters, Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight will incorporate the theories and methodologies mentioned to examine place-naming in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts, respectively, before concluding the thesis in Chapter Nine. At the end of the thesis is the Gazetteer, with Pākehā place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts analysed for the motivation behind the coining of the name, the origin of the name, and referent of the name

1.1 Purpose of the study

Place-names do more than identify where we are; they hold cultural memory and community significance. As such, place-names require a multidisciplinary, multilingual, and multicultural approach to evaluating their full impact on people in the named place, or with ties to that place. In Chapter Six of this thesis the impact of settler-Indigenous relations on the namescape will be considered whilst also evaluating governmental policy and influence on this issue. Another important aspect of this colonial relationship is how it has been carried into policies and communities today. For example, as will be seen in the course of this thesis, the regulations and standards to better manage Crown pastoral land and the New Zealand Geographic Board Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa's (NZGB) three place naming standards have altered, with dozens of place-name alterations, proposals, and changes taking place as well (see 4.2.2).² Considering all these existing factors, the objectives of this study are:

² The three standards being: the Standard for New Zealand place names, the Standard for Antarctic place names and the Standard for altering Region and District names. Changes to the Standard for New Zealand place-names included updated criteria for place-names, and an outline of the process for naming places (NZGB 2020).

1. To explore the impact of colonialism on the Central Otago and Clutha District namescapes in the Otago Region, critically engaging with the latest relevant literature and available resources.
2. To determine the extent to which place-names can be considered items of intangible cultural heritage and/or cultural artefacts, utilising anthropological onomastic methods.
3. To assess which place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts have European versus Indigenous origins, focusing heavily on the Scottish connections to the Region, and why those names in particular were transposed to, and remain in, the Aotearoa New Zealand landscape.
4. To evaluate settler place-names, particularly of Scottish origin, for the motivation, referent, and history behind their creation.
5. To suggest changes to the New Zealand Gazetteer (NZG), filling in the gaps regarding the history, origin, and referent of place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts to enable the NZGB and Toitū Te Whenua Land Information New Zealand (LINZ) to more efficiently utilise these place- names, and evaluate them for official naming status.

While much geographical evidence exists within the NZG, there remains a significant gap in the literature relating to the issues outlined above which would give a better understanding of the ways in which place-naming and place-making could be tools for positive change in a colonised landscape. Places, and the names we give them, 'reveal the tangible and intangible legacy of conflict, ground transitions from conflict towards peace, and situate peacebuilding processes and actors' (Björkdahl & Kappler 2017, 1). When placemaking entails the creation of 'shared meanings associated with public space' (McEvoy-Levy 2012, 2), what if the meaning of that space is contested, or representative of violence towards a portion of the population residing in, or moving through, that place? Therefore, the research seeks to articulate the ways in which place-names are an integral part of peacebuilding in a colonised place.

The intricate relationship between place-names and peacebuilding processes in colonized landscapes underscores the potential of onomastics to foster reconciliation and understanding. Place-names are not merely geographical markers but carry deep historical, cultural, and emotional significance that can either exacerbate conflicts or facilitate healing and unity. Björkdahl and Kappler (2017) articulate how the naming and renaming of places can reflect the tangible and intangible legacies of conflict and serve as a foundation for transitioning towards peace. They suggest that the act of place-naming can be a powerful tool in peacebuilding, as it allows communities to confront and reframe their pasts, acknowledge historical injustices, and work towards shared narratives. Similarly, McEvoy-Levy (2012) highlights the role of place-making in creating shared meanings associated with public spaces, which is crucial for building a sense of community and belonging among disparate groups. In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, the recognition and incorporation of Indigenous Māori place-names alongside European names can serve as a testament to the country's commitment to biculturalism and the acknowledgment of Māori heritage as a central aspect of its national identity. This dual naming practice can be seen as an act of peacebuilding, where the landscape becomes a canvas for expressing respect, recognition, and the blending of cultures. Hence, the study of place-names in the Otago Region, with its rich tapestry of Māori and European (particularly Scottish) heritage, becomes a vital endeavour for understanding how geographical nomenclature can contribute to the reconciliation process and foster a more inclusive and peaceful society.

1.2 Research questions

Based on the stated objectives, the following research questions emerged:

1. In what ways do anthropological, sociological, and onomastic theories converge to inform the study of place-names as tools for understanding cultural identity, memory, and reconciliation in the Otago Region?
2. How do place-names in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts encapsulate the 'human element' by reflecting the diverse cultural, historical, and emotional landscapes of the Region?

3. Who were the key Scottish settlers in the Otago Region during the 19th century, and how have their contributions shaped the naming conventions and cultural heritage of the area? Furthermore, what are the origins of place-names in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts, particularly those of Scottish origin, and how do these names contribute to the cultural landscape and identity of the Region?
4. How have historical and contemporary governmental policies on place-naming affected Indigenous Māori communities in the Otago Region, and how do these policies reflect broader themes of colonialism and biculturalism in Aotearoa New Zealand?
5. Broadly, what motivations, origins, and referents underlie the place-names in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts, and how do these factors contribute to the narrative of peacebuilding and reconciliation within the context of Aotearoa New Zealand's colonial past and present?

Whilst evaluating who the Scottish settlers were that came to the Otago Region in the 19th century, the following questions were asked:

1. Through which means/schemes did Scottish settlers access emigration to the Otago Region?
2. Where did Scottish settlers establish homesteads in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts, and were these homesteads permanent or temporary spaces of settlement?

The identification of place-names of Scottish origin in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts of Scottish impacts significantly on being able to provide the naming motivation and referent of these names. Therefore, it has been necessary to place the results of this analysis in the Gazetteer of the thesis.

1.3 Research design

At the conception of this study, once the purpose of the research was clarified and the appropriate research questions constructed, it was necessary to identify

suitable Districts to engage with. Due to the Otago Region's link with Scottish emigration (see Chapter Five), it seemed useful to pick comparative Districts within the Region where one represented coastal features and permanent settlement, whilst the other was inland and reflected transient settlement patterns. Using these parameters, the Clutha and Central Otago Districts were selected, with the place-name corpus of these Districts coming from the NZG, for all 'locality' place-names.



Figure 1-1 Map of Aotearoa New Zealand with the Clutha District outlined (Leyser 2022a).



Figure 1-2 Map of Aotearoa New Zealand with the Central Otago District outlined (Leysen 2022b).

The rationale for the selection of this place-name corpus will be comprehensively presented and discussed in Chapter Four. Nevertheless, it was critical that the place-name corpus selected effectively allowed for themes of colonialism, language contact and evolution, societal priorities (such as collective memorialisation), and toponymic attachment to be explored in depth.

Whilst the corpus itself was identified at the inception of this study in 2017, it is important to note that Aotearoa New Zealand has an evolving namescape, with the places and names identified in this study possibly shifting in the near future due to

the current work by LINZ to undertake community consultations on each place-name throughout the country (see 4.2.2).

1.4 Rationale and significance of the study

The findings resulting from this formal research fill a significant gap in the literature on the topic of place-names in colonised spaces generally, and more specifically within the field of onomastics in Aotearoa New Zealand (see Chapter 2). The results of this research will enable and encourage the use of interdisciplinary methods and theories in Aotearoa New Zealand place-name research. Whilst the Appendix was written primarily to resource Scottish ‘Pākehā’ place-names through qualitative methods, it demonstrates that there are categories of names that have been transferred to Aotearoa New Zealand, and similar motivations for these names, across Pākehā place-names, regardless of Scottish origin. Therefore, this research will enable further discussion on non-Indigenous place-names in colonial settings generally.

Relatively little research in the area of place-names of Aotearoa New Zealand has taken the view of these names as cultural artefacts (Pacey 2014; Morris 2018; Morris 2022; and Berg & Kearns 1996), a term heavily utilised in anthropology to describe something that is human made (Salmond & Chua 2012, 101). Instead, place-names are used generally as identifiers of ownership, and physical boundaries, in an Aotearoa New Zealand context. There is no society of place-name researchers in Aotearoa New Zealand, so research on the motivation for place-naming, the referent, the history and origin falls to independent scholars and governmental bodies. Identity within a place, as well as a sense of place, are particularly significant concerns for Indigenous communities, whose cultural heritage and identity are closely tied to the land and its names. Similarly, settlers and their descendants also engage with these issues as they navigate their place within a historically complex landscape. Researchers, policymakers, and activists focus on these aspects to understand and address the implications of naming practices on cultural memory, identity, and reconciliation efforts.

This thesis is not concerned with the etymological development of European, Pākehā, place-names since much of this work has already been undertaken within the country of origin of these transferred place-names. Instead, it seeks to identify the human element of place-naming in Aotearoa New Zealand: who were the coiners of these names, and what were their motivations for bestowing these names in the localities they did? Emigrants in Aotearoa New Zealand were not necessarily representative of British migrants in general. Considering the resettlement schemes and financial motivations for many emigrants to Aotearoa New Zealand, it is nuanced to classify Scottish emigrants strictly as refugees. Notably, the New Zealand Company began transporting emigrants in 1839 without legal rights to the land, where 'legal' implies the consent of Indigenous peoples (McClellan, 1990). Additionally, by the mid-19th century, Scots owned half of the farms larger than 100 acres, showcasing their significant influence in rural areas (Brooking & Coleman, 2003). This complexity challenges simplistic views of emigrant motivations and impacts. Emigration by Scots to Aotearoa New Zealand is addressed in further detail in Chapter Five.

In terms of migration patterns in Aotearoa New Zealand, there are challenges that come with making the distinction between 'permanent' versus 'temporary' migration, and where, or if, this distinction matters in the context of the namescape (McClellan 1990, 1). If there was a shift, i.e. step-migration (see 5.1), from Scotland to Australia for example, and then onward to Aotearoa New Zealand, it does not invalidate the place-names left behind in Australia by the Scottish emigrants. If anything, these names leave an intriguing footprint evidencing these migration patterns. Although there are many names that were coined as a result of emigrants settling in the Region, there are an equal number of place-names in rural Otago deposited by temporary visitors to the Region, such as surveyors and gold diggers. The questions of who settled in Otago, for what motives, and how they chose where to settle, are covered in greater detail in Chapter Five, but it is pertinent to consider the context of who is behind the name-giving when compiling literature on the 'sense' of place and identity.

1.5 Organisation of the study

Chapter Two begins the process of exploring the literature around the human element of naming, in addition to the basis for including methods from the discipline of anthropology in this onomastic study. The literature review also discusses the sources utilised for uncovering the earliest written evidence of place-names in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts. Previous attempts to analyse place-names by A.W. Reed (1908-1979) and Herries Beattie (1881-1972) are acknowledged and discussed in this chapter, along with comparative studies in Australia and colonised settlements in the ‘New World’.

Chapter Three looks at key onomastic and anthropological theories to situate this thesis, including the sub-fields of socio-onomastics and cognitive onomastics. Additionally, this chapter contextualises the research within Kaupapa Māori theory, and where place-name research sits within it. Finally, although it is not the overall aim of this thesis to categorise and classify the place-name corpus, theories and frameworks by Stefan Brink, Laura Kostanski, Jan Tent, and David Blair are all drawn on as useful tools for processing this onomastic data.

Chapter Four is the methodology and sources chapter of this thesis, which outlines the approach taken to engage with the place-name corpus. Starting by identifying the place-name corpus used in this research, this chapter provides context, reasoning, and explains the tools of analysis employed throughout the thesis. Fieldwork carried out in March 2019 is discussed in this chapter, concluding with a note on ethics and cultural relativism.

Chapter Five considers the history of Scottish settlement in the Otago Region. Contextual background on who the Scots were that came to Aotearoa New Zealand, how they came, such as through step-migration patterns or migration schemes, and how coastal versus inland settlement differed, is provided and analysed.

Chapter Six investigates settler and Māori interactions, starting with the meaning of place in Māori culture. Land rights and transgressions by the Crown are looked at in

greater detail in this chapter, with the impact of colonisation on the namescape being the primary focus. Also in this chapter is a discussion of the phenomenon of surveyors bestowing purportedly Māori names in the namescape. This chapter concludes with an analysis of the current 21st century situation concerning the namescape and settler-Māori relations.

Chapter Seven utilises familial emigration narratives to explore the namescape of the Clutha District. Starting from the coastal Tokomairiro Plain, this chapter works its way inward and west across the Otago Region, analysing the namescape through qualitative documentary evidence.

Chapter Eight picks up where Chapter Seven finishes, starting with a discussion on the difference of the place-name types and naming motivations in the Central Otago District versus the aforementioned Clutha District. Cognitive toponymy, place and toponymic attachment, and an evaluation of temporary toponyms such as those found in canvas towns are considered throughout the chapter in relation to goldfield names, including those found at Chinese miners' camps.

Following the thesis conclusion in Chapter Nine is the Gazetteer which contains 130 European-origin place-names, where a brief history, origin, and referent of each place-name can be found. As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the phrase 'earliest mention in digitised records' is utilised in the Gazetteer to highlight the earliest date the place-name appears in records that have been accessible to me throughout this research (see Chapter 4).

2 Literature review

The structure of this thesis follows the line of questioning: where are we learning from, and where we are learning to? The literature review for this research therefore seeks to explore where we are learning from, which includes looking at individuals and bodies of work that have shaped the trajectory of this research. Due to the interdisciplinary nature of this research, it is necessary to discuss, albeit briefly, the background reading that has made it possible to address the research questions stated in the thesis introduction, including interdisciplinary literature from comparative studies in Australia and the ‘New World’ of the Americas.

2.1 Previous work on gazetting Central Otago and Clutha District names

Historically, Herries Beattie (1881-1972), and Alexander Wyclif (A.W.) Reed (1908-1979), were pivotal in researching place-names in Aotearoa New Zealand's Districts, a task complicated by the country's multilingual environment and the diversity of languages reflected in its place-names, including English, te reo Māori, Danish, Scottish Gaelic, and German. With limited resources and virtually no prior scholarship to rely on, especially for Indigenous Māori names, their endeavour was significantly challenging. This lack of earlier work meant that Beattie and Reed had to rely heavily on community access and oral histories to compile and analyse the origins and meanings of place-names.

2.1.1 Herries Beattie (1881–1972)

As previously mentioned, Herries Beattie conducted research on the etymology of place-names in Aotearoa New Zealand primarily through ethnographic methods. In 1948, Beattie published *Otago Place Names*, which included an impressive listing of some 4,500 place-names. Pre-dating this collection of place-names and possibly Beattie's most well-known and referenced works are his articles in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* from 1915-1922. These compiled works and articles by Beattie ranged from Māori interviews to place-name etymology and associated tales and are an invaluable resource for historians and onomasticians alike.

Although Beattie did not come from a scholarly background, instead having worked as a journalist, he had an admirable passion for preserving Māori culture that prompted him to record and publish his ethnographic studies of the Otago Māori. The primary challenge in using Beattie's text as a valid resource for the analysing of Otago place-names comes from it now being very dated and from the ever-changing linguistic landscape of Aotearoa New Zealand. However, this can also be an invaluable resource for understanding the Aotearoa New Zealand namescape before modern land ordinances were enacted that vastly changed the naming and renaming process of the entire country. This in combination with Beattie's vast amount of orally recorded origin stories, collected during interviews with local inhabitants of the Otago Region, makes for an authentic insight into the status of place-names in Otago during the period it was written.

In his book, Beattie includes notes on his ethnographic studies which have influenced his interpretations of Otago place-names. Although this ethnographic research is invaluable, the lack of transparency over Beattie's methodology and sources leaves the reader in doubt as to who Beattie spoke to about what names and their authority on the matter. There are no footnotes to Beattie's work, and rarely explanations on where the information given has been sourced from. We are led to assume the stories collected by Beattie are authentic and indicative of the origins of place-names in the Otago Region, despite Beattie's dedication at the beginning of his book, 'I am sure the thirty or forty ladies and gentlemen who have given me greatly appreciated verbal information will excuse me if I do not record their names, but merely confine myself to expressing my sincere thanks' (Beattie 1948, 3).

In addition, Beattie's text is self-proclaimed to be comprised of over 4,500 place-names in the Otago Region, however it is difficult to discern the exact number due to its narrative-like organisation. Rather than address the subject of place-names in a systematic, alphabetical manner, Beattie prefers to organise his research primarily according to name-giver, and then Region. While this makes the task of searching for Beattie's mention of specific names challenging, it does help identify the coiner (name-giver) of multiple place-names bestowed in the Region, and the

likely time period these names were given, more than an alphabetical compilation would. Beattie's text contains no index, and consists of eleven chapters and 112 pages of names, theories, interviews, histories, and even some remarks to the reader in a humorous, almost apologetic tone. This is most apparent in Beattie's final note to the reader:

The patient scribe lays down his quill, And sighs o'er task he's done so ill-

O'er queries who, what, where, and when?

And work he's left for other men (Beattie 1948, 120).

The answer as to what are, and where are, Pākehā place-names in the Otago Region, should be easily apparent in Beattie's text mainly through the method of organisation he chooses to use, but in reality the place-names are scattered throughout the text regardless of which surveyor, settler, tradesmen or explorer it is assumed they are ascribed to.

2.1.2 Alexander Wyclif (A.W.) Reed (1908–1979)

On a much larger scale was A.W. Reed's book, *Place Names of New Zealand*, first published in 1975, which tackled the etymology of place-names not just in the Otago Region, but Aotearoa New Zealand as a whole. This book was the largest corpus of place-name data on Aotearoa New Zealand ever published, which included over 10,000 place-names. Reed, like Beattie, did not come from an academic background, but was a publisher of books on a variety of topics besides place-names.

However, unlike Beattie, Reed chose to organise his place-name data alphabetically, which is advantageous when seeking a particular place-name, but disadvantageous for the scholar looking at a particular Region rather than Aotearoa New Zealand in its entirety. Reed was a publisher by profession and, as a result, took an interest in publishing, and writing, many historical works on the Māori and Pākehā. During a time when few publishers were taking on the task of putting

historical Māori and Pākehā texts into the public arena, Reed embraced the challenge, even authoring his own material despite the fact that he ‘had himself no firsthand knowledge of Māori custom or language and derived his material from secondary sources, seeing his role as populariser and simplifier’ (*Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand*, 2022). While Reed’s text is undoubtedly useful in encouraging interest in the place-names of Aotearoa New Zealand, and an excellent tool when beginning to collect etymological data on Aotearoa New Zealand’s place-names, it becomes difficult to evaluate and assess his research due to his decision not to include any sources.

In his introduction, Reed states:

the serious student may justly complain that authorities for many statements [on place-names] have not been provided. It has not been possible to provide these, for it would too greatly increase the length of this book; but a comprehensive card index which provides the source of the information has been deposited by the compiler at the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington. (Reed 1975, x)³

Reed’s intention with his text does not seem to be to mislead the reader, or even the interested scholar, but to inspire interest in a subject he seems to care about deeply. Indeed Reed’s plea that the ‘opportunity of collecting and recording personal memories of the past is rapidly receding’ and that ‘nomenclature is a neglected subject in this country’ indicate his full acceptance that if he did not make the effort to make this work available, the time may be running out for it to happen at all (Reed 1975, ix). However, unlike Beattie, Reed does not seem to have focused as heavily on ethnographic data collection of his own in his text, but rather he relies on previously collected data from other sources, including Beattie himself. Reed did have a larger scope than Beattie by looking at Aotearoa New Zealand as a

³ While on fieldwork in March 2019, I did engage with Reed’s card index. Although the index was quite extensive, it still lacked sources for the information on most of the place-name cards.

whole, but unlike many of the texts Reed published which catered to a tourist audience, *Place Names of New Zealand* is more akin to the traditional gazetteer.

Reed's great interest in the place-nomenclature of his homeland is certainly reason enough to believe he used all the resources at his disposal to produce an accurate analysis of place-names in the country. However, one further point to note when utilising Reed as a source for place-name research in Aotearoa New Zealand, is his, at times, problematic tendency to include probabilities and possibilities along with claimed 'known' information pertaining to naming motivations. For example, Reed states that, 'with European names which come from such a variety of sources, the origin is either known or unknown and indeed may occasionally be as suspect as literal renderings of Māori names,' and that 'the frequency of phrases such as "it is said", "probably", and "possibly" is indicative of such uncertainties' (Reed 1975, xi). In his text, there are signifiers of uncertainty where appropriate, which one would hope conversely indicates some certainty of name etymologies without these signifiers present.

Both Beattie and Reed were pioneering authors in researching Aotearoa New Zealand place-names, yet they both approach their task with apprehension of academic criticism and negative reception, which perhaps stems from their own inexperience and past interactions with the academic community. However, Beattie's ethnological survey of southern Māori communities, supported by the Otago University Museum, played a pivotal role in safeguarding traditional Māori knowledge. Initially, his work received little acknowledgment from academic professionals, yet his dedication to capturing oral histories and publishing his findings gradually garnered the interest of ethnologists. Beattie's method, which favoured oral histories and firsthand testimonies over conventional scholarly resources, was considered groundbreaking (Anderson 1998). Over time, this approach not only garnered him respect within the realms of history and anthropology but also aligned with the growing appreciation for oral history and the unique cultural heritage of southern Māori. The following thesis will seek to examine further both authors' work and claims regarding place-names in the Otago Region, as well as expand upon this subject with modern technology, connections, and

methods, while maintaining a respect for the data collection, particularly ethnographic data, of the past.

2.2 Comparative studies and literature

In reviewing the literature for this thesis, it became apparent that there has been far more research published on place-names in other colonised countries, such as Australia and Canada, than in Aotearoa New Zealand (e.g. Kostanski & Clark 2009; Tent & Blair 2009; Kerfoot 1999; Rayburn 1999). In Australia in particular, comparison can be made with Aotearoa New Zealand on the question of Indigenous name restoration and a dual-naming system. Comparative studies in place-name research provide a wealth of methods and theories used elsewhere in the world that might be applicable to a Regional study. For example, Laura Kostanski's research on socio-onomastic theories has been applied to place-names in Australia in her own work (Kostanski 2009), but these theories can be drawn on for a similarly colonised namescape such as Aotearoa New Zealand (see 3.1.3). Similarly, the methods I utilise for this thesis, namely anthropological onomastics, are applicable for other colonised spaces outside of Aotearoa New Zealand.

2.2.1 From Australia

Much of the onomastic work from scholars in Australia that has informed the methodology and place-name analysis of this thesis comes from Laura Kostanski, Ian Clark, Jan Tent and David Blair. Additionally the books *Caledonia Australis* (1984) by Don Watson, and *Far Off in Sunlit Places* (1998) by Jim Hewitson, have been useful for understanding the similarities and differences between Scottish settlers to Australia, and those I have been engaging with in Aotearoa New Zealand. According to the Geographical Names Board of New South Wales:

All Australians share a relationship to the land and the names we give to places convey their significance, sense of history and identity. The New South Wales Government is committed to recognising Aboriginal cultural heritage by registering original place names given by Aboriginal people so

that they sit side by side with existing European names (NSW Government, n.d.).

In this way, there are a great deal of similarities between Australian policy and how the people and governing bodies of Aotearoa New Zealand have worked to acknowledge the names bestowed by settlers, whilst also incorporating the displaced Indigenous namescape. It is due to these similarities that this thesis has incorporated methodologies and theories created to engage with the Australian namescape and applied them to Aotearoa New Zealand.

Australian place-names of European origin were coined in quite similar ways to those in the Otago Region of Aotearoa New Zealand, with surveyors having the most say in which features were named, what they were named, and where settlements would be located. It has been said of Australia, however, that:

The naming of natural features in Australia was even more arbitrary and arrogant than the explorations themselves: rivers and lakes and mountains which had borne names of profound meaning to the Aborigines who had lived near them for thousands of years were in an instant renamed to honour some hubristic bureaucrat or benefactor of the expedition, or a niece or nephew of the explorer, none of whom meant much to the new inhabitants of the District and nothing to the old (Watson 1984, 165).

This description of the disregard surveyors and explorers had for the Indigenous population in Australia in the naming process mirrors the attitude most often demonstrated by early surveyors (19th century) in the Otago Region. Much of the literature that exists now analysing the namescape in Australia follows this trajectory: the renaming of the landscape was an act of colonial violence against Aboriginal people, and an attempt to establish settler possession of the land. Sir Thomas Livingstone Mitchell (1792–1855), a Scottish explorer from Stirlingshire and the Surveyor General of New South Wales between 1828 and 1855, stated in 1850 that, “the only kindness we could do for them,” the Aboriginal people, “would be to let them and their wide range of territory alone; to act otherwise and profess

good-will is but hypocrisy.” Occupation of the land, he said, carried as a natural consequence enormous change’ (Buelmann, Hinson & Morton 2013, 243) (Hewitson 1998, 179).

In addition to similar attitudes by surveyors to the bestowing of European place-names on an Indigenous landscape, some of the naming motivations came from the same geographical origin, particularly considering Scottish place-name coiners. The Western concept of land ownership, for example, motivated European settlers to overlay the land with grids and lines the same way in Aotearoa New Zealand as they did in Australia. Similarly, ‘European explorers, surveyors and settlers brought with them to Australia a colonial understanding of land tenure, and with this the existing Indigenous understandings of the landscape were overwritten’ (Kostanski & Clark 2009, 189) which naturally impacted the continuation of Indigenous place-name knowledge. However, it must be noted that whilst there might be general parallels in the imposition of European land ownership concepts upon Indigenous landscapes in colonial contexts, such as in Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia, each colonial power and settler community brought its unique perspective and practices. This diversity means that, although there are overarching themes of displacement and cultural erasure, the specifics of land ownership, naming practices, and the integration (or lack thereof) of Indigenous knowledge and place-names can differ markedly from one Region to another. As Tent and Blair summarise, one would think ‘it is only natural for visitors and explorers (or more likely invaders and colonizers) to ask local indigenous peoples: “What do you call this place/river/bay/mountain?”’ (Tent & Blair 2009, 65). However, in the Australian place-naming process, there seemed to be few instances of prioritising Indigenous knowledge in the namescape, and instead there were attempts to create Anglo-Indigenous names when the landscape was deemed ‘too foreign’ (Kostanski & Clark 2009, 189). These Anglo-Indigenous place-names were created when Indigenous terminology was co-opted by Europeans to create ‘new’ place-names, often resulting in place-names that made little sense in the Indigenous language or involved elements that were not appropriate for the setting they were placed in, i.e. an element denoting a water feature but being given as the name of a mountain or hill.

Alongside important methodological frameworks for navigating the namespace in Aotearoa New Zealand, literature on place-names in Australia has provided a great deal of information on the differences between the Scots who settled in Aotearoa New Zealand versus their neighbours in Australia. From 1861 to 1945, Scottish ancestry accounted for 15 percent of UK-born migrants in Australia, while in Aotearoa New Zealand, Scottish migrants represented a quarter of UK-born arrivals (Bueltmann, Hinson & Morton 2013, 239). This ratio of Scottish migrants is evident in the naming patterns of the settler-defined landscape in both countries. While Australia's early use as a penal colony from 1789 to 1868 (Hewitson 1998, 211) contributed to its initial population growth, other factors like the Australian gold rush, economic opportunities, and its larger land mass also played significant roles in attracting a higher number of settlers compared to Aotearoa New Zealand by the mid-19th century. It was the middle and upper classes of Scottish society who took an interest in Australian migration in the early 19th century, with a disproportionate number of 1820s land grants having been distributed to Scots (Bueltmann, Hinson & Morton 2013, 243). The fast colonial process of distributing Indigenous land to settlers in Australia resulted in the use of Indigenous routes within the landscape as a basis for settler travel and exchange corridors (Memmott & Long 2002, 46). In an area studied by Kostanski called the Grampians in Victoria, Australia, with the Indigenous name of Gariwerd, the Jardwadjali and Djabwurrung people were 'dispossessed from official records by an act of toponymy' when European names became the place-names recorded for maps, electorates, and governmental zones (Kostanski & Clark 2009, 196). This is not unlike the dispossession of land and place-naming heritage of the Ngāi Tahu iwi in the Otago Region by Scottish settlers and surveyors. The loss of these Indigenous places had a knock-on effect that created 'cross-cultural conflicts in place values' (Memmott & Long 2002, 51) between settlers and Māori. In Australia, Kostanski and Clark demonstrate how 'the toponyms are predominantly relics of colonial and Indigenous landscape interactions - relics which can be investigated to uncover their historical importance and value in shaping community identities' (Kostanski & Clark 2009, 190). This is equally relevant to Aotearoa New Zealand when analysing place value.

The final point that comparative Australian place-name literature has provided has been on the subject of cognitive toponymy, a way of analysing place-names for their human impact that is covered in greater detail in Chapter Three.

2.2.2 From colonised settlements in the ‘New World’

As with Australia, Canada and the United States serve as useful comparisons to the settlement of Scots and place-naming trends they brought about in the ‘New World’. There is much more literature on the impact of Scottish settlement on the namescape in Canada, particularly Nova Scotia, than there is in the United States. Additionally, it seems as though there have been fewer attempts by scholars in North America to create methodologies associated with analysing a namescape in a colonial setting than there have been in Australia. However, it has still been useful for the purpose of this thesis to understand the current research around Scottish placenames in other colonial settings besides Australia. Migration to Canada by Scottish settlers began much earlier than in Aotearoa New Zealand, or even Australia during its penal colony days. It was the far East of Canada, particularly Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, that saw migrants from the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland in the late 1700s and early 1800s, ‘so that most of their names recall places in those parts of Scotland’ (Rayburn 1999, 313). Lowland Scots tended to settle in the remaining provinces and territories, ‘except Newfoundland, which has no direct migration from Scotland’, with many transferred place-names appearing during the 1800s (Rayburn 1999, 313). In December 1897, the equivalent to the NZGB was established in Canada ‘to structure the naming and recording of Canadian toponymy’, called the Geographic Board of Canada (Kerfoot 1999, 270).

As in the Central Otago District in Aotearoa New Zealand, the opening of numerous post offices in Nova Scotia in the late 19th century resulted in a dramatic increase in the naming of places and physical features after Scottish places (Rayburn 1999, 316). Despite a number of early traders and soldiers sweeping through Canada, ‘these individuals were, however, less likely to gain immortality than the village postmaster or local innkeeper who happened to be in the right place at the right time when names were being decided’ (Wills 2016, 1). In a rather unique situation,

the New Brunswick territory in Canada had a high concentration of Scottish settlers from Glenelg, Glengarry, and the Isle of Skye in the 1830s, but due to the failure of the settlement because 'the needs of the settlers were largely ignored on their arrival' there are no remaining place- names of Scottish origin from that period (Rayburn 1999, 317). Based on this, it seems that the establishment of Scottish origin place-names in Canada had more to do with permanent settlement than in Aotearoa New Zealand where even temporary canvas towns of the gold period received Scottish names (see 8.2).

There is much less to say about the nature of place-naming in the United States, as not many researchers have done similar onomastic work on, particularly Scottish, colonial impacts on the namescape. However, there has been a great deal of emphasis on the relationship between Highland Scots and Native American communities in the days of early settlement. This complicated relationship has been well summarised by Colin Calloway in his 2008 book, *White People, Indians, and Highlanders*:

Highland Scots and American Indians met within larger contexts of cultural collision and colonial encounter that governed their interactions. Having been colonized and 'civilized' themselves, Highland Scots sometimes identified and sympathized with Indian people they saw going through the kind of hard experiences they or their parents had suffered, but Highland traders, soldiers, and settlers often displayed the same prejudices, sentiments, and behavior as other European traders, soldiers and settlers when dealing with Indians, and Scots sometimes took on the role of colonizing and civilizing Indians with zeal (Calloway 2008, 17-18).

Furthermore, place attachment seemed to be quite similar between the Native Americans and Highland Scots as exemplified in the following quote:

Both were known for their attachment to their homeland, and they expressed it in similar ways. 'I grow out of this ground,' said a man from Skye in the 1770s. 'Our ancestors come out of this very Ground, and their

Children have remained here ever since,' Canasatego (speaking for the Iroquois) told colonial delegates in 1744 (Calloway 2008, 5).

Despite these similarities, in the United States, as with other countries with a colonial background discussed in this literature review, the demand for the 'displacement and destruction' (Calloway 2008, 19) of Indigenous peoples to make way for European settlement and values overshadowed these possible themes of unification. Aotearoa New Zealand and the Māori people suffered similar conditions as a result of colonisation, with the replacement of the Indigenous namescape by a European one seemingly a consistent theme in most landscapes touched by the British Empire.

This literature review has established a foundational understanding of the research on place-names in Central Otago and the Clutha District, emphasising the seminal work of Herries Beattie and A.W. Reed. Their contributions, while pivotal, reveal methodological limitations and the challenges inherent in early ethnographic and historical research. Moving forward, the following chapter will articulate the theoretical framework guiding this study, employing interdisciplinary approaches from anthropology, geography, and linguistics. This theoretical exploration will examine the socio-cultural and historical contexts influencing place-naming practices during the colonial period in Otago, providing a nuanced analysis of the region's toponymic landscape.

3 Theory

The field of onomastics is naturally interdisciplinary, oftentimes rooted in the theories and methods typically associated with the fields of anthropology, geography, linguistics, and even tourism studies, though this list is by no means exhaustive. The study of names, and in this case toponyms, is something that cannot and should not be analysed from a single viewpoint. Names are a valuable source of history, identity, and language. Names contain messages, which ‘bear invaluable information about the name-givers and their world’ (Taylor 1998, 1). For these reasons and more I have selected the lens of Onomastics through which to view the colonial period in New Zealand’s Otago Region, focusing on the information that place-names can provide to enhance our understanding of this period.

3.1 Key onomastic and anthropological theories to situate this thesis

Anthropologists have long been preoccupied with the sense of place when undertaking their research (Weiner 2002; Hirsch & O’Hanlon (eds.) 1995; Gupta & Ferguson (eds.) 1997; Coleman & Collins (eds.) 2006; Rodman 1992; Snyder, Williams & Peterson 2003). No ethnographic study would be complete without the location of the study at least being identified. However, in situations where the preservation of anonymity is crucial, such as protecting vulnerable communities or sensitive ecological sites, the specific location in an ethnographic study may indeed be camouflaged or generalised. In these cases, researchers often employ strategies to ensure confidentiality while still providing enough context for the study’s findings to be understood and relevant. Regardless of whether an anthropological study is primarily reliant on individual narratives, demographic data, or archival resources, it must still engage with the concept of place even if in very loose terms. Influences from anthropology, such as the work of the father of American anthropology himself, Franz Boas (1858-1942), have inspired the application of anthropological theories and methods to the study of place-names. For example, Boas’ emphasis on cultural relativism and the importance of local contexts has led researchers to

examine place-names not just as labels, but as reflections of the historical, social, and environmental knowledge of the communities that coined them (Boas 1911). This approach allows for a deeper understanding of the cultural significance of place-names and their role in conveying a community's relationship with its environment, practices that have been applied in diverse ethnographic studies globally.

Some anthropologists are particularly interested in the connections between the social construct of property, and natural resources: 'except in the rare cases of truly nomadic peoples, the tribe is attached to a definite geographical area which is its property in so far as foreigners who would try to use it are considered as intruders' (Boas [1928] 1986, 237). When looking at the concept of property and belonging in relation to the natural environment, we have to look to place- names and ask some key questions of the name informants. What do the informants think of the location? Are there any deeper meanings associated with it? This leads us to look at possible instances of geographical determinism, which means that the 'geographical environment controls the development of culture' which is indeed evident in the Otago Region (Boas [1928] 1986, 239-240). In the Central Otago District, geographical determinism is particularly evident, as the settlement of the Region was reliant on the gold rush (see Chapter 6). The physical environment here, and elsewhere in Otago, attracted human settlement, and therefore inspired the creation of names reflecting the motivation for utilising those spaces: Coal Creek (45.215S 169.011E), Fruitlands (45.343S 169.301E), and Gold Burn (44.862S 168.802E) being good examples of this. Central Otago was not a convenient landscape to settle in. With rough winters and the driest Region in Aotearoa New Zealand, Central Otago was not particularly appealing for new settlers. The attraction of settlement came from the mineral bounty that could be mined in the landscape, also evident in the namescape, which naturally inspired a generation of mining communities and a mining culture to settle in the Region (e.g., Davy 2021; Carpenter 2013a; Carpenter 2013b; Huang 2011).

Although the environment and people's attachment to it have been considered by anthropologists since the field's conception, deeper consideration of the naming of

the environment has not always been questioned. Indeed, Keith Brink would argue ‘anthropologists have paid scant attention to one of the most basic dimensions of human experience, [...] *sense of place*’ (Basso & Feld 1996, 54). This observation may explain the tendency among anthropologists to extend only a fundamental recognition to the concept of ‘place’ or setting in their investigations, rather than exploring its deeper significance. Onomastics, the study of names and naming, abounds in theories of place-naming, branching out into socio-onomastics in which elements commonly associated with social anthropology, such as ethnographic studies, are utilised. Socio-onomastics, like Onomastics in general, is interdisciplinary, with components of linguistics, sociology and more combining to form a framework which we can utilise to examine names. One of the primary theories socio-onomastics is concerned with is toponymic competence, or people’s knowledge of certain names (Ainiala & Östman 2017). Analysing demographics in socio-onomastics doesn’t automatically yield insights into place-name use and understanding, but it can provide valuable clues. Factors like age, profession, gender, and cultural background may influence how people perceive, use, and interpret place-names. These demographic variables can reveal patterns in naming preferences, the preservation of historical or cultural place-names, and shifts in language use, offering a deeper understanding of the social dynamics surrounding place-names in a specific community. While this thesis does not seek to collect this kind of data, research that engages with the demographics of the Otago Region is extant in Rebecca Lenihan’s 2015 book, *From Alba to Aotearoa: Profiling New Zealand’s Scots Migrants, 1840-1920*, which is discussed in this research when considering the history of settlement in the Otago Region (see 5.3). By understanding the type of people who engaged with the Aotearoa New Zealand environment during early settlement, we can begin to interpret their reasoning behind the naming of the landscape, and motivating factors that could be attributed to their background.

Another theory in socio-onomastics which is utilised in this thesis is place-attachment, or toponymic attachment, developed by Laura Kostanski with ‘particular relevance to areas of the world with both indigenous and immigrant populations’ (Hough 2016, 9). Kostanski asserts that place attachment can be

‘included under the term “sense of place”, along with the constructs of place identity and place dependence’ (2014: 277). These ‘sense of place’ theories that focus on the emotional connection between people and place are primary concerns in this research. In this thesis, the significance of this relationship between individual and environment is most evident in the personal recollections of early settlers and the new land they encountered, and subsequently had a hand in naming (see Chapter 5). By seeking to understand the concepts of toponymic attachment and place identity, it is necessary to address four key elements as defined by Kostanski: history/memory, community, emotions, and actions/events (2014: 278). This framework will be utilised when addressing sentiment attached to names (see Chapters 7 and 8) to better understand Otago place-names in context. Additionally, these are some of the elements lacking data for the place-names listed in the NZG (see 4.1). It is the aim of this thesis to utilise the theories in Kostanski’s work on toponymic identity and attachment, as well as theories of anthropology, socio-onomastics and cognitive toponymy, to fill these gaps in the Gazetteer for place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts.

The final theoretical framework utilised in this thesis is that of cognitive toponymy. Cognitive toponymy can be described as people’s perception of the environment that is reflected in place-names, and conversely how place-names influence people’s perceptions of the environment. This can be seen particularly in the Central Otago District, where there is not only a wealth of place-names that reflect the environment, but evidence of population movements influenced by the names given to certain places (see Chapter 8). Human perception of the environment is undoubtedly varied and complicated, but whereas anthropologists are concerned with how a person’s experience and bias might influence that perception, those taking a cognitive toponymy approach are concerned with how cognition itself impacts the way humans structure the world around them. How do humans conceptualise ‘space’ and how does the need to name and ‘fill’ that space show itself? The idea that all humans have a ‘shared conceptual schemata’ is one that has been explored by cognitive anthropologists before, but not so much in an onomastic setting (Ingold 2000, 160). One way in which a shared conceptual schemata across the human experience is demonstrated through classification,

something which has also been utilised in this thesis (see 3.3). Another way in which onomasticians have attempted to understand cognitive interaction with the landscape is through how individuals mentally engage with and perceive the landscape, encompassing its meaning and emotional significance, at times creating a cognitive map of many seemingly unrelated features or characteristics to create a larger picture or idea (Morgan 2020). Although cognitive mapping and cognitive onomastics in general have mostly been concerned with names in literary settings, it is possible to apply themes such as cognitive attribution, or an individual's judgement or bias, when looking at the practice of naming in the physical landscape as well (Butler 2013, 5). As already mentioned, there is value in utilising interdisciplinary methods to approach research from a new point of view. Utilising concepts traditionally seen in psychology, it is possible to explore sentimental associations evoked by the physical landscape itself (Butler 2013, 7) in this research is perhaps unusual, but yields a different set of results than typically seen in an onomastic survey. Using a cognitive toponymy approach to the Otago namescape, one finds that 'meanings are not attached by the mind to objects in the world, rather these objects take on their significance [...] by virtue of their incorporation into a characteristic pattern of day-to-day activities' (Ingold 2000, 168). This can be seen in communities where those living on and working the land, such as in the Central Otago goldfields, had the power over naming the landscape versus areas where the landscape was named by surveyors either passing through, or naming the land from afar in cities such as Dunedin.

3.1.1 Basis for the inclusion of anthropological methods in place-naming studies

In a similar vein to the work by scholars to indigenise anthropology (Ka'ili 2012, 22) it is a primary goal of this thesis to interweave the methods of onomastics and anthropology to offer a new way of analysing place-names. The majority of the literature that showcases the intersection of anthropological and onomastic methods comes from scholars in linguistic and landscape research, such as Sambulo Ndlovu (2021), Debois and De Stefani (2022), and Māori academic, Alayna Renata (2021). According to Renata, it is not enough to merely study the landscape from a

third-person empirical perspective in order to understand the ‘spirit of the landscape’, but that, ‘only spending time in the landscape could truly do this’ (Renata 2021, 40). The ‘spirit of the landscape’ can represent different human experiences for different people. For Renata, the spirit of the landscape is felt through ‘spirituality in the context of associative and intangible connections, creation mythology and the subconscious’ (Renata 2021, 39). Not only is the subconscious a repository for landscape knowledge, but the collective memory of a community can manifest itself through the place-names they use and recite. It is in these place-names that memories are held of settler communities, and Indigenous peoples alike: ‘Place names and their associated histories are held in the collective memory of an iwi or hapū by being recounted in whaikōrero and waiata. Such acts of remembrance reinforce the association of the tribe within their rohe’ (Knox 2021, 70).

As exemplified in Renata’s chapter, the act of putting oneself in the landscape to engage with the land on a cognitive level is a methodology that is quite common in anthropological field work. The anthropological language that comes out of this work impacts governmental discourse (Rycroft 2012), with the use of place-names by anthropologists in the field, and the language they use to describe these spaces, directly feeding into socio-political discussions. Socio-political discussions influenced by anthropological language about place-names might revolve around issues of cultural preservation versus development, the role of Indigenous knowledge in national identity, and debates over historical narratives and their place in contemporary society.

Onomasticians must be aware of the direct impact their work has on the governmental discourse that happens globally, especially with the creation of the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names in 1972 (See Section 2.2.3). Despite qualitative and quantitative methods being utilised in both anthropological and onomastic studies, the use of ethnographic studies from the discipline of anthropology ‘can further enhance the quantitative assessment through the addition of contextual information to provide decision-makers with a more holistic data set’ (Awatere & Harcourt 2021, 132). What is meant by this is that, even with

a quantitative dataset in an onomastic study, bringing narrative comment to this dataset by anthropological means provides context to the data that would otherwise be missing.

Place-name studies is an excellent place to practise collaborative, multidisciplinary, and intersectional methods to achieve a holistic research outcome. Although discussing the intersection of geomorphology and mātauranga Māori, Wilkinson and Macfarlane describe this interdisciplinary approach as using, ‘baskets of knowledge to co-develop more holistic expositions and scientific experiments’ (Wilkinson et. al. 2021, 245). Place-names are not just geographical markers; they also reflect the cultural presence within a society and serve as significant symbols of ethnic or national identity, influencing both internal and external group perceptions (Pedersen 2016). Place-names sit at the heart of the identity of a community, and using multiple disciplines to evaluate and understand these names can showcase an interconnectedness that might not be apparent otherwise. Whilst it might not be stated explicitly, methods used by onomasticians often intersect with the methods of anthropologists, especially in socio-onomastic studies. It is for this reason I have included the term, anthropological onomastics, as the methodological basis for this thesis.

3.1.2 The Anthropology of Place: Anthropological onomastics

One of the ways this research could be characterised is as a postcolonial, anthropological study of European settlement in the Otago Region of Aotearoa New Zealand through the lens of place-names. Place-names can give insight into or indications of human connections, and as a field of research focused on humans, anthropology has much to offer in the way of theories and methods to engage with toponyms. Franz Boas believed toponyms benefitted the study of culture, commenting on how ‘geographical names, being an expression of the mental character of each people and each period, reflect their cultural life and the line of development belonging to each cultural area’ (1934, 9). Social anthropology pioneer, Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) coined the term anthropo-geographic, describing a study on the consideration of culture within its natural surroundings

(Malinowski 1944, 17) in which place-name evaluation would undoubtedly be a useful tool. Beyond this, anthropologists have used place-names to understand 'references to and symbols of acts and experiences' within societies (Helleland 2012, 96) such as how the representation of ideological values throughout Israel, and the communities that support those ideologies, are different in geographical areas depending on whether Hebrew or Arab place-names are utilised (Cohen and Kliot 1992, 655).

Although there is some recognition of the value of 'place' in anthropology, it is often in a descriptive context, particularly within ethnographic studies, without much depth or problematisation (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, 16). There have been a few instances of anthropologists calling for more attention to be given to the meaning and impact of place. For instance, Margaret C. Rodman published an article acknowledging the work being done by anthropologists on the concept of 'voice', and highlighting that little consideration is given to 'place', entitled 'Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality' (1992). In the article, Rodman advocates for a change to the traditional anthropological approach to place as setting, arguing instead for an approach focused on the dimensions of power in a place, and the overall experience of those who live there (Rodman, 1992, p. 641). Rodman still urges anthropologists to consider 'place' in their studies, this time correlating the approach anthropologists should take to the example set by geographers, yet again stating how 'insufficient attention has been paid to conceptualising place in anthropology as something other than a physical setting or a passive target for primordial sentiments of attachment that flow from life's "assumed givens"' (Rodman 2003, 204). The sense of frustration Rodman has with the discipline's lack of growth in dealing with place-names is palpable, with key concepts regularly understood in onomastics such as 'places produce meaning and that meaning can be grounded in place' (Rodman 2003, 207). When analysing the value of an anthropological perspective on other aspects of the human experience, it is clear that both toponymics and anthropology as disciplines have much to contribute to the other.

While social anthropology as a formal discipline in France may have its main foundations around the 1930s, the term has earlier origins. For example, Wilhelm Kiesselbach, a German otolaryngologist, discussed social-political studies in 1862, though this differed from the later anthropological context (DBpedia, 2024). Bronisław Malinowski is recognized as a pivotal figure in social anthropology, particularly for his 1922 work, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, which laid important groundwork for the field before the 1930s (Malinowski, 1922). Social anthropology can be defined as ‘an inductive science which, like other sciences of this type, observes facts, formulates hypotheses, and submits these to experimental control, in order to discover general laws of nature and society’ (Lévi-Strauss 1967, 20). In short, social anthropology is concerned with how humans interact with the world, often through methods of participant observation, to answer questions on how to improve or alter the human experience. The study and criticism of symbolism, not just physical symbols, within societies fall under the discipline of social anthropology, with its concerns of symbolic representation, meaning, and intention or lack thereof. For example, an anthropologist surveying human connection to art might find ‘if a lake in a painting evokes stillness, it is not because it symbolises stillness or even “represents” it: stillness is there, immanent in the image of the lake’ (Wiseman & Groves 1998, 71). Likewise, place-names do not necessarily need to symbolise or represent anything; their very existence invokes a sense of emotion or connectivity between humans and the land. Through looking at ‘objectively very remote and subjectively very concrete’ explanations for the natural world (Lévi-Strauss 1967, 17) we can question themes such as the impact of the evolution of language on thought, symbolism and the symbolic nature of place-names.

Some anthropologists, such as Keith Basso (1940-2013), prefer to focus on place-names as ‘the vehicles of ancestral authority’ (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, 17). In Aotearoa New Zealand, anthropologist Michele Dominy describes the debate on Pākehā claims to Crown pastoral lease properties as coming from a place of struggling for authenticity and legitimacy in a ‘dynamic discursive field of contested meanings’ (1995, 369). Comparatively, stewardship to the land by Māori created spiritual attachment to, and intimate understanding of, place.

Whilst place-names can indeed be regarded as a source of ancestral understanding, we must be wary of the danger of assuming this, as this can lead to an, admittedly tried and tested, process of evaluating place-names with the prioritisation of 'original' names: 'We list features, we sift questions of origin, we allot first places' (Lévi-Strauss 1952, 43). Although in some settings, like Aotearoa New Zealand where people existed prior to the introduction of a written language, it is nearly impossible to claim a name as 'original', and as the old adage goes, history is told by the victors, which in this case means place-names were recorded by the literate. Writing is a tool that can be used to exert control over others (Wiseman & Groves 2014, 89) as well as a means of erasure of native histories, especially in a colonial context. Even though uncovering the 'original' names of the Otago Region is an unrealistic task, we can however attempt to find the oldest recorded names, with the caveat that with further research and resources that could change.

The basis of an anthropological-onomastic approach to place-names is a focus on movement and society. Human movement and migration can be evidenced in the memory of people, as well as physically evidenced in the landscape. Existing anthropological suggestions that it is people that transform an empty space into one of meaning are contrary to the suggestion by Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga that, 'place is general, and includes space, and that space is particular and derived from it' (2003, 17). As previously mentioned, Rodman very much supports deeper engagement with toponyms through an anthropological lens, emphasising the idea that 'places are not inert containers. They are politicised, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions' (Rodman 2003, 205).

Clarifying the research's position requires acknowledging that both perspectives offer valuable insights into understanding place-names. The research emphasises the complexity of place-names beyond their linguistic formation, highlighting their socio-political ramifications within the Otago Region. By integrating Rodman's perspective on places as dynamic, culturally relative, and historically specific constructions, this research leans towards a holistic view that encompasses the contributions of both broader anthropological suggestions and the nuanced argument by Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga. This inclusive approach aims to explore the

multifaceted impact of Pākehā place-names in Aotearoa New Zealand, underscoring the importance of interdisciplinary perspectives in comprehending the interplay between human society, movement, and the landscape.

3.1.3 Socio-onomastic Methods

Socio-onomastic methodology is a growing field within onomastics, which contains many approaches that consider names outwith traditional etymological approaches, taking into account the ‘the social, cultural, and situational fields in which names are used’ (Ainiala & Östman 2017, 2). An idea which has had a growing movement within socio-onomastics that is of particular interest in this research is place-naming in relation to the impact of colonialism, as a particular study within ‘political onomastics’, which has previously been seen in Valerie Alia’s 2007 study on Inuit naming practices in Nunavut, as mentioned in Puzey and Kostanski (2016). Landscapes that have been influenced by colonisation are of particular comparative interest, especially when analysing the way in which place-names have played a role in the politics and societal development of those areas. The clearest comparison to the socio-political situation in Aotearoa New Zealand is Australia, with its policies of dual-naming and engaging with Indigenous names and colonial names. Fortunately, there has been a significant amount of research on the namescape of Australia as well as its policies and linguistic landscape, such as the work of Laura Kostanski. Kostanski utilises the restoration of Indigenous names in Australia to ‘explore human interactions with places and their names through theories related to place and place attachment’ which is relevant to the dialogue in Aotearoa New Zealand around the restoration of Māori place-names, both in dual-name status situations and as reinstated or replacement names (2014: 276). In Kostanski’s research it was found that in Australia, there was the assumption by non-Indigenous participants interviewed about place-name changes that in the removal of non-Indigenous names, ‘links to colonial history would be lost and would be a sign of disrespect for their toponymic identity which hinged on the notions of colonial exploration and settlement’ (2014: 279). It is then brought into question, based on commentary from the public, if these ‘so-called Aboriginal’ names could

even be trusted, as the names were born out of an oral tradition (Kostanski 2014: 281).

As discussed in the section below on cognitive toponymy, written sources are of course a primary method of tracing toponyms, but that should not discredit or discount oral sources, particularly from societies whose cultural memory was passed down through this oral tradition. The socio-onomastic perspective does not see names as static things, since names are ever-changing and evolving, and some names may only be known to certain groups whilst others are more widely recognised (Ainiala & Östman 2017, 9). It is with this perspective that I seek to engage with colonial and Indigenous names in Aotearoa New Zealand, whilst bringing to light the social phenomenon of place attachment. In addition, it is worth considering ‘whether the social and cultural role of toponyms can be partially defined through a theory on toponymic identity’ (Kostanski 2014, 273) or in other words, how effective cultural toponymy is in understanding the socio-political impact of names in the Otago Region.

3.1.4 Cognitive Onomastics

In 2014, an international, interdisciplinary project launched, titled the Cognitive Toponymy Research Network, a collaboration between the Universities of Glasgow, Copenhagen and St. Andrews which ran from January 2014 to June 2016, with the goal of examining human perception of the environment as reflected in place-names, and conversely place-names that influence human perceptions of ‘place’. Cognitive toponymy can broadly be defined as a study of how people think about, and name, the landscape. By analysing the act of naming the landscape, it is possible to glean ‘multiple layers’ of meaning (Kostanski 2016b). Through this approach, we can consider the origins of the name-givers and how their background might have impacted their approach to place-naming. In addition, we seek to understand unusual place- names that do not follow typical toponymic conventions in an effort to better understand the Region’s history through the lens of toponymy. It is well understood that places need names; that place-names develop more out of necessity than desire. It is assumed that a ‘sense of place’ results from human

interaction with that place (Kostanski 2016a, 415). Additionally, we can understand how humans perceive the landscape as a result of the ‘sense of place’ they get from existing toponyms. This sense of place and the emotional connections humans have to the landscape as well as place-names themselves have been characterized by Laura Kostanski as a form of ‘place attachment’ or ‘toponymic attachment’ (2016, 413).

Despite the shared meanings of, or competing views of ‘place’, place-names can create a separate reality, or experience, for each inhabitant, as they are inherently social constructions (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, 15). By utilising cognitive toponymy when considering place-names, we can start to conceptualise how people think about, and name, the landscape around them, and how they might have done so in the past. However, the idea of ‘land’ itself and ownership in a landscape is subjective, especially in a country such as Aotearoa New Zealand where land has changed hands so much. If we are talking about ‘indigenous or aboriginal’ peoples and their land, according to the United Nations, this terminology indicates a people who were ‘were living on their lands before settlers came from elsewhere’ thereby signifying they were there at the time of colonisation (Ingold 2000, 132). As a result, in this type of setting we are often dealing with multiple perceptions of the same place, at the same time.

Sometimes it might be apparent that the same ‘sense’ of place was felt by the Indigenous and colonial referents, or name-givers, based on the names bestowed, but even in those instances the cognitive differences between the native and colonial perspective cannot be ignored. The colonial perspective, for example, comes from a tradition of written history and all the advantages that come with that, whereas the native perspective was purely oral until colonisation and beyond. The written information on a ‘place’ is invaluable as it provides a continuation of memory when it has faded from human consciousness. As philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) remarks, ‘when it [writing] is not used for the communication of one’s knowledge to others, it still takes the place of the most extensive and reliable memory, and can compensate for its lack’ (2006, 78). However, in societies that prioritise an oral tradition, the longevity of the stories

and names attached to the landscape can endure, and have endured, despite their having been overwritten by colonial names in many cases. The Kā Huru Manu Ngāi Tahu Atlas of Māori place-names in Aotearoa New Zealand (see 4.2.1) is a superb example of integrating native tradition into the modern namescape. The Ngāi Tahu consulted resources such as the whānau manuscripts, published books, 19th-century maps, newspaper articles and a vast array of unpublished material, including Herries Beattie's own ethnographic interviews with Māori elders (Kā Huru Manu, 2022).

In a way, cognitive toponymy brings together ideas from each discipline touched on in this chapter: anthropology, sociology, onomastics, geography, and psychology. Taking a cognitive approach to the study of place-names involves analysing political, cultural, and social situations where names are created, but also the place attachment, rootedness, sense of place, place dependence, and place satisfaction of individuals (Peng, Strijker & Wu 2020, 2). Although cognitive toponymy in itself is a very much a nascent field, various sub-fields within larger disciplines, such as anthropology and geography, seem to share similar values and methodological interests. For example, anthropo-geography looks at cultures within their natural surroundings. However, 'as a method it also demands the posing of cultural problems with reference to a map, and to a map of the distribution of cultures in terms of their component parts' (Malinowski 1944, 17) which is reminiscent of the way in which cognitive mapping fits within cognitive toponymy. The cognitive aspect in the study of place-names is fundamental in an extensive study of a Region, 'due to the fact that language is an integral part of the cognitive system, it is necessary to take cognitive function into account when studying toponymy as a separate layer of the language' (Anatolyevna 2020, 55). Considering the perspective of the referent is essential in any attempt at categorisation or placing of names within a taxonomy, especially if the meaning of the name is brought into question. It is through the human conceptualisation, or construction, of place that we are then able to begin the process of categorisation and classification of names (Karpenko 2016, 70). As Meiring has noted, 'what is important in the semantic approach to names is that when names are used a cognitive process of categorisation takes place in the minds of the speaker and

hearer, based on association rather than denotation' (Meiring 1993, 279), although we tend to focus on this process for an individual name- coiner, rather than based on collective knowledge. If looking at cognitive toponymy within the context of Otago, the individual coiner of the name is indeed the focus in many cases, such as when the referent is a surveyor, but there are also many instances where the collective knowledge about a place, including its utility and sentimentality, must be analysed instead.

3.2 Framing the Research within Kaupapa Māori Theory and the Principles of the Treaty of Waitangi

As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, I will not be analysing Māori place-names within this research. However, this is not to say Māori people, places, and language are absent or of less significance to the overall aims of this thesis. As there has not been scope within the timeframe of this research, due to the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, to involve Māori partners by following cultural protocol, I have applied the theory of Kaupapa Māori to establish clear boundaries on what this research can, and cannot, cover.

The inception of Kaupapa Māori 'research' emerged from, 'and was influenced by, several developments: first, the worldwide move of indigenous people to increase their self-determination over land, culture and language' (Walker, Eketone, and Gibbs 2006, 332). Kaupapa Māori approaches to research provide 'a focus through which Maori people, as communities of the researched and as new communities of researchers, have been able to engage in a dialogue about setting new directions for the priorities, policies, and practices of research for, by and with Maori' (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 189). The selection of Pākehā place- names for this research is not intended to represent a false narrative that non-Māori place-names are superior to Indigenous place-names, but instead to recognise my own positionality as a non-Māori Western researcher. It is essential that Māori concepts, including the naming of space, are applied within Kaupapa Māori research, following Māori protocols in each stage of the research (Walker, Eketone, and Gibbs 2006, 334). Without discussing this research with the Māori community at a tribal gathering,

and without their support and involvement (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 193), it is not ethical to speak on Māori place-name meaning, motivation, history and origin as cultural protocols and customs have not been followed.

Instead, this research aims to make space for Indigenous communities and Indigenous-led research in the area of place-names (Hingangaroa Smith 2003, 5). Non-Indigenous researchers can still work in Indigenous spaces under Kaupapa Māori theory, but only so long as ‘they do not define, control, or dictate the research’ (Walker, Eketone, and Gibbs 2006, 335). Under the Treaty of Waitangi (TOW), Pākehā are obliged to share their knowledge and skills to be mutually beneficial to Māori.

The Treaty of Waitangi, signed on 6 February 1840, by the first Governor of Aotearoa New Zealand from 1839 to 1841, Captain William Hobson (1792-1842), set the stage for the land grab that was to come over the next one hundred years. Two officers from HMS *Herald* were instructed to create a first draft of the Treaty, corrected by Hobson on 3 February, and translated into Māori by missionary Henry Williams (1792-1864):

The outcome of these combined efforts was four English versions and a translation into Maori which matched none of them. The English version from which the translation was made has yet to be found. Consequently, the official English version of the Treaty lodged with the Colonial Office does not match the Maori version which the chiefs of New Zealand signed (Walker 2004, 90-91).

Although there is still great debate over interpretation, nuance, and the legal status of the TOW, this document forms the basis of the creation of the Waitangi Tribunal, which ‘allows for a process to hear claims about breaches of the treaty, typically the taking of land and resources from Māori’ (University of Waikato 2022). The Tribunal’s findings supported the TOW claim on the Pākehā obligation to share knowledge and skills to benefit not only Pākehā, but Māori as well, which has

influenced the foundation for Chapter Six of this thesis, demonstrating a framework for engaging with names in colonial spaces.

According to Tuhiwai Smith:

Kaupapa Maori research, as currently framed, would argue that being Maori is an essential criterion for carrying out Kaupapa Maori research. At the same time, however, some writers suggest that we exercise restraint in becoming too involved in identity politics because of the potential these politics have for paralysing development. [...] This does not, however, preclude those who are not Maori from participating in research that has a Kaupapa Maori orientation (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 189).

It is important when working in colonial spaces that research is conducted in a way that is ‘culturally safe’ to the Indigenous community (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 186). Putting Māori in charge of key decision-making, particularly around topics that will have cultural, economic, and social consequences, is a major theme of Kaupapa Māori research (Hingangaroa Smith 2003, 8). Placing Māori values at the heart of the research, particularly Tino Rangatiratanga (Self-determination)—which upholds the Māori right to govern their land, resources, and cultural practices, as well as to direct research impacting them—ensures that Indigenous protocols guide the study over Western epistemologies, and allows for non-Indigenous people to ethically be involved (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 189).

Finally, although I have a working limited knowledge of te reo, any work on Māori place-names should include a specific focus on the knowledge systems and revitalisation of these that come with Māori language in relation to the landscape. In recent years the Māori language has undergone a revitalisation, which with it has brought ‘a revitalisation of Maori forms of knowledge and debates which accompany those knowledge forms’ (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 190).

Utilising te reo within Kaupapa Māori research is essential, with the use of the Māori language providing ‘a pathway to the histories, values, and beliefs of Maori people’ which otherwise would not be possible (Walker, Eketone, and Gibbs 2006, 334).

3.3 Classifying Place-names

The process of toponym classification grants deeper insight into the process of naming, or the mechanisms employed in bestowing, adopting, or transferring a name. It is for this reason that classification systems are being employed when analysing the Central Otago and Clutha District place-names corpus. Although we may never fully understand the motivation behind each place-name in these Districts, it is nonetheless pertinent to use all the tools at the onomast’s disposal to evaluate this corpus for insight into potential naming motivations.

3.3.1 Brink’s Classification of Transferred Place-names

The very nature of conducting research on place-names in a colonial society with a particularly large immigrant population necessitates engagement with transferred place-names. Names being carried over from the ‘Old World’ to the ‘New World’ is easily evidenced by the existence of place-names such as the town of Berwick, which is seen not only in its country of origin, England, but in Canada, the United States, and Australia; or Hamilton, originating in Scotland, seen in all the above ‘New World’ countries with the addition of Aotearoa New Zealand to name another instance of the popular locality name. Scottish-origin place names in Canada are more closely connected to permanent settlement compared to Aotearoa New Zealand. This difference could potentially be because temporary settlements in regions such as New Brunswick were replaced by newer settlements, thereby supplanting the old names. In contrast, in Aotearoa New Zealand, the canvas towns used during temporary phases, such as gold rush periods, were often abandoned rather than supplanted by new settlements with different names. To help navigate this complex namescape of both primary and transferred place- names, I have utilised Stefan Brink’s transferred names framework throughout my research, as seen below (2016: 164):

Stefan Brink's Name Formation Reflecting the Use of an Onomasticon

- 'New' name by analogy or association (i.e. renewal of a name):
 - analogical transfer of a name; due to association with or resemblance to a place.
 - metaphorical transfer of a name; due to association with or resemblance to the concept.
 - metonymical transfer of a name; due to association by connection, which is a frequent and very normal case.
 - psychological transfer of a name; out of sentiment.
 - socially conditioned transfer of a name (or name element); where highly prestigious names are used for new settlements normally owned by a social elite.
- New name by association or from a pattern:
 - different kinds of association; such as with a name, word, concept, or sound.
 - homogeneous dialectical pattern; for a Region, hence with similar names occurring within a local or Regional toponymical context.
 - grammatical connection; in Region names they occur with stereotyped case suffixes (nominative, genitive, dative, accusative, etc).
 - patterns in word or name formation.
 - partial eponymization.

- analogical affix formation.

In general, renewed names in Brink's classification are more prevalent throughout the Clutha and Central Otago Districts than new names by association or from a pattern, though those are seen particularly in areas named by surveyors.

Transferred names 'are mostly non-descriptive, since the name has been given to a place based on other associations' (Laansalu 2016, 78) whereas primary names are newly created and thereby often descriptive. In the place- names identified as transferred names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts, this certainly seems to hold true where psychological transfers dominate. There are not transferred place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts for every classification Brink provides in the framework above. The categories that are evident in the transferred names within these Districts however, are exemplified in the following place-names.

Under Brink's classification, analogical place-names (1a), or names that bear a resemblance to the site they were transferred from, applies to the Otago names Benhar and Clydevale. Benhar in Scotland is a coal-mining site located on the border of West Lothian and Lanarkshire, which bears a great resemblance to the Benhar in the Clutha District (CL 23 March 1876). Clydevale in the Clutha District was most certainly transferred from its resemblance to the area around the River Clyde which runs through Glasgow.

I would argue that metaphorical names (1b) can represent concepts such as bravery, luck, or misfortune when considering names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts. Place-names such as Craigellachie in the Clutha District fall into this category with the name itself being an English rendering of Creag Eileachaidh, 'the war-cry of the Grants' (Beattie 1948, 89) (see Gazetteer). This war-cry can be seen as representing the concept of bravery, meant to establish this locality with a sense of fortitude. In the Central Otago District, Bendigo and Ophir, considered 'lucky names' (see 8.1) also fit the metaphorical transferred name category due to the motivation for their transfer into the namescape to bring the concept of luck to settlers and miners in those places. The concept of luck is not always represented

positively in the namespace however, with the place-name Cromwell actually demonstrating the concept of an unlucky name, with one account by Alexander Bathgate claiming that the name arose after the head surveyor threatened some restive Irish goldminers by saying ‘I’ll put the curse of Cromwell on you!’ (Reed 2010, 92) (see 8.4).

Under the category of socially conditioned names (1e), I would argue that they represent not just prestige, but a sense of honour as well, meant to elevate the esteem of the place. The place-names Clarendon (which does overlap as a psychological transfer) and Clinton in the Clutha District, and Alexandra in the Central Otago District, were all coined after an Earl, a Duke, and a Princess, respectively (see Gazetteer). Although the localities themselves are typical settlements, the names given to these sites were coined with a view to ennoble these localities as sites worthy of the prestige their namesakes held.

Psychological (1d) names such as Finegand and Stirling in the Clutha District were transferred out of sentiment, as both names were coined after the homesteads in Scotland of their name-givers (see 7.2). Name transfers motivated by nostalgia might also fit within this category, with names such as Saint Bathans and Galloway in the Central Otago goldfields prompting an emotive response for those with ties to the locality from which the transferred name originated.

Partial eponymization (2e) place-names incorporate a prefix to an existing name (Brink 2016, 165) such as with the Clutha District name Balclutha. The prefix Bal, from the Gaelic baile for town or settlement, was incorporated into the name Clutha, which was the existing river name, in order to denote a settlement site. However, the name was popularized by James Macpherson in his 18th-century *Poems of Ossian*, which romanticised the ancient Scottish past (Macpherson, 1765). Therefore, while partial eponymization is certainly structurally occurring, there is a likelihood the name as a whole is more imitative of a romanticised Scottish heritage than evidence of actual Gaelic naming.

Finally, analogical affix-formation (2f) in place-names throughout the Otago Region is clear through the secondary usage of toponymic generics in Ida Valley, Idaburn and Lindis Crossing, Lindis Valley. These examples are not an exhaustive list, as there are most certainly other examples throughout the Otago Region, including in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts, that would fit within these categorisations of transferred names but are outwith the scope of this research.

The impact of colonisation on the namescape of a country is further discussed below when drawing on the work of Laura Kostanski. However, we can note that transferred names of European origin tend to have more longevity than place-names utilising Indigenous or non-European elements, as research suggests that while European names often retain their place in the landscape due to historical, administrative, and legal reinforcement, Indigenous place-names may exhibit resilience through cultural transmission, oral history, and revitalisation efforts, even if they are not always officially recognised or used in cartography and governance. In America, for example, 'a cursory survey of place names in America seems to indicate that they retain and reflect their European origin longer than other cultural elements thus transferred' (Kaups 1966, 377-378). Retention of European-origin place-names is evident throughout the South Island namescape, particularly in the European-emigrant-heavy Otago Region.

3.3.2 Laura Kostanski

Laura Kostanski delineates place identity as an amalgam of four crucial components: history/memory, community, emotions, and actions/events (Kostanski 2014, 278). This conceptual framework is instrumental for this thesis, particularly in addressing the gaps identified within the New Zealand Gazetteer regarding the history, origin, and referents of place-names. Kostanski's exploration of 'sense of place' and 'place-attachment' within Australia's Grampians (Gariwerd) National Park provides a valuable methodological blueprint for analyzing place-names in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts (Kostanski 2014, 277). Kostanski introduces the notion of 'toponymic identity' distinct from, yet intimately connected to, place identity. She argues that toponymic identity and place identity are interrelated;

while they overlap, a crucial distinction exists (Kostanski 2016a, 417). The emotional bonds and community connections individuals' form are often more closely tied to the names of places rather than the physical locations themselves. This distinction is pivotal, as it underscores the significance of names in shaping our connections to history and community (Kostanski 2016b). In the context of the Clutha and Central Otago Districts, the prevailing literature, primarily from a Eurocentric perspective (MacKenzie 2003, 18), reflects in the namescape, overshadowing the Indigenous Kāi Tahu heritage of the land. Kostanski's inquiry into the reasons behind community attachments to place-names, and how communities navigate the acceptance or rejection of Indigenous place-names, will be explored further in Chapter Five, especially in the light of distinguishing between toponymic and place identities within the Otago context.

The way that settlers organised the landscape is particularly telling of their needs for sense and order in the namescape: 'The colonial land surveyor's primary responsibility was to impose spatial order on apparently blank landscape drawing boards' (Patterson, Brooking & McAloon 2013, 146). It is within this framework that we observe toponymic attachment theory in practice, revealing different trends that explain the positive or negative reactions people have towards name restoration programs (Kostanski 2016b). Generally, name restoration seeks to correct historical erasures and validate the significance of Indigenous place-names as carriers of culture, history, and connection to the land. Although name restoration is something much more common and accepted today, in the early settlement of Otago, the namescape provided a way for settlers to know where they would find their kin or a sense of home away from home. Even this strategy of naming evolved, as Gaelic did exist in the South Island, making its imprint on the land during early colonisation, but it quickly died out with new generations of Scottish-New Zealanders (Brooking & Coleman 2003, 55). Place-name restoration in Otago, even at present, has been impacted by the historic process of Scottish-born surveyors creating grid-like divisional lines on the topography of the Region (Patterson, Brooking & McAloon 2013, 147).

A comparison I would use, which certainly cannot apply to all situations though it can be said is true for many, is when people migrate from outside of Scotland to the Highlands and Islands, and make an effort to honour Gaelic language presence and tradition by maintaining the Gaelic name of the house they acquired. This shows a respect for and desire to assimilate to the local community by the house owners. However, house names that were changed to names not in Gaelic, perhaps in English, show more of a desire to retain the home owners' native identity. It is said that, 'evoking our connection to place is a living, creative act' (Knox 2021, 71), which allows for the possibility of assimilation to evolve into integration; such as finding ways to maintain your own identity whilst not actively suppressing the Indigenous culture in the land you have arrived in.

History and memory are relevant to the creation and continuation of place- names. Interacting with a physical place will form a memory of that place which will differ for each person, depending on the context through which they interacted with that place. These individual interactions give us unique perspectives to engage with in place-name research. The difficulty herein lies with the recording of those interactions through historical sources versus living memory. Fortunately for this study, a number of records of individual pioneering experiences through the Clutha and Central Otago Districts were recorded by the Early Settlers Association (see Chapter 5). However, these records only give one perspective, the colonial point of view, of the early days in the Otago Region.

Kostanski and Clark have dealt with much the same issue in their research on Australian place-names, finding that 'since the time of early European exploration of Australia the landscape has been mapped from a colonial cartographic perspective' (Kostanski & Clark 2009, 189). Similarly, the Otago namescape was written off as barren by early European explorers and settlers, until they themselves arrived to fill the map with the names that suited their agenda. As such, the work on the Kā Huru Manu, The Ngāi Tahu Cultural Mapping Project, is crucial in giving us a more accurate understanding of the place identity of the Otago Region by illuminating the Māori history and cultural memory of the Region (Kā Huru Manu 2022). For the purpose of this thesis, the resources consulted that give insight into

the history and memory of the Clutha and Central Otago place-names primarily come from a colonial perspective, as the majority of presently recognised place-names in the Gazetteer are of European origin and most of the recorded material reflects this, apart from perhaps the writings of Herries Beattie who did engage with the Māori on the subject of place-names.

Kostanski utilises the term ‘community’ to explore notions of nationalism in relation to place-names and toponymic attachment (Kostanski 2016a, 418). Power relations, racism, colonialism, and capitalism all factor into the sense of, or lack of, community in a physical place. Toponyms can carry multiple meanings, shaped by both community and personal influences (Kostanski 2016b). For instance, place-names may hold very different meanings for Indigenous communities compared to colonial settlers. This is tied to an individual or community sense of belonging, something which Gloria Jean Watkins, well-known by the pen name bell hooks, discusses in her collection of essays, *Belonging: A culture of place*. In reflecting on her upbringing in the American South, hooks cites how there is a ‘culture of belonging’ that comes from land ownership or cultivation, and the wounds that can be inflicted on this sense of belonging by racism, classism, and capitalism (hooks 2009, 45). Inclusion or exclusion of a group or demographic, such as an Indigenous versus immigrant population, shapes a community and identity (Kostanski 2016a, 419). By following this framework when engaging with the Central Otago and Clutha place-names, community will be considered when considering the meanings of a place-name. As Kostanski stated above, this meaning can shift dependent on the perspective of different communities. Not only does the internal community dynamic impact the sense of place and belonging an individual might feel, but how the landscape itself is engaged with by the community as well. In the words of bell hooks, when describing what gives a person a sense of belonging in a place:

I need to live where I can walk. I need to be able to walk to work, to the store, to a place where I can sit and drink tea and fellowship. Walking, I will establish my presence, as one who is claiming the earth, creating a sense of belonging, a culture of place (hooks 2009, 2)

Emotions are perhaps the key factor in creating a sense of place between an individual, or community, a physical place, and a place-name. Place attachment can be demonstrated by physical actions, such as the signage used on a house or in a locality, or through psychological connections to a place as well which at times can manifest themselves by demonstrating a relationship in the physical space through actions such as caretaking and cleanliness. In the model below from Scannell and Gifford (2010), place attachment is shown to be connected primarily to a person, place, or process, with ‘process’ being shown as the most varied of factors with cognition, affect, and behaviour variables impacting attachment.

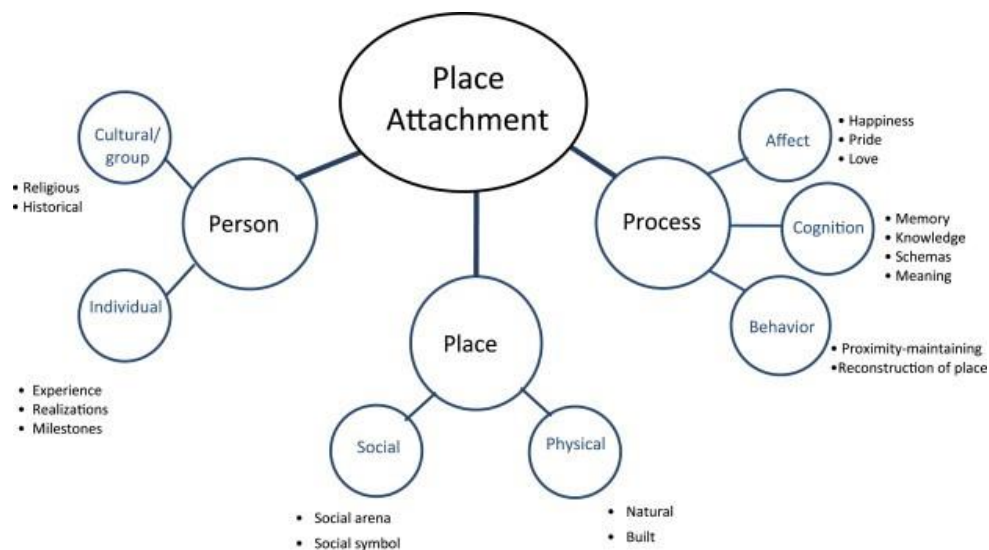


Figure 3-1 ‘The tripartite model of place attachment’ (Scannell & Gifford 2010, 2).

Within these variables, emotional attachments, such as a sense of happiness and pride, can impact the sense of place one has. However, in the next section, I will argue that people attach their emotions to a place primarily based on the actions and events that occur there, more than the overall ‘sense’ they get from standing in that space.

Actions and events may have a direct impact on the creation of names, such as sites of battles or shipwrecks, but more often than not they influence the collective memory of a community which in turn can inspire commemoration through place-names even outwith the event location itself. This can be seen in names such as Naseby, from the Battle of Naseby in June 1645, or Bannockburn, from the Battle of Bannockburn in June 1314, both located in the Otago Region. It has been said by

Kostanski that experiences that create place also create names (Kostanski 2009, 189). There is a power in the inclusion and exclusion of actions and events by communities: what is 'memorable' and worth memorialising in the name of a place? Additionally, the collective identity and collaborative remembering of a community has a direct impact on the attachment they might feel towards a place-name that is meant to represent their values (Wertsch 2009, 119). Going back to the impact of emotions on place attachment, I will argue that the emotions that come from an action or event are the catalyst for attachment to a place, rather than the action or event itself in most cases. These theories focus on the emotional connection between people and place (place attachment) and the specific bonds formed with place names (toponymic attachment). Understanding both is crucial for analysing the sentiment attached to names and locations in Otago.

3.3.3 Jan Tent and David Blair

The basic toponym taxonomy that has been applied to the place-names of the Central Otago goldfields in Chapter Six was developed by Jan Tent and David Blair (2009; 2011) and focuses in particular on toponyms in the District that fall into the categories of descriptive, associative, evaluative, and occurrent names (Tent 2015). However, I would also like to propose an addendum to the taxonomy for this study when classifying occurrent names. Although occurrent names can be broadly classified as names referring to an event, incident, date, etc., I would expand the possibilities to include names with a potentially 'manufactured' meaning, that is a name created based on cultural memory, including local lore and stories such as that seen in the place-name (see 'Drybread' in 8.1). In addition to being evaluated as cultural artefacts, many place-names in Central Otago could also be seen in a functional role, serving to impart verisimilitude by confirming certain narratives in the goldfields that aligned with contemporary tales, traditions, and superstitions (see 'Lowburn', 'Muttontown', and 'Nevis Crossing' in Gazetteer).

It should be noted that this thesis does not engage with the concept of folk etymologies or folk onomastics, though it would be an insightful line of enquiry in future studies of the region. Both processes of names with manufactured meaning

and folk etymologies illustrate how names evolve and acquire new meanings over time. Manufactured names start with intentional significance, while folk etymology transforms names through community reinterpretation, reflecting local linguistic and cultural influences. Within the scope of this thesis and to meet the aims of the research objectives, other emerging methods, such as anthropological onomastics, were prioritised over folk onomastic methods.

Table 3-1 *Toponym typology*

Jan Tent and David Blair's Toponym Typology 2009

0	Unknown – where the meaning, reference, referent, or origin of the toponym is unknown.
1	<p>Descriptive – indicating an inherent characteristic of the feature.</p> <p>1.1 Topographic – describing the physical appearance of a feature either qualitatively or metaphorically (e.g. <i>Cape Manifold, Steep Point, Point Perpendicular, Broken Bay, Mount Dromedary, Pigeon House Mountain, Cape Bowling Green, Pudding-pan Hill</i>).</p> <p>1.2 Relative – indicating position of a feature relative to another, either chronologically or spatially (e.g. <i>South Island vs North Island, North Head vs South Head, Groupe de l'Est vs Groupe de l'Ouest, Old Adaminaby</i>).*</p> <p>1.3 Locational – indicating the location or orientation of a feature (e.g. <i>Suyt Caap, Cape Capricorn, South West Cape</i>).*</p> <p>1.4 Numerical/Measurement – measuring or counting elements of a named feature (e.g. <i>Three Isles, Three Mile Creek, The 2 Brothers, Cape Three Points</i>).</p>
2	<p>Associative – indicating something which is always or often associated with the feature or its physical context.</p> <p>2.1 Local – indicating something of a topographical, environmental or biological nature seen with or associated with the feature (e.g. <i>Lizard Island, Shark Bay, Palm Island, Green Island, Botany Bay, Magnetic Island, Cornelian Basin, Oyster Bay, Bay of Isles, Ocean Beach</i>).</p> <p>2.2 Occupation/Activity – indicating an occupation or habitual activity associated with the feature (e.g. <i>Fishermans Bend</i>).</p> <p>2.3 Structures – indicating a manufactured structure associated with the feature (e.g. <i>Seven Huijsien 'Seven Houses', Telegraph Point</i>).</p>
3	<p>Occurrent – recording an event, incident, occasion (or date), or action associated with the feature.</p> <p>3.1 Incident – recording an event, incident or action associated with the feature (e.g. <i>Cape Keerweer, Magnetic Island, Indian Head, Cape Tribulation, Smokey Cape</i>).</p> <p>3.2 Occasion – recognising a time or date associated with the feature (e.g. <i>Whitsunday Islands, Pentecost Island, Trinity Bay, Paasavonds land 'Easter Eve's land', Restoration Island, Wednesday Island, St Patrick's Head, Ile du Nouvel-An 'New Years Island'</i>).</p>
4	<p>Evaluative – reflecting the emotional reaction of the namer, or a strong connotation associated with the feature.</p> <p>4.1 Commendatory – reflecting/propounding a positive response to the feature (e.g. <i>Hoek van Goede Hoop 'Good Hope Point', Fair Cape, Hope Islands, Ile de Remarque 'Remarkable Island'</i>).</p> <p>4.2 Condemnatory – reflecting/propounding a negative response to the feature (e.g. <i>Mount Disappointment, Passage Epinenex 'Tortuous Passage', Baie Mauvaise 'Bad Bay'</i>).</p>
5	<p>Shift – use of a toponym, in whole or part, from another location or feature.</p> <p>5.1 Transfer – transferred from an other place (e.g. <i>Pedra Brancka, Rivier Batavia, 't Eijlandt Goeree, Orfordness, River Derwent, Lion Couchant, Cap du Mont-Tabor</i>).</p> <p>5.2 Feature Shift – copied from an adjacent feature of a different type (e.g. <i>Cape Dromedary</i> from nearby <i>Mount Dromedary, Pointe de Leeuwin</i> from adjacent <i>'t Land van Leeuwin, Cap Frederick Hendrick</i> from surrounding <i>Frederick Hendrix Baaij</i>).</p> <p>5.3 Relational – using a qualifier within the toponym to indicate orientation from an adjacent toponym of the same feature type (e.g. <i>East Sydney < Sydney, North Brisbane < Brisbane</i>).*</p>

6	<p>Indigenous – importing an Indigenous toponym or word into the Introduced system.</p> <p>6.1 Non-toponymic word – importing an Indigenous word, not being a toponym (e.g. <i>Charco Harbour</i> from the ‘charco’ or <i>yir-keé</i> ‘an exclamation of surprise’).</p> <p>6.2 Original placename – importing the Indigenous toponym already used for that location or feature (e.g. <i>Ku-ring-gai</i>, <i>Parramatta</i>, <i>Turramurra</i>).</p> <p>6.3 Dual name – restoring an original Indigenous toponym as part of a dual-naming process (e.g. <i>Uluru / Ayers Rock</i>, <i>Darling Harbour / Tumbalong</i>).</p>
7	<p>Eponymous – commemorating or honouring a person or other named entity by using a proper name, title, or eponym substitute as a toponym.</p> <p>7.1 Person(s) – using the proper name of a person or group to name a feature.</p> <p>7.1.1 Expedition member – where the named person is a member of the expedition (e.g. <i>Tasman Island</i>, <i>Point Hicks</i>, <i>Crooms River</i>, <i>Labillardiere Peninsula</i>, <i>Huon River</i>).</p> <p>7.1.2 Other – where feature is named after an eminent person, patron, official, noble, politician, family member or friend etc. (e.g. <i>Maria Island</i>, <i>Antonio van Diemensland</i>, <i>Cape Byron</i>, <i>Terre Napoleon</i>, <i>Cap Molière</i>, <i>Prince of Wales Island</i>, <i>Princess Royal’s Harbour</i>, <i>Cap Dauphin</i>, <i>Ile de la Favourite</i>).</p> <p>7.2 Other Living Entity – using the proper name of a non-human living entity to name a feature (e.g. <i>Norseman</i> after a horse, <i>Banana</i> after a bullock).</p> <p>7.3 Non-Living Entity – using the proper name of a non-living entity to name a feature.</p> <p>7.3.1 Vessel – named after a vessel, usually one associated with the ‘discovery’ (e.g. <i>Endeavour River</i>, <i>Arnhem Land</i>, <i>Tryall Rocks</i>, <i>Cap du Naturaliste</i>, <i>Pointe Casuarina</i>, <i>Pantjallingg boek</i> after the <i>Nova Hollandia</i>).</p> <p>7.3.2 Other – named after a named non-living entity (e.g. <i>Agincourt Reefs</i> after the battle, <i>Vereenichde Rivier</i> after the Dutch United Provinces).</p>
8	<p>Linguistic Innovation – introducing a new linguistic form, by manipulation of language.</p> <p>8.1 Blend – blending of two toponyms, words or morphemes (e.g. <i>Australind</i> from ‘Australia’ + ‘India’; <i>Lidcombe</i> from ‘Lidbury’ + ‘Larcombe’).</p> <p>8.2 Anagram – using the letters of another toponym to create a new anagrammatic form (e.g. <i>Nangiloc</i> reverse of ‘Colignan’).</p> <p>8.3 Humour – using language play with humorous intent to create a new toponym (e.g. <i>Bustmegall Hill</i>, <i>Howlong</i>, <i>Doo Town</i>).</p>
9	<p>Erroneous – introducing a new form through garbled transmission, misspelling, mistaken meaning etc.</p> <p>9.1 Popular etymology – mistaken interpretation of the origin of a toponym, leading to a corruption of the linguistic form (e.g. <i>Coal and Candle Creek</i> from ‘Kolaan Kandhal’, <i>Collector</i>, <i>Delegate</i>, <i>Tin Can Bay</i>).</p> <p>9.2 Form confusion – alteration of the linguistic form, from a misunderstanding or bad transmission of the original (e.g. <i>Bendigo</i>, <i>Dee Why</i> from <i>Dy Beach</i>).</p>

*Note that categories 1.2 and 1.3 refer to natural features, while category 5.3 refers to toponyms.

In addition to this typology, Blair and Tent propose a series of questions on the process of place-naming that are applicable to this research, including: ‘why did the feature get that name?’, ‘what distinguishes it from other places?’, and ‘what is the “story” of the place-name?’ (Blair and Tent 2021). Through these questions, it has been possible to address the potential motivation of the name-giver, for place-names particularly in the Central Otago goldfields

To address the history, origin, and referent behind the place-names of the Clutha and Central Otago Districts, an anthropological approach evaluating the significance of symbolism, as well as an anthropo-geographic approach, are utilised to engage with historical maps and documentary resources. Socio-onomastic methods, with a particular focus on Kostanski’s theory of toponymic attachment, are used when evaluating the namescape to answer questions on the socio-political nature of names in the Otago Region. Finally, cognitive toponymy methods are explored to help us better understand naming motivations whilst also making use of Tent and Blair’s toponym typology to categorise these motivations from the colonial perspective based on what can be gleaned from documentary resources.

4 Methodology and sources

In previous chapters, the extant literature relating to the research questions was addressed, as were the main theories considered when engaging with this research. This present chapter discusses the methodological approaches used in selecting the Region and Districts for this research, place-name selection, and data gathering process. This thesis considers documentary evidence as the primary source of data, including the Kā Huru Manu Ngāi Tahu Atlas of Māori place-names, the NZG and database, historical maps, and the digital archive, PapersPast. Data collected during field research is also considered when addressing the aims of this thesis. Specifically, field research data that was collected from headstones is utilised in this thesis to consider the demographics of the local population, which aids in the interpretation of the namespace and potential place-name origins. Additionally, ethical considerations and cultural relativism are discussed in this chapter for their impact on the methodological approach to this research. There has never been a complete onomastic study of Aotearoa New Zealand place-names, so it is the researcher's intention that this thesis be the start of a country-wide study that can be accomplished based on the approach taken in these two Districts and outlined in this chapter.

There is no one single methodology when it comes to toponym evaluation, nor should there be. This thesis does not claim to have explored every applicable methodology and theory that could apply to the namespace of the Otago Region, but it does aim to address the specific research questions of this thesis through a mix of interdisciplinary methods and theories. Using a methodology of combined documentary analysis using a number of digital tools such as PapersPast, and field research, the namespace of both the Clutha and Central Otago Districts have been thoroughly engaged with. By selecting comparative Districts in the Otago Region, it is the aim of this thesis to provide a framework of place-name analysis that can be applied to the entirety of the Otago Region, and beyond.

4.1 Selecting a Place-names Corpus

For the purpose of this thesis, I will be utilising the place-names of localities provided by the New Zealand Gazetteer (NZG), complemented by GIS maps accessed through the official websites of the Clutha and Central Otago District Councils. The names listed in the corpus below are those engaged with in this research, most of which have yet to be given official name status (See section 4.2.2) by the NZGB.

The 16 place-names in italics have been given official place-name status by the NZGB. The 66 place-names underlined are names with Scottish connections (see Gazetteer).

The corpus of 201 place-names is listed in its entirety below, though only the 130 number of European-origin place-names are engaged with in the thesis Gazetteer, where a brief history, origin, and referent of each place-name can be found. In addition, many of these names are discussed in further detail in Chapters 7 and 8, respectively.

Table 4-1 Corpus of place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago District

Clutha District			Central Otago District	
<u>Adams Flat</u>	Kaitangata	<u>Rankleburn</u>	Alexandra	Mount Pisa
Ahuriri Flat	Kaka Point	Ratanui	<u>Ardgour</u>	Muttontown
Ashley Downs	Kakapuaka	Romahapa	Auripo	Naseby
Awamangu	Kapiti	Rongahere	<u>Bannockburn</u>	<u>Nevis Crossing</u>
Awatea	Katea	Round Hill	Becks	Omakau
<u>Balclutha</u>	<u>Kelso</u>	<u>Stirling</u>	Blackmans	Ophir
<u>Barnego</u>	Kononi	Stony Creek	Bendigo	Orangapai
<u>Beaumont</u>	Kuriwao	<u>Stuarts</u>	Butchers Gully	Oturehua
<u>Benhar</u>	Lawrence	Summer Hill	Cambrians	Paerau
Black Gully	Lee Flat	<i>Tahakopa</i>	<u>Carricktown</u>	Patearoa
Blue Spur	<u>Lochindorb</u>	Tahatika	<u>Chatto Creek</u>	<u>Poolburn</u>
Bowlers Creek	Lovells Flat	Taieri Beach	<u>Clyde</u>	<u>Queensberry</u>
Bungtown	<u>Maclennan</u>	Taieri Mouth	Coal Creek Flat	<u>Ranfurly</u>
<u>Caberfeidh</u>	Makura	Tapanui	Conroys Gully	Rigney

Clutha District			Central Otago District	
Chaslands	Manuka Creek	Tarara	<i>Cripple town</i>	Ripponvale
Clarendon	Matau	<i>Tautuku</i>	Cromwell	<u>Roxburgh</u>
<u>Clarksville</u>	Merino Downs	Taumata	Drybread	<u>Roxburgh East</u>
Clifton	<u>Milburn</u>	Tawanui	<u>Dumbarton</u>	<u>Saint Bathans</u>
<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Milton</u>	Te Houka	<u>Earnsclough</u>	Shingle Creek
<u>Clydevale</u>	Moa Flat	Tirohanga	<u>Ettrick</u>	Springvale
Conical Hill	Moneymore	Titri	Fruitlands	<u>Tarras</u>
<u>Craigellachie</u>	<u>Mount Stuart</u>	<i>Toko Mouth</i>	<u>Galloway</u>	Tawhiti
<u>Crichton</u>	<u>New Haven</u>	Tokoiti	<u>Gimmerburn</u>	<u>Teviot</u>
<u>Crookston</u>	Otanomomo	<i>Tuapeka Flat</i>	Gorge Creek	Waenga
<u>Crossans Corner</u>	Otekura	<i>Tuapeka Mouth</i>	<u>Hills Creek</u>	Waikerikeri
<u>Dunrobin</u>	Owaka	<i>Tuapeka West</i>	Ida Valley	Waipiata
Dusky Forest	Owaka Valley	<i>Waihola</i>	<u>Idaburn</u>	<u>Wedderburn</u>
<u>Edievale</u>	Papatowai	Waikoikoi	Kawarau Gorge	
<u>Finegand</u>	Paretai	Waipahi	Kokonga	

Clutha District			Central Otago District	
<u>Forsyth</u>	<u>Park Hill</u>	Waipori	<u>Kyeburn</u>	
Gabriels Gully	Pomahaka	Waipori Falls	<u>Kyeburn Diggings</u>	
<u>Glenkenich</u>	Popotunoa	Wairuna	<u>Lake Roxburgh</u>	
<u>Glenledi</u>	Port Molyneux	Waitahuna	<u>Lauder</u>	
<u>Glenomaru</u>	Pounaweia	Waitahuna Gully	Lindis Crossing	
<u>Glenore</u>	<i>Pūerua</i>	Waitahuna West	Lindis Valley	
<u>Greenfield</u>	Pukeawa	Waitepeka	<i>Little Valley</i>	
<u>Hays Gap</u>	Puketi	Waiwera South	<u>Logantown</u>	
<u>Heriot</u>	Pukepito	Wangaloa	<u>Lowburn</u>	
Houipapa	Puketiro	Warepa	<u>Lower Nevis</u>	
<u>Hillend</u>	Purakauiti	Wharetoa	Maniatoto	
<i>Hinahina</i>	Purakaunui	Wetherstons	<i>Maniototo</i>	
<i>Johnston</i>	Purekireki	Wilden	Matakanui	
<i>Kahuika</i>	Pukekoma		Millers Flat	
<i>Kaihiku</i>	<u>Raes Junction</u>		Moa Creek	

4.1.1 Reasoning, Resources, and Context of the Clutha and Central Otago Districts

Due to the constraints of the thesis, a full survey of the Otago Region was not achievable, and so the Clutha and Central Otago Districts were selected as the areas of focus for this research. However, the methodology used for these Districts could be applied to the rest of the Otago Region, as well as the whole of Aotearoa New Zealand and beyond, where similar colonial processes have been at work, and it is the researcher's view that this should be undertaken in the future. These Districts were selected for their differences, both in demographics and in landscape. Whilst the Clutha District is coastal, containing a number of pre-settlement names of the 18th century from whalers and sealers, Central Otago is an inland District, featuring mainly names from the goldrush period of the 1860s. In addition, the Clutha District was, and remains, more heavily populated than the Central Otago District, with a population of 16,890 to an area of 6,334 square kilometres, making the population density about 2.67 per square kilometre, whereas the Central Otago District has a population of 17,895 to an area of 9,956 square kilometres, making the population density about 1.80 per square kilometre.⁴ The corpus of place-names for this research was primarily sourced from the New Zealand Gazetteer (NZG), complemented by Geographic Information System (GIS) maps accessed through the official websites of the Clutha and Central Otago District Councils.

4.2 Tools of Analysis

Beyond the classification of place-names, this thesis aims to further engage with the repercussions of naming, such as how place-names can inform us of societal norms and cultural values. In order to evaluate these place-names for their cultural and socio-political connotations, I use a number of tools. The core place-names corpus utilised in this thesis draws from a combination of sources. The Kā Huru Manu Ngāi Tahu Atlas has provided an extensive repository of Indigenous Māori

⁴ Calculations and numbers based on the 2013 New Zealand Census (Statistics New Zealand, n.d.).

place-names along with their origins, enriching an understanding of the Indigenous perspective. The New Zealand Gazetteer (NZG) has been a crucial source, contributing both official and unofficial place-names. Additionally, GIS maps from the District Council websites were used to ensure comprehensive coverage of the place-names within the Clutha and Central Otago Districts. Further depth to the research has been added through historical maps and documents accessed via digital platforms such as PapersPast, the New Zealand Geographic Board (NZGB) archival database, and Archives New Zealand (ANZ). These resources collectively have been instrumental in analysing the history, origins, and meanings behind the place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts.

4.2.1 Engaging with Māori Place-names: Kā Huru Manu Ngāi Tahu Atlas and more

Although this thesis is primarily concerned with introduced, European place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts, it is essential that that this focus does not overshadow the importance of recognising, and researching, native Māori place-names in these areas. Place-names with Māori elements have been included in the place-names corpus, and although these names are not being scrutinised to the same extent that European place-names are throughout the thesis, they are acknowledged in the Gazetteer.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Herries Beattie was a collector of Kāi Tahu knowledge and cultural history in the late 19th- and early 20th-century, and as such his work is an invaluable resource. The insight gained by Beattie into the southern Māori's culture and customs has helped us to understand the characters and stories behind Māori place-names and preserve the oral tradition behind their naming practices that otherwise would be lost to time. Although Beattie's work has greatly influenced the Kā Huru Manu project, place-name data from a number of reliable sources was utilised in the creation of the Atlas, including whānau manuscripts, published books, 19th-century maps, newspaper articles and unpublished material such as personal papers provided by kaumātua (tribal elders) (Kā Huru Manu 2022). The Cultural Mapping Project from which the Atlas was borne initially mapped 'Ngāi

Tahu place names and cultural values' onto 1:50,000 topographic maps before transferring the data to the Ngāi Tahu GIS (Kā Huru Manu 2022).

Due to the recent nature of the Ngāi Tahu Kā Huru Manu Atlas, and the ongoing efforts to preserve and introduce Māori place-names into the NZG, it is not the intention of this thesis to engage with Otago Māori place-names to a significant extent. The research produced in this thesis analyses European place-names in the Otago namescape, which is by no means intended to invalidate the importance and necessity of undertaking research on Indigenous place-names. As the process of reinstating Māori place-names in the South Island is currently underway, it is important that I do not interfere with the essential work taking place to make this possible. However, where it is possible and indeed necessary to do so, I will be utilising the Ngāi Tahu Kā Huru Manu Atlas and Harries Beattie's work to engage with Māori place-names in this research with the utmost consideration and accuracy.

In addition to the Ngāi Tahu Kā Huru Manu Atlas, resources such as those produced by the NZGB, *He Kōrero Pūrākau Mo Ngā Taunahanahatanga A Ngā Tūpuna: Place Names of the Ancestors a Maori Oral History Atlas* (1990), have been essential in recognising Māori place-names in Otago. Another resource for early records of Māori place-names has been the Ngāi Tahu website, Kareao, which is an archive storing invaluable digitised items of taonga, Māori knowledge and treasures including 19th- and 20th-century maps (Kareao 2022).

4.2.2 LINZ, NZGB, and the UNGEGN

There are a number of governmental bodies and agencies that engage with place-name research throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, both on a local and global scale. LINZ, the NZGB, and UNGEGN are all agencies that contribute to the place-name discourse in Aotearoa New Zealand. In this thesis, it has been crucial to keep up with the ever-changing policies and procedures around place-naming in Aotearoa New Zealand, as well as the historic and current dialogue on these evolving practices.

LINZ are a governmental body that create and manage information about where things are. With regard to place-names, LINZ provides administrative support to the NZGB, which is the place-naming authority responsible for making place-names official. It is the NZGB that maintains the NZG, though the process of proposing or altering a place-name is conducted collaboratively with LINZ and with the input of the general public (LINZ 2022). It is from these place-name consultation documents that a great deal of information on the motivation, history, origin, and referent of place-names can be gleaned.

UNGEGN has three primary goals: standardisation, dissemination, and romanisation of place-names. UNGEGN produces bulletins, infographics, and other reference material relating to these goals on its website which is housed in the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Statistics Division (United Nations Statistics Division, n.d.). LINZ represents Aotearoa New Zealand's interests as a Member State of UNGEGN. UNGEGN also provides virtual courses on toponymy, which aim to give users a baseline knowledge to deal with geographical names, including themes such as working in multilingual areas, names as cultural heritage, and field collection systems to name a few. These courses have provided essential training to advance the work of this thesis, in addition to literature necessary for grappling with the contextual challenges in working in a colonised namescape.

4.2.3 On Official/Unofficial Name Classifications: The New Zealand Geographic Board Gazetteer

The NZGB, formed in 1946, maintains the official country Gazetteer of place-names in both spreadsheet and interactive-map formats. The NZGB serves as an independent statutory board that provides administrative services to LINZ. LINZ is the governmental body formed in 1996 that manages land titles, geodetic and cadastral survey systems, topographic information, hydrographic information, and Crown property as well as supporting government decision-making around foreign ownership (LINZ 2022). While the NZGB oversees everything to do with place-names in Aotearoa New Zealand, LINZ provides the administrative support to ensure the Board operates effectively. From liaising with local and national governments and

services, to taking and processing enquiries on place-names and place-name changes, LINZ is the centre of operations for the NZGB. These bodies work in tandem to provide up-to-date information for the public on place-name policies and changes through the Gazetteer, which exists both as a user-friendly searchable map of places (NZG 2022), and as a CSV file on LINZ's main website (LINZ 2022).

The classification of a place-name as official or unofficial helps the NZGB understand the amount of scrutiny a place-name has undergone before achieving 'official' name status as, until the Board has concurred on the place-name and evidence presented that it is indeed the best fit for the locality or feature being described, the name is considered 'unofficial'. The Board seeks to give appropriate cultural and heritage values to the names of Aotearoa New Zealand, but in order to do this they must systematically research the history and origin of each toponym in the country. The definition of an official geographic name, as stated in Section 7 of the NZGB Act 2008 is that an official name is (Land Information New Zealand, 2018):

- assigned, approved, adopted, validated, or altered by the Board under the NZGB Act 2008
- published in the Gazette by the Board under the 1946 Act
- assigned or altered under a Treaty of Waitangi Settlement Act
- assigned to, or altered for, a geographic feature in Antarctica
- assigned to, or altered for, a Crown protected area under an enactment.

Whereas an unofficial name could be a name that has been recorded, discontinued, collected, proposed, etc. these do not meet the above criteria for official naming status. However, the official status of a name does not equate to correctness, which is why Boards, like the NZGB and the administrative body of LINZ follow this set of standardisation rules.

The difficulty in using the Gazetteer for the purposes of this thesis is the limited amount of data to be gleaned from ‘unofficial’ place-names in the Otago Region as a whole, but in particular, the Clutha and Central Otago Districts. The only information deemed necessary for the inclusion of a place-name in the Gazetteer, is the type of feature represented by the place-name (e.g. locality, hill, river, forest reserve, etc.) and the location or ‘positional reference’ of the feature/area described (*New Zealand Geographic Board (Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa) Act 2008*). Background information on the history of the feature and the name is optional, despite this research being necessary to make an ‘unofficial’ place-name ‘official’.

For example, the city of Dunedin in the Otago Region is recognised as an ‘official’ place-name in the NZG. The reasoning behind this official status is solely due to it having been a name that LINZ has been able to evaluate for historical evidence in support of the place-name spelling, location, and meaning in general terms. The town of Balclutha, however, despite being the most populous locality in the Clutha District, is deemed ‘unofficial’ in the NZG. The rationale for this is easily seen in the entry for Balclutha in the online interactive Gazetteer, which gives no information apart from the feature type (town), status as a recorded name, location, and that the feature is shown on NZMS260 H46 Edition 1 1981 (NZG 2022).

In the NZGB Minimum Requirements for Geographic Name Proposals guidelines, a place-name can only be deemed official by the Board should it meet the following general criteria:

- The applicable Proposal Form (Fig. 4-1) that the NZGB has agreed to must be used, and completely filled out. This form is utilised for private individuals and public bodies alike.
- The type of feature being named must be specified. An appropriate generic geographic term should be included for the name, although for populated places and historic sites a generic term is not generally used. English or Māori generic terms may be appropriate.

- A map or chart (preferably from LINZ) showing the location and if applicable, the marked-up extent of the proposed name.
- Evidence of the spelling must be provided (e.g. macrons for Māori names, correct spelling for personal names).
- Proposers must confirm that they have referred to the NZGB's Frameworks document and other relevant standards when compiling their proposal (Land Information New Zealand, 2021).

Furthermore, dependent on the 'type' of place-name being dealt with, additional information needs to be provided to determine the status of the name in the Gazetteer. The basic requirements are broken down into the following 'types' of place-names: personal names for place-names, historical names, descriptive names, new names, and dual or alternative names.

Personal names require that the person being commemorated has been deceased for a minimum of two years prior to the name proposal. This varies slightly from Australian regulations around personal names which require simply that the name is bestowed posthumously, and 'generally only the surname should be used. Names of living persons are by their nature subject to partisan perception and change in community judgment and acceptance' (Permanent Committee on Place Names 2016, 8). In Aotearoa New Zealand, 'sufficient information/evidence must be provided to connect the person with the area or feature, and the significance of their association with that place' (LINZ 2022).

Historical names and descriptive names must both have sufficient evidence in support of the 'events, stories and people associated with the place (i.e. history/origin/meaning)' and to support 'the way in which the name describes the feature,' respectively (LINZ 2022). New names need to justify the reason behind the need for the new name, and dual or alternative names need to provide sufficient evidence associated with both names.

However, ‘recorded’ names, or unofficial names, are also included in the Gazetteer, but have not been dealt with in any of the above listed ways by the NZGB, and therefore have not been granted official status. The status of a place-name as official or unofficial is constantly in flux as the NZGB regularly reviews and revises both existing unofficial names and newly proposed names.

Below in Figure 4-1, is the place-name proposal form that was utilised by the NZGB until 2020. The modern system for Aotearoa New Zealand place-name proposals utilises a click-through and document upload system, utilising the same questions to those in the proposal form below.



New Zealand
 New Zealand Geographic Board (Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa) Act 2008
Official Geographic Name Proposal within
New Zealand

Includes Offshore Island names
Excludes Antarctic names (Ross Dependency), Undersea Feature names,
Treaty Settlement names, District or Region names, and Crown protected area names

Notes:

- (i) A separate form must be completed for each Official Geographic Name proposal – Section 15(2)(a) of the NZGB Act 2008 refers.
- (ii) Refer to the accompanying 'Guidance Notes' and 'Requirements for Geographic Name Proposals' when filling out this form.
- (iii) Complete all sections of the form and attach any other pages or supporting documentary evidence.
- (iv) The information you supply is subject to public scrutiny. Personal information provided in this form and any attachments, will be held by Land Information New Zealand *Toitū te Whenua*, and may be used for the purpose of public consultation on your proposal. In particular, your personal information may be provided to, and used by, Te Puni Kōkiri (the Ministry of Māori Development) or other government agencies, for enabling consultation on your proposal with appropriate Māori groups. The provision of information on this form is not mandatory or required by law, but failure to provide the information will mean that your proposal cannot be considered. Pursuant to the Privacy Act 1993, you have the right of access to, and correction of, personal information provided in this form and any attachments.
- (v) Information considered to be culturally, historically or spiritually sensitive will be treated with respect.

Send to:
 The Secretary
 New Zealand Geographic Board
 Ngā Pou Taunaha o Aotearoa
 c/- Land Information New Zealand
 155 The Terrace
 PO Box 5501
 Wellington 6145
 NEW ZEALAND

Freephone: 0800 Online (665 463)
 Telephone: 64-4-460 0581
 Facsimile: 64-4-472 2244
 Email: info@linz.govt.nz
 Website: www.linz.govt.nz

Proposer's name:	Proposal date:
Address:	Telephone (home): (.....)
.....	Telephone (work): (.....)
.....	Facsimile: (.....)
.....	Email:
<p>1 Proposal to: <i>tick one</i></p> <p> <input type="checkbox"/> ASSIGN a NEW name..... <input type="checkbox"/> or ALTER an EXISTING name..... <input type="checkbox"/> or DISCONTINUE an EXISTING name..... <input type="checkbox"/> or APPROVE a RECORDED name..... </p>	
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 200px; height: 20px; margin: 0 auto; padding: 2px;"> (Proposed name) </div>	
<p>2 Current or alternative geographic name:</p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-top: 5px;"> (Existing name, if any) </div>	
<p>3 Geographic feature type: <i>(eg mountain, river, lake, suburb, locality, etc.)</i></p> <div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 100%; height: 20px; margin-top: 5px;"> (Feature type) </div>	
<p>4 Location: <i>(attach further details)</i></p> <p>(a) Description and general vicinity:</p> <p>(b) Map or chart number (eg NZTopo50-AT24 or NZ 443):</p> <p>(c) Full coordinates or grid reference:</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>(in terms of NZTM or NZGD2000 or latitude and longitude)</i></p>	
<p>5 Māori or European name: <i>(attach further details)</i> <i>(Complete a or b, and c. Refer to the accompanying notes for requirements, including guidelines on consultation.)</i></p> <p>(a) Māori name; translation and its source:</p> <p>(b) European name; Does a Māori name exist?</p> <p>(c) Sources consulted:</p>	
<p>6 Origin: <i>(attach further details)</i></p> <p>(a) Description:</p> <p>(b) Background:</p> <p>(c) Local or common usage:</p>	
<p>7 Name duplication:..... <i>(attach further details)</i></p>	
<p>8 Other supporting information:..... <i>(attach further details)</i></p>	

Figure 4-1 Official Geographic Name Proposal form from Toitū Te Whenua Land Information New Zealand

4.2.4 The NZGB and its use in place-nomenclature research

Aotearoa New Zealand place-nomenclature research began to develop substance only in the past 70 years as a result of the New Zealand Geographic Board Act of 1946. Prior to this, the Honorary Geographic Board of New Zealand (HGBNZ) was established in 1924 and acted in an advisory capacity to the Minister of Lands (LINZ 2022). This Honorary Board published the ‘First List of Names Approved, or Changed, or Expunged’ along with the rules of the Board used to ‘give an idea of the procedure it is attempting to follow’ (HGBNZ 1934, 4). These rules covered many place-naming concerns, such as how to handle geographical names in a foreign non-Indigenous language: ‘names in a foreign language should be rendered in the form adopted by that country, except where there are English equivalents already fixed by usage’ (ibid.). An example of this might be the recent (20 April 2021) proposal by the NZGB to alter the spelling in the second part of the official dual name, Te Korowhakaunu/Cunaris Sound to either Te Korowhakaunu/Canaris Sound, or Te Korowhakaunu/Kanaris Sound, or Te Korowhakaunu/Kanáris Sound (NZGB 2021). According to the report:

The proposer has provided extensive evidence that Jules de Blosseville named the bay in 1826 after Konstantinos Kanaris (c.1793-1877) a hero of the Greek War of Independence (1821-1829). The proposer advises that the spelling ‘Cunaris’ was the result of a transcription error made by a 19th century cartographer, who translated ‘Bras Canaris’ (lit. Canaris Arm) to ‘Cunaris Bay’. The proposer has suggested three spelling options:

- Canaris: the 19th century Romanised form of the Greek name recorded on de Blosseville’s 1826 chart,
- Kanaris: the modern Romanised form of the Greek name and the commonly used spelling during the 20th century,

- Kanáris: the modern Romanised form of the Greek name and the commonly used spelling since 2000 [Secretariat note: the acute is a pronunciation guide to emphasize the 2nd syllable].

The spelling ‘Cunaris’ has been used consistently on maps and charts since 1833 (188 years) and is historically embedded (NZGB 2021).

The NZGB accepted option three of the proposal, based on evidence that the feature was named for Konstantinos Kanaris, and on the basis that a principal function of the Board is to correct the spelling of names. Additionally, justifications given for this alteration were due to Kanáris being the modern Romanised form of the Greek name and the commonly used spelling since 2000, and that the Southland Harbourmaster had no concerns for navigational safety if the name was altered (NZGB 2021).

4.2.5 Tracing Place-name Changes Over Time: The value of historical maps

Maps of the Otago Region are an invaluable resource in understanding the complex, changing namescape of the area. While the first appearance of Aotearoa New Zealand on a world map is thought to have been 1646 with Abel Tasman's discovery of its existence in 1642, ‘there were gaps in his charts, and subsequently a big gap in mapping history: nearly 130 years passed before Captain James Cook made his remarkably accurate surveys’ (Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, n.d.b.). Cook’s surveys led to the creation of a map in 1773 which, while not exact on the dimensions of the South Island, gave early settlers and the Crown a clearer idea of what this faraway land might hold in store. As mentioned in Cook’s journals (Cook 1768-71), Moulineux Harbour with the original spelling intact can be seen on the map, whereas in later maps the name evolves from Moulineux, to Molineux, and finally to the modern Molyneux (see Figure 4-2). The Southern Alps, Moulineux Harbour, and Cape Saunders are the only place-names evident in the area now known as Otago on this earliest of maps, although it would be reasonable to assume

there was a wealth of Māori place-names, unknown to us now, in existence at this time

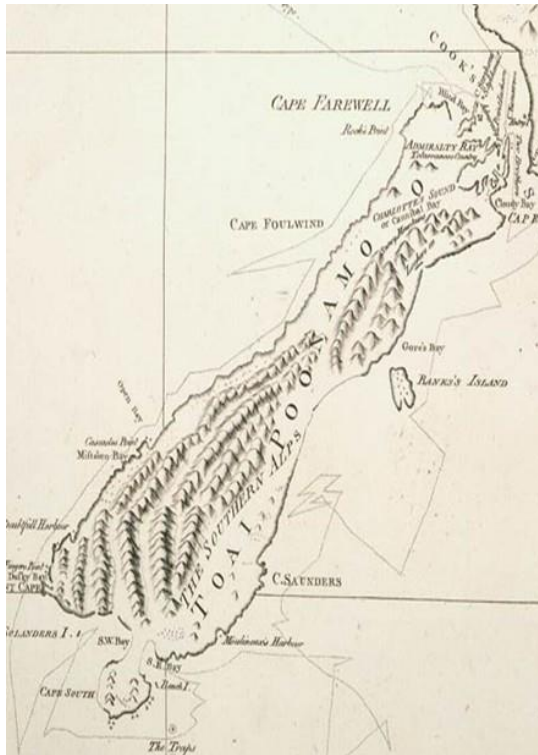


Figure 4-2 Map of the coast of the New Zealand discovered in the years 1769 and 1770, note the lack of place-names across the South Island, and the spelling of Moulineux Harbour (Cook 1770).

In the 1844 map by cartographer John Arrowsmith, there is little change from what was known 71 years previously by Cook, apart from the transformation of Moulineux to Molyneux, and the addition of Port Otako, yet another early spelling of the place-name, later Region-name, Otago (see Figure 4-3 and Figure 4-4). The continuation of this spelling of this name can be traced until 1851 on cartographer John Tallis's edition of the Aotearoa New Zealand map where Otago is seen spelt Otako for the last time (see Figure 4-5 and Figure 4-6).

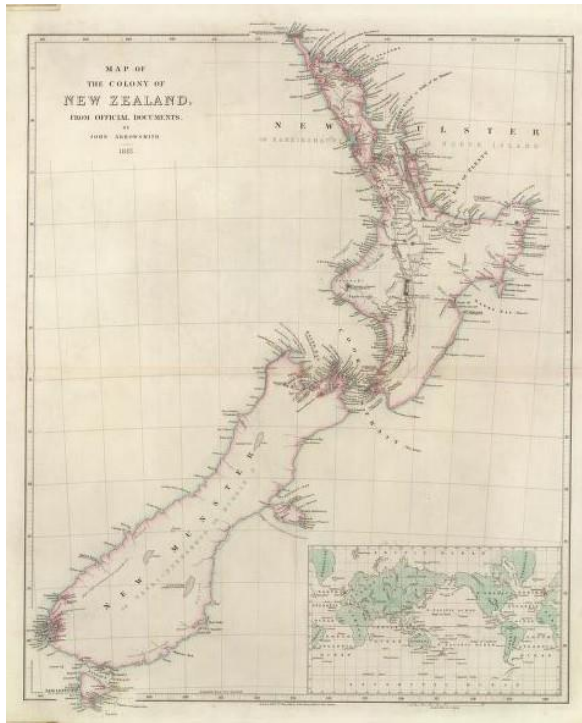


Figure 4-3 Map of the Colony of New Zealand (Arrowsmith 1844).



Figure 4-4 Map of the Colony of New Zealand: From Official Documents, focused on Otago. Note the change of the spelling of Molyneux, and the addition of Molyneux, and the addition of Port Otako (Arrowsmith 1844).

By the time of the arrival of Northumberland native John Turnbull (J. T.) Thomson (1821-1884) in Otago in 1856, only the coast of the Otago Region had been surveyed, and thereby mapped. Immigrants to the Otago Region were reliant on sometimes faulty maps of the colony since ‘planners drew maps of new towns, showing parks and wide streets. Sometimes they did this without seeing the land, which might actually have swamps, hills and thick forest’ (Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, n.d.b.). In 1859, J. T. Thomson and his assistant surveyor, Alexander Garvie (1820-1859), produced and published a map of their findings in Otago’s interior, in turn aiding the expansion of settlers and industry to the area.⁵ Meanwhile in London in 1859, an early map inclusive of what was known of the Otago Region prior to Thomson’s survey was released and published in *New Zealand and Its Colonization* by William Swainson (see Figure 4-7). This map makes it evident that the interior of the Otago Region, and the South Island in general, was practically empty of any features or names known to Europeans, whilst the outer coast of the South Island was covered in names mostly from early sealers, whalers, and the rare early settlement coastal plot.

⁵Item not digitised, but available for viewing at the Hocken Library at the University of Otago, MS-3183/042 (Thomson & Garvie, 1859). In addition, the library holds J.T. Thomson’s Surveying notebook (c.1857-1871), also issuable within the library, MS-3183/029.

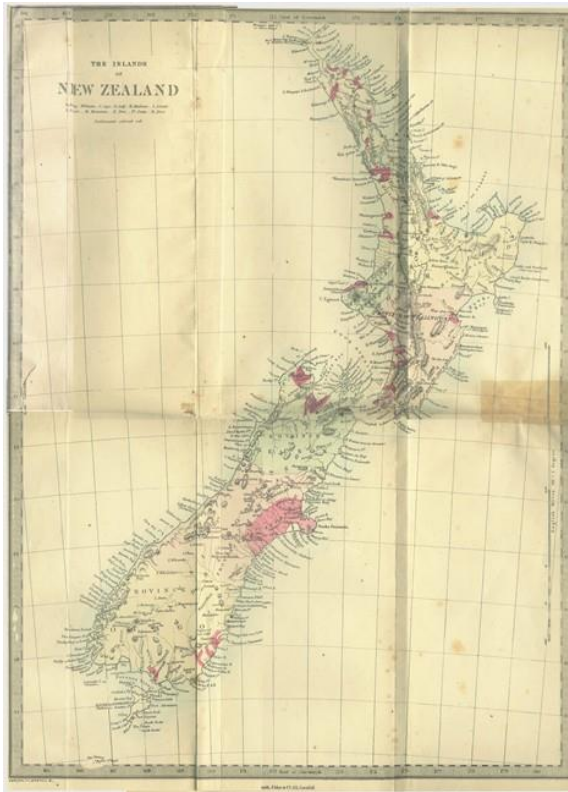


Figure 4-7 'New Zealand and its Colonisation' Note the growth in coastal place-names whilst the interior of the South Island remains relatively unnamed (Swainson, 1859).

Thomson's survey of the Otago Region had a dramatic effect on the Otago namescape as evidenced by post-survey maps, such as that of Edinburgh-based cartographer Alexander Keith Johnston in 1879 (see Figure 4-8). Unlike pre-Thomson maps of the Otago Region, the interior of the South Island is covered in place-names, many recognisable as Thomson's own such as the 'barnyard' cluster of burn-names, further analysed in Chapter 7. Sometime in the 1860s- 1870s, it is reported that J. T. Thomson sent a list of proposed Māori names to the Provincial Council for the District, but a member objected on the ground that the names were difficult to pronounce or spell, and the list returned to Thomson for amendment (ODT 9 Feb 1933). Irritated, Thomson submitted new names which he believed the council members could spell and pronounce: Oxburn, Cowburn, Pigburn, Eweburn, Wedderburn, Hogburn, Fillyburn, Gimmerburn, Sowburn, Kyeburn, Horseburn, Mareburn, etc. However, another version of the story goes that Thomson tasked an

assistant with naming the tributaries of the northern Central Otago District, and it was the assistant that was instructed to bestow names ‘more common and easily pronounced’ than those initially suggested, resulting in the assistant giving Thomson a list of barnyard names instead (ODT 26 Nov 1932). Not all of these tributary/burn names made it to locality status on the map and some were dropped altogether, but those that have made it through are now part of what is known as ‘Thomson’s Barnyard’ due to the names all including animal names typically found in a barnyard or farm (ODT 23 Nov 1932).

We can utilise these gradual map changes to analyse the individual impact of surveyors and influential early settlers on the namescape of Otago. For example, some commentary has been made on these early Aotearoa New Zealand maps, namely by Herries Beattie in the mid-twentieth century (see 2.1.1). Beattie notes in his observations that Thomson’s 1859 map’s previously mentioned ‘barnyard’ cluster of burn-names is not unique, as there are other name clusters that seem to imply this was a tendency of Thomson. In the south of the Otago Region, Beattie noted a cluster seemingly inspired by the native vegetation, ‘Spurhead Bush, Far Bush, Wild Bush, Birch Bush, Groper’s bush, and Gummy’s Bush’ (Beattie 1948, 61). Beattie then compared the 1859 map with a later 1866 map where a further number of bush names, not all native, such as Howell’s Bush, Paulin’s Bush, Lennan Bush, Wright’s Bush, Roslin Bush, Mossburn Bush and Heddon Bush were added. As the area containing these ‘bush’ names seemed to expand over time, Beattie started looking back to maps predating Thomson’s survey and found that an 1853 map had listed Wild Bush, among others, prior to Thomson’s map (Beattie 1948, 61). Although this is one instance of a naming trend being carried on by the next surveyor, between this and the cluster of barnyard names there is reason to re-evaluate these older maps for other potential clusters as areas of possible name evolution hubs.

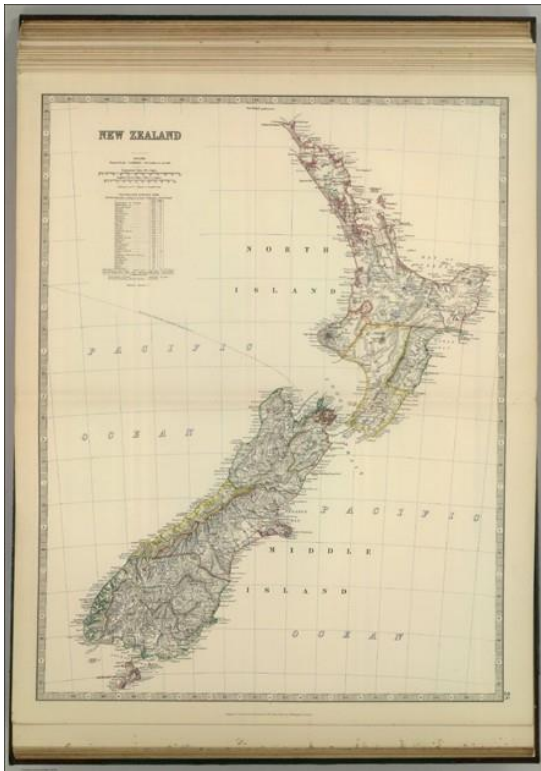


Figure 4-8 Map of 'New Zealand'. Note the dramatic change to the mapping of the interior of the South Island (Johnston 1879).

Today most changes that would be evident on Aotearoa New Zealand maps are tracked by LINZ and added onto the NZG. However, historical maps are still a key source in recognising and understanding place-name changes, amendments, and the creation of new names over the course of the Otago Region's history.

Although the physical landscape may change over time resulting in permanent loss or creation of new features, place-names on historic and modern maps can be utilised to remind us of what once was, and the memories that that site still holds. In a similar discussion of the Foyle catchment of the northwest of Ireland, and the sacred wells there, Liam Campbell writes:

It is as if these ancient places and waters hold the communal memory and ability to recall the past. They provided spiritual and physical nourishment and they are not totally forgotten. The wells are not only sacred because of

deeply layered religious and cultural practices but also due to the people who gathered here and the thoughts they had when present (Campbell 2021, 77).

What these maps do not tell us, however, is the possible origin and motivation of the name-giver, in bestowing these names, nor the history behind some of these changes. For that, we must look to records left by settlers and surveyors such as those reported in newspapers, letters, and memoirs, as well as to scholars who might have had access to now missing or inaccessible documents or who have already conducted onomastic research.

4.2.6 To Analyse the Origin and First Instance of Place-name Use: PapersPast as a digital archive and the New Zealand Geographic Board Database

One of the questions guiding this research is: broadly, what motivations, origins, and referents underlie the place-names in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts? To answer this, it is necessary to not only consult historical maps, but documentary sources as well, such as newspapers, journals, letters, and legal papers such as certificates of land purchase and ownership. The primary way in which this has been undertaken is by using digital resources, which have been invaluable due to the researcher's distance from the study area.

PapersPast is a digital resource that is referenced throughout this thesis. Most previous studies on place-names of Aotearoa New Zealand have relied on cartographic material, and sources available in specific archival databases. With the advent of digitisation, PapersPast is a huge advantage for the modern scholar. As of July 2022, there have been 422 books, 5,889 letters and diaries, 12,499 magazines and journals, 1,002,412 newspapers, and 104 parliamentary papers digitised on the website for public access. In the Otago Region alone, there are over 20 different digitalised newspapers on PapersPast, with the earliest digitised paper being the Southland Times in 1862, and all having been digitalised into the early 20th century.

The methodology utilised to search PapersPast material for this thesis involved entering a keyword, and setting the ‘sort by’ feature as ‘date’ when researching the earliest known mention of place-names in the public sphere, of course noting that earlier non-digitised records might exist. Additionally, the shortcomings of this method of archival research must be noted, with keyword searches often resulting in a loss of context within the papers and articles they are found in, and missing any visual content that would be potentially useful but not flagged by the search (Bingham 2010, 230). The ‘best match’ feature has been useful for noting later, 20th-century, articles on place-names, such as letters to the editor that make the feelings of the general public regarding naming known. An example of this is the 1933 *Wanganui Chronicle* article entitled ‘Place Names’ in which a Welshman states:

As a Welshman I cannot conceive of my countrymen expressing any objection to the euphonious and easily pronounced Maori names, and as such I would like to protest against the mutilation of such names rendering them meaningless. The experience of the Welsh people relative to their place names is a sufficient reason for such a protest, as all Welshmen know how their native place names have been mutilated (WC 17 Oct 1933).

An additional feature of PapersPast not often used in this thesis, but essential nonetheless, is a search feature for ‘Ngā Tānga Reo Māori only’, or Māori- language content exclusively. As expanded upon in Chapter 4, the corpus of place-names in this thesis does include Māori place-names, but it is not the aim of this research to evaluate these names. Instead, PapersPast has been an invaluable resource for analysing the history, origin, motivation, and referent of Pākehā place-names throughout the Clutha and Central Otago Districts.

Another digital resource consulted during this research is the NZGB database (NZGB HDD).⁶ This database contains digital files adding up to over 4TB of data, which

⁶The NZGB database of unpublished, scanned material from the NZGB archives was kindly provided to me on a hard drive by the Secretary of LINZ, Wendy Shaw, during my fieldwork in New Zealand in March 2019. There are 4TB of unpublished files with no metadata on this hard drive, and as

include proceedings of the NZGB and the early HGBNZ, letters to the Board from members of the public, historical maps, and surveyor notes. There is a wealth of information in this database, however, the database itself has not been coded with metadata, meaning there is no simple way to search the 4TB worth of information other than to manually search each individual file. As a result, it is likely the database has not been exploited to its full potential in this thesis, though it would be worthwhile to do so in future studies of the entirety of the Otago Region and beyond.

4.3 Narrative Sources

Although narrative sources for the Central Otago and Clutha Districts are few and far between, these are invaluable resources for mining early place-names. In this thesis, the memoir, *Pioneering in Otago*, recollections by William Ayson (1840-1938) published in 1937 is utilised, primarily in Chapter Seven, to trace settlement names through the Clutha District. Ayson was born in Glenshee, county of Perthshire, Scotland, and emigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1853 (Ayson 1937, 7). He, and his family, were some of the earliest settlers to create homesteads in the Clutha District. Much of the material in Chapter Seven has been informed by his recollections of the Clutha District, particularly his knowledge of the names which were used in this District in the 19th century.

This memoir is a prime example of how instinctive it is for people to utilise place-names as triggers for memories of certain spaces and experiences. Ayson never sets out to provide a survey of the place-names in the Clutha District, but naturally as he recalls the journey from landing on the shores of Otago, to his family making their way inland, each tale is accompanied by the names of localities, natural features, and individuals. Many of the place-names provided by Ayson have been altered since his arrival in the Clutha District in the 1860s, and some are no longer

such it is impossible to provide a file reference. All material cited that comes from the archive is hereafter referenced as: NZGB HDD.

sites of settlement. The historic significance of Ayson’s recollections to the story of the Otago namescape cannot be overstated.

As mentioned previously (see 4.2.1), the Ngāi Tahu Kā Huru Manu Atlas is primarily a gazetteer for Māori place-names throughout the South Island, and is used in this thesis for its expert work in tracing the referent, motivation, history, and origin, of place-names (Kā Huru Manu Atlas). Although many of the sources cited in the Atlas come from newspaper articles, cartographic material, and the work of individuals like Beattie, the difference of this atlas from those coming from a Western perspective, is its use of the records of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, or personal papers, and narrative sources from the Ngāi Tahu iwi, as evidence in their analysis of these place-names. Additionally, the Kā Huru Manu was funded entirely by the Ngāi Tahu, separating it from ‘other large-scale digital mapping projects in its ownership and (therefore) approach’ (Hill 2021, 91). The term ‘cultural mapping’ is utilised to describe the project, showcasing the prioritisation of cultural knowledge and personal collections and connections to the land (Kā Huru Manu Atlas). According to the leaders of the project, the digital atlas is ‘only a step in the mahi that Ngāi Tahu whanau have been doing for generations. Its primary purpose is to repatriate and cultivate māturanga, and in so doing, re-declare Ngāi Tahu’s “rakatirataka in the land”’ (Hill 2021, 95).

4.4 Fieldwork

Whilst it is not impossible in this modern age of virtual maps and digitised archives to conduct a thorough study on a Region far away from one’s physical location, field research is often the desideratum of place-name scholars, and for good reason. Although it would be simple enough to assume a descriptive place-name indeed resembled the description implied by the name, there is no absolute way to be certain of this association unless the landscape is engaged with in person, although positional names such as Roxburgh East can offer further context. It is well-known by onomastic scholars that ‘there are many cases in which the landscape offers the key to the interpretation of a name’ (Taylor 2016, 5) especially when the likes of

Google Earth or other digital resources only present a partial view of the landscape. For example, the land feature Saddle Hill near Dunedin indeed looks like the shape of a saddle as seen on Google Earth. However, this imagery of a fully formed saddle is only evident from a particular angle, in this case from offshore where it was first spotted and named by Captain James Cook in 1770 who described it as ‘a remarkable saddle hill laying near the Shore’ (Reed 1975, 371). On land, this feature not only appears differently from different angles, but has many other features only noticeable in person such as the volcanic geology of the hill, or the view from the peak looking out onto Lake Waihola further South in the Clutha District.

Engaging with the landscape in person affords a different perspective from that offered by relying solely on documentary evidence. This first-hand engagement with the landscape, as well as the opportunity to collect non-digitalised material from archives and museums, served as the motivation to undertake field research in March-April 2019.

4.4.1 Outline of Work Carried Out in the Field

A primary objective of this fieldwork in Aotearoa New Zealand was to collect non-digitalised data from archives and resources that were otherwise inaccessible. In addition, the opportunity to be in situ in the landscape analysed in this research offered an opportunity to gain necessary insights into the namescape. In the following sections, a sample of images collected during field research over the period of March-April 2019 are presented. Place-name signage and cemetery headstones served as valuable sources for understanding the demographics of the landscape as it was travelled through, and in creating a sense of context for the namescape being engaged with.

4.4.2 Place-name Signage and the Namescape of Otago

I will glean them from signposts in these country places,

Weird names, some beautiful, more that make me laugh (Hope 1975, 59).

The linguistic landscape in the Otago Region, particularly of the Clutha and Central Otago Districts, is not all that different from that anywhere else in the world. There are road signs signalling various stopping-off points, advertisements for local shops and cafes, and of course place-names of localities and features. Language visibility in public signage reflects broader socio-cultural and political contexts, making it a useful framework for analysing the impact of place-names in this region (Puzey, 2016).

In a multilingual society like Aotearoa New Zealand where the Indigenous Te Reo Māori and non-native languages, primarily English, interplay in the public domain, it is natural to see this multilingualism reflected in the namescape. It was important in this fieldwork to consider the namescape as I moved through it, as it is ‘an important sociolinguistic factor contributing to the vitality of competing ethnolinguistic groups in multilingual settings’ (Landry and Bourhis 1997, 24). However, elsewhere multilingual names usually refer to the same place, whereas in Aotearoa New Zealand, this is not necessarily true. The study of namescapes falls into socio-onomastic methodology, where the use of place-names and language in the landscape is evaluated for how they reflect the cultural dynamics of the society they exist in. This particular idea is engaged with in further depth in Chapter Six, where the namescape is looked at as a means to identify various socio-political concerns in the community.



Figure 4-9 Place-name signage for Stirling and Kaitangata, two localities in the Clutha District, taken during fieldwork, March 2019.



Figure 4-10 One of the few examples of dual place-name signage, Aoraki/Mt Cook, with Indigenous place-name Aoraki taking the place of precedence over the Pākehā name, Mt Cook. Taken during fieldwork, March 2019.



Figure 4-11 Place-names Owaka, a native Māori name, and Invercargill, a transferred name of Scottish Gaelic origin, listed on a road sign, above local advertisements in English. Taken during fieldwork, March 2019.



Figure 4-12 The place-names Kaka Point and Owaka, both with Māori-language elements, and Finegand, a transferred name of Scottish Gaelic origin, on roadway signage, taken during fieldwork, March 2019.

4.4.3 Cemetery and Graveyard Data

Inspired by the RememberMe project (*RememberMe: The Changing Face of Memorialisation*, 2019), I sought out notable cemeteries throughout the Clutha and Central Otago Districts that were recognised as containing the graves of early settlers. In particular, a project coordinated by Professor Angela McCarthy called ‘The Otago Migrant Gravestone Study’, influenced the decision to undertake a survey of Otago gravestones. Through this research, the significance of the wording of the headstones within the namescape of the Districts was considered. As the RememberMe project had already conducted a survey of the Southern Cemetery in Dunedin, the focus of this research was instead on the more remote settler burial sites, including Fairfax Cemetery, Saint Bathans Cemetery, the cemetery at Beaumont, the Lonely Graves at Millers Flat, the cemetery at Cromwell, Tarras Cemetery, Hamiltons Cemetery, the cemetery at Kyeburn Diggings, and Naseby Cemetery.

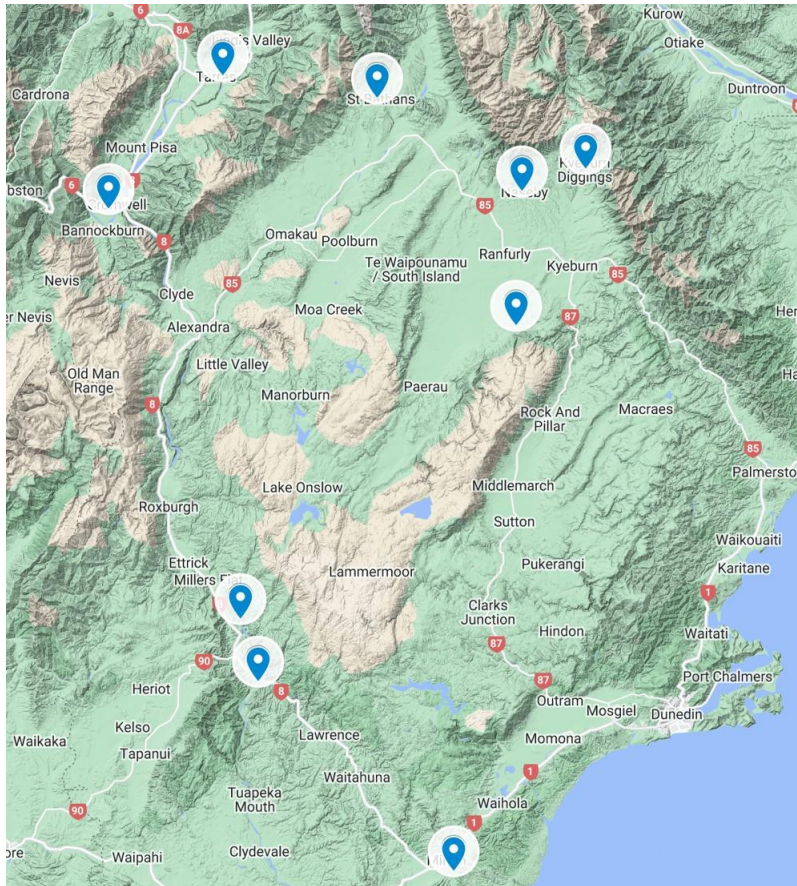


Figure 4-13 Locations of the aforementioned cemetery sites.

Although many of the headstones specified if the deceased was a pioneer of the Region and from where they had emigrated, there remained a number of headstones lacking this information. As a result, it cannot be assumed that every pioneer has been accounted for in each cemetery surveyed, but the information collected is nonetheless valuable in understanding the demographics of the areas these burials are located in. The images below are a merely a sample of the nearly 100 taken during fieldwork and offer a cross-sectional view of the data collected.



Figure 4-14 Headstone for the Stuart family, showing the place of birth for the emigrant John Henry Stuart as Grantown in Inverness-shire, Scotland, taken during fieldwork March 2019 in the cemetery at Kyeburn Diggings.

There is an anthropotonym in the Catlins called Stuarts, which very little is known about, though both Beattie and Reed claim that Stuarts was named for an early settler (Reed 1975, 378, Beattie 1948, 89). It is unlikely, though not impossible, that the Stuart family listed here is linked with the coining of the place-name Stuarts, as this burial is quite far (approximately 264 kilometres) from the locality site.



Figure 4-15 Headstone for early settler Thomas Blane, native of Ayr, Scotland, taken during fieldwork March 2019 in the cemetery in Cromwell.

Unlike the other headstones displayed in this section, no record can be found of Thomas Blane in digitised newspapers to date, perhaps due to erroneous information regarding his death date. Burials in the Cromwell cemetery from the gold rush period are highly likely to have misinformation due to the nature of life, and death, on the goldfields. Another possibility is that Margaret Blane, wife of Thomas, was not physically in the goldfields with her husband, instead commissioning a headstone to honour his memory.



Figure 4-16 Headstone for early settler James Towers, native of Falkirk in Stirlingshire, Scotland, taken during fieldwork March 2019 in the Saint Bathans Cemetery.

James Towers of Falkirk in Stirlingshire, Scotland worked as a baker and shop owner in Saint Bathans primarily serving the goldfield clientele (MIC 5 Sept 1873). Towers also bequeathed some land to the council in Saint Bathans for the creation of a schoolhouse in 1875 (MIC 22 Jan 1875). Contrary to the tombstone above, Towers' obituary records that prior to arriving in Otago, his movements showed step-migration in action (see 5.1), having worked the California goldfields in 1849 before

moving on to the Victoria goldfields in Australia, finally landing in Otago in 1861 (NOT 4 Sept 1915).

4.5 Ethics and Cultural Relativism

It is essential to note in any research study the ethical considerations that have gone into it, as well as acknowledge the attempts made towards cultural relativism by the researcher. The aim has been to maintain high levels of objectivity throughout this thesis, however, it is of course prudent to be conscious of the researcher's own background as coming from Western non-Indigenous society. Although comparative examples are utilised throughout this thesis between Aotearoa New Zealand and other parts of the world, the researcher has strived for cultural relativism through analysing the namescape of the Otago Region within its own cultural context.

When analysing a period of colonisation in a colonised country, context is crucial. This research has been undertaken by looking through a lens of the name-giving period, rather than from the present. This can be a challenge in a colonial context where there are interactions between cultural systems that have, 'complex, far-reaching effects, especially when relations are characterized by significant inequalities of power' (Brown 2008, 372). This is why it is essential to be sensitive to the ways intercultural interaction took place during the colonial era in the Otago Region. Documentary evidence has been the clearest way to ensure that the cultural systems during the time of name-giving have been considered, but even within that we must acknowledge most of these documentary sources came from a colonial viewpoint. Language is embedded in our cultural experiences, therefore names provide context for understanding culture. With this view, place-names are snapshots of cultural context at the time of their formation.

5 Scottish settlement in Otago

The arrival of British settlers to the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand happened after a gap of 127 years from Dutch navigator Abel Tasman's departure from Aotearoa New Zealand in 1642. When Captain James Cook landed on the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand in 1769, his voyage made the British public aware of what this far-off land held for the future of the empire.

Following Cook's first encounters with the Aotearoa New Zealand landscape, missionaries, whalers, and sealers frequented the coasts of the country in the late 18th century into the early 19th century, creating whaling stations and early settlements along the coast of the Otago Region. Cook may have exposed Aotearoa New Zealand to the 'Old World' because of his reports on his expeditions, but the settlement that followed was driven primarily by settlement schemes of the 19th century. In this chapter I will discuss who these settlers were with a particular focus on the Scottish emigrants as they feature most prominently in the Otago Region. Also covered in this chapter are the migratory patterns employed in Otago, both through a process called step- migration, and migration in the 'Thistlethwaite tradition' which focused on the 'follow-the-leader' instinct behind mass migration in the 19th and 20th centuries (Thistlethwaite 1960, 81). Other factors in the human migration seen in Otago and subsequent settlement of the Region were specific assisted migration schemes, such as those offered by the New Zealand Company, the Otago Association, and the Vogel scheme. Finally, this chapter will discuss the primary emigration appeal of the Central Otago Region in the late 19th century – the gold rush.

5.1 Step-migration

One of the main outcomes we see through migration to Aotearoa New Zealand is its effect on the landscape, particularly in regard to place-naming and land boundaries. Aotearoa New Zealand's history of step-migration is not unique, but it is heavily influential as evidenced in the place-names of the Otago Region.

Names from Scotland, England, and Australia dominate the namescape of Otago, but these Regional names are not as straightforward as they appear.

Step-migration 'implies a spatial relocation by steps or stages from a migrant's origin (invariably a rural home place) to an intended destination (invariably an urban center),' as defined by Dennis Conway in his paper 'Step-Wise Migration: Toward A Clarification of the Mechanism' (Conway 1980, 3). Conway notes that 'step-wise' migration as he refers to it, is not to be confused with chain migration, usually in reference to intergenerational movement by stages which is not to say this is not happening, but does not manifest itself in the namescape (Conway 1980, 7).

As mentioned, step-migration is not unique to Aotearoa New Zealand but is instead a widely known, but difficult to trace, migratory trend. For example, in the early 1900s, Irish immigration to North America was still numbering in the hundreds of thousands, but not all of the Irish arriving in North America came directly from Ireland. According to research undertaken by David Morris using the 1900 United States Census, there were thirteen households living in Montana, with at least one person born in Wales with two Irish-born parents (Morris 2016, 307). Wales's role in this migration journey provided a step, or stage, from the migrant's origin, in this example Ireland, to their intended destination, here being Montana. As mentioned, step-migration can at times be difficult to trace, as immigration records often only list the birthplace of an individual and omit any previous migration history. Lenihan notes the 'problematic nature of examining the origins of Aotearoa New Zealand Scots purely on birthplace' as many datasets do (Lenihan 2015, 56). An example of this is John and Mary Edie who arrived in Bendigo, Australia after coming from Liverpool, despite being from Dunfermline, Fifeshire in Scotland (Edie Family History 2021). In 1862 the Edies moved to Aotearoa New Zealand in the hope of cashing in on the gold rush (Lenihan 2015, 58). The Edie family story of step-migration was common in the goldfields, with many miners having migrated from goldfields elsewhere in the world such as California and Australia prior to migrating to the Otago goldfields.

5.1.1 Tracing patterns

There is a theory on migration that arose in the 1960s and is discussed by McClean in reference to Aotearoa New Zealand, called the 'Thistlethwaite tradition', which is particularly relevant to the settlement history of Otago. The Thistlethwaite tradition, named after English historian Frank Thistlethwaite (1915-2003) argues that 'explanations of the emigration phenomenon be sought in detailed study of the social and economic context in which emigration took place' (McClean 1990, 15). This viewpoint also sought to investigate the relationship between emigration and internal migration.

As cited in Vecoli and Sinke 1991, Thistlethwaite claimed that 'we should think neither of emigrants nor immigrants, but of migrants,' and 'treat the process of migration as a complete sequence of experiences whereby the individual moves from one social identity to another' (1991, 22). This concept of moving 'social identities' includes movement from one community to another, not purely movement between countries as tends to be the focus of much human migration study. Looking at migration patterns of peoples as a one-way train does not paint the full picture and can in fact be detrimental to the validity of one's understanding of settlement patterns. As discussed in the previous section, there was often a trend of step-migration in Aotearoa New Zealand shown by a departure from the migrant's originating country, travel to one or more secondary countries, and eventually Aotearoa New Zealand, as well as the direct migration from an originating country, but there could also be migration from an originating country, to Aotearoa New Zealand, and back. Although this was not as common due to the difficulty and distance in getting to Aotearoa New Zealand, it was not unheard of, particularly in the early 20th-century (Leith & Sim 2021, 464).

McClean in her thesis is concerned with many forms of migration to, and in some instances from, Aotearoa New Zealand, and claims that it is worthwhile 'to look at emigrants in terms of the families and households they left behind in Scotland, and in doing so to provide a more intimate view of the process of decision-making than has gone before' (McClean 1990, 46). Return migration plays a significant role in the

naming of landscapes, with individuals often bestowing names upon places even if they do not settle there permanently. Notable examples include Mt Cook and Banks Peninsula, named after explorers and naturalists who were part of expeditions but did not establish permanent settlements. Joseph Banks, a naturalist aboard Captain Cook's voyage, had Banks Peninsula named in his honor, while Mt Cook was named after Captain James Cook. These instances illustrate that one does not need to settle in a location to leave a lasting mark through place-naming (Land Information New Zealand, 2024; Captain Cook Society, 2024). While I will not be focusing on return migration from Aotearoa New Zealand to Scotland in this thesis, it is important to note that it was, and remains, a migration pattern seen in Aotearoa New Zealand and not just from Scotland, but other countries as well (Harper 2012; Leith & Sim 2021; Holmes & Burrows 2012).

5.2 First Encounters

It is impossible to comment on early migration in Aotearoa New Zealand without acknowledging those Indigenous to the land, the Māori. According to the archaeological record, it is believed that Aotearoa New Zealand was first settled sometime between AD 1250 and AD 1300 on deliberate voyages of discovery by peoples from central eastern Polynesia (Smith 2008, 368).

European emigration to Aotearoa New Zealand was not deemed an option until after Captain James Cook's *Endeavour* voyage in 1768. This voyage, and the subsequent voyages in 1772, and 1776, gave the European continent its first insight into where, who, and what resided in the foreign land of Aotearoa New Zealand. Cook's maps, journals, and reports, as well as his crew's drawings and notes on the flora and fauna of the land, inspired nations like Great Britain to seek out what the land had to offer.

5.2.1 Captain James Cook and his crew

Captain James Cook set sail on his scientific expedition on the *Endeavour* in 1768 to record the transit of Venus, and arrived on the shores of Aotearoa New Zealand's

North Island in 1769 after being given secret instructions from the British Admiralty to sail south in search for Terra Australis Incognita and explore the coast of Aotearoa New Zealand (McLintock 1949, 2). Along with Cook was a multidisciplinary crew of botanists, astronomers, and artists to name a few, all intent on not only charting the Pacific, but collecting flora and fauna and observations along the way. Along with Cook's own detailed journals and logs of the complete *Endeavour* voyage, his crew maintained their own accounts.⁷ Their arrival in Aotearoa New Zealand, as recorded by Cook and his crew, was 6 October 1769, in what is modern day Gisborne. Cook writes:

We saw in the Bay several Canoes, People upon the shore and some houses in the country. The land on the Sea-Coast is high with steep cliffs and back inland are very high mountains the face of the Country is of a hilly surface and appears to be clothed with wood and Verdure (Cook, 1769).

In Joseph Banks's (1743-1820) journal for 8 October, he details 'white cliffs like chalk' and 'hills in general clothd with trees' though he admits the appearance of the land is not as abundant as they had hoped (Banks, 1769). Banks himself was born on Argyle Street in London on 2 February 1743, and joined Cook's crew in 1769 as a botanist, reporting on all matters of the natural world in the Pacific (Banks 2011, xxv). Following this initial impression of Aotearoa New Zealand from offshore, four accounts of a hostile first encounter with the Indigenous population are recorded in the journals of James Cook, Joseph Banks, John Hawkesworth and Sydney Parkinson. The narrative follows much along the same line in all accounts:

The cockswain, who stayed in the pinnace, perceiving them, fired a musquatoon over their heads, but that did not seem to intimidate them: he therefore fired a musket, and shot one of them through the heart; upon

⁷ The journals of voyagers Captain John Byron (1723-1786), Philip Carteret (1733-1796), Samuel Wallis (1723-1795), John Hawkesworth (1720-1773), Sydney Parkinson (1745-1771), and Sir Joseph Banks (1743-1820), have all been digitalised, and offer the most transparent insight to the European experience of encountering Aotearoa New Zealand for the first time (Byron 1768, Hawkesworth 1773b, Hawkesworth 1773a).

which they were much alarmed, and retreated precipitately (Parkinson [1773] 1984, 87).

In Hawkesworth's account, there is slightly more detail regarding this incident, including a description of the Māori man who was shot being 'covered with a fine cloth' and 'his hair also was tied in a knot on top of his head' when observing the body before retreating back to the *Endeavour* (Hawkesworth 1773a, 180). Not even two days pass before a further two fatal encounters occur between Cook's men and the Māori people. Whilst we have multiple accounts of these interactions from the Captain and crew's viewpoint, 'A major difficulty in reconstructing these events is the contrast between the detail in the British journal accounts and the lack of similarly detailed eyewitness accounts from Maori perspectives' (Frame & Walker 2018, 60).

Traveling with Cook was Tupaia, a Tahitian priest and skilled navigator. Tupaia was an arioi, a member of a specialised class of priests and navigators in Tahitian society (Te Ara Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 2015). The ability of Tupaia to communicate with Māori was facilitated by the similarities between Tahitian and Māori languages. These languages are part of the Polynesian language family, which shares common linguistic features. Tupaia's knowledge of Tahitian, combined with his understanding of the broader Polynesian cultural and linguistic context, allowed him to effectively mediate interactions between Cook's crew and the Māori. Tupaia's role highlighted the shared linguistic and cultural heritage within Polynesian societies, which facilitated these early interactions (Frame & Walker 2018, 61). While there is debate about the extent of Polynesian awareness of Aotearoa New Zealand prior to European arrival, Tupaia's knowledge proved invaluable during Cook's voyage. Whilst most of Cook's travels took him in and around the North Island, he eventually made his way in January 1770 to the strait between the North and South Island, which was later named Cook Strait, before anchoring in the northernmost point of the South Island (Frame & Walker 2018, 62). The journals that were maintained by Cook often refer to Abel Tasman's voyage to Aotearoa New Zealand, which allows for a detailed comparison between what was

assumed about the country through Tasman's accounts, and what was uncovered or re-worked during Cook's voyage. An example of this can be found in Cook's account of where he thinks the *Endeavour* has made landfall according to his previous knowledge of Tasman's charts, and what he discovers upon speaking with the Māori people:

These people [the Māori] declared to us this morning that they never either saw or heard of a Ship like ours being upon this coast before. From this it appears that they have no Tradition [written or oral] among them of Tasman being here, for I believe Murderers Bay the place where he Anchor'd not to be far from this place (Cook 1770).

The journals of Cook and his crew highlight one of the earliest instances of Britain's colonial expansion in Aotearoa New Zealand, and land being claimed from the Indigenous population. In January 1770, Cook and Tupaia spoke with an old man called Topaa who granted the British permission to set up a post atop a hill on Motuara Island. This post recorded the name of the ship and the dates of its visit, which Cook then hoisted a Union flag above and claimed the land as Queen Charlotte Sound and 'took formal possession of it and the adjacent lands in the name of and for the use of his Majesty' (Cook 1770). This event seems to mark the first step in an official attempt at the systematic colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand, and the beginning of naming and re-naming of places within Aotearoa New Zealand. Similarly to the naming of Queen Charlotte Sound, the earliest documented place-name in the South Island, Cape Saunders, was coined after one of Cook's commanders and personal friend, Admiral Sir Charles Saunders (Griffiths, 1990, 37).

5.2.2 Missionaries

Although whalers and sealers had come and gone along Aotearoa New Zealand's coasts for over a century, the first signs of growing European migration in Aotearoa New Zealand were the arrival of missionaries. Reverend Samuel Marsden (1765–1838) of the Church of England, along with the first missionary settlers to Aotearoa

New Zealand landed at the Bay of Islands on Christmas Day 1814 where they planted the English flag (Owens 1968, 18). Marsden did not seem to make much headway with the conversion of Māori, as his first baptism did not take place until over a decade later in 1825 (Owens 1968, 18). Following Marsden's lead, another missionary, the Reverend Henry Williams (1792–1867), arrived in the Bay of Islands in 1823 (Moon & Fenton 2002, 52). In the 1830s missionaries applied Māori words to Christian concepts, bridging the gap between the Māori people and Christianity at last (Owens 1968, 20).

Following these early efforts to bring the Christian faith to Aotearoa New Zealand through missionaries, congregations began to arrive and settle in pockets of the country; most notably the McLeod congregation in Waipu in Aotearoa New Zealand's North Island. On 17 September 1853, the first wave of 'Normanites', followers of the Reverend Norman McLeod (1780–1866), arrived in Waipu, where they settled. As Rebecca Lenihan has commented, 'the McLeod-led migration has been frequently retold as the story of New Zealand's Scots, challenged only by the Otago settlement' (Lenihan 2015, 15). The Reverend Norman McLeod of Assynt, Sutherland, was responsible for the step-migration of nearly a thousand Highland immigrants to Aotearoa New Zealand in the 19th century. McLeod led his followers out of the Highlands and initially to Pictou, Canada in 1818, before shifting the group to St Ann's in Cape Breton in 1820 (Lenihan 2015, 15). The community remained in Cape Breton for the next 31 years until word of the prosperity of Australia reached McLeod, prompting him to move with 300 of his followers yet again. Finding themselves met with hardship and heartbreak at the loss of three of McLeod's sons to the typhoid epidemic in Australia, McLeod, a block of land for the Nova Scotian migrants was requested from the Governor of New Zealand, George Grey (Molloy, 1990). The granting of land to McLeod and his congregation in the 1850s marked a significant turning point in Aotearoa New Zealand settlement history (Richards 2001, 81; Richards 1985, 485), particularly as the goal was to build up a community, rather than engage with the current one through Māori conversion to Christianity.

5.3 Who Were the ‘Scots’?

Lenihan has observed that it is crucial to know *where* Aotearoa New Zealand’s Scottish migrants came from as a means of understanding who they were (Lenihan 2015, 33). It must be noted that this research has a focus on the impact of Scottish settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand due to the nature of Otago as the ‘Scottish settlement’, though of course there were emigrants from the entirety of the British Empire and beyond who made their way to Aotearoa throughout this heavy period of migration in the 19th century.

It is clear in the data presented by Lenihan in *From Alba to Aotearoa*, that Scottish settlement was primarily in the Otago and Southland Regions, though it is important to note that Southland became its own province separate from Otago in 1861. Two thirds of the early Otago migrants were Free Church Presbyterians, according to Lenihan, because Dunedin was formed as a Scottish Free Church settlement in 1848 with the ‘notion of forming a distinctly Scottish centre in New Zealand’ arising some six years earlier in 1842 (Lenihan 2015, 63). There were many population shifts within the Otago Region, often linked to changing circumstances such as the gold rush (Lenihan 2015, 61). Data from the Ministry of Culture and Heritage’s Peopling of New Zealand Project (PNZ) shows a spike in the Otago population between 1860 and 1863, which could account for the New Zealand Government enlisting the help of J. T. Thomson in surveying the interior of Otago to better meet the needs of the Region in response to the gold rush population increase at this time (Lenihan 2015, 64). It is believed that Otago, and Southland at the time, remained the most Scottish parts of Aotearoa New Zealand throughout the 1840-1920 period (Lenihan 2015, 67), but despite this, pockets of Scottish settlers did exist elsewhere in the country such as Waimate, Amuri, and Cheviot in the Canterbury Region on the east coast of the South Island. After the 1840-1920 period, there is evidence of significant internal migration which complicates the data significantly (Lenihan 2015, 67).

In Rosalind McClean's 1990 thesis, 'Scottish emigrants to New Zealand, 1840-1880: motives, means and background', the guiding questions are: who were the emigrants who left Scotland for Aotearoa New Zealand, why did they travel 15,000 miles to Britain's farthest colony when other 'established' destinations were closer and cheaper to reach, and how were they enabled to go (McClean 1990, abstract). Researchers concerned with Scottish emigration to Aotearoa New Zealand tend to focus on the 'who' aspect of settlement rather than the 'why', which is what sets McClean's research apart from many other studies. McClean raises the question of 'permanent' versus 'temporary' migration and the challenges that come with differentiating between these (McClean 1990, 1). In the context of place-names, these concerns raised by McClean lead to the question of which place-names were used for sites of temporary settlement such as the canvas towns in the Central Otago goldfields, or for sites intended for permanent settlement as seen more commonly in the Clutha District. If migration has been a step process, for example, via Australia, or in the case of the Normanites via Canada and Australia, this leaves a potentially intriguing toponymic footprint.

By the time of Scottish emigration to Aotearoa New Zealand, Scotland was already a highly industrial and urban society, with many people having already made the move to from rural areas to cities like Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen (Lenihan 2015, 118). Aotearoa New Zealand was, comparatively, very rural with the majority of occupations being in the agricultural sector. Even though many Scots seem to have emigrated from the Lowlands, many would have been forced there by the conditions in the Highlands and elsewhere in rural Scotland at the time which saw more and more people moving to larger cities with the advancement of industrialisation and work in the industrial sector. To trace emigrant occupations, as well as other valuable data such as births, deaths, and ages, in Aotearoa New Zealand, Lenihan uses the New Zealand Society of Genealogists Scottish Interest Group (NZSG) and the PNZ databases which include land deeds, cemetery records, hospital records, and many other valuable sources of genealogical data. The 'snapshot' approach to records of emigrant occupations only presents part of the picture, as many settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand held many jobs, sometimes

across different labour sectors, over their lifetime. Women are often overlooked in the data as well, since it relies heavily on the listed occupation on death records. In regard to the data provided by Lenihan, there is an apparent discrepancy between the PNZ and NZSG data due to collection methods, and inexact records, such as missing/unclear information on death certificates. According to McClean, the Commissioners for Emigration made no distinction between Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia in their tabular returns, which is an issue that could occur in other records as well, so it is important to note if this differentiation is made or not (McClean 1990, 26).

Another point Lenihan makes early on is the tendency of past research to refer to Aotearoa New Zealand immigrants as 'British' rather than defining where within Britain they originated (Scotland, Wales, England) (Lenihan 2015, 16). As Lenihan's research is within the confines of the 1840-1920 period, she then goes on to explain how methods of transport affected migratory patterns during this period, noting that the first fully steam-powered ships did not arrive in the port at Dunedin until 1874 due to the lack of ports for refuelling with coal en route (Lenihan 2015, 21). However, despite the travel difficulties and length of the journey to Aotearoa New Zealand before 1874, one of the largest spikes in emigration to Aotearoa New Zealand happened in the period of 1853-70 during the gold rush (Lenihan 2015, 24). The gold rush attracted a large number of single male migrants to the South Island, some of whom had been living previously in Australia. This being said, although it is not within the scope of this thesis, it would be a useful line of inquiry to consider the place-names within Otago that are Australian in origin and see if the families resident in these locations can be tied to the location in Australia. This would make the motivation for the place-name clearer and give it a time frame of having appeared during the gold rush period. Lenihan notes in her introduction the limited, or even non-existent availability, of sources on Aotearoa New Zealand immigration such as passenger lists for migrants not travelling on sponsored schemes such as that of the New Zealand Company (Lenihan 2015, 26) (see 5.4.1). In Lenihan's research questions, it is clear she has the goal of addressing the sources, origins, and migration patterns of the Scots in Aotearoa New Zealand, but

not the goal of addressing the impact of this immigration on Aotearoa New Zealand (Lenihan 2015, 29). Instead, Lenihan addresses what the loss of these Aotearoa New Zealand migrants meant for the country they left behind.

A further point of note for the motivations behind Scottish migration to Aotearoa New Zealand Lenihan makes is that ‘Scots did not, by and large, arrive as victims, but rather as “willing exiles”’ (Lenihan 2015, 60). Although many Scots ended up in Canada due to its relative proximity to Scotland and the high concentration of Scots in places such as Nova Scotia, it was Aotearoa New Zealand that was a most favoured location for Scottish emigrants, with a high preference for its resemblance to Scotland particularly in the South Island (Buelmann 2008, 258).

5.3.1 Emigrant demographics and statistics

McClellan notes that ‘between 1858 and 1864 the population of Otago grew from 6,944 to 49,019, an increase of over 600 per cent in just six years’ and by 1864 Otago was home to 28.5 per cent of Aotearoa New Zealand’s non-Māori population (McClellan 1990, 27). Additionally, Scots made up 52 per cent of all Aotearoa New Zealand residents during this period, however, McClellan also notes here that the number of emigrants who were born in Scotland but came to Otago via the gold diggings in Victoria, Australia, is unknown (ibid.). While it may be challenging statistically to determine the proportion of settlers who were born in Scotland that emigrated to Otago due to step-migration, place- names may in fact give us insight to the possible origins of the settlers in the Otago Region’s goldmines.

The emigrant population and migration patterns of Aotearoa New Zealand Scots are quite different to other colonised ‘New World’ countries, such as those in North America. However, according to Lenihan, it can be problematic to make direct comparisons with emigrants to other countries, ‘owing to the different types and date ranges of the data used in studies of migrant patterns’ (Lenihan 2015, 97). In terms of demographics, the Otago Region was found to have the most balanced ratio of male-to-female emigrants, perhaps because ‘single females and single males were actively recruited by various assisted immigration schemes, [however]

for most counties and Regions in Scotland married people were considerably more likely than single adults to emigrate' (Lenihan 2015, 102). The average age of migrants was relatively young in their early 20s, prior to 1886, after which time the average age increased to between 26 and 33 (Lenihan 2015, 110).

Independent settlers emigrating to Aotearoa New Zealand were not as common as family groups, however, often independent migration was made with the goal for kin to emigrate once the homestead was established. There seemed to be a definite keenness to maintain Scottish identity in relation to the Aotearoa New Zealand namescape, particularly in the South Island where there were more instances of Scottish-centred migration schemes (see 5.4). As Lenihan speculates, perhaps there is such a heavy use of Scottish place-names in the predominantly Scottish south versus the more diverse north, as a means of establishing 'Scottishness' during these waves of community migration (2015, 180).

5.4 Migration Schemes

The leading schemes prompting the waves of migration to Aotearoa New Zealand were primarily the New Zealand Company until 1851, individual immigration schemes, such as the Otago Association, in the 1850s and 1860s, then the Vogel Scheme in the 1870s (Fry & Wilson 2018, 10; McCarthy 2005, 7; Simpson 1997, 93). Though it is challenging to follow the evolution of settlement in Otago due to migratory patterns like step-migration, we can track changes in place-names throughout the Region which offers us insight into the settlement patterns which were impacted by migrant schemes, described briefly below, but evidenced in further detail in Chapters Seven and Eight.

By the nineteenth century Scots were the biggest landowners of any population, Indigenous or otherwise, in part due to the migration schemes targeting a demographic of Scots who could work the land (Brooking & Coleman 2003, 52). Gaelic was brought to the South Island by some of these Scottish migrants, making its imprint on the namescape during early colonisation, but it quickly died out with new generations of Scottish-New Zealanders. 14 percent of Otago names are Gaelic

in origin or derivation according to Tom Brooking in his article in *The Heather and the Fern*, although he concedes some early run names, where many of these migrants were given land through schemes, may have contributed to this number and did not survive when leases were handed over to the Crown (Brooking & Coleman 2003, 55). In support of Brooking's findings in the corpus of names considered localities I have surveyed from the Central Otago and Clutha Districts, there are rare few place-names that contain genuine Gaelic elements. Examples such as Balclutha, Caberfeidh, and Finegand illustrate different aspects of Scottish heritage rather than direct evidence of Gaelic naming. Balclutha, likely inspired by James Macpherson's *Poems of Ossian*, combines 'Bal' from Gaelic with 'Clutha,' a romanticised name for the River Clyde (Macpherson, 1765). Caberfeidh, meaning 'Deer's Antlers,' reflects the war cry of Clan Mackenzie, highlighting the influence of clan identity. Finegand is a transferred name from a farm in Glenshee, Perthshire, showing the settlers' desire to bring familiar names to their new environment.

In later years, the efforts to settle Aotearoa New Zealand continued in new forms and with new motives. The Empire Settlement Act of 1922, which brought an additional 44,700 migrants from Britain between 1922 and 1936, was created as a means of increasing the population and industry in Aotearoa New Zealand after numbers began to slow (Lenihan 2015, 160). The New Zealand Sheepowners' Acknowledgement of Debt to British Seamen Fund was the most specific assistance, but apparently it worked to bring a younger generation of migrants to Aotearoa New Zealand (Lenihan, 2015, 162).

5.4.1 The New Zealand Company and Otago Association

The New Zealand Company was in operation from 1839 to 1858, with the Otago Association strand operating from 1845 until the dissolution of the New Zealand Company in 1858. In a strategic grab for money and power, Edward Gibbon Wakefield (1796-1862), director of the newly formed New Zealand Company in 1839, hastened to acquire land from the Māori, 'because intending emigrants and speculators had to pay in London for the land they were to own in New Zealand,'

and so money in the ranges of hundreds of thousands of pounds for purchase flowed in (Rees & Rees 2011, 92). Several Company ships filled with emigrants sailed to Aotearoa New Zealand without waiting for purchase confirmation, surprising the Māori as well as emigrants when they landed only to discover no agreements on boundaries or rights had been arranged (Rees & Rees 2011, 92).

In the Wakefield era (1840-1846) of the New Zealand Company, there was a highly controversial policy of 'sufficient price'. This policy stated that, 'the price of colonial land was to be set artificially high in order to meet the cost of emigration' which was in place to 'ensure that those who were assisted to emigrate did not quickly become landowners' (McClellan 1990, 39). It was the lack of interest in this scheme that prompted the creation of the Otago Association in 1845, presided over by Scotsmen in Edinburgh who described themselves as the Lay Association of the Free Church. Around 400,000 acres of land were purchased in July 1844 for the Otago Association by the New Zealand Company (Ward 2009, 7). The Otago Association had strict religious criteria emigrants needed to meet in order to obtain free passage to Aotearoa New Zealand with the Association.

For example, potential settler William Poppelwell of Hutton on the Scottish border near Berwick-upon-Tweed and his wife, Catherine McLachlan of Fort William, were experienced in farming, had three young children, and for all intents and purposes were 'in an ideal position to become colonists' (Brosnahan 2012, 27). However, Poppelwell was refused passage by the Otago Association in 1848 as the family was deemed unsuitable due to not meeting the religious criteria of the Association by being Free Church members, though they were later approved once Poppelwell put down £108 to become a Scottish purchaser of Otago land (Brosnahan 2012, 27). In the end however, only two thirds of the 19th-century settlers to the Otago Association's block of land identified as Presbyterians, rather than Free Church (Te Ara Encyclopaedia, n.d.), with the priority of settler selection increasingly seeming to be for those who had money to invest in the colonial project. During this era, many 19th-century British settlers including Scots viewed Māori as a 'bar' to colonial progress, with Scots 'helping to dispossess Māori of their land almost as

effectively as the English did' (Brooking & Coleman 2003, 61). This follows a trend of not just companies and the government, but settlers themselves, justifying their actions of acquiring land unfairly from the Māori by believing that they could run Māori land better than the Māori. Although there is evidence of the use of place-naming to stamp out the Māori influence in the landscape since the time of Captain Cook, these efforts were reinforced through the various migration schemes at play in the Otago Region.

Indeed, the process of using place-naming to diminish Māori influence in the landscape, traceable back to the era of Captain Cook, can be understood through the lens of toponymic silencing. This concept, explored in the work of Kaisa Rautio Helander, highlights the deliberate efforts to obscure or erase Indigenous place-names as part of broader colonial strategies (2014). In the Otago Region, these endeavors were further intensified by various migration schemes, which not only brought more settlers but also reinforced the imposition of non-Māori toponyms, effectively marginalising the original Māori names and, by extension, Māori cultural presence in the landscape. One example of this is the place-name Molyneux, which has been questioned as to what area it is referring to, the proper spelling of the name, and what period in time it was bestowed (Griffiths 1990, 60). The river, which today is known as the Clutha, is the longest river in the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand, making it a key feature throughout South Island history. A Māori village existed at the river entrance where there was also a whaling station named Clutha. The Māori name for the Clutha River is the Mata-Au, meaning 'surface current' (McLintock 1966). However, the first appearance of a name for the Clutha River/Mata-Au was the Molyneux River, seen on Cook's map from his 1769-1770 voyage to Aotearoa New Zealand, published in the *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas* (1773) by Sydney Parkinson. Although the name being utilised in this map reads Molineux's Harbour, subsequent maps interpreted this place-name as the given name for the river connected to the harbour as well, with various changes to the spelling of the name. Though the name first appeared on maps as a harbour and river mouth entrance before 1830, by 1852 the New Zealand Company had their

surveyors move where Molyneux was located on maps to an inland section of the river past the Blue Mountains (Griffiths 1990, 62).

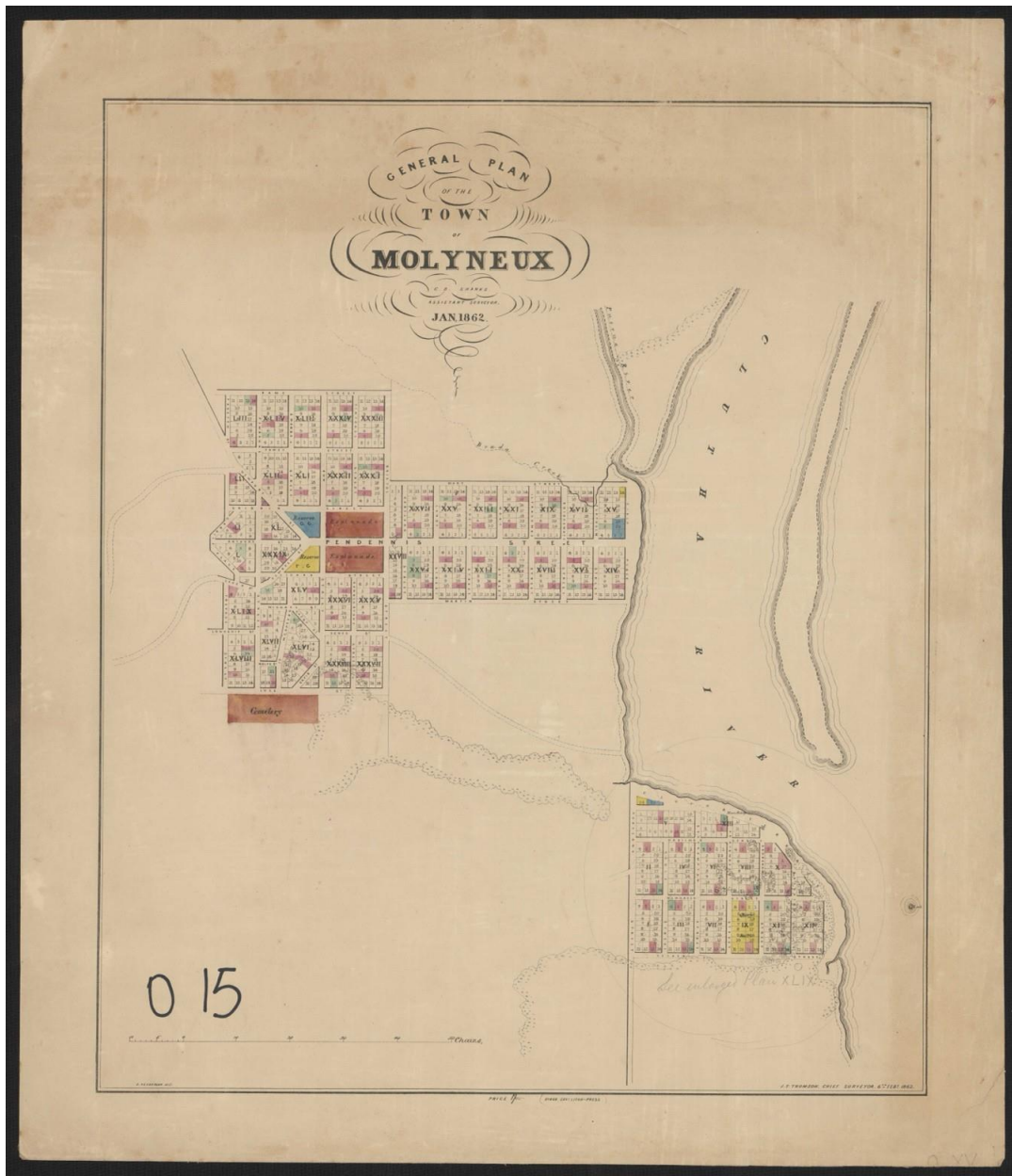


Figure 5-1 Town of Molyneux (Anonymous, 1862).

This name took on more significance to early settlers in its inland location during the gold rush, as it was close to the mining town of Dunstan. Within a period of 30 years Molyneux lost all significance as the name was voted out when official place-naming debates took place after the dissolution of the New Zealand Company in the late 19th century (OW 29 Sept 1898). Even the use of the port at Port Molyneux was

wiped out by a flood in 1878 (CL 18 Oct 1878) further reducing the importance of, and use of the name Molyneux. Following the decision to erase the name Molyneux from the map by New Zealand Company surveyors, there was some debate as to what the river name should be changed to (Griffiths 1990, 63). Having superseded the river name Molyneux as the front-runner for such a symbolic representation of the Otago Region, the Clutha River represented an unambiguous signifier of the Otago Region's Scottish influence and association. The Clutha River, also known by its Māori name Mata-Au meaning 'surface current,' has a complex history of naming that reflects both Indigenous heritage and colonial influences. For a comprehensive discussion on the origin and meaning of the Clutha River name, see section 7.2. The nearby town, Balclutha, was almost the river name before the naming committee, of which the Otago Association oversaw, settled on just Clutha in 1846 (NZSCSG 8 Aug 1846).

As well as the unscrupulous ways in which the New Zealand Company acquired its land and parcelled it off to unwitting emigrants, the Company did play a key role in the settlement and exploration of Aotearoa New Zealand. A New Zealand Company investor, Frederick Tuckett, for example, investigated viable transport routes among the southern settlements from Nelson to Bluff, and in 1846 'the journey by Thomas Brunner and Charles Heaphy was one of the most arduous in the history of New Zealand exploration, the pair journeying from Nelson down the Buller River and the West Coast to Arahura and back over 560 days' (New Zealand Ministry for Culture and Heritage, n.d.).

In the midst of the New Zealand Company's early dealings, the TOW and resulting annexation of Aotearoa New Zealand occurred in 1840, requiring a review of all land purchases to date from the Māori. The New Zealand Company was required to come forward with evidentiary support to its dealings not only for their clients to whom they promised land to develop, but the Māori people and their consent to the actions of the Company. The New Zealand Company was determined to maintain its foothold in the country despite Crown intervention invalidating many of the Company's land purchase transactions from 1840 to 1845 (Simpson 1997, 66). By the

time the New Zealand Company and its key players were brought before the Committee of the House of Representatives of New Zealand in regard to the substantial debt they were in, the Company had not only destroyed the lives and livelihoods of hundreds of settlers, but also ‘brought about the massacre at the Wairau [...] harassed the gallant Captain Hobson to death, and driven Captain Fitzroy well-nigh into lunacy; it had deceived the English Government [sic] and a Committee of the House of Commons, and had commenced a civil war in New Zealand’ for which it is claimed was only halted and the threat of subsequent ‘total extermination’ of the Pākehā averted by Governor Grey (Rees & Rees 2011, 97). The New Zealand Company regularly sought to convince the British Government to throw out the TOW and claim ownership over the entirety of Aotearoa New Zealand for the Crown, which ultimately was a guise to increase the reach and wealth of the New Zealand Company. For some time, this was a tensely debated issue, both within and outwith Aotearoa New Zealand, at both local and national government levels. With the TOW being brought into question frequently, as well as the continuation of land grabbing and questionable dealings by the New Zealand Company, war eventually broke out in the Bay of Islands in 1844-47, adding yet another motivation for the dissolution of the New Zealand Company in 1858 (Marais 1927, 246). The downfall of the New Zealand Company had a lasting effect on the Otago Region, and was partially to blame for the long-term effects of land grabbing and temporary settlements caused by the gold rush on the rural interior of Otago.

5.4.2 The Vogel Era

The Vogel Era, as it came to be known, lasted a short period from 1873 to 1876, but resulted in a major transformation of Aotearoa New Zealand from a Māori world, to a Pākehā one (Simpson 1997, 174). Much like how the New Zealand Company aimed to entice settlers, and in the process suppressed the Indigenous population, Colonial Treasurer Julius Vogel (1835-1899) sought to acquire as much native land for the Crown as fast as possible and accelerate European colonisation through ambitious investments in Aotearoa New Zealand infrastructure.

Vogel arrived in Otago in 1861, in the midst of a booming Dunedin despite the country-wide state of civil war between the Māori and Pākehā. Using his influence as proprietor of the *Otago Daily Times*, Vogel quickly developed a taste for being heard in the public sphere. An advocate for the separation of the North and South Islands into separate countries, Vogel insisted the creation of a new South Island colony with a national government located in Dunedin would halt the depletion of the South's wealth and prosperity by the North in their costly wars (Brett, 2016).

With a voice far-reaching through his articles, and an interest in national politics, Vogel quickly cemented his role in the Aotearoa New Zealand Government as its Treasurer in 1869. It was clear Vogel had a talent and passion for economic growth, leading to his creation of the 1870 Great Public Works Policy (Brett, 2016), which 'made provision for the first time for the appointment of an agent-general to represent the New Zealand government in Britain' (Simpson 1997, 174). Roads, bridges, port facilities, telegraph lines, and over 1,000 miles of new steam railway lines were only part of the sales package Vogel was promoting to increase Pākehā settlement. To achieve his goals, Vogel employed a number of schemes such as reserving land for the government near projected railway stations for the government to resell at a higher value once the stations had been built (Hawke 1985, 81).

While Vogel was at the forefront of development policy in Aotearoa New Zealand, he also created the Public Trust Offices and State Insurance in an effort to preserve assets for future use, including land (McLintock 1966). When these efforts were blocked by provincial politicians, Vogel pushed for the abolition of the provinces. With the abolition referendum passing in 1876, Vogel made his way to London for a time while the country he had set down a path of egregious spending and in-progress development projects, spiralled into a depression (Simpson 1997, 184). The collapse of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878 had a large enough impact on Aotearoa New Zealand to end the Vogel decade, halt purchasing in the land market, and lead to a depression. In 1880 the Crown instructed Vogel that he was to offer no more free or assisted passages to Aotearoa New Zealand, and that, 'the country

could not absorb any more workers, and nothing should be done to encourage them to come' (Simpson 1997, 187). Declining prices for exports including wool and the decline of gold outputs from 1879 onward created 'a high level of indebtedness, both private and public, low and falling wages, unemployment, and destitution in the towns' (McLintock 1966). Even Vogel's return in 1884 could not turn the tide of the mounting debt facing Aotearoa New Zealand.

Although times were more challenging than when the Vogel scheme was first implemented, the number of Scots emigrating to Aotearoa New Zealand remained stable throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, with an average estimated total of 117,000 Scottish-born migrants arriving in Aotearoa New Zealand between 1840 and 1939 (Buelmann, Hinson & Morton 2013, 246). This stability in emigrant numbers perhaps signifies the lasting effect of Vogel's promises of a new, industrious nation to all those who sought it.

5.5 Gold Mining in Otago

The first discovery of gold in Otago, by Gabriel Read (1825-1894), was in May 1861 (Hearn 2003, 70). The diggings established by Read remained the most prominent locality for mining throughout the gold rush era, with Read gaining 'esteem and provincial government bonuses' including his name being given to the locality of the find, Gabriels Gully (Walrond, 2006). The sudden rise of gold-seeking migrants to the area immediately following this discovery was made possible partially because of the proximity of Aotearoa New Zealand to Australia, where a thriving gold mining community already existed. This is the height of the step-migration period in Aotearoa New Zealand which was dominated by young, single males from the United Kingdom and Australia (Hearn 2003, 74). Terry Hearn's article, which profiles the gold miners in Otago and the west coast from 1861 to 1870, indicates that numerous tradespeople remained in Otago even after the gold rush had subsided (Hearn 2003, 75-81).

Prior to the discovery of gold in the Region, Otago was primarily recognised, especially among local migrant populations, as an area first settled by an

association of the Scottish Free Church, with little else distinguishing its early European settlement history. However, with recent gold discoveries within the Region, suddenly interest in the Otago Region from the public grew (Wekey 1862, 5). It was believed that gold was the chief source of attraction at that time to Otago. However, the discovery of gold at Gabriels Gully was not the first time gold had been mentioned in historical records associated with Aotearoa New Zealand, in fact, the knowledge of goldfields in the country stretches back to the earliest days of colonisation (Wekey 1862, 47). The general view was that:

Otago is only a *dependency of a dependency*: that even if the gold fields of the province should continue to hold out inducements to emigration from the Australian colonies, it is not within the power of the provincial legislature to bring in, [...] and render their labor a permanent source of national wealth (Wekey 1862, ix).

Suddenly, a once extremely rural and sparsely populated Region needed to accommodate thousands of emigrants arriving daily, which in turn led to a greater awareness and understanding of the interior of the South Island.

Queenstown, for example, was rapidly erected in the far west of Otago during the gold rush (Griffiths 1990, 29). Despite having no previous European settlement and the temporary name of Rees Run as a placeholder when gold was discovered in the Region, Queenstown blossomed in the wake of the gold rush prosperity.

Just as gold-seekers sought the metal as a way to increase their fortunes, the government in Aotearoa New Zealand sought to increase their economic standing through the gold rush period, as well. However, the gold rush period in Aotearoa New Zealand never quite lived up to other goldfields in the amount of wealth there was to be gained, with many miners arriving to find that the goldfields of Otago were not as prosperous of those they left in Australia such as Mount Alexander, Bendigo, or Ballaarat (Wekey 1862, 8). Bendigo, a site in the Central Otago goldfields, is a name shared with the prosperous Bendigo goldfield in Victoria,

Australia. This place-name reflects a trend of transferring names from well-known diggings abroad. In Victoria, the name Bendigo is said to originate from the nickname of the English prizefighter William 'Abednego' Thompson, popularly known as Bendigo (Reed, 2010). Various explanations for the name's origin include a corruption of 'bandicoot,' an Australian animal, or after a Portuguese digger named Ben Diego (NZTB, 1904). The name Bendigo in Central Otago symbolises a 'lucky' name, often used nostalgically by New Zealand miners to evoke good fortune, much like its Australian counterpart (Carpenter, 2013b). The press of the gold rush period encouraged this flow of migrants from the Australian goldfields, particularly those in Victoria, to the Central Otago goldfields (Davy 2021, 85). In addition to the influence from Australia, there was also a California dimension to the gold rush migrations. The waning of the California Gold Rush after 1849 led many experienced miners to seek new opportunities in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand. This influx of skilled miners brought advanced techniques and contributed significantly to the gold mining industries in these regions (Faculty of History, 2018).

Many seasoned diggers hailing from Australia arrived on the shores of Otago with the intention to turn a profit and move along. However, the gold-fields of Otago were an entirely different beast to those in Australia, as the miners found out very early on: 'the success of the first few at Gabriel's Gully, and the favourable season when these workings were opened, was the means of causing a large rush to Otago in the spring and summer of 1861, and materially advanced the prosperity of the province' (Wekey 1862, 48). Despite the early success of many diggers in the first wave of mining, it was the Otago winters that brought the greatest challenge to those in the goldfields, with fuel and timber shortages adding to the difficulty in turning a profit in these conditions (Wekey 1862, 49). With the arrival of winter, large numbers of diggers returned to their old homes in Australia or even all the way back to Britain, with few willing to brave the harsher Otago climate through the winter in hopes that the reopening of the mines would be worth the effort (Davy 2021, 226).

Propaganda was rife in the early days of the Central Otago rush, with regular news of rich goldfields like the *Otago Daily Times* report, as cited in Carpenter 2013b, ‘immense yields seem to be the order of the day, and some of the reported finds are almost fabulous, and were they not well authenticated would appear exaggerations [...] to give returns of all the rich finds is an impossibility’. The ‘rush’ implied by the *Otago Daily Times* was, in fact, more of a trickling of gold in various mines throughout the country, none of which was nearly as prosperous as the fields of Australia or even California. According to Davy, between 1862 and 1864, 391,780 letters were sent from Otago to Australia, with some 349,715 newspapers having been shipped to Australia from the Otago Region, carrying propaganda and rumours to entice gold seekers to take up work in the Central Otago goldfields (2021, 76). Emigrants and diggers alike flocked to Otago following the promises of ‘immense yields’. At its worst, the ‘rush’ behaviour, fuelled by rumours, prompted Gabriel Read to attempt to calm things down, by writing a letter to the *Otago Witness*:

It may perhaps be the means of saving some trouble and disappointment to many, if I am permitted to inform those who are interested in digging affairs [...] I was not successful in striking on anything which would justify me in pronouncing authoritatively that I have found the goldfield in the commercial paying sense of the term [in the area the miners had rushed to] (Carpenter 2013b, 108).

There was increasing panic at the prospect of joining in the rush, only to find the goldfields tapped out within a season or two resulting in high unemployment and rising living costs (Wekey 1862, 52). According to Wekey, a rising crisis in Otago spurred on by immigration rates of 1,000-2,000 people a day, of which thirty one percent were born in Scotland (Wekey 1862, 52), along with scarce meat and bread, prompted the Chief Commissioner of the Otago gold fields to handle future gold fields, starting with Nokomai, with more care in order to avoid mass hysteria (Davy 2021, 31). While Wekey’s data offers valuable context, the daily immigration rates

of 1,000-2,000 should be interpreted cautiously as they likely represent peak influx periods rather than sustained rates (1862; 2021).

Favourable reports of Nokomai drove miners to take risks fleeing towards this new promise of gold, crossing pathless snowy mountains and suffering cold, hunger, and fatigue, very likely resulting in a high number of unreported deaths on the journey alone (Wekey 1862, 54).

Time and time again, the Commissioner's reports of the abundance of these diggings drove miners to risk life and limb in anticipation of reported wealth, only to learn the reports had been greatly exaggerated. As a result, not only the miners themselves, but journals in the Otago Region spoke out to denounce the reports and clear up misunderstandings among new arrivals before they made the journey to the diggings (Wekey 1862, 55). In the end, the Region found ways to benefit from this wealth of a labour force willing to work for less than a living wage, with Wekey recording:

the squatter and stock-owner of Otago continues to thrive on the loss of those who may have been deluded by the ephemeral attractions of the Otago gold-fields to emigrate thither from other countries, and thus also command the cheap labor of starving hundreds who, not able to leave the country, are willing and glad to work for a mere subsistence (1862, 57).

One narrative often omitted from the gold rush era is that of the role of Māori. In 1861, it is estimated that 'at least 100 of the locals at Gabriel's gully were Māori. Certainly there were enough Māori miners at the Tuapeka [field] that one of the richest gullies in Upper Waitahuna was named Māori Gully' (Carpenter 2013b, 57). Despite this, the Māori miners at the Tuapeka and other gold fields tend to be overlooked, or passed off as an anonymous group. Even more interesting is the suggestion that Māori miners might have crossed over to Australia to prosper from their gold fields, only to return to their own during the peak of Aotearoa New Zealand's gold rush (Carpenter 2013b, 45). However, 'it is not clear, once the

Aorere field in late 1856 or the Otago fields in the early 1860s were declared, whether any Māori miners came back from Australia to work in the new gold Regions of their home land’ (Carpenter 2013b, 45). In addition, no Māori sources from the height of the gold rush in Central Otago are known. Despite the lack of written sources from first-hand Māori accounts, we do know that the Māori were integral in the mining efforts in Otago, ‘Gold was found, and it was through the efforts of Māori miners that New Zealand’s first gold export occurred in April 1857’ (Carpenter 2013b, 56). There is also a theory that Māori miners knew of more profitable ground which they chose to keep to themselves prior to the 1861 rush, though as Carpenter states in his thesis, ‘as soon as Otago Māori comprehended the value their new pākehā neighbours placed on gold they spoke up’ (Carpenter 2013b, 71). In 1861 with the rush to Gabriels Gully, it was noted by the editor of the *Otago Colonist* that a ‘considerable number of Maories have already gone’ (Carpenter 2013a, 110). An early arrival from Australia wrote to a friend in Bendigo, Victoria, that ‘Maories have brought down several nuggets from the high ranges, where a good lot of them are dwelling’ which would indicate considerable prospecting activity on their part (Carpenter 2013b, 57).

Regardless of whether some Māori were holding on to their own discoveries of gold or not, they nonetheless engaged in the traditional gold fields as the Pākehā and Chinese emigrants did. For example:

In early 1863, Māori miners were at the Lakes District goldfield in some numbers. They became the team to beat in goldfields leisure pursuits. Stories emerged of good-natured sports competition between Britons and Maories held at Queenstown on the weekends (Carpenter 2013b, 62).

Gold mining history in Aotearoa New Zealand was almost over as soon as it began, with the Otago gold-rush peaking in the 1860s, followed by diggers moving on to the West Coast goldfields once the rush had subsided. Although the gold rush tends to be seen as a Pākehā movement, it in truth was a phenomenon that affected and brought together emigrant and Māori alike. Refusing to stand aside, the Māori were

active participants in the search for gold throughout Aotearoa New Zealand. They even had an advantage as their 'indigenous knowledge helped them to avoid the perils of flooded river crossings and diet- induced scurvy, and their collective power enabled those who would dispossess them of payable claims merely on the basis of colour, to be fought off (Carpenter 2013b, 71). Bearing this in mind, the use of the Māori language in place-names, interwoven through the interior of Otago with Pākehā place- names, makes much more sense and adds more depth to what was once inaccurately seen as a remote, unnamed Region.

For the purpose of this thesis, I have made note of the record of gold-fields in the Otago Region as they were in 1862. This can be updated and compared to later gold fields noted in Herries Beattie's *Place-names of Otago*:

Tuapeka Gold-field, 70 miles from Dunedin, including Gabriel's Gully, is about the most favoured of the Otago gold-fields.

Waitahuna, 59 miles from Dunedin.

Woolshed, 45 miles from Dunedin.

Waipori, 40 miles from Dunedin.

Mount Highlay, best available road to this field is by way of Waikuaitei, from which place it is 55 miles.

The Lindis, 160 miles from Dunedin.

Moeraki Beach, 40 miles from Dunedin, easily accessible by steamers.

The Dunstan Diggings, 110 miles from Dunedin.

The Nokomai Diggings, 170 miles from Dunedin.

Conroy's Gully, 9 miles from Dunstan.

Potter's Gully, 25 miles from Dunstan. (Wekey 1862, 58-60).

5.6 Settlers make the foreign, familiar

There are many clear impacts of Scottish settlement apparent in the Otago Region that have been observed, such as the architecture of the University of Otago copying some aspects of the architecture of the University of Glasgow, and the introduction of salmon to New Zealand by Scots which altered the flora and fauna of rivers and lakes in the country (Brooking & Coleman 2003, 57). It brings to mind a quote from New Zealand TV presenter, Kenneth McKellar: 'how is it that the further Scots get from home the more Scottish they seem to become?' (cited in Hewitson 1998, 3). However, settlement in Otago is not that different from many other colonised Regions from around the world: with the arrival of voyagers making initial claims including initial place-naming, followed by missionaries, merchants, surveyors, and eventually those seeking to settle for a chance of better fortune and opportunity.

The current understanding of the lifestyle of the first Pākehā in Aotearoa New Zealand is based on the, rather uninformed, idea of who Scottish settlers were, and what they brought with them to Aotearoa New Zealand, when the reality of their life might actually have been very different. Much like the misrepresentation of Scottish settlers in some colonial-era exhibitions as all refugees, the idea of 'Scottishness' in Aotearoa New Zealand has been twisted and morphed into something that has no real academic backing. Through utilising a mixture of place-name evidence, settler demographics, and migration history, it is possible to create a clear picture of Scottish settlement in the Otago Region, and how it impacts the Region even to this day.

Having addressed the motivations behind the movement of Scots to Aotearoa New Zealand, I want to conclude by acknowledging the way this movement is discussed is different to other instances of migration across the globe. When discussing colonial migration, it is essential to recognise that:

the movement of (wealthy) white people is not labelled ‘migration’ but rather ‘mobility’. Those moving from the North to the South are ‘adventurers,’ ‘explorers’ and ‘discoverers’ drawing on centuries of colonising narratives to explain their needs to work and play in the countries of others, taking what they want and need for their own pleasures whilst all too frequently seeing themselves as bringing ‘civilisation’ to others in the process (Sitholé et. al. 2022, 18).

An excerpt of a poem by Rita Joe (2020) that exemplifies the impact of colonial movements on the naming process reads:

Ke'kwilmi'tij, Let them find
 Maqamikewe'l wisunn, Land names,
 Apaqte'l wisunn, Titles of seas,
 Sipu'l; Rivers;
 Mukk kasa'tu mikuite'tmaqnmk Wipe them not from memory.
 Ula knu'kwaqnn These are our monuments.
 By Rita Joe, translated by Sophie M. Lavoie

(cited in Joudry 2020, 21)

There was an apparent need for Scottish settlers to make familiar the foreign landscape, rather than immerse themselves in the existing Indigenous language, traditions, and lifeways. Despite this, there were attempts by a few Scottish

settlers to engage with the Māori on questions of place and ownership, such as by Tiree-born Donald McLean (1820-1877), the Native Secretary and Land Purchase Commissioner, who learned te reo Māori and cultural protocol before engaging in any negotiations around land (Bueltmann, Hinson & Morton 2013, 95). However, these rare instances of Māori consultation did not change the influence Scottish settlers had over the namescape, as they sought to impose their identity in this country far from home. In the following chapter, these settler-Māori interactions will be explored, focusing on the impact of these interactions on the Otago namescape.

6 Ingoa Wāhi o Te Waipounamu, and Settler-Māori Interactions

Ingoa Wāhi o Te Waipounamu, place-names of Aotearoa New Zealand's South Island, and settler-Māori interactions, are the focal point of this chapter.

Although the scope of this thesis is limited to Pākehā, or European-origin, place-names of the Clutha and Central Otago Districts of the South Island, in this chapter I outline a framework for engaging with Indigenous Māori place-names that can be applied to these Districts, and I would argue to the South Island in its entirety.

In te reo Māori, the word for land is whenua, which also means placenta. The land is represented in Māori tradition as Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, and the loss of Papatūānuku to settlers took a spiritual toll on the Māori people. 'For Maoris, as for country-dwellers the world over, the loss of ancestral lands brought spiritual anguish, as well as deprivation and disgrace' (Evison 1997, 24), a loss that is still felt by Māori today. The grievous damage done to the Māori people and way of life by colonisation is irrefutable. The destruction of natural resources by settlers made it impossible for the Māori people to sustain their traditional way of life, resulting in the permanent alteration of this as well as the physical landscape. Another major casualty in the process of colonisation, beyond the destruction of the physical landscape, was the severance of ancestral land ties by means of force and tactics of manipulation, which is something that will arguably never be completely repaired by modern reparation efforts. The scale of exploitation of Aotearoa New Zealand by settlers is vast, but for the purpose of this thesis, this chapter will focus on the destruction and displacement of the Māori language by settler place-naming in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts.⁸

⁸ Scholarship on the colonisation of Aotearoa New Zealand and its effects on the Māori way of life include, *Decolonizing Research: Indigenous storywork as methodology* (2019), *Decolonising Methodologies, Second Edition* (2012), *Kia Whakanuia te Whenua: People, place, landscape* (2021), and the *Routledge Handbook of Critical Indigenous Studies* (2021).

6.1 The meaning of place in Māori culture

if we call a place differently

will it still respond? (Joudry 2020, 49)

Rita Joe, a renowned Mi'kmaq poet, originally wrote the above poem in the Mi'kmaq language, which is significant as it underscores the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Mi'kmaq people (Joudry 2020). This connection is particularly poignant given the Scottish-settler context in which her work is cited, as it draws parallels between the experiences of Indigenous peoples in different parts of the world under colonialism. The inclusion of Joe's work in this thesis highlights the broader implications of colonial place-naming practices and their impact on Indigenous identities and cultural memory. When Western societies speak of land, they often refer to ownership, resources, settlement, and usage. European settlers ascribed meaning to land as property, without any consideration of the importance of that land to the Indigenous population they had displaced (Elkington et. al. 2020, 143). This European view of land ownership still harms Māori communities, and is why the NZGB has a specialised tribunal to deal with Crown treaty claims (see 6.2.1).

When Māori speak of the land, they 'call' back to their ancestors and the mythologies that are at the heart of their creation story. According to Elkington et. al., the stories in Māori mythology 'named our right to stand in this place and provided an intellectual tradition that gave us insight into the obligations that went with the right to stand,' with that 'right' also including use of the land in a way that respected tikanga Māori, or Māori tradition (2020, 137). This is not to say that Māori did not have territorial claims and disputes amongst various iwi, or tribes. These territorial boundaries were often claimed by an iwi through means not recognised by the Western world. Notably, these included land claimed for harbouring an ancestral burial site, gifted land from the tribe's ancestors for future generations, and a custom of bonding to the land from birth whereby the afterbirth, known as the whenua, was planted in the land in a process known as iho whenua, which was often cited during territorial disputes (Walker 2004, 70). The

Māori belief is similar to, but slightly different from, the philosophical concept of eternal return, which states that everything in the Universe will continue to reoccur and regenerate infinitely (Nietzsche 1878, 208). The Māori belief, however, is that ‘the eternal nature of the earth in relation to man’s brief life span is encapsulated in the aphorism “man perishes but land remains”’ (Walker 2004, 70). In other words, humans are not included in this cycle of regeneration; we are merely here for a short period of time as custodians of the land, which itself is eternal.

The connection of Māori with the land of Aotearoa New Zealand is, at its most basic, a two-fold bond: a spiritual connection, and a connection borne out of necessity for survival. Whilst food and pounamu, greenstone, drew people to the South Island, they also saw the potential for permanent settlement here (Evison 1997, 19). These bonds to the landscape in practical and spiritual senses are only two of the considerations that need to be borne in mind when looking into the meaning of place, and place-names, for the Māori people. It is recommended by the NZGB that before work can commence in undertaking a place-name survey of a Region of Aotearoa New Zealand, ‘the first thing to do after you have compiled as full a list as you can of the authentic Māori place names in your District, before you attempt to understand the original significance or meaning of the names, is to find out all you can about the traditional tribal history of the District’ (Davis et. al.1990, 14). As stated at the beginning of this chapter, it is not the stated intention of this thesis to evaluate Māori place- names, as it would not be an ethical, or beneficial study, to the people of Aotearoa New Zealand without the consent and collaboration of Māori, particularly those who identify as the local iwi, Ngāi Tahu. However, I do hope in this chapter to lay out a framework for why a thorough, collaborative study, inclusive of Māori place-names and lore is necessary, to better understand the impact of settler naming.

6.1.1 Transmission of place-names in Māori tradition

The strong oral tradition Māori held helped ensure that sacred knowledge only passed to those it was meant to. As in many cultures, only select members of the whanau were entitled to certain types of knowledge (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 174).

Knowledge that was forbidden was considered tapu, a word which has made its way into the English language as ‘taboo’.

The transmission of knowledge in Māori society happened internally, and orally in tribal society, but as much as this knowledge was specific to each tribe, it was conjoined with the mythologies and legends known by Māori all over Aotearoa New Zealand. Memory was the key to the transmission of culture and history in pre-literate Māori society, with names in the landscape acting as ‘survey pegs of memory,’ pegs that could be moved along with the tribe as needed (*He Kōrero Pūrākau mo 1990*, xiii). One of the most fascinating aspects of Māori place-nomenclature is that these names did not carry the same sense of permanence that they do in most Western societies. Whereas emigrants from Scotland would use place-names as markers of where they are, what/who was there, who the land belongs to, and to evoke a sense of ‘home’ in the physical landscape, place-names in Māori society were woven into the tapestry of Māori mythology. This tapestry of place-names was regularly shifting and changing as befitted the purpose of the Māori interacting with that landscape. These names, some specific to certain iwi, or tribes, migrated as the tribe did, resulting in a number of ‘replanted’ names. These repetitions of place-names in the namescape represent stories from Māori and Polynesian histories being replanted in new settings (*He Kōrero Pūrākau mo 1990*, xiii). This is not an unusual phenomenon, and as will be seen throughout this thesis, the act of ‘transplanting’ place-names is one that is frequently utilised by Pākehā settlers throughout the Central Otago and Clutha Districts.

6.1.2 The traditional Māori system of rights to land

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, land cannot be ‘owned’ in the Western sense of ownership in Māori society, thereby it cannot be sold by an individual. The structure of Māori society varied by iwi, but generally followed a pattern of the whānau, dependent on size, occupying one or many wharepuni, with some whānau occupying compounds in the papakāinga (Walker 2004, 63).

The land was a support system to the Māori way of life, not something to be tamed and possessed. Additionally, land was personified in Māori culture, ‘because she is the Mother, we did not live under the law but rather lived with it, just as we lived with her’ (Elkington et. al. 2020, 140). The ‘sale’ of land to European agents, such as the New Zealand Company, caused a great deal of resentment by Māori towards incoming settlers in the South Island who believed they had a claim to the land that many Māori never believed they lost. An example of this in the Otago Region would be Pātearoa, or Rock and Pillar Range as it was known by Pākehā:

Pātearoa is the Māori name for the Rock and Pillar Range, in the Mānīatoto area of inland Otago. During the 1879 Smith-Nairn Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Ngāi Tahu land claims, Ngāi Tahu kaumātua recorded Pātearoa as “*he maunga mahinga kai*” where weka and the treasured tikumu (mountain daisy) were gathered. Te Paruparu-a- Te-Kaunia (the Great Moss Swamp), which is situated on the mountain range, was considered an important *kāinga mahinga kai* where a variety of ducks were gathered (Kā Huru Manu Atlas).

Before the European system of land titles and block deeds was forced on the Māori, they had their own traditional system of rights when it came to land, though it is important to make the distinction that ‘right’ does not equate to ‘ownership’ in this system. Land rights, according to Māori understanding, were represented in five main customs:

Take kitenga | Right of discovery

Take tipuna | Ancestral rights

Take raupatu | Conquest

Take ahikāroa | Continual occupation

Take tuku | Gifting (Kohu-Morris 2020, 13).

These rights still followed the basic principle that land was held collectively by tribes, and that you could claim these rights by the recitation of your whakapapa, your genealogy which included the places your people belong to as well as your human ancestry. A formal recitation of one's whakapapa is often called a mihimihi, or a pēpēha, which follow the same general format for Māori. An example of a whakapapa for Māori would be in the following format:

Ko tōku maunga (_____ is my mountain)

Ko tōku awa / tōku moana (_ is my river/sea)

Ko tōku waka (_ is my canoe)

Ko tōku marae (_____ is my meeting house)

Ko tōku hapū (_ is my sub-tribe)

Ko tōku iwi (___ is my tribe)

Ko ahau (I am ___).⁹

This pattern can expand endlessly to include family ancestry as far back as to the creation myths. Whereas the Māori pēpēha is recited using the possessive tōku, 'my', were a non-Māori to recite their pēpēha it would be expected they utilise te, 'the', in its place as non-Māori are not ancestors to the land as Māori are. The 'right to stand' in the places mentioned in a pēpēha also included a responsibility, or obligations, to that place (Elkington et. al. 2020, 137). This oral system has helped Māori preserve their heritage and ties to the land far before the written word, and today remains a rich source of place-name use and continuation in the Māori tradition.

⁹ Ngā mihi nui for the instruction on pēpēha from my te reo Māori instructors Amelia Butler and Shanara Wallace.

6.1.3 Place attachment theory in dual Māori/settler names

As previously discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis, Laura Kostanski's work on Toponymic Attachment Theory forms a strong foundation for the methodology I have used to engage with Māori and settler dual place-names (see 3.3.2). According to Kostanski, 'a structured basis for the theory of place attachment "sense of place" has been designated as the overarching study of "place attachment" and "place interference", with place attachment consisting of "place identity" and "place dependence"' (2016, 414). In this section I will be applying Kostanski's theory using an example of a Māori place-name in Central Otago as identified by the Ngāi Tahu Kā Huru Manu Atlas and given official status in the NZG: Old Man Range/Kōpūwai. As these Māori names do not relate to the period of the gold rush in Central Otago as the rest of the place-name corpus of the Central Otago District I am examining do, they must be addressed separately for the context and insight they bring to the Indigenous history of this District.

Kostanski's use of the term 'community' (2016, 418), as discussed in Chapter Three, describes the way notions of nationalism, power relations, racism, colonialism, and capitalism for example, can affect the cultural memory and attachment of settlers and Māori in the Central Otago District. These might in some instances be external factors, yet they impact the psyche of a community and influence their emotions and interpretation of a space, thereby potentially impacting and influencing any naming or renaming motivations. For settlers, concerns such as the viability of a land to mine, farm, or develop for profit is often a priority when it comes to their general feelings about a space. This can sometimes result in positive place-names, such as Ophir, so named for being a plentiful goldfield (see Gazetteer), or negative, likely to convey their disappointment or tragedy in that space, such as with the place-name Drybread, just north of Ophir, which has two possible origins, both being tales of misfortune (see 8.1). These place- names were given in response to the experience of initial settlers interacting with that space, thereby creating an attachment to the name, not necessarily the place. This aligns with the theory that space becomes place when meanings are attributed to a geographical area (Altman

& Low 1992, 5). However, how this theory might apply to Indigenous Māori place-names has not previously been explored. Kostanski explored this theory in an Australian context, hypothesising that ‘mainstream society creates and promotes a sense of place where colonial understandings are at the centre, and non-colonial understandings are on the periphery’ (Kostanski 2009, 143). I will endeavour to engage with Kostanski’s hypothesis, and Altman and Low’s theory, in an Aotearoa New Zealand context in the following section.

It should be noted that the work of the Kā Huru Manu Atlas and the list of place-names given official naming status by the NZGB is ongoing, and the discussion below of Old Man Range/Kōpūwai, selected for its official status in the NZG and existence in the Kā Huru Manu Atlas at the time of writing, only represents one place-name out of the thousands collected by these two bodies. These Māori places were sites of significance, which we have knowledge of now as a result of the place-names passing through oral into written tradition. When engaging with Māori place-names, it is important to acknowledge that there are two primary classifications of names which often cannot, and should not, be attempted to be translated or given ‘meaning’: proper names, including personal names, within place-names, and names ‘imported’ from Hawaiki (Davis et. al. 1990, 17). In Māori tradition, Hawaiki is where we all came from, and where we all will return upon our deaths, and ‘the ancestors of Māori came to New Zealand from Hawaiki, navigating the seas in their canoes’ (Te Ahukaramū Charles Royal, n.d.). When considering Māori place-names, there are elements which are similar, if not identical, to other Eastern Polynesian languages, which according to tradition is a result of this originating point of Hawaiki. As discussed in Chapter Five, the connection of Māori with the land of Aotearoa New Zealand is both a spiritual connection, and a connection borne out of necessity for survival. This can be seen in the place-names below, and in how this two-fold connection to the land represents place attachment, just perhaps in a different way than we are used to seeing place attachment as demonstrated with the Pākehā place-names (see Chapter 8).

Kōpūwai (Old Man Range) | 45.327S 169.208E

In English, Old Man Range derives from Old Man Rock (Reed 2010, 283), also known as Obelisk on the NZG. According to Reed, this pillar stone which is 27m high and 8.5 m in thickness, is ‘supposed to be the petrified form of the giant Kopuwai (Water-swallower) who fled down the Clutha River’ (Reed 2010, 284). According to the Kā Huru Manu Atlas, the story of Kōpūwai is thus:

Kōpūwai (Old Man Range) was a giant who lived in the Central Otago Region. When small eeling and birding parties were not returning from Central Otago, the people of Murihiku (Southland) and Otago become puzzled over their disappearances. A woman named Kaiamio then returned as the sole survivor from a hunting party. She explained how she fled down Mata-au (the Clutha River) from the giant, who swallowed the river in attempt to capture her. Kaiamio then led a large party back into Central Otago, where they found Kōpūwai in a profound slumber induced by a warm nor’wester. The giant was subsequently beaten and burnt. The visible representation of Kōpūwai can be seen on the Old Man Rock – the natural obelisk perched on the summit of the range, forming a highly conspicuous landmark (Kā Huru Manu 2022).



Figure 6-1 'Old Man Range and the Obelisk, Central Otago District Council (Central Otago, New Zealand, n.d.).

However, the location of Kōpūwai, or the Obelisk, is not in Old Man Range, but directly North on Obelisk Range according to the NZG. An application was made for an extension of the official place-name Old Man Range/Kopuwaito to encompass Obelisk Range, but it was declined on 21 Oct 1999 (NZG 2022). There is a strangeness to a place-name existing without including the part of the land to which it refers, as the place-name Kōpūwai holds significance only in relation to the form of the giant, the Obelisk rock feature, yet this name is applied to the nearby range more broadly. In the *Otago Daily Times* in 1933, an article was published

engaging with, and acknowledging, the naming of the range, rather than the feature itself, in modern times:

Such in brief is the story, but the name of the giant is perpetuated in the Maori name of the Old Man Range, viz., Kopuwai (a name which means “Water-Swallower”). Now, though the whole range bears this name, the tino or exact spot is very significant, being the Old Man Rock on the summit of the range over 6000 feet above sea level. A picture of this remarkable natural feature forms the frontispiece of Mr R. Gilkison’s book, “Early Days in Central Otago,” and every time the eye of a resident or tourist meets that picturesque pillar he can exclaim, “Ha! There is old Kopuwai, the Ogre of the Molyneux,” for is not that rock the tino from which the name comes? (ODT, 29 Dec 1933).

Relating this example back to Kostanski’s theory on toponymic attachment, I would assert that the attachment to the place-name Kōpūwai by not only Māori, but obviously settlers as well, as identified in newspaper articles, is an emotional attachment to place rather than functional. The feature of Kōpūwai, the Obelisk, and the range itself have not been mentioned as a kāinga mahinga kai, a food gathering place, nor any other functional role, but the story of the Water-swallower is mentioned in nearly every historic newspaper article in which the place-name appears. Within Kostanski’s own research of the Australian namescape, she has found that, ‘experiences which brought about the original and then subsequent renaming of places in the case study area could be said to have brought meaning and therefore identity to the people who associate with the area’ with the community using place-names as a way to memorialise actions and events in their collective memory (Kostanski 2014, 287). Within a Central Otago context, this stance seems to hold true for Māori and Pākehā alike. In 2008, the Department of Conservation removed 40-year-old graffiti from Obelisk rock, but this removal angered some local Pākehā who formed not only an attachment with the rock feature itself, but the graffiti on it:

Mosgiel man Grant McLean said his grandfather was a gold miner in Earnscleugh in the early 1930s and had carved his name in the rock. His father had painted his name some years later and that was followed by Mr McLean and his siblings painting their names in the 1960s. Mr McLean's children had visited the site and added their names in the 1980s (ODT 20 Mar 2008).

Mr McLean claimed that he knew Obelisk as Old Man Rock, stating, 'now in a language foreign to all but a few, it is described as a special place and is to be water blasted, which is going to leave an enormous stain' (ODT 20 Mar 2008).

Beyond attachment formed to a name as a result of the lore associated with it, attachment to a name emotionally can stem from the 'activities that have occurred within its [place] boundaries' (Milligan 1998, 8) as is the case for Mr McLean. We are dealing with two different aspects of toponymic attachment in this one case study: attachment to a name (Kōpūwai), and attachment to a physical space (Old Man Rock). Thus it might be more accurate to differentiate what Mr McLean was experiencing as an attachment to 'space', as the name itself was not as large of a concern as the removal of the graffiti.

Toponymic attachment, and indeed place attachment as well, can be and often is more complex and at times more specific than conventional naming practices allow. For example, Kostanski asked the question: 'were we participating in a process of cultural homogenisation by taking Indigenous words and toponyms that were specific to only one particular place, and applying it to a much larger area?' (Kostanski & Clark 2009, 202) when discussing the process of dual naming in Australia. It is a question we should also be asking here and in relation to other such ranges, plains and rivers where often for Māori, that name was in reference to a very specific part of the range, plain or river.

6.2 Colonial suppression of Māori culture through place-names

Before discussing the issue of colonial and Indigenous relations and the lasting, detrimental impact on the latter, we must fully acknowledge colonisation for what it is: ‘the forceful taking of land, language, culture and autonomy without permission, without anyone “saying that they could”; the imposition of one group’s will on another,’ (Elkington et. al. 2020, 8). The re-naming of natural features in particular was an act of colonial violence, especially those that had ties to traditional travel routes (e.g. Mata-Au, see Chapter 7). Māori scholar, Joeline Seed-Pihama writes ‘the renaming of our people was intentional and purposeful on the part of our colonizers,’ noting that the naming of, and renaming of a place, holds a ‘specific kind of symbolic violence’ which impacts what is seen as acceptable within society (2019, 116).

As cited in Barton (1998), according to James West Stack, a missionary in the South Island in the 19th century, ‘every part of the country was owned and named. Not only were large mountains, rivers, and plains named, but every hillock, streamlet, and valley’ (Barton 1998, 498). This counters the popular colonial viewpoint that the South Island was a wasteland, devoid of human life and history, there for the taking. The depth of importance of Māori place-names and their continuation cannot be overstated, as they not only provided a link to ancestral histories but also instructions for sustaining their way of life. For example, the best places to fish were recorded in the identification of landmarks:

All fishing grounds, banks, and rocks had special names assigned to them [...] Inasmuch as many fishing-grounds had no rock or part of their surface above water, it behoved the Maori fisherman to be careful in locating the *tohu*, or signs (landmarks), by means of which he located such grounds. He did so by lining [aligning] prominent objects on shore, such as hill- peaks, capes, prominent rocks, trees, &c. The taunga ika, or fishing ground, on the East Coast [of the North Island] known as Kapuarangi was named after a prominent hill that served as one of the lining-in objects. This ground was

located by observing four hills, two in one direction and two in another; when the two series were in line, then the ground was reached (Barton 1998, 497).

In Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly in the context of the Otago Region, certain fishing grounds and other geographic locations are named based on sighting-hills or prominent landmarks. This practice is deeply rooted in the Māori tradition where natural features in the landscape, such as mountains and rivers, play a significant role in navigation, place-naming, and cultural heritage. These names often hold historical and cultural significance, reflecting stories, historical events, or characteristics of the landscape. Comparatively, there are 'meads' in Orkney and Shetland, which are traditional fishing grounds named for their visibility from specific sighting-hills or landmarks (Waugh, 2009). According to Gunnel Melchers, these names were given to fishing grounds that could be easily identified by aligning certain landmarks, such as hills or man-made markers, which were used by fishermen to locate productive fishing spots (Melchers, 2005). This practice was essential for navigation and fishing in the waters around the Shetland and Orkney islands, where the landscape is marked by numerous small islands and intricate coastlines.

In section 6.1.2, whakapapa recitation was discussed as the means by which an individual linked themselves with the land and their ancestry through oral tradition. Prior to the 1820s, there was no established written Māori language, and important information, like the whakapapa and location of kāinga mahinga kai, were communicated through oral tradition which depended on 'high-capacity memories aided by mnemonics. The landscape was one important mnemonic' (Barton 1998, 498). Coming from Britain, as many of the settlers and surveyors did, it seems they would have found value in maintaining, and learning the meaning of, Māori place-names which offered insight into the natural resources, hunting, and fishing sites. After all, the use of place-names for this purpose was well-known and common in their homeland.

Despite the wealth of information about the landscape, including place-names, passed through these oral histories, settlers and European agents refused to consider this information as a legitimate source, ‘the dominance of Western, British culture, and the history that underpins the relationship between indigenous Maori and non-indigenous Pakeha, have made it extremely difficult for Maori forms of knowledge and learning to be accepted as legitimate’ (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 177). It begs the question: why is an outsider’s observation seen as more legitimate than insider, traditional, knowledge? In this next section, the role of the outsider, be it the Crown, a surveyor, or a settler, will be examined to consider how the impact of their influence buried long-held Māori knowledge, and what, if anything, survived in the place-names.

6.2.1 The Crown treaties and purchases

Treaties made between the Crown and the Māori people throughout the 18th and 19th centuries are analysed and debated to this day, particularly as regards land rights and monetary settlements. For the purpose of this thesis, it is useful to provide some historical context for the legal treaty and settlement process which included decisions around place-names, but it should be noted that, by necessity, this is a very brief summary and sources such as Ranginui Walker (2004) and Harry Evison (1997) cover this period in much more detail.

When it came to the description of land rights and compensation to Māori, the priority was quite evidently not to establish a ‘fair’ price for local iwi, but instead to capitalise on the resale value of this land to incoming European settler populations. According to a letter sent to Hobson by Lord Normanby, Secretary of State for the Colonies, the viewpoint of the Crown was that Indigenous land was ‘of not actual use, and, in their [Māori] hands, it possesses scarcely any exchangeable value’ (Normanby-Hobson, 14.8.1839, in Mackay 1873 I (iii): 13ff.). This was, quite obviously, not the feeling of the Māori people about lands to which they had claim, though not ‘ownership’, and the Crown took advantage of this lack of clear ‘owned’ boundaries.

On 21 May 1840, Hobson proclaimed sovereignty over the South Island as part of the Treaty, 'on the basis that it was *terra nullius*, thereby ignoring the existence of the Ngāi Tahu' (Walker 2004, 97). Additionally, Hobson established roles entitled 'Protectors of Aborigines' during his tenure as Governor to ensure land being purchased from Māori would not 'alienate or inconvenience' them (Walker 2004, 105), which was the extent of his consideration for the Māori people in these dealings. However, Governor George Grey (1812-1898), the Governor of Aotearoa New Zealand in 1845-1854 and again in 1861-1868, had no such reservations, and swiftly replaced these roles with 'Commissioners for the Extinguishment of Native Land Claims by Fair Purchase' whose primary objective was to speed up land purchasing (Walker 2004, 106). By the time Grey first took office, the New Zealand Company had already been taking full advantage of these legal routes to organised settlement which in turn created a competitive environment for land between Māori and Pākehā (Walker 2004, 101). Colonists with the New Zealand Company who could not acquire the allotments they were promised often chose to claim land in Ngāi Tahu territory without legal title, essentially cutting the Ngāi Tahu out of their land dealings by any means possible (Evison 1997, 127).

The New Zealand Company thrived by creating a propaganda campaign directed towards potential British and other European settlers, one that depicted, 'the Maori race as eager for the white man's ways and merchandise' (Te Papa, n.d.). The Crown and the New Zealand Company were in mutual agreement in their belief that much of Aotearoa New Zealand was 'of little actual use' to the Māori people, without consideration of the clear use and caretaking of Aotearoa New Zealand by Māori for centuries (Evison 1997, 86). When Governor Grey came into office, he was said to be the 'hit-man of colonisation [that] heralded the extension of Pakeha power into Maori Districts' (Walker 2004, 103). This has been captured in the map below, Figure 6-2, depicting the loss of Kāi Tahu lands to the Crown.

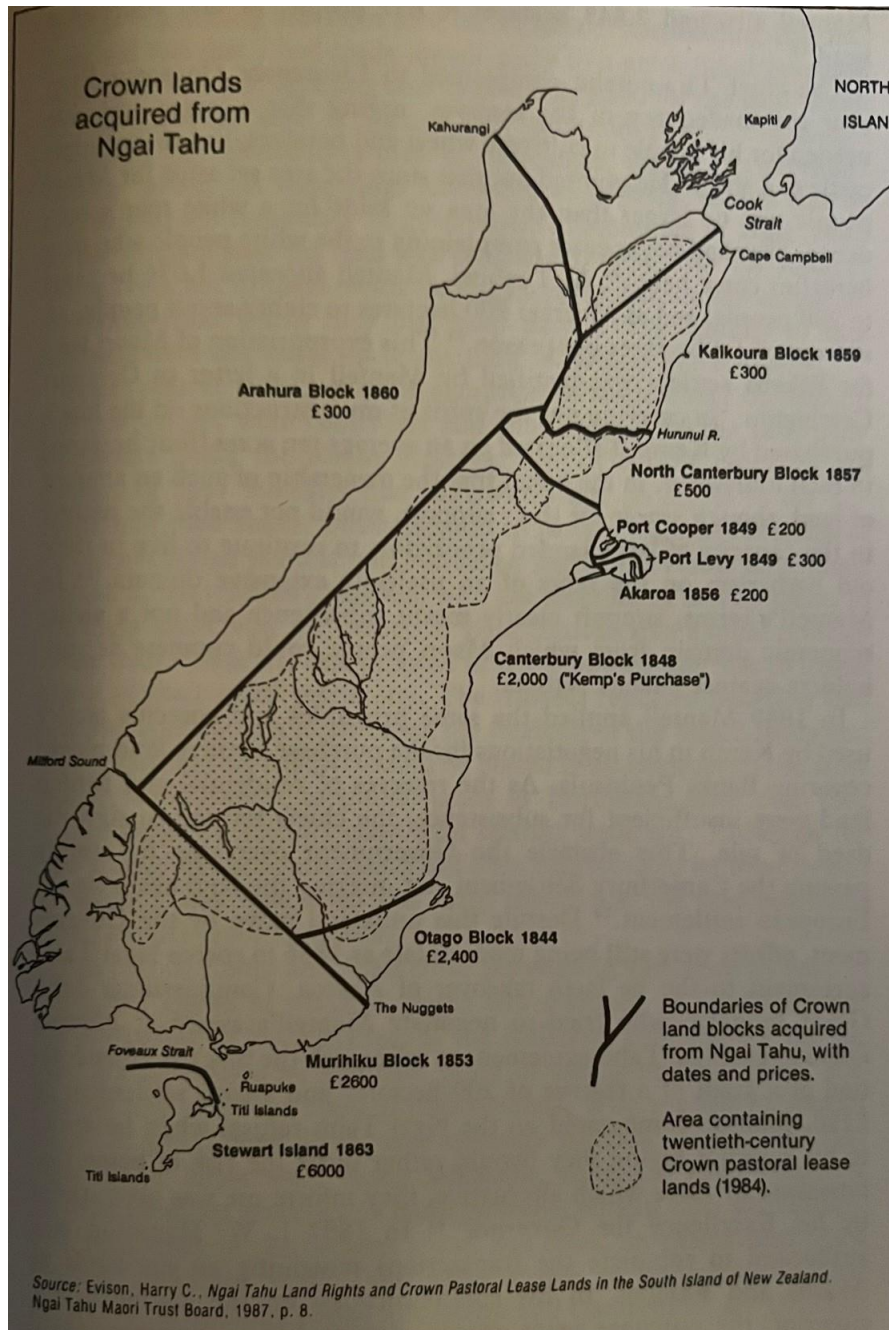


Figure 6-2 Crown lands acquired by Ngāi Tahu (Evison 1997, 8).

Grey appointed Commissioner Henry Tacy Kemp (1818-1901) as negotiator of several land sales between the Crown and the Kāi Tahu throughout the Otago Region, with the most infamous of these being recorded in histories as 'Kemp's Deed' in 1848, the largest purchase of Kāi Tahu land: 13,551,400 acres for £2,000

(Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2017). In this purchase, boundaries were not properly defined, and Kemp ‘bullied chiefs into submission by threatening to pay Ngati Toa who, under Te Rauparaha, had defeated Ngai Tahu in the musket wars’, with Kemp even going so far as to threaten military force if the chiefs did not concede to the sale (Walker 2004, 106). This pattern of using scare tactics and coercion to lure the Kāi Tahu into disadvantageous land sales left the Kāi Tahu ‘virtually landless’ (Walker 2004, 109).

The Native Land Act of 1862, and the establishment of the Native Land Court, sought to transfer communal Māori land into individual titles as a means to more profitably parcel out land to sell, with the goal ultimately to ensure Māori ties to land followed the rule of law in Britain (Walker 2004, 135). The impact of this on Māori people and their relationship with the land, tangata whenua, alienated Māori in their own country and drove them out of traditional homesteads, fishing grounds, and spaces with ancestral and spiritual ties (Walker 2004, 135-136).

The many treaties and purchases made between the Crown and Māori stemmed from the Crown’s erroneous view of Māori lands as ‘waste lands’ which was used as a tactic to give colonists the justification they sought for their land grabbing as a means of profiteering, seen previously in Britain through the Enclosure Acts (Evison 1997, 85).

6.2.2 Cartographic evidence

The majority of cartographic evidence for Māori place-naming in the Otago Region comes primarily from European surveyor’s maps of the Region, who consulted local Māori tradition bearers. These Māori place-names can be found on the Kā Huru Manu Atlas, used extensively throughout this thesis (see 4.2.1), with scans of early maps being located on the Ngāi Tahu Kareao website. At present, 149 map records exist on the Kareao site, which requires much further investigation and analysis than is possible within the scope of this thesis (Kareao 2022). However, these sources have been consulted in an endeavour to recognise ‘given’ Māori names by settlers, versus ‘original’ Māori names that were likely transmitted orally to early

surveyors and cartographers, and made it onto 19th- century maps. Additionally, there are records available of maps hand-drawn by Māori informants, such as that seen in Figure 6-3 drawn by Kāi Tahu leader, Rāwiri Te Maire, in 1896.



Figure 6-3 Māori place-names between Central Otago and the Rangitata drawn by Rāwiri Te Maire, 1896 (Kareao 2022).

Information provided by Kareao on the map states that:

District Surveyor Thomas Brodrick was directed to secure “the native names of the mountains, rivers and passes” in South Canterbury. After several visits to Arowhenua pā, Brodrick was referred to Rāwiri Te Maire at Waihao. Although Te Maire was bedridden during Brodrick's visit in September 1898, he became very talkative. With his son Henare acting as interpreter and granddaughter Kiti Tau recording the names, Te Maire provided over 150 place names from Lake Wānaka to Rakaia. Although Te Maire was nearly 90 years old at the time, his memories of the names and knowledge of the localities was very clear. Brodrick later remarked that “it was quite apparent that Te Maire knew exactly what he was talking about and he was able to describe many of the geographical features in such a manner that I recognized them at once from the descriptions” (Kareao, 2022).

This map of Māori place-names is incredibly rare, as very few surveyors made it a priority to seek out Indigenous place-names in their reconnaissance missions to survey the entirety of the South Island. Even rarer still was consulting local oral tradition bearers in the Māori community, rather than trusting whatever ‘word of mouth’ settler sources they came across on their missions. Of the 149 map records in Kareao, only 27 refer to the Otago Region (Kareao 2022).

6.3 Settler-Māori interactions in the namescape

A common phenomenon with settler communities is an eventual connection to the land that has come to represent ‘home’, and settlers in Aotearoa New Zealand are no different. It has been said that the wilful ignorance of modern- day Pākehā, as well as their settler ancestors, who did not seek to know or respect whose land they now had the privilege to occupy, actively ignored the ‘how’ of their connection to the land (Elkington et. al. 2020, 109). In this section, we look at the impact of settler-Māori interactions as evidenced in the namescape, and phenomena such as surveyors bestowing ‘Māori’ place-names, where this interaction had a detrimental, and at times confusing, impact on the continuation of Māori tradition, lore, and language. Additionally, we must recognise that, in the modern namescape where

Māori place-names are being re-introduced and used in an official capacity by Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, ‘these names are being made to conform to colonial cartographic practices, and this renders them Anglo-Indigenous in nature’ (Kostanski and Clark 2009, 198). Place-names are ever evolving and shifting and the namescape has never been, and should not seek to be, stagnant. However, cultural integrity and intention are still essential considerations when removing, editing, or amending place-names. You do not merely exist in a ‘place’, you belong to it in the way you utilise the resources upon it, build on it, and inhabit that space. When an Indigenous and settler population interact in the same space, there will naturally be different connections established, connections that cannot be forged merely by the creation of artificial Indigenous names as discussed below.

6.3.1 Surveyors bestow ‘Māori’ names

According to the Māori scholar, known as ‘the Mother of Indigenous Studies’, Linda Tuhiwai Smith, ‘the whole process of colonization can be viewed as a stripping away of mana (our standing in the eyes of others and therefore in our own eyes), and an undermining of rangatiratanga (our ability and right to determine our destinies)’ (2012, 175). As discussed in section 6.2, place-names and a sense of place were deeply rooted in Māori mythology and lore, without which part of their culture and history were stripped away. The creation of place-names using te reo without consulting local iwi embodied this stripping of mana mentioned. The place-names bestowed by Māori have power, or mana, and connect Māori to their ancestors. To create a name as a non-Māori, you not only break this connection, but you alter what the purpose of these names and words even is.

Throughout the Central Otago and Clutha District, it is a challenge to uncover these artificial ‘Māori’ names in the namescape, as they often look and sound like traditional Māori names. To do a proper survey of these place-names, which is beyond the scope of this thesis, would require digging into the history of each Māori place-name in the District, and looking at historical signs of its potential European name-giver origins by considering any historical inaccuracies in the name (see Awamoā below), or if the place was the location of a post or telegraph office, for

example. It was quite common in the 19th and 20th centuries to bestow 'Māori' names on post and telegraph offices, despite these place-names often making little sense in te reo. Additionally, it is important to be wary of transliterations of European place-names that are intended to 'look' Māori, such as Hiruharama for Jerusalem, or Atene for Athens (Davis et. al. 1990, 11). In this thesis, the transliteration of Māori place-names into more anglicised forms often involved the input of surveyors and early settlers. For example, J.T. Thomson's attempts to rename places with simpler, more pronounceable names reflect this transliterative practice. Such actions were driven by the settlers' desire to navigate the multilingual environment of Aotearoa New Zealand and make the names more accessible to European settlers. This process often led to the alteration of original Māori names, sometimes stripping them of their Indigenous meanings and cultural significance, thereby reshaping the linguistic landscape of the region to better fit colonial narratives and administrative convenience.

In the Waitaki District of the South Island near Oamaru, there is the place-name Awamoa 'the river of the moa', which seems fairly self-explanatory. However, upon further evaluation the place-name could not literally be the river of the moa, as the moa bird has been extinct for several hundred years. An ancient name such as this would presumably have a traditional story attached to explain its significance. However, in the instance of Awa Moa, the place-name was made up by European settler W. B. D. Mantell (Davis et. al. 1990, 11). There could be many such examples throughout Aotearoa New Zealand, which would shine a light on motivations of settlers and surveyors in prioritising some aspects of their adoptive home's history over others: is there a romantic attachment to the extinct moa bird much like the dodo? Did this particular creature capture the imagination of settlers and surveyors, or did they hear tales of this bird in the Region inspiring them to establish this lore in the namescape in some way? This category of settler-bestowed 'Māori' names does not include place-names that are traditional Māori names that have been corrupted through the years due to misspellings on the part of the recorder, or which reflect dialectical differences. These would still be traditional place-names, whereas those mentioned above are artificial.

6.4 Resurgence of te reo in the namespace: the 21st century and beyond

As mentioned in the literature review (see Chapter 2), at present, the vast majority of literature on Aotearoa New Zealand place-names comes from non-academic and often tourism-motivated sources. Rather than systematically incorporating the etymology of place-names into the existing NZG, maintained by LINZ, place-names in Aotearoa New Zealand only seem to achieve this depth of analysis when they outwardly look like there might be an intriguing, and marketable, story behind them.

For example, Māori Language Day, on September 14, is typically marked with a week of events, Te Wiki O Te Reo Māori, and initiatives to promote the use of Aotearoa New Zealand's Indigenous language. One of the most noticeable endeavours during this event is an effort to increase awareness around the proper pronunciation of Māori place-names. Many Māori place-names in Aotearoa New Zealand have a correct Māori pronunciation, and the more commonly 'known' Pākehā pronunciation (Piercy 2017). However, during Māori Language Week, there is a larger spotlight than usual on this issue, and on place-names in general. The majority of Aotearoa New Zealand place-name conversations with the general public take place around this single week. Apart from when a particularly controversial place-name is brought before the Board for alteration, such as the debate around Mt Egmont/Taranaki (Gregory 2018), the general public engages very little with the activities of the NZGB or LINZ. Small name alterations would not normally garner notice from the public. For example, a call to correct the misspelling, and resulting mispronunciation, of Rimutaka to Remutaka, would become more noticeable for the public only when they could physically see it in the landscape, from road signs to trails to memorials. Writing about the Remutaka, Fuller (2018) notes that although the Rangitāne iwi was granted this name correction by the Board as part of its Waitangi Tribunal settlement, it took the better part of a year for the change to filter through to official agencies and institutions.

6.4.1 Māori place-name pronunciation, spelling, and use

Rules laid out by the NZGB included place-name pronunciation concerns (HGBNZ 1934, 15). A concern of the NZGB was the ability of non-Māori speakers to pronounce Māori place-names as accurately as possible, with dialectical considerations taken into account. For example, the rule states, ‘the spelling of Māori geographical names should represent, approximately, the true sound of the word as pronounced in the Māori tongue’ and gives a case study of the place-name Otago, ‘some have thought that Otakou should be restored in place of Otago; but apparently the g sound was heard at least in southern New Zealand, so that we have *gowai* for the northern *kowhai*’ (HGBNZ 1934, 15).

The New Zealand Geographic Board Act of 1946 took the inclusion of Māori words, meanings, and pronunciations further by establishing the modern NZGB which included provisions to ensure fair representation from the Māori community, such as including Māori members on the Board for example. The Board was responsible for investigating doubtful place-name spelling, new geographic features, original Māori place-names, and the replacement of ‘alien’ names, by which they mean foreign non-Māori names, on official maps. The Board had the ability to assign, or alter, any place-name in Aotearoa New Zealand, and officially superseded the need for rules set out in the Designation of Districts Act of 1908, and the Designation of Districts Amendment Act of 1909.

In the now repealed Act of 1946, the Board determined that ‘original names are given preference where duplication occurs’ (Reed & Startup, 1975, 491), with duplication referring to place-names that appear in other parts of the Region.

The terminology used by the Board to define an ‘original’ name is the ‘name first applied’ as stated in Section 11 of the New Zealand Geographic Board Act of 1946. Although this Section makes an effort to prioritise the first known place-names in use in Aotearoa New Zealand, this was not always the case with land legislation. Prior to the Act of 1946, there was the Designation of Districts Act of 1894, the previously mentioned Designation of Districts Act of 1908, and Amendment of 1909.

These Acts delegated the ability to give and alter place- names to the Governor of New Zealand. In addition, the Governor had official say over how duplicate place- names were renamed, which did not include any specification about the need to utilise ‘original’ names or Māori names. The Designation of Districts Act of 1908 specifies that whenever a place ‘is generally known or named by a name professing to be a Māori name, but is not the true spelling of the said Māori name, or is a corruption thereof, the Governor may by Proclamation alter the name of such locality or natural feature as aforesaid in consonance with the correct Māori orthography’ (LINZ 2022). The progression of place-name regulation requirements and responsibilities has created a long trail of alternative names. More often than not, the intention of contemporary place-name changes is to correct transliteration or spelling errors, rather than to prioritise the use of ‘original’ or first-known place- names.

6.4.2 Waitangi Tribunal South Island claim resolutions of the 1990s

In 1991, the Waitangi Tribunal, responsible for resolving claims made in relation to the TOW, undertook a series of extensive hearings in the South Island over claims made by the Kāi Tahu and their treaties with the Crown (Walker 2004, 307).

Findings by the tribunal stated that, ‘the Crown had rendered Ngai Tahu landless by failing to set aside promised reserves of tenths from the purchase of land in the South Island. Nor were parcels of land under the South Island Landless Natives Act 1906 adequate compensation for the sales to the Crown’ (ibid.). As a result of these findings, the tribunal made the following declaration of actions that now needed to be taken on behalf of the Crown:

- Settlement from the Crown 23 September 1997 for \$170 million
- Transfer of ownership of pounamu within the Ngai Tahu District to Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu in the Ngai Tahu (Pounamu Vesting) Act
- Camping licenses to access traditional mahinga kai near rivers and lakes

- Title to titi (mutton bird) islands where Ngai Tahu had traditional gathering rights
- An apology from the Crown, acknowledging wrong-doing to the Ngai Tahu that left the iwi severely disadvantaged (Walker 2004, 307-308).

Colonisation is not in the past; it continues to impact Indigenous peoples and places to this day. The gradual process of ‘land back’, along with a cultural revival of Māori language and culture began taking shape in the rural, tribal communities of Māori reserves in the 20th century (Walker 2004, 186). From Language Week, to the Waitangi Tribunal claims, progress is being made to indigenise the namescape of Aotearoa New Zealand.

6.4.3 The New Zealand Geographic Board Act of 2008 and beyond.

In 2008, the New Zealand Geographic Board Act of 1946 was repealed and replaced with the current New Zealand Geographic Board Act. This Act was meant to increase the public involvement with the process of place-naming in Aotearoa New Zealand, and sought to re-define the roles and responsibilities of the Board.

Another change brought about by the Act of 2008 was a more thorough explanation of the Board’s commitment to investigating and instituting Māori place-names throughout Aotearoa New Zealand (LINZ 2022). The changes introduced by the Act of 2008 were meant to aid the Board in creating an official Aotearoa New Zealand Gazetteer of unofficial and official place-names. Official place-names as defined by the LINZ website are:

assigned, altered, approved, discontinued, adopted, concurred with or validated by the NZGB or other legislation, such as Treaty of Waitangi settlements, and are listed in the New Zealand Gazetteer’ whereas unofficial place-names are defined as ‘unofficial because they have not been assigned, altered, discontinued, approved, adopted, concurred with or validated by the NZGB (LINZ 2022).

When engaging in research with Indigenous peoples, spaces, and materials, we have a responsibility to acknowledge the role that such research has played in the past in actively suppressing and delegitimising Indigenous peoples and knowledge. Research has even been described as ‘part of the colonization process’ due to it being utilised as a tool for defining ‘legitimate knowledge’ which has understandably caused Indigenous communities to become distrustful of those conducting research on, or about, them (Tuhiwai Smith 2012, 175). The Kā Huru Manu Atlas of place-names is an excellent example of Indigenous-led research in the area of Māori place-names going much further than previous work, aiding the community in a way research within governmental or academic institutions could not:

The circumstances for the creation of Ngāi Tahu’s atlas were fairly unique in terms of its funding autonomy and defined people group. It will not easily be emulated, and those of us who are Pākehā “specialists” will need to tread with particular caution in any attempt to do so’ (Hill 2021, 94).

By taking a Kaupapa Māori, or Māori-first, approach to landscape research, we could look at incorporating Western knowledge into Indigenous paradigms rather than vice versa (Hill 2021, 95).

7 Tracing settlement through familial emigration narratives in the Clutha District

In this chapter, emigration narratives are utilised as the primary resource to uncover the naming motivation, origin, and referent of place-names in the Clutha District. Through these narratives, we come to understand what could be considered the ‘human’ element of place-naming in the Otago Region, as told by those who experienced and participated in this period of settler place-naming. Starting with the first families to settle on the coast of the Clutha District in the Tokomairiro Plain, this chapter is organised by geographical Region, with the final chapter covering the westernmost part of the District which borders the Central Otago District.

In 1971, Leila Robinson and Jill Dignan began researching their family tree, tracing their lineage as thoroughly as possible to create a full history of the Sinclair family, from their origins in Orkney to their arrival and settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1857 (Sinclair 2008). The challenges faced by Robinson and Dignan during their research are typical in an ancestry search; the end of family lines without heirs resulting in a dead-end, gaps in time with no census records, certificates, or other documentation about the family, and barriers to resources. These challenges, however, only serve to highlight the wealth of knowledge that exists in personal memory, be it through living sources or documents such as letters, journals, and even family bibles. Some of the most valuable resources we have about the early settlement of the Otago Region in Aotearoa New Zealand come from these sources of personal memory, particularly in the Clutha District where settlement was typically of a more permanent nature than further inland where relatively transient settlements for temporary gold mining means were the norm.

Often, early immigrants to the Otago Region landed in the port city of Dunedin, where they temporarily resided whilst homesteads were built furth of the city. As seen with many pockets of Scottish settlement outside of Aotearoa New Zealand, such as Nova Scotia and the Carolinas in the United States, groups of families,

friends, and neighbours from the 'old country' of Scotland, and in fewer numbers England and Ireland, frequently made their homes together in the 'new land', finding comfort in the security of kinship and a familiar community, rather than branching out individually amongst the Indigenous populations (Bueltmann, Hinson & Morton 2013, 87). Indeed, the formula for a successful emigration required not only money, opportunities, and good luck, but support of kin and a host community to receive the weary traveller (Bueltmann, Hinson & Morton 2013, 92). The demographics of the immigrants in the Otago Region tended to be significantly more Scottish than any other European heritage. As evidenced in the 1871 census for Aotearoa New Zealand, 28.51% of those living in Otago or Southland had been born in Scotland, versus the 16.38% born in England and 8.95% born in Ireland (Patterson, Brooking and McAloon 2013, 69). As well as using local census records to evidence where a person hailed from, other official documents like land purchases, newspaper articles, ship passenger logs, personal recollections, journals, letters, headstones, and place-names could demonstrate the distribution of Scottish settlers throughout the Otago Region. This section will focus primarily on the narrative of emigration in the Clutha District through the voice of families that either passed through the District during the years of early settlement, or who chose to make the District home and witnessed the growth of each individual township and homestead.



Figure 7-1 Showing the proximity of Dunedin, the primary port city during early settlement, to the current town of Milton, once known as Fairfax and Tokomairiro (Leysen, 2022c).

7.1 The First Families of the Tokomairiro Plain

Tokomairiro/Fairfax/Milton, Moneymore, Chrystall Beach, and Clarendon

The Tokomairiro Plain, so named as it is the area in the floodplain of the Tokomairiro River, consists of many early homesteads and settlements, some of which can still be seen today. The narrative of this Region is rich with early settlement history of the many families who emigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand and sought to build a new home far from the life they knew. Settlement in family groups, and settlement motivated by knowing someone who had previously emigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand, was the norm of early settlers in the Tokomairiro Plain and the Clutha District during the 1850s (Ayson 1937).

One such locale that exemplified this pattern of familial settlement is a town now known as Milton, but was previously known by the name Tokomairiro, as well as Fairfax (N. Allison 2019, personal communication, 19 March). It is unknown when the name Tokomairiro was bestowed upon both the river and the Region now recognised as the Tokomairiro Plain, but it is assumed the place-name is of Māori origin. The Tokomairiro River appears on the Ngai Tahu Atlas as a recognised Māori name, though no further explanation or translation has been given (Kā Huru Manu 2022). In 2016, the spelling of the Tokomairiro River was altered to the Tokomairaro River by the NZGB, citing that the place-name, translates as the method of pushing the waka or mokihi along the river with a pole' (NZG 2022). However, it seems that the official spelling has yet to be generally adopted at the time of the writing of this thesis, as the spelling of the river remains Tokomairiro in both authoritative sources, such as the Te Ara Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, and in less rigorous sources such as Google Maps. Undoubtedly, the place-name



Tokomairiro comes from the watercourse name, with both Tokomairiro River and Tokomairo District noted on the 1847 Map of the Settlement of Otakou (see Figure 7-2).

Figure 7-2 1847 Map of the Settlement of Otakou, New Zealand where the Tokomairiro Plain can be seen in the central section of the map (Smith 1847).

It remains a mystery as to when the name Tokomairiro was coined, but the earliest records of the use of this name appear in an 1844 sketch of the District where

Tokomairiro Plain is first mentioned (see Figure 7-3) as well as in a July 1844 account of a preliminary expedition of the Region by the New Zealand Company, stating that 'the plain itself is about 7,000 acres in extent, and consists entirely of grass; but the neighbouring hills are not destitute of wood' (NENZC 20 July 1844). It can be assumed that the expedition report and the sketched map correlate to present an accurate picture of what the Region looked like at the time of its purchase and initial European settlement efforts.

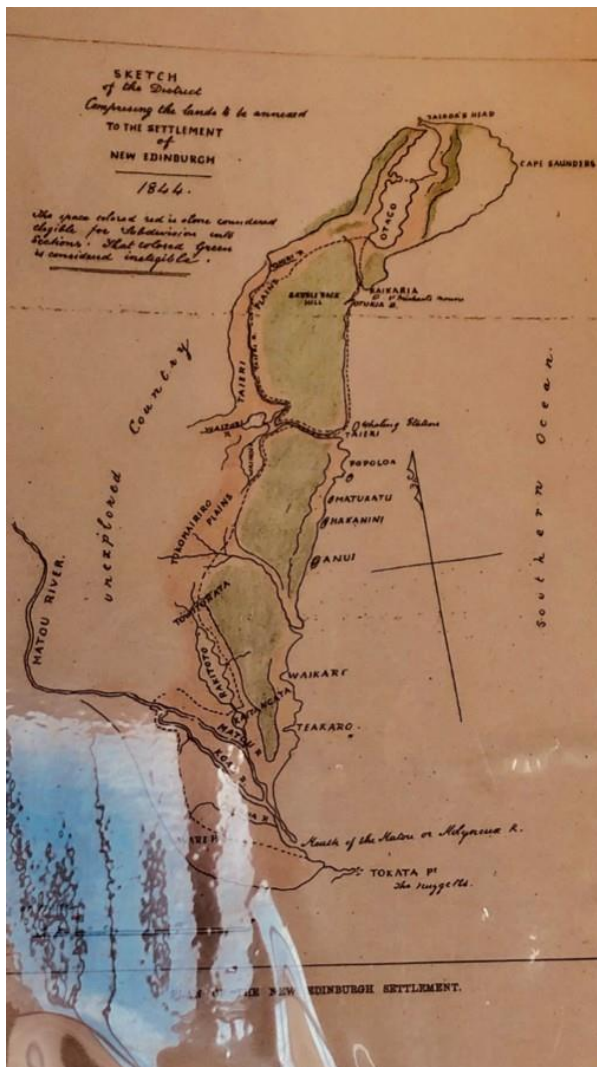


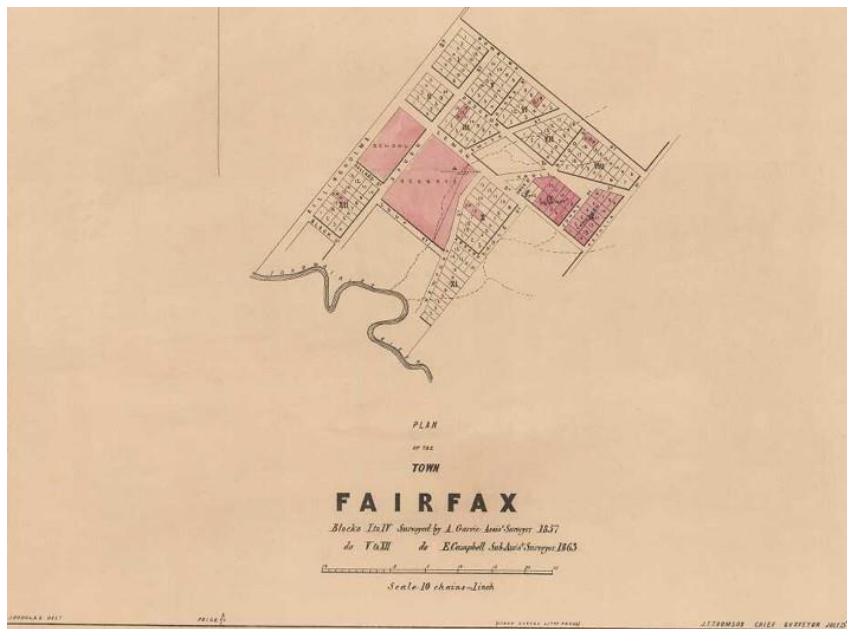
Figure 7-3 'Sketch of the District comprising the lands to be annexed to the Settlement of New Edinburgh' 1844, accessed at the Milton Museum 23 March 2019.¹⁰

¹⁰ Glare from photo in lower left corner.

Following the initial purchase and planning of the Tokomairiro area, two place-names occupied a single locality: Fairfax, and Milton. Plans for the town of Fairfax were released by Chief Surveyor J. T. Thomson in 1863 after the plot of land had been surveyed by assistant surveyor Alexander Garvie in 1857, followed by a secondary survey by sub-assistant surveyor E. Campbell in 1863 (NZMS016, National Library of New Zealand). Fairfax, being a non-native place-name to Aotearoa New Zealand, is difficult to place within Brink's taxonomy of transferred place-names, as there is no record of the motivation for the transfer of the name, yet it is a name found elsewhere in the world such as in the states of Virginia, South Carolina, and California in the United States. In a piece from the Otago Daily Times of 25 May 1990, meant to further explore the meaning behind Otago place-names, it was explained that 'the Lands Office drew many of its place-names from the events and personalities of British history, and a fair sprinkling of Civil War names came to be associated with Otago towns - Fairfax (early Milton) for instance' (NZGB HDD). Fairfax is indeed linked to the English Civil Wars, as the place-name is in reference to Sir Thomas Fairfax, general in the Parliamentary forces and hero in the battle of Naseby in June 1645. In this instance, Fairfax might represent a psychological or socially conditioned transfer of a place-name, as the name was planned for the locality prior to immigrants arriving, and perhaps meant to evoke some familiarity

or high-status much like modern-day planned communities and suburbs attempt to do (Brink 2016).

Figure 7-4 'Plan of the Town Fairfax' 1863.



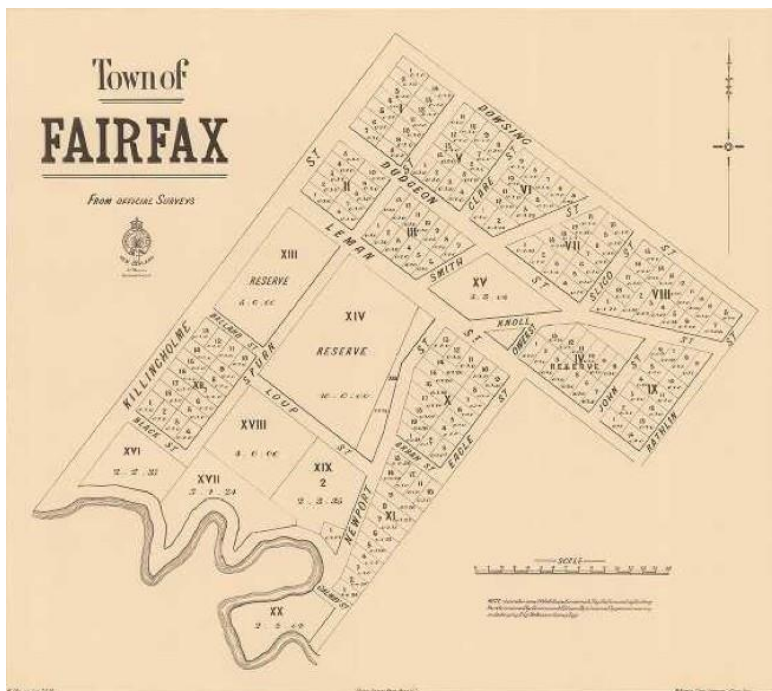


Figure 7-5 Street names Killingsholme St., Clare St., Sligo St., amongst others ('Town of Fairfax' plan, 1878).

In 1876, a town plan for Milton was released, perhaps with the name acting as a name of convenience or in Brink's classification, a name of association (Brink 2016, 8) as the name may have simply been given due to it being the town where the mill was located. However, according to Beattie, 'some have considered it was named after the Poet and quote in support that some of the streets have names of a literary flavour,' as can be seen below in Figure 7-6 (Beattie 1948, 92). With street names inspired by poets such as Chaucer, Dryden, and Spencer, as well as poetic characters such as Ossian, it is difficult to refute the possibility that Milton was meant as more than just the town where the mill was located.

According to Beattie's source, a Dr Hocken, a man named Peter McGill opened a flourmill in this location in 1857, hence inspiring the name Milton, followed by a surveyor (unnamed) in 1859, re-interpreting Milton as the name of the poet which in turn inspired all the literary street names (Beattie 1948, 93). As the earliest extant town map of Milton is dated for 1876, it is difficult to confirm whether the place-name Milton was coined prior to the themed street-names, or if the name

Milton itself was planned as a place-name homage to the 17th-century English poet, John Milton.

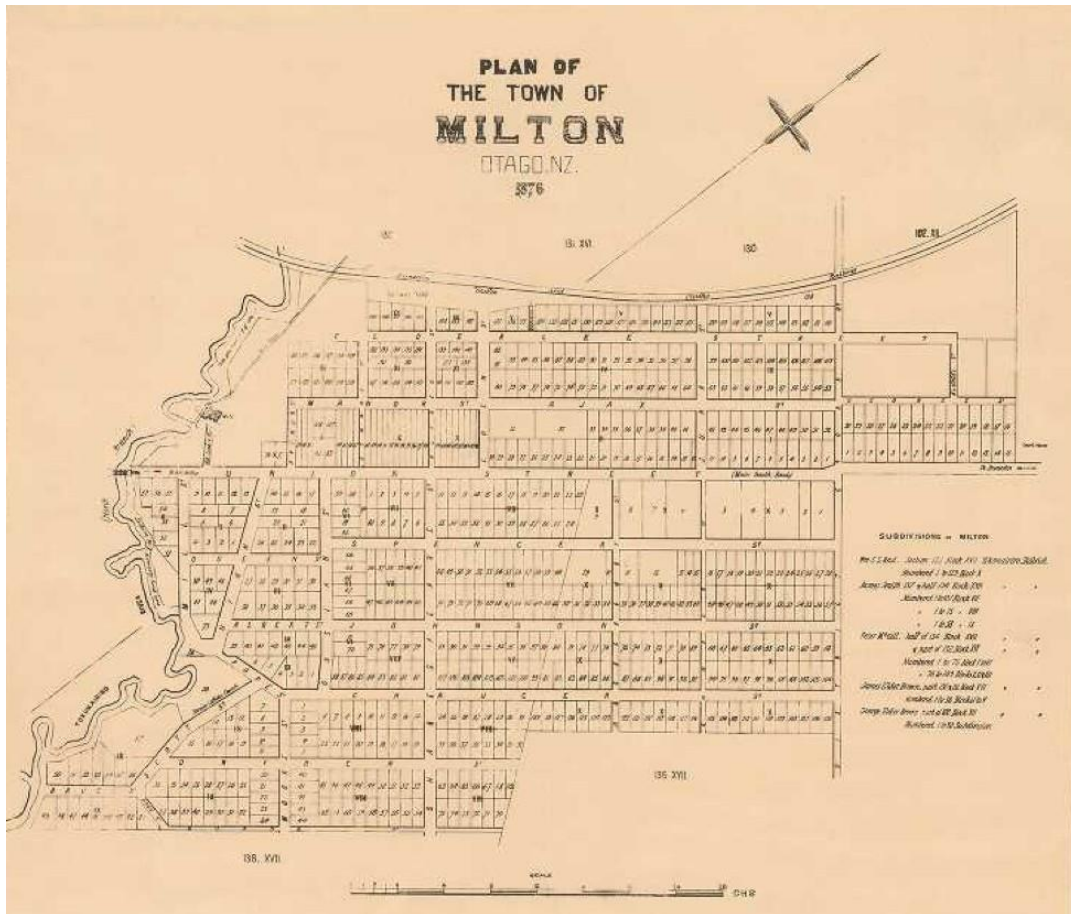


Figure 7-6 Featuring street names Chaucer St., Dryden St., Spencer St., and Ossian St. ('Plan of the town of Milton', 1876).

As early as 1866 (see Figure 7-4) the names Fairfax and Milton appear side by side on survey maps, an occurrence that continues until 1876 on multiple survey maps (see Figure 7-5 and Figure 7-6), including those by J. T. Thomson, James McKerrow, Henry Aitken Wise, and W. and A. K. Johnston. In 1889, the name Fairfax is dropped from the map beside the name Milton, and appears as a place-name in the Southland Region, just north-west of Invercargill (see Figure 7-10). Accounts of the early days of Milton, such as those from personal correspondence at the Milton Museum with local historians and in the recollections of early settler James Ayson, describe the place-name Fairfax pre-dating Milton, and Milton being the place-name given to the locality to replace Fairfax which was moved to the Southland

Region (Ayson 1937). However, survey maps of the Region tell a different story, and place Milton and Fairfax as two separate localities, just neighbouring each other, for at least twenty years.



Figure 7-7 Demonstrates the existence of Fairfax and Milton at the same time in the Tokomairiro Plain ('Map of the Province of Otago', 1866).

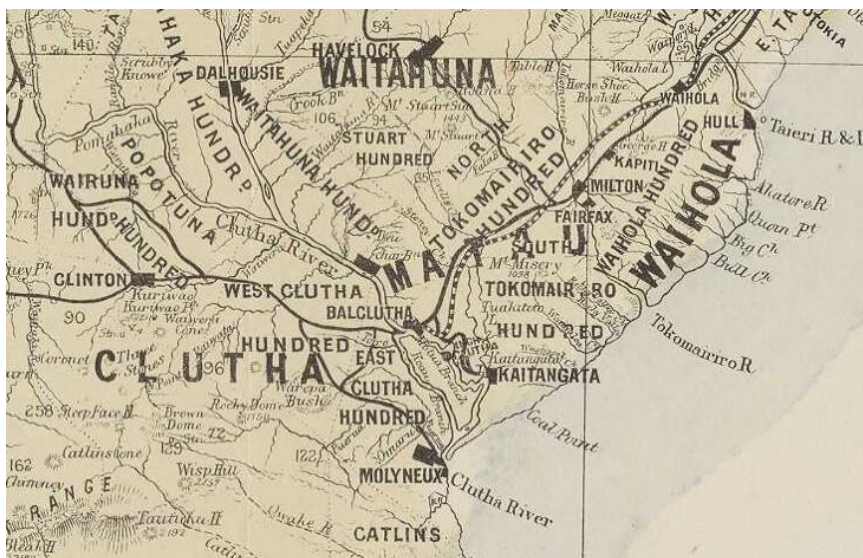


Figure 7-8 Fairfax and Milton again being extant beside each other ('Wise's new map of Otago, corrected from official surveys', 1875).

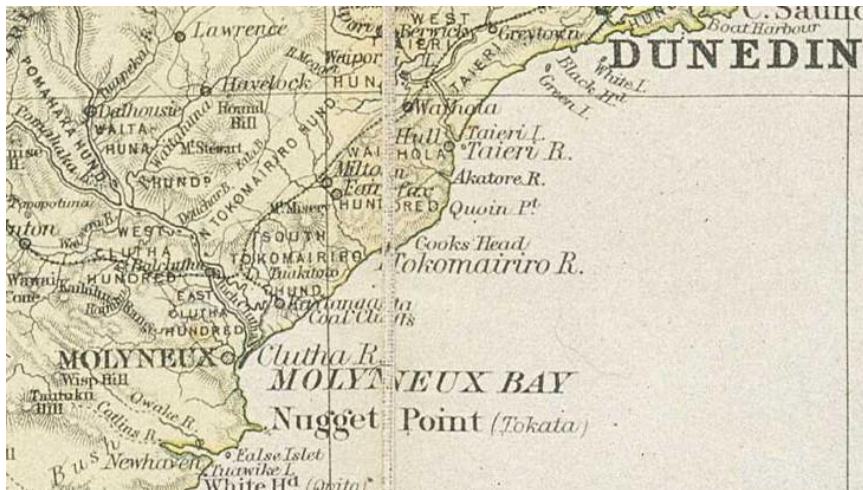


Figure 7-9 Milton and Fairfax in the same area of the Tokomairiro ('Johnstons' emigration map of the British colony of Otago', 1876).

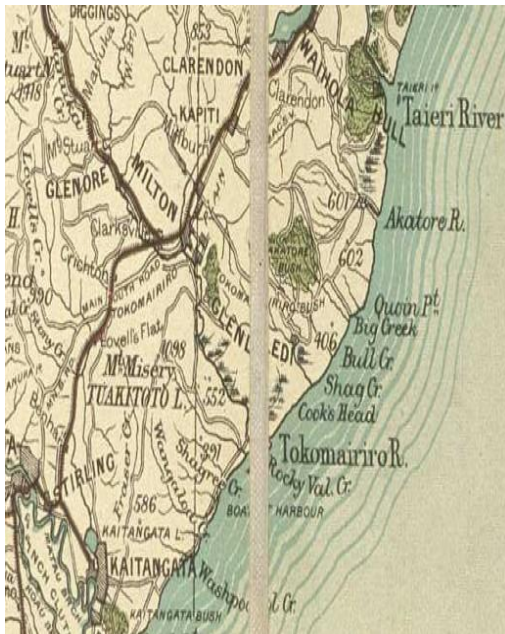


Figure 7-10 Section of map with only Milton in Otago ('Otago & Southland, South of latitude 45° S', 1889).



Figure 7-11 Section of map with Fairfax now located in Southland ('Otago & Southland, South of latitude 45° S', 1889).

Evidence of the use and prominence of these previous place-names can be seen in the community of Milton today, with the town cemetery being called Fairfax Cemetery, and the local high school being the Tokomairiro High School. One of the greatest challenges in tracking these name changes has been the scarcity of early

cadastral maps of the area, which would not only offer a window through which place-name changes could be viewed, but also provide evidence of early settlement locations. In the circumstance of limited cartographic data, information gleaned from personal narratives by early settlers in letters, memoirs, and family genealogies, act as a medium to better understand the changes to the Region over time. The richest source of this type information in the Tokomairiro Plain comes from the late William Ayson, born in Glenshee, county of Perthshire, Scotland, and who emigrated on the *Royal Albert* to the Otago Region in 1853 (Ayson 1937, 7).

Emigrating alongside William on the *Royal Albert* were a number of family members and neighbours of the Aysons. William, being only 12 years old at the time of emigration, had witnessed the growth of a nation around him, as he himself grew. He had vague memories of his life in Scotland prior to his family removing to Aotearoa New Zealand, doubtlessly retold to him by his large family of fourteen, him being the fifth child (Ayson 1937, 16). William was baptised with his family in Scotland at the Free Church of Strathardle in Perthshire alongside the Shaw family, neighbours and friends to the Aysons who found themselves also emigrating to Aotearoa New Zealand in the previous year (Ayson 1937, 13). When the Shaws and the Aysons took their leave of Scotland, emigration was still a fairly new concept to many in their part of the country: ‘leaving the old Glen in Scotland was an unusual event, and I remember when Mr. Shaw and his sister Miss Margaret Shaw [...] left for New Zealand in the Maori in 1852, a year previous to our departure’ (Ayson 1937, 16). Though the Shaw family may have been seen as radical in their community for willingly departing their homeland for such a far-off unfamiliar country, their exodus inspired the emigration of a number of nearby friends and neighbours through chain migration (see 5.1). As the Shaw family would come to experience in Aotearoa New Zealand, ‘family histories show that for at least thirty years there were regular additions to the community, both families and individuals from the original Scottish home Districts,’ showing a pattern of familial settlement that can be navigated through personal narratives, and evidenced in the place-names transferred from their native communities (Patterson, Brooking & McAloon 2013, 201).

Amongst the many family members making up the Ayson emigration to Aotearoa New Zealand, there was James Ayson, also of Glenshee, Scotland, uncle to William Ayson, who emigrated with the family, according to William, in his early twenties as a single man. Although William recalls his uncle being on the voyage with them to Aotearoa New Zealand, his name does not appear on the *Royal Albert* passenger list alongside the other Ayson family members (OW 12 March 1853). He does appear however, in newspaper articles from the *Otago Witness* and the *Otago Daily Times* as early as 1858 in reference to his role in the community in the Tokomairiro Plains, signifying that he did arrive and settle in this Region not long after William Ayson and family arrived even had he not been on the same ship as the rest of the family.¹¹ Prior to arriving in Aotearoa New Zealand, James Ayson studied at St. Andrews University to be a minister, however, due to his eyesight failing him, he was compelled to give it up. Despite his failing eyesight, James was first hired in Aotearoa New Zealand to take on the role of shepherd for Mr James Fulton of West Taieri (Ayson 1937, 17). By 1858, James had applied for his own parcel of rural land in the Tokomairiro Plains (OW 1 Jan 1859).

James Ayson was one of the only members of the Ayson family to venture through the Tokomairiro plain, and remain there. The other member of the Ayson family to reside in Tokomairiro, Alexander Ayson, brother to James, was brought out to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1856 on the *Southern Cross*, where he then was given a position as the first teacher at the Tokomairiro School by the Provincial Council of Otago (Ayson 1937, 17). This position was held by Alexander for many years, with records showing his re-appointment in 1865 into the role of master of the school after already having served in this capacity for nine years (BH 12 Jan 1865).

The majority of the family moved on to what was then known as ‘The Ferry’, where modern-day Balclutha lies (see 7.2). The Tokomairiro Plain was often used as a stopover point for travellers moving to the larger communities along the Clutha, earlier known as the Molyneux, River. William Ayson and his family passed through

¹¹ Multiple sources referring to Mr. James Ayson found on Papers Past from 1858-1867 in the *Otago Witness* and the *Otago Daily Times*.

Tokomairiro in 1854 on their way to Warepa where the family was making their homestead. Despite the Tokomairiro Plain being merely a passing place for the



majority of the Ayson family, they seem to have left their mark on the land. A creek local to Fairfax Road, a remnant of the no longer extant town of Fairfax, called Ayson's Creek was found to be unpassable in 1869, fifteen years after the Ayson family made their way towards their new home further south (BH 17 Nov 1869). This creek cannot be found on maps today, but the historical evidence of the Ayson family's impact on the area demonstrates just how important each individual in the early settlement period was in shaping the namescape of the Region. While there, they were met by 'Messrs. Salmond and John Cargill', who lived in the town of Tokomairiro, which Ayson recognises is now known as the previously mentioned Milton (Ayson 1937, 34). Though William provides no given name for Mr. Salmond, it can be assumed he is referring to John Salmond, the only individual by the name Salmond in the Tokomairiro residential registry in 1855 (OW 26 May 1855). They stayed that night with a 'Mr. Crystal' of Tokomairiro, before continuing on (Ayson 1937, 26).

Figure 7-12 Tokomairiro Plain early settlement locations, Moneymore, and Chrystalls Beach (Leysen 2022d).¹²

While William Ayson does not seem to recall the given name of ‘Mr. Crystal’, in Milton today there is a Chrystall Beach in the Tokomairiro Plain supposedly named for a Frank Chrystall who was known for letting out his house for others travelling through (N. Allison 2019, personal communication, 19 March). As with many place-names, it seems as though the spelling of a personal name within a place-name has changed over time. While William may recall Crystal’s name spelled one way, surveyors recorded it another. Moreover, Aotearoa New Zealand historians seem to have recorded it another way still, noting that ‘Mr. Robert Martin and Mr. Frank Chrystal [sic] settled on the East side of the plain, near the bush’ (The Cyclopaedia Company Limited, 1905). Furthermore, the mention of a Mr Robert Martin, the first white settler of the Tokomairiro Plain in 1849/50, an Irishman from Moneymore, Northern Ireland, connected with Frank Chrystal [sic], makes it all that more plausible that Chrystall Beach is indeed coined after the early settler.¹³ Moneymore itself is an anglicisation of the Irish name Muine Mór, meaning large hill or large thicket (Logainm.ie., n.d.). The location of Moneymore in the Tokomairiro Plain lies directly south of Milton, and just east of Chrystall Beach, connected by a street name ‘Irishmans Road’. According to local history, Francis (Frank) Chrystal [sic] wished ‘to be buried in a cave at the beach, but lies peacefully at the Fairfax Cemetery’.¹⁴ Perhaps the coining of Chrystall Beach was a nod to final desires left unfulfilled.

As for Robert Martin, he and his family arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1840 as a part of Charles Kettle’s Survey Party, and made the purchase of what he then called Fairfax (ibid.). Fairfax, however, did not survive as a place-name, and in the

¹² According to LINZ, the English possessive form should not be used. However, existing names with the possessive [s] that do not have the possessive apostrophe, have been in long-term use and have low public value will not be altered (LINZ 2023).

¹³ Headstone of Robert Martin in Fairfax Cemetery, reading ‘The above Robert Martin 1809-1862 was the first white settler on the Tokomairiro Plain 1849/50 Praise be to God Erected by William R. Martin Mataura’, visited in person 22 March 2019.

¹⁴ Signpost at the Fairfax Cemetery entitled ‘History of the Fairfax Cemetery’, visited in person 22 March 2019.

Aotearoa New Zealand habit of ensuring multiple names did not exist, was given to a new settlement in Southland instead. This same situation occurred a second time in the Tokomairiro Plain, when Southbridge was given to a settlement in Canterbury, and Robert Martin was given the opportunity by Charles Kettle to name the locality Moneymore after his homeland (N. Allison 2019, personal communication, 19 March).¹⁵

Between 1864 and 1867, the population of the Tokomairiro Region grew by 248 people, 198 of which were female, bringing the total population up to 2,060 compared to the 1,812 it was 3 years earlier (ODT 28 Feb 1868). Within the 20 kilometre radius of the Tokomairiro Plain, the population grew to accommodate incoming mill industries, including timber and woollen mills, making the Region more attractive to investors and migrants alike (Sumpter & Lewis 1949).

7.2 Immigrant Families of ‘The Ferry’

Balclutha/The Ferry, Warepa, Finegand and Stirling

Hardly twenty-five kilometres south of what is now known as Milton, lies present-day Balclutha. Prior to 1868, Balclutha was simply known as ‘The Ferry’, on account of it being the location where people could get the ferry across the great Clutha River (Lovell-Smith 2019). Mr. James McNeil’s acquisition of a whaleboat from Dunedin in 1852, for the purpose of ferrying people, farmstock and goods across the river, altered the accessibility and viability of life in this locality (Ayson 1937, 31). The Ferry was an important site for the early settlers of the Clutha District, as it was where the two branches of the Clutha River joined up before it extended further inland in the Otago Region.

The name Clutha has a convoluted history, with the meaning of it still not being accurately recorded in modern literature (see Figure 7-13). The Clutha District

¹⁵ Note: It is unknown who decided to move the place-name of Southbridge and why.

takes its name from the River Clutha (Māori Mata-Au), which runs through the Otago Region. However, this has had many names since Pākehā settlement.

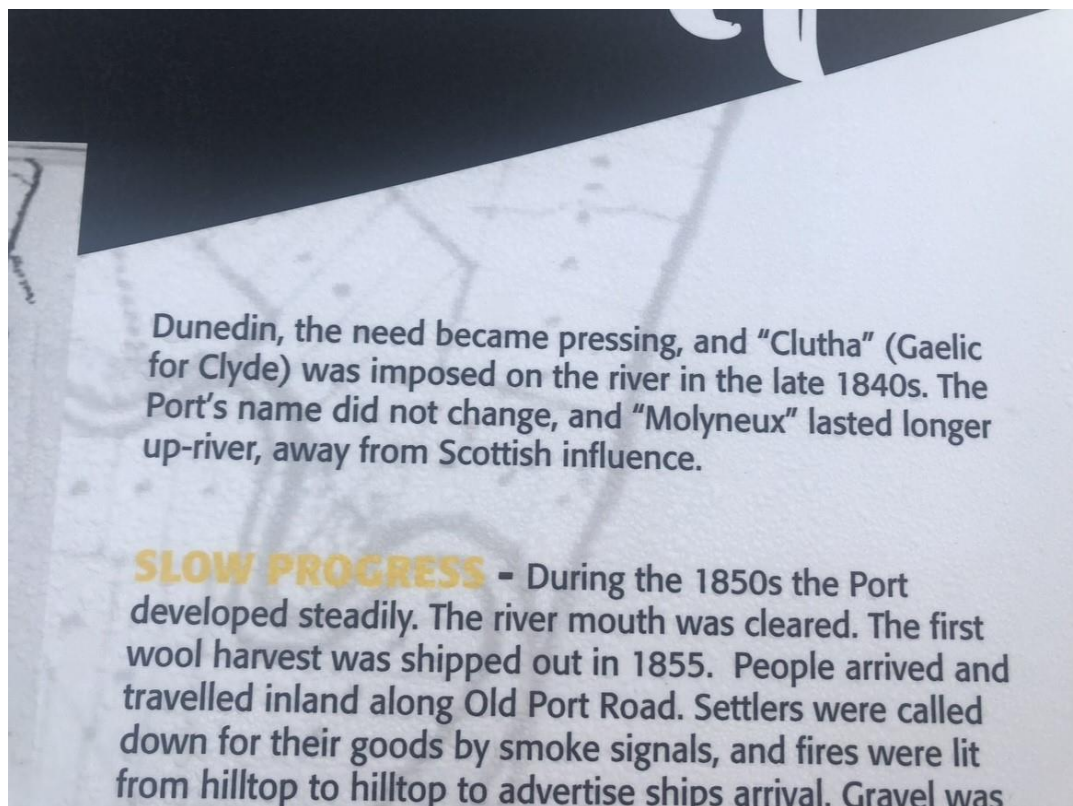


Figure 7-13 Image taken on fieldwork (March 2019) of sign by the Clutha District Council incorrectly attributing the origin of the toponym Clutha as the Gaelic form of the Clyde River in Glasgow, Scotland.

The name ‘Clutha’ seems to have been known as early as 1844 as it appears in William Davison’s Surveyor’s fieldbook (New Zealand National Archives, n.d.). The name Clutha appeared on Charles Kettle’s survey map in 1847, however, the record included the toponym Molyneux, stating, ‘Mouth of the River Molyneux or Clutha’ (NZG 2022). Molyneux is a place-name over which there has been debate as to what area it is referring to, the proper spelling of the name, and what period in time it was bestowed. Additionally, it is unclear if Molyneux was applied to the river, now known as the River Clutha/Mata-Au, in its entirety, or only to a certain section of the river (Griffiths 1990, 60). Although a variation of the name Molyneux first appeared when artist Sydney Parkinson wrote, on 4 March 1770 that he had seen, ‘the appearance of a harbour, which we named Moulineuxs Harbour, after the name

of the master of our ship' (NZG 2022), by 1852 the location of Molyneux on maps had moved inland to a section of the river past the Blue Mountains (Griffiths 1990, 62) (Otago Regional Council. (n.d.). However, it must be noted that the claimed link between the Clutha and Scotland is misinformed, as the name Clutha is not a Gaelic form of the Clyde River in Glasgow, Scotland, but an ancient name of that river in its own right (see Gazetteer). The Molyneux/Clutha situation is an interesting case study of Otago place-name evolution and how it can represent so many stages of settlement history.

Before the first Balclutha bridge was built in 1868, the only way across the river and to access the coastal island known as Inch Clutha, or to the rest of the Otago Region further South, was via McNeil's whaleboat, and later a government-granted punt. William Ayson remembers the evolution of the crossings at The Ferry vividly, noting how the Government's punt was deemed not safe after a time, as it was prone to instability with too much weight, ultimately leading to the capsizing of the punt and drowning of a number of horses (Ayson 1937, 31). Following this unfortunate incident, the Government replaced the punt with a double pontoon until the day a bridge was installed in 1868 (Ayson 1937, 31).

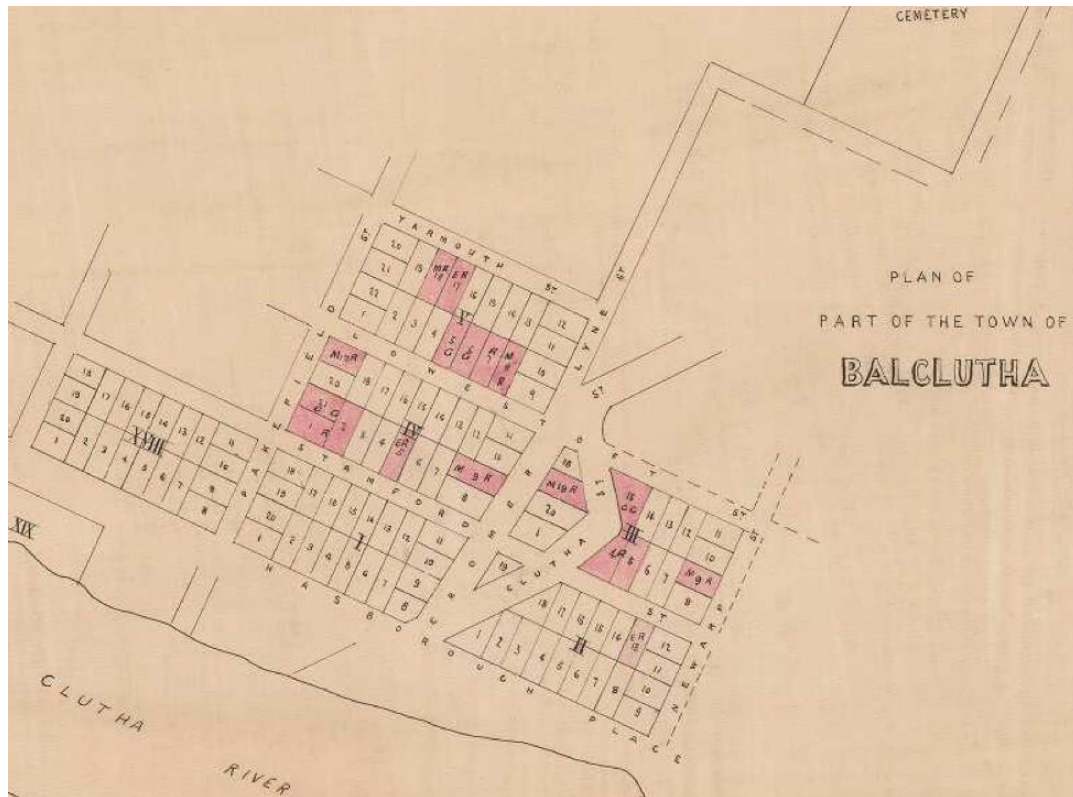


Figure 7-14 'Plan of part of the town of Balclutha' 1860s, National Library of New Zealand.

It is unknown exactly when the place-name Balclutha was given to the riverside locality, as “Balclutha”, called by the Māoris Iwikatea [see Gazetteer], was not settled for some time after the first settlers came to Port Molyneux, Inch Clutha, and East Clutha’ according to early settler recollections, compiled by the Clutha Pioneers’ Association (Wilson 1912:2012, 123). The first mention of the place- name Balclutha is seemingly a passing mention in an 1858 article in the Nelson Examiner, but there is of course the possibility of an earlier mention in non- digitalised documents (NENZC 19 June 1858).

In the early 1860s, the town plan for Balclutha was quite different from the Balclutha that grew into the capital of the Clutha District. As seen in Figure 7-15, Balclutha’s town plan was heavily influenced by the place-names of the coastal Yarmouth area in East Anglia near the city of Norwich, such as Newarp, Yarmouth, and Pakefield. The earliest street names planned for Balclutha thus give the

impression of an effort to prioritise English names, despite the actual town-name containing a Gaelic element and Gaelic word-order.

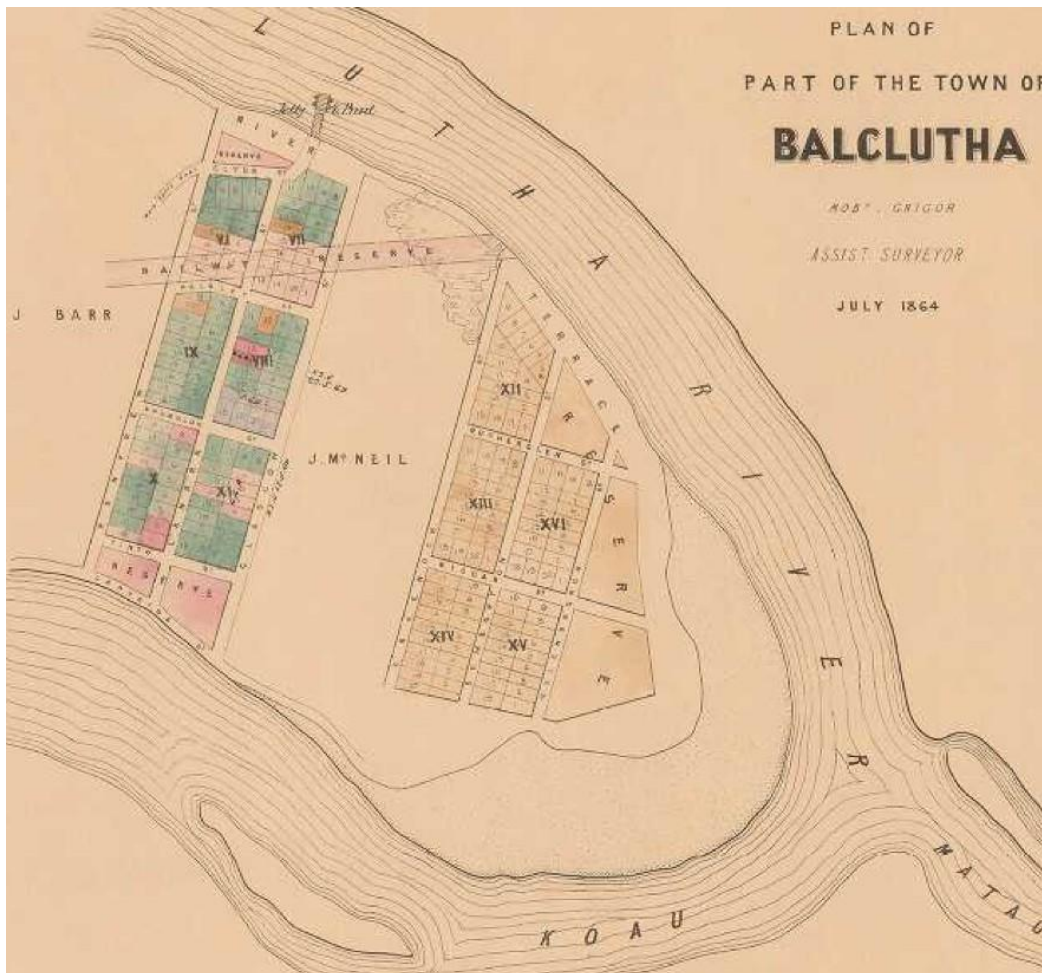


Figure 7-15 'Plan of part of the town of Balclutha' 1864, National Library of New Zealand.

However, the names reminiscent of the coastal area of Yarmouth were dropped from use in the town centre early on as in 1864, yet another town plan was released, this time with all Glasgow-related street names to the South of the Clutha River (see Figure 7-16). Renfrew Street, Paisley Road, Dumbarton Road, and Rutherglen Road are a few of the street names given in the new version of the Balclutha town plan that made up the town centre, which left off the area previously mapped out just to the north of the river. The East Anglian street names are now located in the area to the north of the river, rather than the town centre, to this day. As the first settler of the area, James McNeil, hailed from

Dunbartonshire, Scotland, there is little doubt as to his influence on the naming of Balclutha (Scottish Genealogy Society. n.d.). What remains unknown is the motivation behind the Yarmouth names, as there is no evidence of any Yarmouth-originating settlers during the time period of, or just prior to the release of the first town plan.

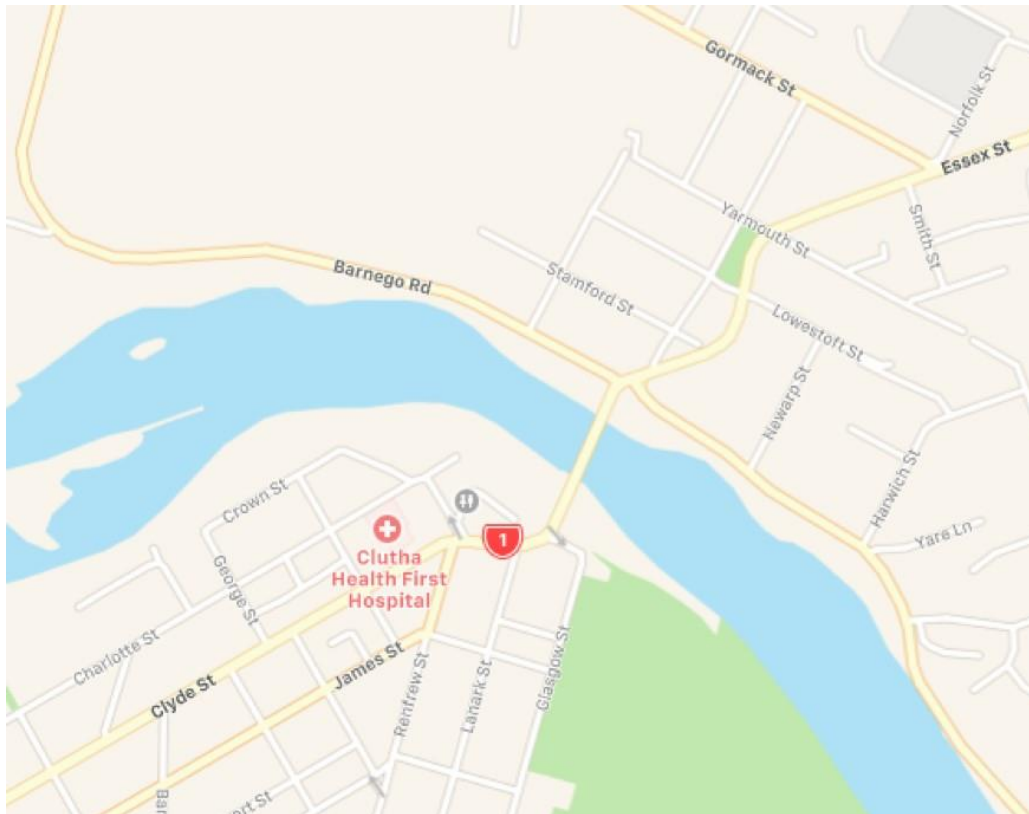


Figure 7-16 Modern street-map (2019) of Balclutha, New Zealand, North and South of the Clutha River (Leysen 2022e).

In November 1854, exactly two years after their ship the Royal Albert departed Gravesend for Otago, William Ayson's father finally sent for the rest of the family at Dunedin to make their journey across the Tokomairiro Plain, and South to their newly-built two-bedroom hut at Warepa (Ayson 1937, 35).



Figure 7-17 Warepa in proximity to ‘The Ferry’ which is shown as present-day Balclutha (Leysen 2022f).

After making the crossing at The Ferry on Mr McNeil’s whaleboat, the Aysons went a further three miles to reach Finegand, so named and settled by John and Margaret Shaw also of Glenshee, and previous neighbours to the Aysons in their homeland, where Finegand farm still exists (Ayson 1937, 35). Prior to the arrival of the Shaw family in the area, the land was deeded, here meaning the land was held in the Aotearoa New Zealand property ownership system, under the name ‘Warepa South’, until taken up by John Shaw who ‘christened Finegand, and this has continued as the District name to this day’ (Beattie 1948, 22). William recalls, ‘the reunion was a very jubilant one’ before the Aysons carried on a further nine miles to Warepa, where they were the first settlers (Ayson 1937, 35). It is not apparent from William’s recollections where the place-name Warepa came from, as it is implied the name existed before any European settlement had. William does go on to say that his father gave the homestead the name of Corydon, however, ‘after our old home in Scotland’ which was in Glenshee, Perthshire (Ayson 1937, 35). Though there is no Corydon in Warepa today, the name lives on through a Corydon Road

which now covers the expanse of land that once belonged to the Ayson family.¹⁶ Nearby is a Shaws Track on the map below, which William explains came into being from the fact that his father and brother visited John Shaw of Finegand every other weekend using this track during the building of their home (Ayson 1937, 37). Shaw Track is now the main road from Warepa to Balclutha (see Figure 7-18) and according to Beattie was named in 1850 (Beattie 1948, 23) There is little reason to dispute this claim by Beattie, however, the earliest digitised article that references Shaw Track is in 1868, which states that the track had ‘been in use from the very earliest settlement of the District’ which very well could be 1850 (BH 19 Feb 1868).

¹⁶ Similarly, the original Corydon farmstead in Glenshee, Perthshire, Scotland, has no longer survived. However, a Corrydon Cottage, with a nearby Corrydon Lodge, can still be found at NGR NO131669, merely 61 metres from the original Finegand.



Figure 7-18 Corydon Road and Shaws Track in relation to Warepa, the location of the Ayson family settlement (Leysen 2022g).

In the same vicinity as both Finegand and Balclutha lies the small locality of Stirling. A familiar place-name in Scotland, Stirling is indeed a transferred place-name carried over by a resident of its namesake in the homeland, and can be categorised as a psychological transfer of a place-name due to the motivation for its transfer being out of sentiment (Brink 2016, 7) as evidenced in the following narrative of early settler and place-name giver, Archibald Anderson.

Anderson was born in Stirling, Scotland, on Baker Street in 1817, and spent his youth there before making the crossing to Aotearoa New Zealand with his friend George Crawford in 1840 (Richardson, n.d.).¹⁷ Anderson travelled on the Bengal Merchant on 22 February 1840, along with a number of Scottish immigrants as a part of the First Scotch Colony for New Zealand assisted migration scheme with the New Zealand Company (NZGWS 21 Aug 1839 & 2 May 1840) (see 5.4). Anderson arrived in Wellington and married fellow settler Hannah Miller in 1844, followed by the birth of his two sons, George and Crawford, named after his friend who made the crossing to Aotearoa New Zealand from Scotland with him (Richardson, n.d.). After Anderson arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand, he tried his hand at being a shop owner and merchant for some time, before making the eventual shift into farming and trading which motivated his family to make the move further south into the Otago Region in 1855 (NZGWS 11 July 1840). The properties which Anderson's new homestead made up were purchased from previous early settlers, including two

¹⁷ From informal notes by Charlie Richardson, undated, in a local handout in Otago entitled 'Stirling: The naming of the village'.

properties called 'Mayshade' and 'Moirs Bush'. Upon purchase of this cluster, the land was given the new name of 'Balmoral' which remained the place-name for sixteen years (Richardson, n.d.). Anderson quickly became well-known and well-respected in the area, having such influence as to be elected to the Provincial Council to represent the Southern District alongside John Shaw of Finegand (NZ 9 Feb 1856). In 1871, the Dunedin-Clutha railway impacted the physical landscape around 'Balmoral' as well as the cultural environment. In 1877 after a great deal of negotiation with the government, Anderson agreed to let the land just to his northern boundary be used for a station stop as it was the closest stretch of undeveloped land to the Inch Clutha Ferry Terminus:

Mr. Anderson then surveyed and cut up ten acres which formed the original township [called Balmoral]; subsequently an additional area was added, and on this also the present township [now Stirling] stands (The Cyclopedia of New Zealand, n.d.).

As a result, Anderson was given the privilege of naming the station, on which he bestowed the name 'Stirling' after his birthplace in Scotland (Richardson, n.d.). Given that Anderson was born in Stirling, the naming of this place represents the exact same motivation to that of Finegand. Anderson was so influential in the Region, due to his willingness to parcel-off his land for local growth and development, that he was consulted on the main streets of the village that grew around the rail station (The Cyclopedia of New Zealand, n.d.). As a result, Baker Street, where he was born, featured in the street names, as well as St John, Mount Wallace, and Port Streets, which remain as reminders of his influence on the development of the area today (Richardson, n.d.).

7.3 Life on the Edge of the Catlins

Lochindorb, Maclennan, Catlins, Caberfeidh, and Glenomaru



Figure 7-19 The present boundaries of the Catlins Forest Park, which occupies the very south of the Otago Region and the northernmost part of the Southland Region, though the area recognised as ‘the Catlins’ extends to the coast (Leysen 2022h).

The exploration, and subsequent settlement, of the Catlins and surrounding area, did not take place until settlement in the rest of the Clutha District had taken off in earnest. It is recognised that ‘the first tide of European settlement, occupying the tussock grasslands between Balclutha, Gore, and Invercargill, by-passed the Catlins bushlands,’ in part due to the more difficult terrain in this southernmost part of the Otago Region (Tyrrell 2016, 16). A survey that took place from 1849–1851 included the area known as the Catlins River and was published in 1857 (New Zealand National Archives, n.d.). However, the first survey report of the Catlins locality, unusually made by the Otago harbourmaster William Thomson due to a lapse in an official surveyor general role during this time period, was made in 1862 (Tyrrell 2016, 17). Thomson’s accounts of the Catlins Region were extremely vague, listing the Catlins only as having ‘projecting headlands and islands on either side, a well-sheltered locality, and a bay providing good anchorage; the river was beautiful and the surrounding country finely timbered’ (Tyrrell 2016, 17) which indeed describes the Region that is considered the coastal Catlins today, with the official, protected Catlins Conservation Park covering a hilly expanse further inland. As a result, one of

the only attractions the Catlins held that interested the public of the 1860s was that mention of fine timber. As early as 1863 the Catlins and the surrounding area



were being evaluated for potential sawmill sites, with the Catlins River serving as the main route which carried prospective business interests and settlers alike to this uncharted territory (Tyrrell 2016, 17).

Figure 7-20 'The Catlins' as defined by LINZ in the NZG.

The NZGB recognised the Catlins as an official place-name for this small section of the Otago Region, also crossing over into part of the Southland Region, in 2010 after investigating the history and origin of the place-name (NZG 2022).

According to the Gazetteer, the Catlins came into common use in the 1840s, having originated from the Captain who ran a supply ship to a whaling station in the area, Edward Catlin (sometimes known as Cattlin). Catlin purchased the block of land of approximately 1,000 square miles, now known as the Catlins, from the local Māori on 15 February 1840 for '£30 and a few muskets and gunpowder' (Reed 1975, 71). Despite the sudden acquisition of this extremely large expanse of land by Pākehā, the local Māori have left a lingering imprint on the Region in the form of its place-names, as the majority of names throughout the Catlins appear to be of Māori origin apart from those discussed here.

However, things are not always as they appear. As mentioned above, in Chapter 3, the pattern of ascribing Māori-like place-names was done with a heavy hand in the time period being discussed here, the 1840s–1870s. As a result, it is difficult to be certain if the heavy influence of Māori-like place-names throughout the Catlins is the result of Māori name survival, or Pākehā influence after all. Although the Catlins boundary crosses over into Southland, this section will be primarily concerned with the events and place-names that occurred within the Otago Region.

It was mentioned in a report drawn up by Thomson in 1863 that no Pākehā were known to have penetrated the dense Catlins forest, yet the ‘Molyneux Māoris were in the habit of going to the Catlins occasionally for fishing and other purposes’ and there was also evidence of their gardens on the banks of the Owaka River, now part of the Catlins River (Tyrrell 2016, 19).¹⁸ Besides the commercially motivated individuals who made the voyage through the Catlins, the first group of Europeans in the area are thought to have been a party of gold prospectors, namely Alan Mann, Lawrence Bradley, John McPhee, John Colquhoun, Donald Bannerman, and John Forno in 1866 (Tyrrell 2016, 19). According to reports at the time, and from recollections of Māori living near the area in which the men ended up, the journey was quite a trial with the men having had to abandon their prospecting tools ‘to lighten their load, [then they] ran short of food, crossed the Tautuku River Māori fashion by joining hands with their clothes tied to their shoulders, and built rafts to cross the Catlins Lake and Owaka River.’ (Tyrrell 2016, 19). Apparently, this being one of the few tales of traversing the Catlins area at the time, their account did not

¹⁸ The Ōwaka River is listed in the Ngai Tahu Atlas as a Māori place-name and could be re-introduced as an official name before the end of this thesis if current place-name legislation to officially recognise all place-names in the Atlas passes (Kā Huru Manu, 2022).

inspire a great desire to settle there anytime soon after.



Figure 7-21 The journey of the gold prospecting men from Waikawa, across the Tautuku River, up to Catlins Lake, finally ending in Willsher Bay (Leysen 2022i).

Despite the initial reports from the Catlins area being rather negative, it was not long before the sawmill industry began, with temporary and permanent settlements following close behind. In 1865, the ‘Catlins Hundred’, based on the old English administrative term for a unit of land, was purchased, with 96 square miles being sectioned off from the sea in the east to the Puerua Stream in the West, and bordered by a section of the ‘Clutha Hundreds’ in the North and the ‘West Clutha Hundred’ in the South (OW 11 March 1865). This block of land was purchased by J. Burgh, William Halliday, J. Howatt, and William Thomson for the Catlins River Saw Mill Company, as well as numerous other sales of land to various investors by the Provincial Council of Otago (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1 January 1865). The Catlins River Saw Mill Company was short-lived, however, only operating for two years from 1866 to 1868 (Tyrrell 2016, 157). Due to challenges with shipping at the time and insurance complications, the mill was sold in 1868 to ‘owners McGlashan and Smith (1868–76) and W. McPhee (from 1876)’ (Tyrrell 2016, 19).

Although settlement within the Catlins as a result of dense forest and rough terrain was challenging, early settlers seemed to gravitate towards lake and river-side locales, such as Newhaven. Small though it may be, Newhaven, like many of the small settlements that appeared on the edges of inlets and bays, was a crucial part

of aiding the booming timber business in the late 19th and early 20th century, with Newhaven having been scouted early on in 1865 as a harbour connecting to the Catlins River which led further inland (see Figure 7-22). Newhaven was considered a 'government township' meaning it was purchased and planned by the Otago government in an attempt to attract settlers who would maintain the strategic locality (Tyrrell 2016, 148). Whilst the economy of the Catlins relied heavily on the sawmills and ability of cargo ships to access ports and waterways leading further inland, the Catlins were home to a few pastoral holdings including Lochindorb, located South-West of Balclutha (see Figure 7-23). Lochindorb began as a large sheep station in 1852, taken up by John Shaw of Finegand until 1861 when the station was sold to Thomas Ord (SP 10 Feb 1925). How the name Lochindorb came to be given to this run is unknown, but the process by which it came to be was quite common: 'when some of the old big runs were sub-divided smaller runs came into being and in South Clutha we get Lochindorb, Glenelg, Glenfalloch and Carol Stations' (Beattie 1948, 23). In one account of the bestowing of the place-name Lochindorb, Ord's death in the 1870s was followed by the purchase of the station by William Dalglish and Charles Stewart, farmer and retired banker respectively, who then sold the property to the 'Cumine brothers' who gave it the name Lochindorb (NZGB HDD). However, according to Beattie, it was John Shaw back in 1851 (prior to the separation and sale of the run from a larger station) who gave Lochindorb its name, transferred from Morayshire, Scotland where there lies a loch of the same name (Beattie 1948, 23). However, there are no sources to support Beattie's suggestion, though his assumption Lochindorb, which was also the name of a castle, was transferred from Morayshire may hold true, particularly if we consider the NZGB's correspondence and tie the Cumine brothers to the place-name transference. It would certainly seem likely that a Cumine could be the name-giver of Lochindorb in Aotearoa New Zealand, as the surname is commonly associated with the North-East of Scotland, including Aberdeenshire and Morayshire where the place-name Lochindorb originates (Hanks et. al., 2016). Additionally, Lochindorb in Inverness-shire, Scotland, was a stronghold of the Comyns Lords of Badenoch, with the surname Comyn being a form of Cumine (Historic Environment Scotland, n.d.) (see Gazetteer).

No evidence can be found as to who the Cumine brothers actually were, nor where they were from, however, around the 1870s, the time the Cumine brothers are suspected to have bestowed the place-name Lochindorb upon the run, references to a William Cumine can be found in the *Otago Daily Times* as being located at Horseshoe Bush, an estate near Clarendon just North of Milton, where he had experienced a theft of his sheep in 1868 (ODT 4 Sept 1868). In 1877, a John Cumine is listed as a surveyor in Tokomairiro whose name is also associated with an estate called Horseshoe Bush (BH 1 May 1877). It is possible that John and William Cumine are the Cumine brothers who supposedly took up the Lochindorb run closer to Balclutha, but there is not enough evidence to fully validate this theory. The Cumine family reportedly inhabited the Horseshoe Bush estate from the 1860s to the 1880s, though it was reported that William Cumine died in 1869 (OW 14 Aug 1869), leaving the estate to his widow Jane and son, William, with no mention of another son nor a brother to the elder William, leaving the identity of the Cumine brothers a mystery (Heritage New Zealand, n.d.a.).

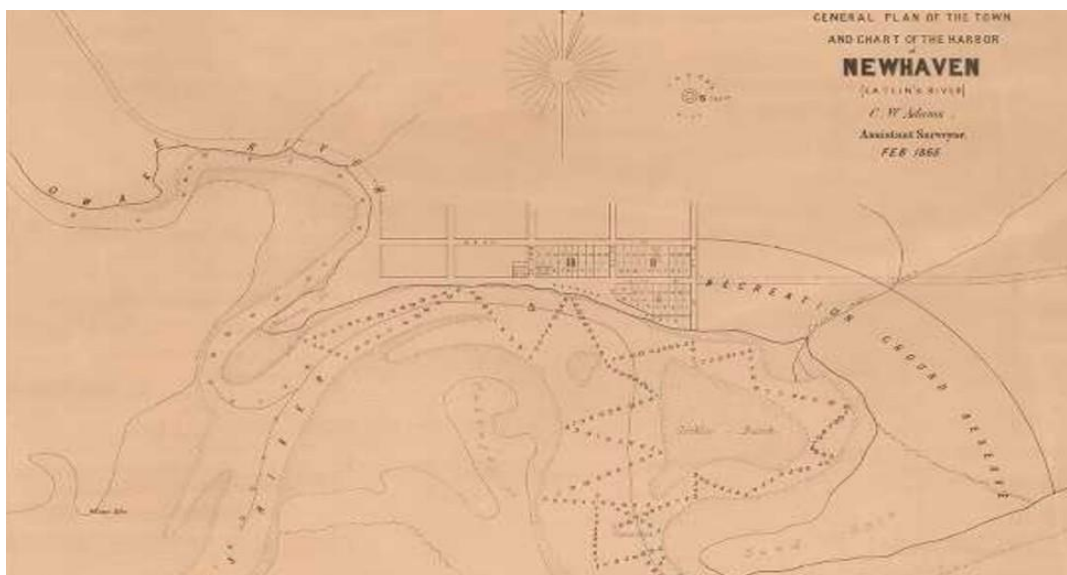


Figure 7-22 A detailed plan for cargo loads and drop-offs ('General plan of the town and chart of the harbour of Newhaven (Catlin's River)', 1865).

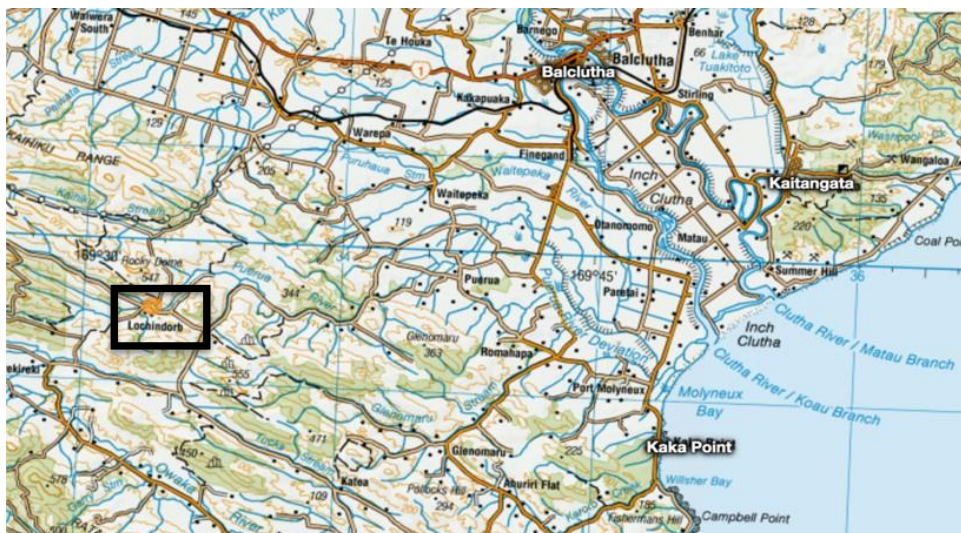


Figure 7-23 Lochindorb, located to the south-west of Balclutha, and in the very north of the Catlins area (NZG 2022).

The land in the Northern section of the Catlins in the early 20th century was designated as the Glenomaru Survey District, whilst the Southern section was the Woodland Survey District. The place-name Glenomaru is a hybrid Scots and Māori place-name, *glen* as in a valley, and *O-maru* is Māori for ‘place of Maru’, Maru being a Māori chief (Beattie 1948, 116). Glenomaru first appears as a place-name in 1860 in relation to the Glenomaru Flour and Sawmill, which were established that same year (OW 17 Nov 1860). The first settler in Glenomaru, Mr Scrymgeour, established a farm here called ‘Matuanui’, which perhaps signifies Mr Scrymgeour’s appreciation for Māori nomenclature despite ‘likely being a Pākehā himself’ (Tyrrell 2016, 78).¹⁹ The only mention of a Scrymgeour in ship records before the establishment of the Glenomaru Mills in 1860 was a John Scrymgeour who arrived on the *Pladda* on 20 August 1860 (OW 25 Aug 1860). However, it is unlikely this is our ‘Scrymgeour’ due to his family settling in Dunedin, not Glenomaru, where his occupation seems to have been a painter according to contemporary newspaper reports, until his death in 1864 (ODT 7 March 1864). On Christmas Day in 1872, three of John Scrymgeour’s six sons died in Port Chalmers, but it is possible that one of the surviving sons is indeed the ‘Mr. Scrymgeour’ referenced by Tyrrell (ODT

¹⁹ Pākehā and Māori intermarried very early on during European settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand (Callister 2003) so it would not be terribly surprising to find Māori with Pākehā names at this point in time.

18 Jan 1872). Although Tyrrell credits Mr. Scrymgeour with the creation of Glenomaru, the place-name could simply be the invention of the Glenomaru Flour and Sawmill proprietors, A. S. and R. L. Begg (OW 17 Nov 1860). It is possible that the Glenomaru mill proprietors used the existing Māori stream name in the area that fed into the Clutha/Mata-Au River, the Ōmaru Stream (Kā Huru Manu, 2022) and added the generic Scots element (of Gaelic derivation) glen, to create this unique, hybrid place-name (OW 28 July 1860).

In 1878, a public hearing was held to discuss the expansion of the Clutha railway into the Catlins, with Glenomaru being singled out as the ideal station to connect the Finegand (Balclutha) Branch of the railway with the Catlins area (ODT 4 Feb 1878). Railway construction which officially commenced in Balclutha headed south into the Catlins in January 1879 (NZT 29 Jan 1879). At this point in history, the Catlins were full of Māori place-names, such as Purakaunui, Hinahina, and Tahakopa (see Figure 7-24) but the arrival of the railway to the area in 1879 saw the creation of new locality names for railway stations that interspersed the primarily Māori namescape, such as Stuarts, Caberfeidh and Maclennan (Tyrrell 2016, 36).

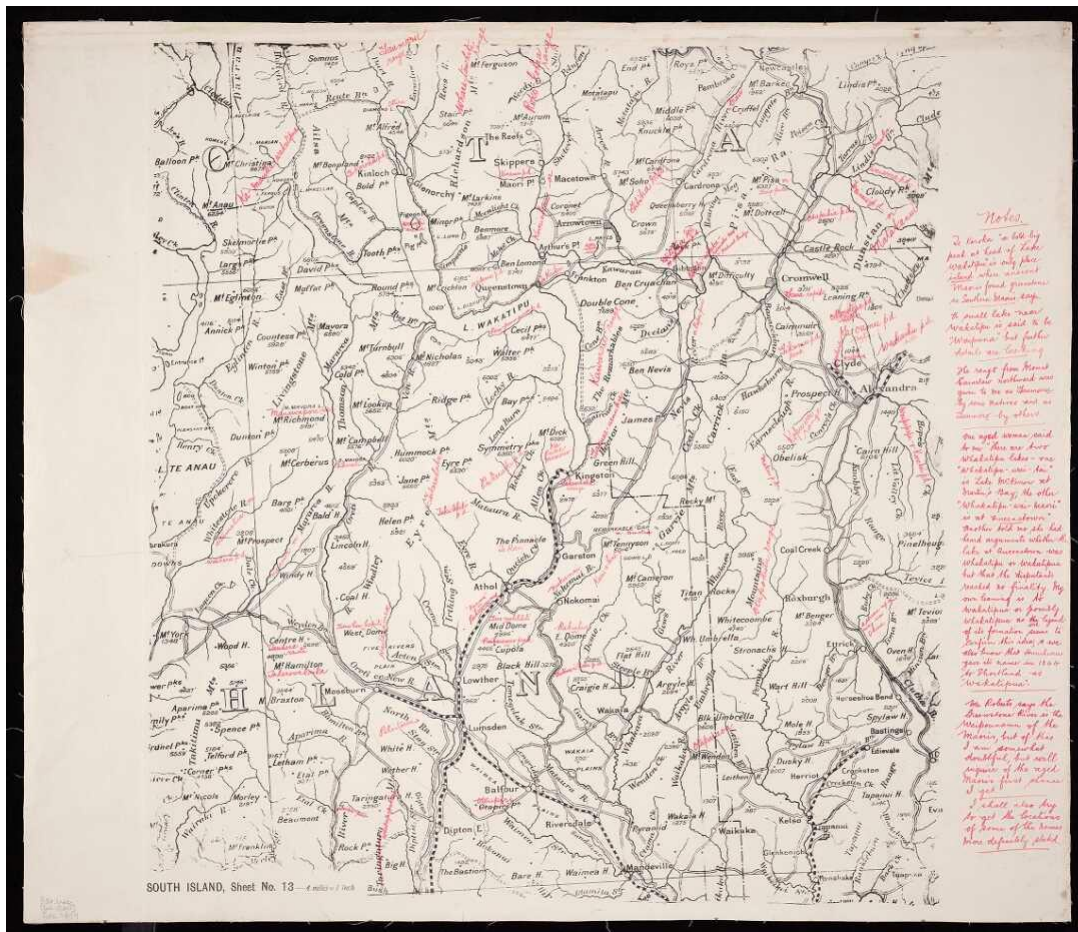
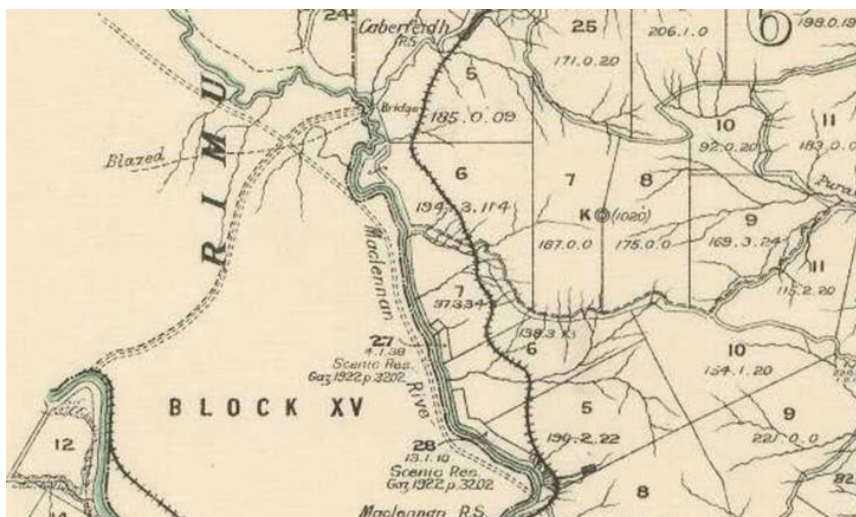


Figure 7-24 Map showing Māori place-names in Southland and Otago before 1840 (Beattie, n.d.).

Maclennan is located in an area known as the Tahakopa Valley, an area of the Catlins that is notorious for being difficult to access through the heavy bush. Although Maclennan, located 63 kilometres from Balclutha, may look unassuming today, it once represented an important feature on the early Clutha map as a stop on the Catlins River Branch of the Otago railway (Reed 1975, 227). It is believed that this rather striking anthropotoponym is ‘simply a runholder’s name’ (Beattie 1948, 89). The first settler in the Tahakopa Valley, Murdoch McLennan, reportedly arrived in the valley in the early 1870s (Tyrrell 2016, 99), after having emigrated to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1857, age 23, from Ross and Cromarty where he had been an excise officer (Lenihan 2015, 132). Reed suggests McLennan became a notable figure in the Catlins, establishing himself on the land now known as Maclennan in 1884. However, given that McLennan had been in the Tahakopa Valley since the 1870s and considering the railway that included Maclennan as a stop began

construction in 1879, it implies McLennan's association with the area predates Reed's assertion, despite the railway only becoming operational in 1914 (ODT 12 May 2018).

In an extract from parliamentary debates in 1908, it was noted that Maclennan 'had been wiped out, and the Maori name Kaihuika had been manufactured and



substituted' however, it just so happened that there was another place called Kaihiku in the same District, which undoubtedly confused the local populace greatly (NZGB HDD) (see 6.3.1). In a list of polling places in 1909, with Kaihuika and Kaihiku both listed in the Clutha District, it is apparent that Maclennan has been dropped as a locality name in favour of Kaihuika (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1909 Session II, 23). Kaihiku was in use from at least 1848 when it appears in the *New Zealand Spectator* and *Cook Strait Guardian* in the description of land boundaries (NZSCSG 21 June 1848). Kaihuika, however, only appears as a place-name in 1902 in a no-license poll where, as with the polling places list of 1909, it appears as a locality name instead of Maclennan (ODT 29 Nov 1902). Kaihuika does not appear in the Ngai Tahu Atlas, nor in the NZG. As a result, it can confidently be said that while Kaihuika may have replaced Maclennan as a place-name for a short window of time in the early 20th century, Maclennan was the sole place-name in use for this locality just prior to the early 20th century, and immediately after.

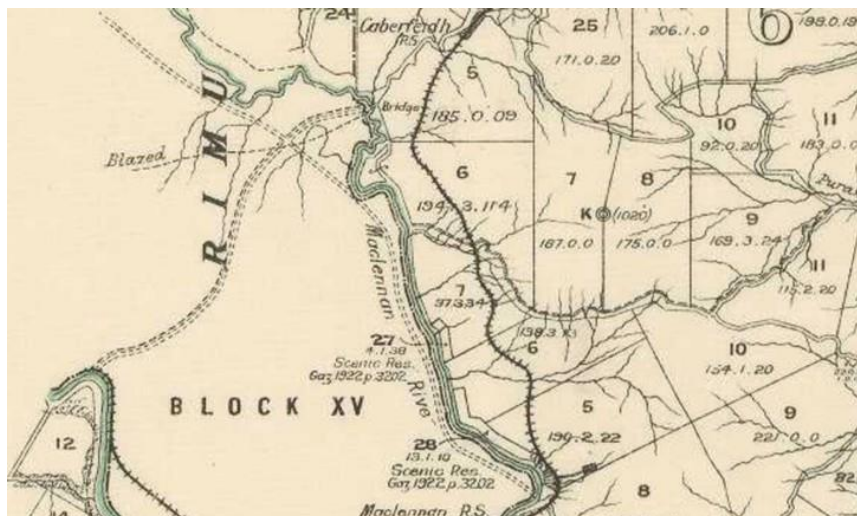


Figure 7-25 A close-up view of the railway between Maclennan, along the MacLennan River, to Caberfeidh in the North ('Woodland Survey District 1923).



Figure 7-26 'Woodland Survey District' of 1923.

Another anthropotoponym in the Catlins is Stuarts, which very little is known about. Both Beattie and Reed claim that Stuarts was named for an early settler, though no further information is given (Reed 1975, 378 & Beattie 1948, 89). As there are no known personal names resembling Stuarts recorded in the vicinity of the locality at the time of the earliest recorded use of the name, I would instead suggest that the place-name was not inspired by an early settler in the Region, but rather by a significant figure in the community at the time when the localities were being named: the Rev. Dr Donald Stuart (1819–1894). While scouring newspaper articles referencing the creation of the locality of Stuarts as a railway station, the name

'Dr. Stuart' frequently appeared, and any other mention of 'Stuarts' was in reference to the Stuart kings of Scotland. The Rev. Dr Stuart was a former minister of the Free Church of Scotland who arrived in Port Chalmers in 1860, and held important roles within the Otago community throughout his life in Aotearoa New Zealand (ODT 12 Aug 2017). In the year leading up to Stuart's death in 1894, many newspapers including the *Otago Daily Times*, the *Evening Star*, the *Dunstan Times* and the *Clutha Leader*, took to updating the public with regular status reports on the clergyman's health (ODT 26 Jan 1893, CL 27 Jan 1893, DT 27 Jan 1893). Given that Stuart was an influential figure throughout the Otago Region during the 19th century, it would be no great surprise if the names of the locality and railway stop were indeed inspired by this prominent individual.

As with Stuarts, the reported origins of the place-name Caberfeidh are inconsistent, and sources surrounding the creation of Caberfeidh in Otago are scarce. For example, the first appearance in digitalised newspapers of the term Caberfeidh in Aotearoa New Zealand is April 1875, listing a barque, or sailing vessel, owned by Mr D. H. McKenzie that was built at New Glasgow, Nova Scotia the previous year, as the *Caberfeidh* (AS 28 April 1875). In May 1889, after almost fifteen years of newspaper entries recording the shipping history of the *Caberfeidh*, the vessel ran ashore in Kaukapakapa, near Auckland (AS 24 May 1889). Shortly after this incident, the nearly-wrecked vessel was listed for sale (NZH 19 June 1889). Only three months later, in September 1889, the *Caberfeidh* was sold 'all faults' on behalf of the Waihi Goldmining Company (NZH 11 Sept 1889). Although this provides credible contextual information for the *Caberfeidh* as the source of inspiration for the later place-name *Caberfeidh*, unfortunately none of the information available relating to the vessel connects it with the Catlins, much less the Otago Region. Between shipping records of the *Caberfeidh*, and sporting reports on a racehorse of the name Caberfeidh, the place-name Caberfeidh in the Catlins does not appear in digitalised newspapers until 1904 amongst a list of expenditures for roadworks (ES 29 Oct 1904). Therefore, to understand the motivation for bestowing the place-name Caberfeidh to the Catlins namescape, we must look beyond the first appearance of

the name and consider what was happening, and who was involved, in the Catlins during that period in history.

Reed confidently claims that Caberfeidh is a Clan motto that was ‘suggested by the politician John Mackenzie[sic]’ meaning antlers of the deer (Reed 1975, 66). Although Reed does not state this, the clan Mackenzie is closely connected with the term Caberfeidh, from the Scottish Gaelic *Cabar Fèidh* which translates as ‘deer’s antlers’, with these antlers appearing in the Chief’s coat-of-arms, and is the title of the Clan Mackenzie Chief (Clan Mackenzie Society, n.d.).

Beattie also interprets the place-name similarly, claiming that Caberfeidh is ‘sometimes transposed into “Have a Feed” by the “casual colonial”’ and notes that it is a Gaelic name (Beattie 1948, 89). Yet another source claims Caberfeidh was actually bestowed by the politician and Edinburgh-native, Sir Thomas Mackenzie (Wise 1969, 31). The two aforementioned individuals, John McKenzie (1839–1901) and Thomas Mackenzie (1853–1930), are cited as potential name-givers of the locality Caberfeidh in Otago.

John McKenzie, a native Gaelic speaker from Ross-shire, Scotland, arrived in Port Chalmers on 24 September 1860. He became prominent among Scottish emigrants in Otago and was elected to the Otago Provincial Council in 1871 (Brooking 1996, p.43). Known for his extreme views, he was heavily involved in the politics and planning of Otago, particularly the Central Otago railway, though he faced resistance for his rail line proposals (McLintock 1949, p.640, 666). McKenzie advanced his political career, becoming a Member of the House of Representatives in 1881 and Minister of Lands from 1891 to 1900. His significant involvement in railways and land policies likely contributed to the naming of Caberfeidh. He also served as the chief of the Gaelic Society of New Zealand, referring to himself as ‘chief Caberfeidh’ (ODT 11 Aug 1894).

Sir Thomas Mackenzie, from Edinburgh, emigrated to Dunedin in 1858. After moving to Balclutha in 1877 and serving on the Balclutha Borough Council, he was elected as a Member of the House of Representatives for the Clutha District in 1887, working closely with John McKenzie (Te Ara Encyclopaedia, n.d.). Known for his explorations and love of New Zealand's wilderness, Mackenzie resigned from Parliament in 1896, returning in 1900 to win the Waihemo seat vacated by John McKenzie (ES 29 June 1896). He served as Prime Minister from 1911 to 1912 and as New Zealand High Commissioner, receiving a knighthood in 1916 (Pearce 1976, p.134). While he had the opportunity to influence place names, the lack of concrete evidence makes it uncertain whether he named Caberfeidh, though his broader political focus suggests John McKenzie is more likely the namesake.

The use of the Clan Mackenzie motto 'Caberfeidh' as a place name in Otago represents an imposition of Scottish heritage and identity onto the Aotearoa New Zealand landscape. This naming reflects the cultural ties and sentimental connections of Scottish settlers, particularly those with Clan Mackenzie. The term symbolically integrates Scottish cultural elements into the local geography, underscoring the influence of Scottish emigrants in the area. Such impositions often signify the settlers' desire to retain and propagate their cultural heritage in their new environment, asserting a sense of belonging and identity in the colonial context.

7.4 Westward Expansion: The edge of the Clutha District

Lawrence, Craigellachie, Beaumont, and Evans Flat

The Otago gold rush of the 1860s is credited with impacting primarily the Central Otago District, with the first evidence of gold and the resulting impact on the population and settlement of the Otago Region seen in the western reaches of the Clutha District at Gabriels Gully (see 5.5). As with the Catlins area of the Clutha District, the westernmost expanse of the Clutha District was remote and uninhabited (at least by non-Indigenous individuals) during the early years of European settlement pre-1860, as it lacked access to a seaport, and railway

construction did not happen in the area until the 1870s after the gold rush had already peaked, as seen in Figure 7-27. In researching early-19th-century personal narratives and family genealogies of the European settlers in the Clutha District, allusion to travel through, or permanent settlement of, the western Clutha District (Lawrence, Craigellachie, Beaumont, and Evans Flat) is limited when compared with the rest of the Clutha District. It can therefore be said that permanent settlement was not the primary motivating factor behind travel to this area of the Clutha District, but rather the chance of striking a fortune in the gold fields drove immigrants and gold prospectors alike to the Region (Carpenter 2013b, 112).

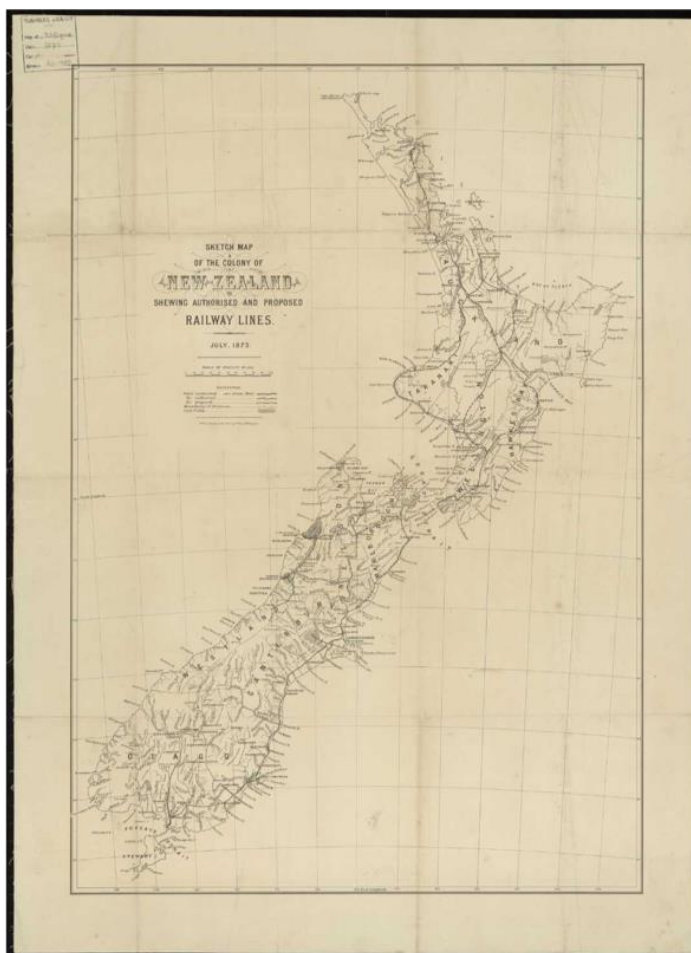


Figure 7-27 'Sketch map of the Colony of New Zealand showing authorised and proposed railway lines' of 1873.

The largest settlement of permanent residents in this area belonged to the locality of Lawrence, on the border of the Clutha and Central Otago Districts. Before the

locality in question was given the place-name Lawrence, it was known as The Junction, 'on account of the meeting of the Wetherston and Gabriels Gully creeks before they flow into the Tuapeka River' (Reed 1994, 215). It remains uncertain whether The Junction was officially recognised or if it fell into the category of informal place-names, often used in everyday communication among various social groups, not just limited to the working class. These informal names, also referred to as 'common language,' reflect the linguistic practices of different communities (Eskelinen 2009, 351). According to Beattie, The Junction was superseded by the place-name Gabriel's Township, after Gabriel Read the discoverer of the first 'rush' site (Beattie 1948, 64). Gabriels Gully (sometimes Gabriel's Gully) then appeared in use from 1861 (MP 16 Aug 1861) though yet again it is unclear if it fit within this slang category of names given that there is no corroborating evidence, such as in historical maps or the NZG, to indicate whether it was an officially recognised place-name or not (Beattie 1948, 64). Finally, in the 1860s, the place-name Lawrence was given to the locality and is the place-name that remains today (Reed 1994, 215). Beattie records that 'some old diggers said this was named after a surveyor or road engineer' before voicing his doubts as to the validity of this belief (Beattie 1948, 64). Beattie is right to be sceptical, as the truth behind the place-name of Lawrence comes not from an early surveyor or settler, but a fallen Anglo-Indian soldier in the Indian Mutiny of 1857: Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence (NZGB HDD). Lawrence's most famous and heroic moment came during the Indian Mutiny of 1857. As the Chief Commissioner of Oudh, he was stationed in Lucknow when the uprising began. Anticipating the mutiny, Lawrence fortified the British residency in Lucknow, ensuring it was well-stocked and defensible (Allen 2002). His foresight and leadership during the Siege of Lucknow were crucial in holding out against overwhelming odds. Unfortunately, Lawrence was mortally wounded early in the siege and died on July 4, 1857 (*ibid*). His death was a significant blow to the British forces, but his preparations helped the garrison withstand the siege until relief arrived (*ibid*). Naming the township of Lawrence in Otago after Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence can be seen as a tribute to his remarkable life and the values he embodied. His story resonated with the British settler community, symbolising bravery, leadership, and the 'civilising mission' of the British Empire.

There is some debate over the actual date of this place-name change, with Reed claiming the change happened in 1867, but then later contradicting himself by claiming the place-name change occurred on 6 November 1866 (Reed 1994, 215). Evidence for an even earlier date for the place-name Lawrence comes from a 1990 Otago Daily Times article on the history of Lawrence, which declared that the place had acquired this name in May 1862 (ODT 11 May 1990). It is reasonable to assume given this data that the commemorative place-name was bestowed upon the locality by May 1862, as the earliest cartographic evidence for the place-name Lawrence is in a general plan of the town of Lawrence, surveyed by Robert Grigor, May 1862.²⁰

Another place-name in this Region with a history of name changes and some confusion over its referent is Beaumont. The referent of this place-name was challenged by Beattie, who believed if Archibald Anderson of Stirling named the area in about 1856 as Beattie claims (1948, 24), the spelling would have been 'Bowmont', presumably after Bowmont River in Kelso in the Scottish Borders. In response to an 1876 map of the Otago Region found by Beattie, he again claims the spelling of Beaumont in Otago was a mistake, whereas Beaumont in the Southland Region was intentional (Beattie 1948, 44). Beattie's basis for this claim comes from his belief that the surveyor, J. T. Thomson, would 'use the English spelling' (Beattie 1948, 44) which I would argue to be an incorrect assumption as Thomson could still have been influenced by the use of Beaumont in Scotland, referring to the aforementioned Bowmont River, without needing to anglicise it. According to the 1955 NZGB meeting minutes, the township of Beaumont was originally known as Dunkeld, another Scottish name which was retained for the Registration District, despite the 'name in popular use' being Beaumont (NZGB HDD). The first reference to the place-name Dunkeld in the Region appears on an 1869 town plan that has the locality of Dunkeld appear alongside the Clutha River (see Figure 7-28). The name of the river in the upper right corner of the plan however, is the Beaumont River, which presumably provides an origin for the replacement of the place-name

²⁰ This town plan is held by the ATL and has not been digitised.

Dunkeld in favour of the locality name Beaumont. Furthermore, in 1886 an application of licence and ownership for 'Block I, Crookston' was made for a section of land with the note 'the original owner of Dunkeld at Beaumont was Robert Wood from Scotland who purchased 21,500 acres in 1886' (MS-Papers-8640-33, ATL) perhaps signifying Dunkeld as more of a homestead or run, rather than a locality like Beaumont.

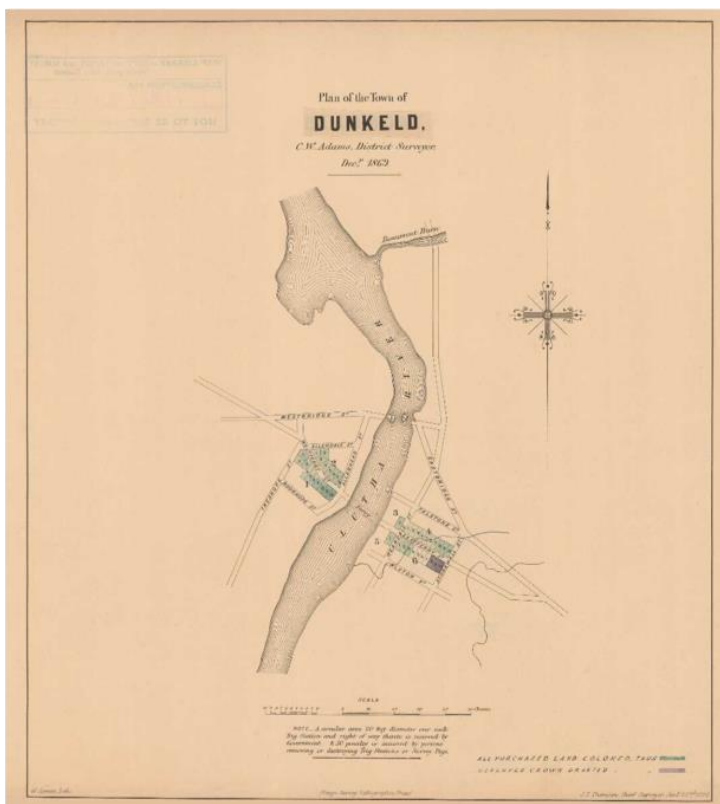


Figure 7-28 Beaumont River shown in the upper right corner ('Plan of the town of Dunkeld', 1869).

During the early settlement period of the 19th century, place-names of small homesteads, farms, and runs in Aotearoa New Zealand, as is found with many such place-names throughout the world, naturally became larger locality or township place-names as the Region grew more populous. However, there are instances when these small individual holdings did not increase in population, nor were they absorbed into larger communities, yet the place-name remained on maps and in local nomenclature. As a result, these place-names sometimes were erroneously

thought to be the names of larger localities by outsiders, including prospective settlers.

At the very border of the Clutha and Central Otago Districts, and just north-west of Lawrence, lies a small settlement called Evans Flat (see Figure 7-29). Beattie believes Evans Flat comes by its name after an early pioneer in the area, William Evans (Beattie 1948, 89). Surveyor J. T. Thomson is credited with the naming of this locality, possibly in 1858 according to Beattie, which would place the existence of Evans Flat as a locality name three years prior to the discovery of gold in the Region in 1861 (Beattie 1948, 34). There are no survey records or maps that support the claim that Evans Flat appeared in the Clutha District goldfields prior to the 1860s, but there is evidence of William Evans's existence on an 1862 electoral roll for Gabriels Gully (OW 19 April 1862). In 1861 an announcement went out that gold had been discovered in a new gully (Evans) which yielded '1oz 12 dwt to five dishes full', or about 1.66oz, in its first prospect (LT 9 Nov 1861). Following Gabriel Read's discovery of gold in 1861, over one hundred businessmen converged on the area within the first three months, establishing government buildings and centres of commerce, including one such centre, Evans Flat, in 1862 (Forrest 1961, 72). By 1864, it was recorded that the population at the time of printing was about 2,500 although that likely incorporated a number of gold prospectors who did not permanently settle in the area (ODT 28 July 1864). Further exploration of goldfield names will be discussed in detail in the following chapter.



Figure 7-29 Evans Flat shown to the North-West of Lawrence ('Tuapeka East Survey District, 1887).

Reed, however, has an entirely different individual associated with the naming of Evans Flat, stating that the locality 'perpetuates the name of a hotel proprietor, David (usually called Davie) Evans, during the period of the goldrush in 1861–62' (Reed 1975, 118). There does not seem to be any evidence that supports Reed's claim, as there were only three known hotels in the location of Evans Flat in 1861–62, none with a proprietor named David Evans (Reed 1975, 118). Due to the lack of evidence supporting Reed's claim, the most likely 'Evans' being referenced in 'Evans Flat' is William Evans, who likely arrived with the early pioneers prospecting Gabriels Gully in 1861 and followed the gold to the next gully which in the end bore his name.

Craigellachie is a 'Sassenach rendering of Creag Ealachaidh[sic], the war-cry of the Grants' according to Beattie, however, Craigellachie as a place-name does not have

so clear an explanation (Beattie 1948, 89). In fact, Craigellachie as a place-name is not mentioned at all by Reed, and Beattie only comments on the origins of the war-cry, and that Craigellachie the place-name was ‘probably named by [Alfred H.] Duncan or some Scottish shepherd’ (Beattie 1948, 32) offering no clear avenue to pursue. The earliest instance of the place-name Craigellachie appearing in Aotearoa New Zealand’s digitised newspapers is in a report on Queen Victoria’s travels through the Highlands of Scotland in 1861, which includes a description of a rock near upper Craigellachie in Aviemore, Scotland (HBH 19 Jan 1861). There are two places called Craigellachie in Scotland, one in Alvie parish, Inverness-shire, the other on the Spey in Aberlour parish, Banffshire. As Beattie surmises that Duncan was the probable name-giver of Craigellachie, it is worth examining Duncan further to determine if there is indeed a connection between himself and the Aviemore area that would make him the likeliest name-giver of the locality. Through Beattie’s dissection of other place-names bestowed by Duncan, we learn that Duncan hails from the North-East of Scotland, with his father’s family in particular being from Aberdeenshire (Beattie 1948, 32) which might connect him with the Banffshire Craigellachie with ties to Clan Grant, but no obvious connection to Aviemore. Given this information, it seems possible, but unlikely, that Duncan is connected to the Craigellachie described in the report.

As seen with the place-name Caberfeidh, *Craigellachie* was also the name of a ship that frequented Otago harbours during the 1860s-70s that would have been in the minds of local settlers and potential name-givers (ODT 15 Feb 1864). As with the *Caberfeidh*, it seems unlikely the vessel the *Craigellachie* was the inspiration for the place-name in the Clutha District, as there are other possibilities that connect the place-name with individuals in the area that seem more probable. Craigellachie is located just east of Beaumont, and as mentioned previously when considering Beaumont as a place-name, there was a pioneer named Robert Wood from Scotland who purchased 21,500 acres of land in 1886 which included Beaumont, and possibly even Craigellachie (MS-Papers-8640-33, ATL). Duncan was well-known for his recollections of the gold rush era in Otago (ME 10 July 1917) which were published in a pamphlet in 1888, *The Wakatipians or Early Days in New Zealand* (Duncan

1969). There is unfortunately little information on Robert Wood other than his Scottish heritage, and a record of his purchase of Beaumont with the possibility that this purchase included what would become Craigellachie.

As Beattie seems uncertain whether Duncan had a hand in the introduction of Craigellachie to the Otago namescape, and Wood's connection with the place-name is less than convincing, it is worth considering a more likely candidate whose surname connects him to the clan associated with the war-cry Craigellachie: Charles Alexander Grant. Grant is recorded as having died at his residence in Craigellachie in the Clutha District, in 1909 at 79 years old (ODT 19 July 1909). Unfortunately, information about Grant's life in Otago prior to his death in Craigellachie seems non-existent, but as this is the only documented connection of an individual to the locality we have, Charles Alexander Grant is perhaps the most likely name-giver for the locality.

As can be seen in the most westerly places in the Clutha District, the data and resources available to analyse place-names are often vague and require a significant amount of deductive reasoning to make even an educated guess as to the name-givers and histories behind the place-names in this area due to the transient nature of the population. Conversely, in the remainder of the Clutha District, particularly around the coast, there is an established history of permanent settlement, resulting in a wealth of information surrounding the development of the Region that can be utilised to study place-names. Due to this variation in resources, inland Otago must be approached differently from coastal Otago, meaning that different methodologies, including a more quantitative approach, are necessary beyond the Clutha District.

8 Central Otago District goldfields

The present chapter considers the namescape of the Central Otago District. Whereas the vast majority of non-Indigenous place-names in the Aotearoa New Zealand namescape were transferred names, the Central Otago District underwent a sudden population boom due to the Otago gold rush of the late 19th century, resulting in the creation of many original, and unusual, place-names. This chapter will not only consider the naming motivation, origin and referent of the place-names in the Central Otago District, but it will also evaluate where Scottish settlers established homesteads in this District, and if these were permanent or temporary spaces of settlement.

To understand who was involved in the naming of the Central Otago District, and to uncover the history, origins, and the referents of the namescape, the main sources available to us are quantitative in nature, consisting of census records, goldfield prospector data, and other records that seem to focus more on the population in the District as a whole, rather than what those living in individual localities brought to the community as seen in the Clutha District. That is not to say that the Central Otago District did not have personal narratives, when in fact it did, but they are not nearly as extensive as in the Clutha District and are based more on tradition than on published accounts.

For this reason, it makes the most methodological sense to analyse the Central Otago District chronologically, rather than splitting the District into smaller case study Regions like the Clutha District. The story of the settlement of the Central Otago District follows the narrative of goldfields in Otago as a whole, with the discovery of gold at the eastern edge of the Region in Lawrence in what became known as Gabriels Gully.

During the 1860s, the population of Central Otago rose dramatically with the arrival of gold prospectors, followed by merchants, hotel proprietors, and their families in some cases. Prospectors from Britain and Ireland, the United States, Australia,

China, and beyond found themselves crossing the great expanse of Central Otago, flitting from digging to digging trying to make their fortune.

Between 1861 and 1863 in particular, ‘more than 64,000 mining immigrants entered Otago’ (Simpson 1997, 124). Within this immigrant population, there were ‘veteran’ prospectors who had already tried their luck with the goldfields of Australia and California, working alongside ‘new chums’ from Britain and Europe (Carpenter 2013b, 17).

The Central Otago District was not set up for the wealthy, despite what prosperous imagery the phrase ‘gold rush’ evokes. It was a landscape for the working man and the adventurous spirit. Although the Otago goldfields, and to some extent Aotearoa New Zealand in general, ‘seemed a working man’s paradise, where people prepared to work could achieve a level of independence which could never be expected in Britain’ (Binney, Bassett, and Olssen 1990, 323), it was also a landscape for the desperate and downtrodden. Racism, drug use, prostitution, and criminal acts were rampant during the gold rush era throughout Central Otago, where ‘scarcely a day [passed] without the report of some fresh instance of violence arriving in town’ (LWM, 24 June 1863). This ‘rough and tumble’ nature of the Central Otago Region is reflected in some of the place-names, and place-name lore, in the goldfields (see 7.4).

While some place-names in the Otago goldfields were transferred from other well-known diggings abroad, such as the prosperous Bendigo of Australia which was immediately ‘romanticized’ in the Otago goldfields (Carpenter 2013b, 17), many place-names evolved more naturally out of encounters with the landscape, and through stories, legends and mythologies that emerged from the goldfields.

8.1 Places of luck, and misfortune, on the Central Otago goldfields

Bendigo, Tarras (Creek), Lindis Valley (River), Omakau and Drybread

A challenge when contemplating place-names in the Central Otago District is that a great number of places have two or more names. In Central Otago, this variety of names primarily comes from the gold prospectors, settlers mainly of run holdings, and from the surveyors themselves (Gilkison 1978, 170). The relationship between the early settlers, the gold prospectors, and the surveyors shaped the Central Otago Region into what it is today. However, Indigenous Māori place-names are noticeably absent from this discussion, something which must change in line with the announcement at the 2019 session of the United Nations Group of Experts in Geographical Naming (UNGEGN) that the South Island Ngāi Tahu Māori place-names atlas, the *Kā Huru Manu Atlas*, will be introduced into the NZG (UNGEGN 2019).

Despite the shared meanings, or competing views, of ‘place’, place-names can create a separate reality, or experience, for each inhabitant (Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003, 15). As we have already seen (see 3.1.4), by utilising cognitive toponymy when considering place-names, we can start to conceptualise how people think about, and name, the landscape around them, and how they might have done so in the past.

The Central Otago place-name Bendigo is recognisable as a prosperous site in the Australian goldfields, but it does not simply represent a transferred place-name from one country’s goldfields to another. The name Bendigo is not only used in the Australian state of Victoria or the Central Otago goldfield, it is also a State Park in Pennsylvania in the United States, a shipwreck off North Carolina in the US, several names in South Africa, and the nickname of a former All-England champion bareknuckle boxer (Carpenter 2013b, 18) demonstrating just how multi-layered some of these place-names can be, as well as how many sources the name giver might be drawing on when bestowing the place-name. According to Reed, the English prizefighter mentioned was William ‘Abednego’ Thompson, popularly known as Bendigo (Reed 2010, 47). In 1904, Mr. J. F. Hogan writes that there are three possible explanations for the origin of the place-name Bendigo in the Australian context: the English prizefighter theory, a corruption of ‘bandicoot’ which is a burrowing Australian animal, or after a Portuguese digger named Ben Diego (NZTB,

3 March 1904) yet again showing a range of origin stories coming from a number of individuals, with varying backgrounds, in the goldmines. The term ‘collective memory’ is utilised by Lloyd Carpenter in his thesis on the Central Otago gold rush, as he reflects on how the place-name has been sentimentalised as seen in the way that various newspapers and records offer up any number of these explanations for the origin of the place-name Bendigo, making the name itself a cognitive symbol of nostalgia (2013b, 18). Additionally, Bendigo was seen as what I would coin a ‘lucky’ name, as Carpenter states, ‘New Zealand miners, even if they had no experience of Australia’s “Old Bendigo”, used this nostalgia as a talisman for the naming of hotels and gold claims, adopting it as a touchstone for good fortune’ (2013b, 18). Anatolyevna, in discussing the dualism in place-naming, highlights that ‘the toponym appears in the speech of the ethnos, then is fixed in the language, and after that it again penetrates into the speech, where it can undergo repeated interpretation’ (2020, 56) which seems exemplified in a place-name such as Bendigo where the meaning of the place-name becomes repeatedly updated as it ages or transfers, like a toponymic game of telephone or ‘Chinese whispers’. The meaning behind the Bendigo in Victoria, Australia had become irrelevant to those who interacted with the Bendigo in the Central Otago District in the goldfield era (1860s) and beyond, as the overall sense of it as a place of good fortune becomes the primary interpretation which one might say penetrates not just the speech of the settler ethnos, but the subconscious as well. However, there are places that could represent misfortune as much as good fortune or luck, such as Drybread. According to Reed, the place-name of Drybread either originates from a Russian gold miner who was unsuccessful with his claim and was thereby forced to eat dry bread without butter, or from a group of gold prospectors whose stale bread was softened by the milk of the goat they kept with them, but by the time they struck a vein of gold the goat’s milk ran dry causing them to subsist on just dry bread (2010, 106).

Another transplanted name in the Central Otago District, Tarras, was named after Tarras Water in Dumfriesshire, Scotland, according to Reed (2010, 390). Reed hypothesises that Tarras could have been ‘named by an early runholder, either

Robert Wilkin or “Big” John McLean, but perhaps the surveyor J.T. Thomson, since it appears on his 1857–58 map as Tarras Creek’ (2010, 390). However, the place-name of Tarras was already in use by the time John McLean and his kin came into their property in this vicinity, as an agricultural lease of 640 acres was made to John McLean ‘in Tarras District’ on 14 September 1871 (CA, 19 Sept 1871). As a result, it seems Reed’s later hypothesis that Tarras was named first in 1857–58 by J. T. Thomson is the more likely option, though I have not had access to the 1857 survey map myself. Tarras sits within the Lindis Valley on the banks of the Lindis River, and near the site of what was once the Tarras Creek. The Lindis Valley and River were named by J. T. Thomson, after Lindisfarne and the Lindis Stream in Northumberland, England, which ‘could be seen from his boyhood home’ (Reed 2010, 218). According to Reed, there is a hill at the pass in Lindis Valley that is topped by a rocky outcrop which Thomson claimed to resemble the hill on Lindisfarne with its castle (2010, 218).



Figure 8-1 Tarras, Lindis Valley, and Tarras Creek shown on NZMS260 G40 Edition 1 1991, LINZ. Despite the prominence now of Scottish place-names in the area, these waters, the Lindis River and the once-present Tarras Creek, were significant for Māori as well. The Lindis River was known to the Māori as a site of mahinka kai, or food gathering, with the traditional route leading ‘from the Waitaki River over the Lindis Pass to Lakes Hawea and Wanaka’ (Tarras Community, n.d.). According to A. W. Reed, Okahu is the Māori name of the nearby pass, meaning ‘*lit. o:* place of; Kahu: personal name’ whereas the river itself is the Omakau, meaning ‘*lit. o:* place of; makau: wife, husband, or object of affection’ (2010, 218). However, it is important to note that there is another Omakau in the Central Otago District located 24 kilometres north-east of Alexandra. This locality of Omakau is also a station on the

Otago Central Railway, but is shown on Survey Ordinance 8868 (1868) as Omakao (NZGB HDD). We should also note that in 1857, the Lindis River was the site of the first gold rush in Otago, with the site being rediscovered and mined in 1861 (Tarras Community, n.d.). Sites in the Lindis area, such as Tarras and Bendigo, are ‘new’ names in this landscape of Central Otago. Rather than assume the motivation for the transferred name carried over from where the place-name was originally coined, we need to consider what this place-name represents in this new setting. These transferred place-names are reborn in this foreign landscape with new meaning. In summary, with these transferred place-names the initial naming motivation in many cases comes to be inconsequential when analysing its meaning in this new namespace.

In the following sections, I will utilise concepts in cognitive toponymy, and Kostanski’s theory of toponymic attachment, to engage with place-names across the Central Otago District. The act of place-naming is a psychological one, full of intention, emotion, and purpose. Whilst we have touched on these theories in terms of the categorisation of place-names (see 3.3), the namespace of Central Otago lends itself as the ideal case study for applying these theories in a more practical sense – what do these place-names signify for the community? Are we looking at an example of a community’s attachment to a place-name, or to a physical space? Is nostalgia evidenced in transferred names in the goldfields? Are there more ‘lucky’ place-names besides Bendigo, and if so, is this a new type of place-name categorisation that could be found in goldfields outwith Aotearoa New Zealand? In addition to these questions, I will investigate not just the motivation for the place-name, but its place in cultural memory and as a cultural artefact of the gold rush era.

8.2 Canvas towns and temporal toponyms

Gabriels Gully, Weatherstons (or Wetherstones), Conroys Gully and Kyeburn

In the early days of the Otago goldfields, the 1860s, the claims’ (where digging was allowed to take place) sizes were relatively small, averaging 24 feet by 24 feet, and

up to ten acres in rare cases, as a result of the 1863 land regulations (Gilkison 1978, 182). With each claim and discovery of a vein of gold, a new type of settlement appeared, the so-called 'canvas towns' of the Otago goldfields (Walrond, 2006). In this section we address the phenomenon of canvas towns: what were they; why they did not result in permanent settlements; and if they were sites of lesser place attachment due to their temporary nature?

We begin by defining what a canvas town in the Otago goldfields was: 'temporary premises of canvas, poles and thatch are replaced by wooden, or wood and iron structures, which in turn gave way to stone and brick, complete with surveys, street names and an official town title' (Carpenter 2013b, 112). However, it must be noted that the Central Otago canvas towns identified within this section did not become sites of permanence as described by Carpenter.

Those sites which transformed from canvas to stone are examined further in section 8.4. The existence of these temporary canvas premises was the first step in settlement on the Otago goldfields, but at times this was the only step made before the gold-seeking population moved on to richer pastures. Unlike the 'ghost towns' of Central Otago, discussed in the next section, canvas towns were built up and torn down so that nothing remains to show for the hundreds, sometimes thousands, of miners and merchants that made a temporary home on that land. All that we have left to show for these canvas towns are their names, and what those names might reveal about the people who lived and worked there.

Gabriels Gully, Weatherstons (or Wetherstones), Conroys Gully, and Kyeburn (Diggings), are the canvas towns I will be focusing on in this section. However, further evidence for localities that perhaps started as canvas towns and became permanent settlements or ghost towns will be engaged with in the sections following this, and in the thesis Gazetteer.

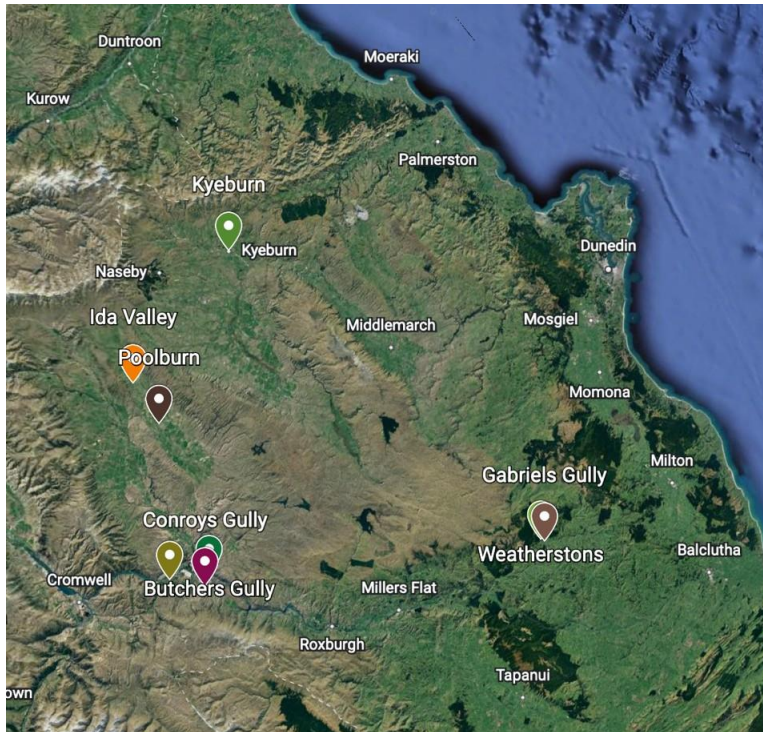


Figure 8-2 ‘Canvas town’ locations from Gabriels Gully, up to Kyeburn Diggings (Leysen 2022j).

Although technically in the modern-day Clutha District, we would be remiss to omit Gabriels Gully from our overview of the Otago goldfields. Whilst Gabriels Gully is said to be the most famous goldfield in Otago due to its reputation as being the first site where Otago gold was discovered in 1861, there are a number of examples where this assertion is contested, bringing the accuracy of cultural memory into question. Edward Peters (Black Peter), is said to have discovered gold in Otago in 1857, before Gabriel Read of Gabriels Gully (Ayson 1937, 93). In fact, there is fairly solid evidence presented by influential individuals of this time period, such as chief surveyor of Otago in 1858, Alexander Garvie, to support the claim that Edward Peters was the original discoverer of gold in Otago, not Read. Garvie reported being brought a sample of gold from the locality of Woolshed Creek, ‘where Edward Peters, a native of Bombay, used to wash gold from the sands of the river’ (OW 12 Sept. 1885). In the same *Otago Witness* article, there are further reports, collected by Andrew G. Nicol, that corroborate Garvie’s report, and that word on the goldfields supported the notion that ‘Peters, a coloured man, was the first to obtain gold in the Tuapeka District’ yet was left destitute in his elderly years with

none of the wealth, acclaim, or credit Gabriel Read obtained for his ‘discovery’ (OW 12 Sept. 1885).

The reason for Peters’s omission from the Gabriels Gully ‘claim to fame’ is unknown, but one theory is his lack of expertise compared to Read: ‘Peters had mining experience in California, but it was limited to the piece of equipment known as a goldminers’ cradle. As a result, he knew something of the nature of the wash dirt in which gold was usually to be found, but of the practicalities of turning such opportunities into a strike, his experience was limited’ (ODT 11 Apr 2009).

As mentioned above, although most sources label Gabriels Gully as the site of the first Otago gold rush, using historical records we know this is not the case and that it is more accurate to classify Gabriels Gully as the site of the first **major** gold discovery in Otago University of Otago. (n.d.). A. W. Reed writes, ‘the Australian prospector Gabriel Read discovered gold in this gully on 20 May 1861. A rush of unprecedented size in New Zealand followed’ (Reed 2010, 134), however, the place-name of Gabriels Gully seems to have been in use prior to this discovery in 1861 as it appears on Alexander Garvie’s Reconnaissance Survey of S.E. Districts 1857–1858 (NZGB HDD). It is unclear how this might be feasible, other than the possibility of Gabriel Read having already been in the area prior to the discovery of gold, for which we have no clear evidence. Despite having been a major gold rush site, all that remains of what was once a booming mining site are geological changes: the land you walk on is 50 metres higher than the original miners’ claims, and there are 400 miles of water race ways built over a dozen dams (FreeWalks NZ, n.d.). The nearby locality of Lawrence (see 7.4) still stands, unlike some place-names in the Gazetteer given locality status with no actual settlement remaining, but the frenzied canvas town of Gabriels Gully, a site which at its peak had an estimated 14,000 people on it, had risen and fallen dramatically by the second year of the ‘rush’ in 1862 (NZHistory, n.d.). With no physical remnants of this booming canvas town, it is unusual that the place-name has not only been maintained over one hundred years later, but became something of a legend itself for what it represents in the story of the Otago goldfields. Other place-names of canvas towns

might remain in the namescape of Otago, but none can claim such renown and celebration as Gabriels Gully.

The site of Weatherstons, or Wetherstons, also lies within the Clutha District and a mere 850 metres north of Gabriels Gully, but is worth mentioning as we journey into the goldfields of Central Otago. As with Gabriels Gully, Weatherstons is considered a canvas town, as there is no locality, populace, or infrastructure remaining from the gold mining era. The population of the Weatherstons site outnumbered Gabriels Gully by November 1861 (ODT 5 June 1919), and quickly grew over the next year to a town of five stores, two banks, a school, a smithy, a brewery, 14 hotels and a host of entertainment venues such as saloons and gambling halls (Jennings 1921, 81-83). This growth was not sustained, however, as happened with many goldfields across Otago: Weatherstons' bustling township faltered as the gold tapped out and upon the discovery of more gold further west. As for the place-name Weatherstons itself, there seems to be no agreement on the spelling even today since the road to the old diggings site is spelled Wetherstons, whilst the site itself is listed as Weatherstons. Reed claims that the site was named for the Wetherstone brothers, John and William, with the misspelling signed off on by the Survey Department on 11 December 1865 (Reed 2010, 458; ODT 5 June 1919). The brothers had great success prospecting while on a pig hunt in 1861, resulting in Wetherstons becoming a prominent digging for 5,000 miners (Reed 2010, 458; ODT 5 June 1919). It seems the place-name spelling mix-up and its many variations did not bother the residents overly, as the school was called Wetherstones (1868–1922) (NZGB HDD), but the post office was called Weatherstone (1862–1924) (NZGB HDD), despite the later variant not having been listed as a roadway or location on a map. Also found historically recorded as Wetherstones by Beattie (1948, 72). Reed notes that 'in a school map of Tuapeka East, dated January 1863, the township is also spelt Wetherston, but an adjacent gully as Weatherstone's Gully' (Reed 2010, 458). Pullar gives the brothers' name as Weatherstone (Pullar 1957, 27).

It is in instances like this where the orthography of the name becomes irrelevant that the true impact of the name itself becomes evident. There is a very visceral, human element to place-naming that often gets lost amongst the discussion of dates, alternative names, and the ‘correct’ spelling of a name.

With Weatherstons, you could imagine how, amongst the multi-cultural, multi-lingual environment of the goldfields, the name spoken was the only relevance it had: it served a function, much like the canvas town that sprung up around it to provide the people with what they needed in that moment. I would even go so far as to make the assertion that Weatherstons was never intended as a name of permanence. By the time this term was coined, the surveyors, miners, and merchants of Otago were experiencing firsthand what they had previously read about occurring in the western United States and the goldfields of Australia: a gold rush that left no time to consider the long-term implications of misspellings or structural soundness, regardless of the literacy levels of the gold rush participants.

With that in mind, the following place-names, all located within the Central Otago District, fall into a category I coin as temporary toponyms, and must be considered for what the name represented in that specific moment in time to that specific population.

Conroys Gully lies firmly in the Central Otago District, about 5.5 kilometres southwest of Alexandra and just below the modern Conroy Dam (NZGB HDD). According to Reed, the eponymous Conroy was the discoverer of gold at that site, and it was J. T. Thomson and Alexander Garvie who mapped the place-name on their 1857 survey (Reed 2010, 86). However, another source suggests the discoverer of the gold at this site, Conroy Dick, struck gold in October 1862, so it is difficult to say whether it is Reed’s chronology that is the issue, or the individual and their gold discovery timeline that is flawed (Central Otago Goldfields Heritage Trust, n.d.). Possibly, this is another instance where the name was already in existence prior to the discovery of gold, as with Gabriels Gully. It is hard to believe the problem lies with the latter, as in many newspaper clippings Conroys Gully is reported to be a

‘new’ site in 1862, with one article even stating that, ‘considerable excitement existed relative to two new rushes, one to a spot since called Conroy’s Gully’ (ODT 17 Nov. 1862). At this time period, Conroys Gully became a hub of activity in the far-reaches of Central Otago as it seemed to be ‘exceedingly rich’, with about 400 people at work in the gully early in its discovery, and it was reported that the ‘average earnings of miners there were very large’ (NZ 22 Nov. 1862). Although not reaching the status of Gabriels Gully or Weatherstons, Conroys Gully did well for itself as a hub of goldfield activity deep in Central Otago, but as with the previous canvas towns, it did not retain any remnants of this enterprise beyond the gold rush era.

Kyeburn, in the northeast of Central Otago, to the east of Naseby and Ranfurly, was at one point known as Cows Creek, ‘because herds were pastured here in summer and taken to lower country for the winter’, with Scots place-name elements replacing the English due to the predominantly Scottish community (Reed 2010, 211). The elements ‘kye’: Scots for cows plural, and ‘burn’: Scots for a water course, such as a creek (DSL) show a preference for the Scots form over the generic English. Particularly in cases where two or more place-names are used in reference to the same place, ‘collective or community cultures influence the creation and interpretation of place, and perhaps toponymic, identity’ or in some cases, even serve as a ‘symbol of multiple identities’ (Kostanski 2016a, 418). Oddly in this instance though, the place-names Cows Creek and Kyeburn are equivalent forms of the same name, rather than two separate place-names used for the same space as seen in many other examples across Otago. Kyeburn as a locality itself is not as well-known as Kyeburn Diggings, the site of a prosperous goldfield in the 1860s. The Māori name for Kyeburn, Oteake, was translated by Reed as, ‘o’: place of; ‘te’: the; ‘ake’: tree (akeake; *Dodonaea viscosa*)’ (Reed 2010, 211).

More often than not, there are multiple histories and experiences of a place that represent different things to different people, leading to different attachments, specifically identity, with the place-name itself. I would argue that toponymic attachment theory, perhaps with the exception of Gabriels Gully, is generally less

evident with the canvas town names of Central Otago. Individual toponymic attachment focuses on the ‘future direction of this attachment, through which “specific features of the site shape, constrain, and influence the activities that are perceived as able to happen within it”’ (Kostanski 2009, 149). This has to do with a place having an ‘interactional past’ with which a community or individual identifies and can engage. This attachment can evolve into a sense of nostalgia which continues to reinforce the identity associated with that place-name (Milligan 1998, 11; Kostanski 2009, 149). However, within Central Otago canvas towns, there is little physical presence remaining to identify with or generate a sense of nostalgia; often all that remains is the place-names themselves. There may be some cases in which the names themselves are enough to generate a sense of identity with that place, but as these localities were occupied for such a brief period of time, they represent temporal toponyms that certainly stimulate a cognitive response such as emotions, but do not encourage links or identity ties with the place as other place-names in the following sections do.

8.3 Modern ‘ghost’ towns

St Bathans, Dunstan Creek Blacks and Ophir

Cambridge Dictionary (2022) defines a ghost town as a town where few or no people now live. Whilst canvas towns only have a place-name to commemorate the gold rush activities of the 1860s, ghost towns are not so developed as to be considered a living, working locality, yet they maintain certain physical remnants of settler and miner presence over one hundred years ago. The story behind the creation of ghost towns is a familiar one, beginning much like the canvas towns: miners abandoning the temporary towns they had constructed once the gold ran out in favour of flitting to more profitable pastures. The difference here is that, unlike what we label canvas towns, these localities still have derelict reminders of this past, which have resulted in a renovation or at least tourist attraction in the form of heritage sites in the present day (Huang 2011, 22). Additionally, like the canvas towns, ghost towns experienced a rapid influx of miners and merchants

necessitating the quick construction of essential buildings such as banks and grocers, followed by a desertion, sometimes before the town could even be surveyed and recorded officially. Although places such as Kawarau Gorge, Dunstan Creek, Sandy Point and North Pole along with an unknown number of unrecorded sites are no longer populated, they were at one point bustling Central Otago goldfield towns for the mining population (Carpenter 2013b, 114).

A possible reason why some towns could not thrive beyond the gold rush and others could, or could at least reinvent themselves, might be the remote locations of these sites, far away from modern main roads. The red markers on the map below represent the locations of modern ghost towns, which are mainly off the modern highways thereby making them less accessible and connected to the modern world, whereas the green markers represent permanent modern localities, and blue former canvas towns.

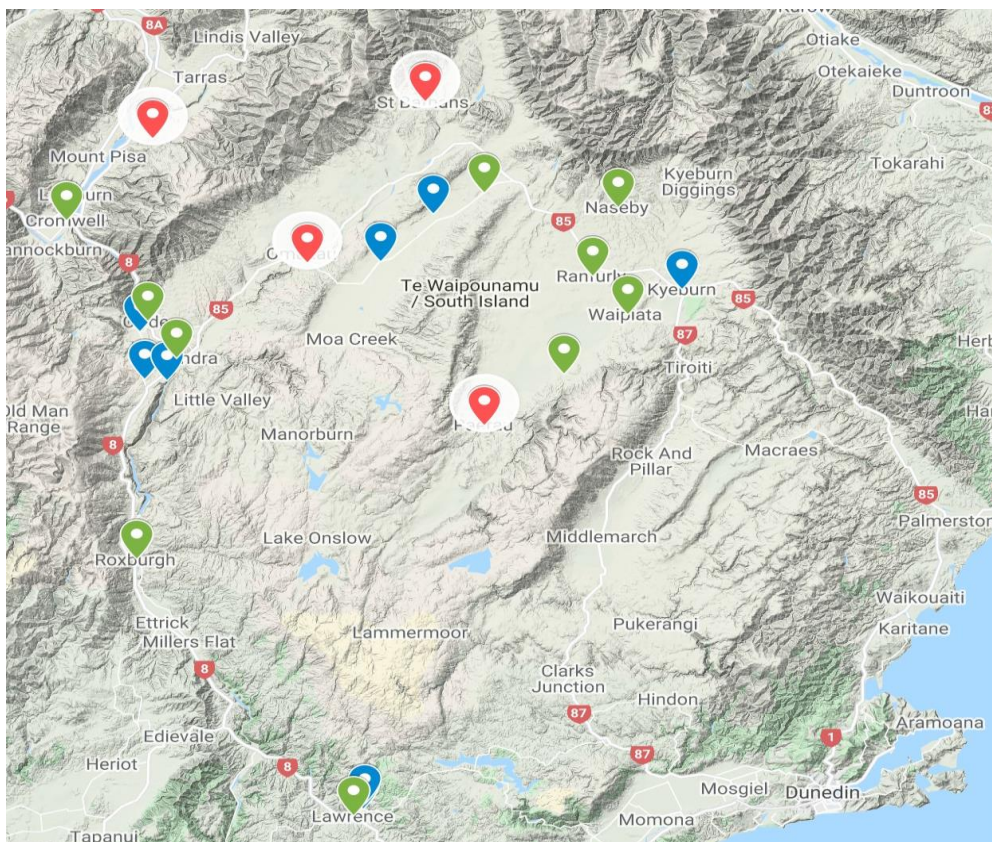


Figure 8-3 Red markers represent modern ‘ghost’ towns, blue markers represent canvas towns, and green markers represent permanent settlements, considered urban centres, today.

There are a number of place-names, not all listed on modern maps, that speak to the experience of early miners in Central Otago. Former urban centres such as Drunkenwoman’s Creek, Drybread, Māori Point, Hamiltons, Styx, Garibaldi, Blackstone Hill, German Creek, Campbell’s, Chamonix and Conroy’s Gully have few or no archaeological remains, limiting the information we can gather about the life of the individuals that lived and worked there (Carpenter 2013b, 132). In this section, I will be looking at former urban centres with significant archaeological remains, which today are considered modern ‘ghost’ towns, including St Bathans (formerly Dunstan Creek), and Ophir (formerly Blacks). Bendigo also fits this criteria, as previously discussed.

We can also consider in this section what the presence of ghost towns represents in terms of toponymic attachment theory. Does the abandoning of these localities represent a disconnect with that space? Do the places themselves evoke a sense of nostalgia due to the archaeological remnants of the goldfield era? And central to this research, what might have encouraged the continued use of these goldfield place-names in these now abandoned localities? Perhaps, in this instance, it is not toponymic attachment that is at work here, but something else altogether.

According to Reed, St Bathans was coined by surveyor J. T. Thomson after St Bathans in Berwickshire, Scotland (though Reed mistakenly writes England), the home of his maternal grandfather (Reed 2010, 373). Formerly Dunstan Creek, the place-name was changed to St Bathans in 1865 (NZGB HDD), presumably at the time of the post office name, St Bathans, on 23 December 1865 (Reed 2010, 373). St Bathans appears even earlier in historical records, however, as a natural feature name: Mount St Bathans (NZ 21 Aug 1861). At this point in time, Dunstan Creek was considered a District that extended beyond the boundaries of present day St Bathans (OW 30 Sept 1865). Something which was oddly common in the goldfields was the suggestion of place-name alterations and changes coming down from surveyor generals and authorities in Dunedin. St Bathans came into its name in this same manner, despite being a functioning locality of Dunstan Creek for some time

prior. It is recorded that a deputation ‘waited upon his Honor the Superintendent, for the purpose of procuring a grant of money for the completion of the direct cart road to Hill’s Creek, also to have the name of the township changed from Dunstan Creek, to St. Bathans’ and was met with no objections and the promise that gold field and post office authorities should be directing all future correspondence to St. Bathans instead of Dunstan Creek (ODT 5 Dec 1865). Perhaps the interest in Dunstan Creek came from the rising prominence of the locality for commerce, as nearly two years prior to the renaming, it was reported that Dunstan Creek was a locality ‘in a thriving condition and advancing in the scale of importance; quite a township has sprung up, and business is likely to improve’ (ODT 18 Feb 1864).



Figure 8-4 Image of a plaque at St Bathans, Central Otago, taken during fieldwork in March 2019, with a photo of St Bathans c. 1870.

Modern day St Bathans evokes deep feelings of nostalgia, with the once booming businesses now serving as tourist attractions, complete with ghost stories to accompany the ‘ghost’ town image. Plaques line the street through the village pointing out what the building remains once were, and giving visitors a comparative glance between St Bathans in its heyday and the present. One plaque reads ‘tents

and tin to heritage town' which very simply communicates the evolution of this locality (see Figure 8-5).



Figure 8-5 A plaque posted in the centre of St Bathans, photo taken during fieldwork in March 2019.



Figure 8-6 Blue Lake, a man-made lake created from sluicing during the 19th century when the diggings were active at St Bathans. Photo taken during fieldwork in March 2019.

Whilst some forms of place attachment come from the natural landscape (see 6.1.3), ‘ghost’ towns seem to demonstrate the power of place attachment as a result of human construction and impact. As an American, I found St Bathans to resemble the ‘Wild West’ imagery I grew up with, expecting cowboys and miners to burst out of the Vulcan Hotel at any moment. There was an almost movie set- like atmosphere in the town, with tourists parking in one central lot and wandering the Main Street at will to take photos and read the various plaques along the way. I would say it was like a living museum, except it did not feel very alive, but frozen in time. It is puzzling to consider if St Bathans would indeed hold the same intrigue and attachment for people under a different name, especially knowing the locality’s past with name change during its peak population period. As we will see in the continuation of the place-name Ophir, it is worth considering why ‘ghost’ town place-names of localities that died out remain in the namescape today, rather than disappear the way so many place- names did once their populations moved on.

When gold was discovered in Ophir in 1863, the land on which it was found was named Blacks, and the runholders were Charles and William Black (plaque in Ophir, see Figure 8-7). Similarly to St Bathans, Blacks was a functional and populous locality before the new name of Ophir was given to it by James Macandrew, superintendent of the Otago Provincial Council, in 1872 (Reed 2010, 288). The place-name Blacks persisted for some time beyond Macandrew's declaration in 1872, likely because many of the buildings and businesses contained the name 'Blacks' as well as the local school. According to Reed and Ophir's own local history (see Figure 8-7), the place-name Ophir comes from the biblical story (The Holy Bible: Kings 9. 26-28) in which, 'gold was brought from Ophir to the temple at Jerusalem when it was being built by King Solomon' which indeed seems like an appropriate place-name for a locality with goldfield ties (Reed 2010, 288). Additionally, it could be argued that this place-name in particular falls clearly within the category of a 'lucky name' as with Bendigo, another 'ghost' town, discussed earlier in this chapter.

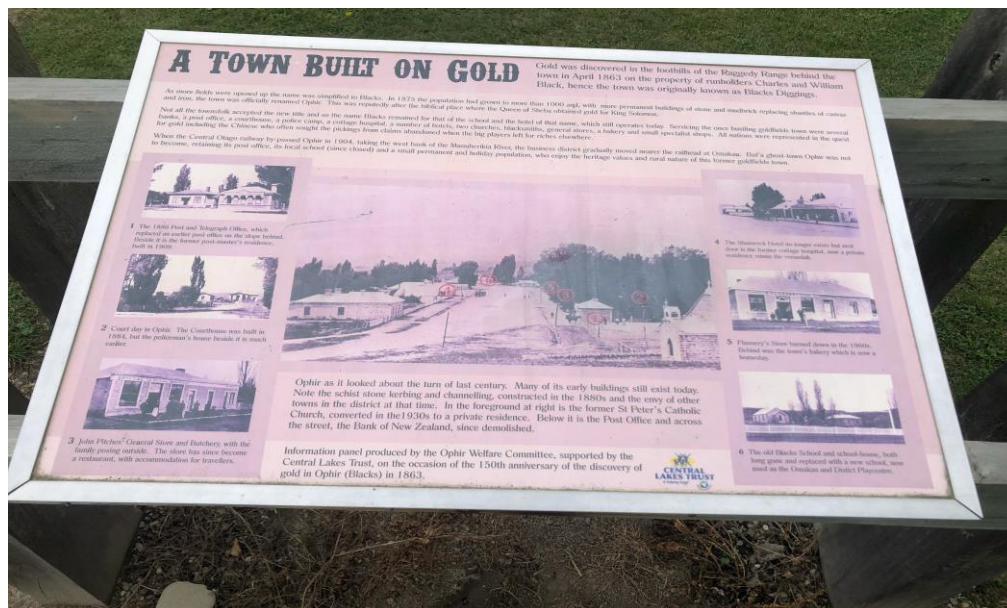


Figure 8-7 A plaque in Ophir town centre, taken during fieldwork in March 2019.

Although the plaque in Figure 8-7 at Ophir claims the town was not to 'become a ghost town' due to it maintaining its post office and small holiday population, by

the Oxford English Dictionary definition, a ‘ghost’ town is ‘a town partially or completely devoid of its inhabitants; (in early use) esp. a former boom town that has been deserted as a result of the closing down of the industry or trade that sustained it’ (OED).

Whilst the Western function of place-names can often be to communicate ownership of land, in the instances of St Bathans and Ophir both toponyms came into being by replacing earlier place-names that signified ownership and personal identity in the landscape. Rather than communicating ownership, these place-names were communicating an idea, perhaps even serving a symbolic purpose which, according to Kostanski, can:

provide insight into the psychological profile of an area, in that it can identify the cultural mores of the community that uses the name. In the same way that cultural geographers study the cultural formation of places, and how the physical landscape can identify the cultural norms of a society, so can a toponym (Kostanski 2009, 157).

In Kostanski’s case study of the Grampians (Gariwerd) in Australia, one informant ‘insisted that the background of the names wasn’t necessarily important for him, but he was attached to what the names represented’ (2009, 154). I would argue that whilst the place-names themselves evoke a sense of place attachment, there is something deeper underlying the connection people feel to these modern ‘ghost’ towns.

8.4 Permanent settlements

Cromwell, Kawarau and Clyde/Dunstan

In this section, we explore permanent settlements in Central Otago, though it must be noted as with the previous sections this is not an exhaustive list.

Instead, we will use the examples of Cromwell and Clyde to question if and why apparent toponymic attachment ‘stuck’ in these localities, and if the fact that they are inhabited today signifies a deeper connection than in either the canvas towns or ‘ghost’ towns. Additionally, by examining the place-name changes in these permanent settlements, we can gain a deeper insight into history of who was in these places making decisions around naming, settlement, and the boundaries of these places, demonstrating the shifting priorities around social, environmental, and economic growth in sites of permanent settlement.

As seen in the previous section on modern ‘ghost’ towns, the naming of Cromwell followed that noted in other parts of Central Otago where a surveyor comes in to rename an existing locality at the peak of its productivity. Cromwell as a place-name was ‘most likely suggested in 1863 by J. Aitken Connell, a surveyor who came from the north of Ireland’ (Reed 2010, 92). Prior to this, the area was referred to as Kawarau Junction, with the new name of Cromwell being generally ill-received by the township residents according to local reports:

Our Dunstan correspondent draws attention to the confusion caused by the continued alteration in the nomenclature of the diggings townships. The particular instance to which he refers is that of the Kawarau township, which from the native name by which it was originally designated has been changed to ‘Cromwell’. We think it a great pity thus to destroy the old associations of localities by abolishing their primary designations. Particularly is it to be regretted that the native names of localities are not more generally retained. The Maori designations of particular places generally embody some poetical idea of their situation, or characteristics, and one always musical and euphonious. To our mind the name ‘Kawarau’ sounds more applicable to a township on a river of that name, than ‘Cromwell’ (ODT, 11 Nov 1863).

The name Kawarau has several suggested meanings. According to Kā Huru Manu, it is traditionally associated with ‘the Remarkables’, a mountain range in Aotearoa New Zealand (Kā Huru Manu, 2022). The NZG suggests that Kawarau can be

interpreted as ‘place of the great river’ derived from kā (the), awa (river), and rau (many or great) (LINZ). The Ministry for the Environment highlights the significance of the Kawarau River and its surrounding areas, emphasising its ecological and cultural importance (Ministry for the Environment, 2021).

It may also be worth noting that if Cromwell is indeed named after the infamous Oliver Cromwell, he is a divisive figure, and not only from an Irish perspective. Oliver Cromwell's legacy is controversial, with strong opinions both in favour and against him due to his role in British history, particularly during the English Civil War and his subsequent rule. However, there is also a possibility that the name Cromwell in Aotearoa New Zealand is not directly related to Oliver Cromwell at all. This ambiguity adds another layer to the discussion on toponymic attachment and colonial sentiment.

It is extremely useful having this insight thanks to newspaper records into what the local population thought of this name change – especially from one Indigenous in origin to one of colonial sentiment. Kostanski, when discussing toponymic attachment theory, touches on the formation of a ‘symbolic’ link to a space through a place-name, when she writes: ‘in addition to Low’s statement about place attachment being formed through a genealogical link, it would appear that toponyms also provide that symbolic link and can provide a basis for attachment’ which I believe is what has occurred with the changing of Kawarau to Cromwell (Kostanski 2009, 155). According to Reed, there was more cause for distrust of this name change, as ‘an account by Alexander Bathgate claims that the name arose after the head surveyor threatened some restive Irish goldminers by saying “I’ll put the curse of Cromwell on you!”’ which, naturally, would sow negative feelings directly towards the name particularly with at least the many Irish miners residing in the township (Reed 2010, 92).

Despite numerous plaques and pamphlets collected during my fieldwork in 2019 claiming the opposite, Clyde is not the translation of Clutha. Nor does the place-name of Clyde connect with the Clutha River running through the Otago Region at

all. Instead, the place-name Clyde is one of many that appeared throughout the Otago Region bestowed by J. T. Thomson to commemorate heroes and battles of the Indian Mutiny (see 7.4) in this instance, Scottish army officer Sir Colin Campbell, 1st Baron Clyde (1792-1863) (Reed 2010, 83). According to Reed, Clyde went through numerous name changes, and was first known as The Dunstan, or the Dunstan and Hartley Township after the well-known prospector Horatio Hartley, 'then Hartley and Reilly's Township (after Horatio Hartley and Christopher Reilly discovered gold there), and later Dunstan. The post office name was changed from Dunstan to Clyde on 22 May 1865. At one time it was also known as Upper Township, Lower Township being Alexandra' (Reed 2010, 83; Card Index to Post Offices, Hocken Library).

In Kostanski's theory of toponymic attachment, as exemplified in her research in the Grampians (Gariwerd) of Australia, there is a link her informants felt with the toponyms of the area due to their origins, and the origins of the names, as British. Kostanski's research uncovered that this affinity with the place-name actually 'reinforced or influenced the culture of the area' (Kostanski 2009, 154). Was this same affinity occurring in the namescape of Central Otago, perhaps by design? Certainly the street names in Cromwell identify it as an Irish place, whilst Clyde would presumably inspire British sentiments. Regardless of the intent, the place-names bestowed by surveyors have been maintained, and perhaps augmented, by the local populations today.

8.5 Chinese miners' camps

Round Hill, Lawrence, Canton, Lye Bow Reserve, Shek Harn, Wong Gong Terrace, Chinaman Flat/Gully/Creek and Tinkers/Matakanui

Whilst the Otago gold rush took place in the 1860s, the Chinese gold rush to Aotearoa New Zealand began in 1865, and continued well into the 1900s (Huang 2011, 32). The first wave of Chinese miners arrived in Otago in 1865 at the invitation of the Otago Provincial Council and Dunedin Chamber of Commerce to come over from the Victoria goldfields (Huang 2011, 36). Only a year later in 1866,

the number of Chinese miners in Otago rose drastically, reaching a peak population of 4,200 in 1872, though this rise was also matched by an increase in racist actions and attitudes, and resistance to the Chinese miners' presence from existing, mostly European, miners (Petchey, Buckley, & Scott 2018, 47).

Although significant research has been conducted by James Ng, author of the book series *Windows on a Chinese Past*, on the Otago Chinese, the impact this population had on the namescape of Otago has not been examined. Referring back to the aims of this chapter, we seek to uncover if there is a discernible Chinese toponymic attachment in Central Otago, and if so, how it might be evidenced in the namescape of the District. I must also note that, as with Daniel Davy's book, *Gold Rush Societies and Migrant Networks in the Tasman World*, my intention in devoting a separate section to the Chinese miners' camps in this chapter is not to 'quarantine them as marginal participants in a Pakeha history' (2021, 177), but to examine the contribution of this population to the Otago goldfield namescape that has, by all accounts, been colonised with European place-names.

To begin, it is necessary to understand the motivations behind Chinese emigration to Otago during the mining era, as well as who these miners were and how they differed from the European Pākehā miners already discussed in this chapter. The majority of these miners came from the southern Regions of Canton and were predominantly 'poorer men who had borrowed the passage money from relatives' (Offwood 2008, 115). The Chinese miners who came over from the Victoria goldfields were seen as 'hardworking, inoffensive, willing to work abandoned claims, and they preferred to return eventually to their homelands' (Huang 2011, 36). Although the Chinese miners, who would work for lower wages and longer days, were seen as necessary by authorities like the Otago Provincial Council, the general attitude towards them on the goldfields was negative, with Pākehā miners often seeing the Chinese as a threat to their own profits as well as different to them both physically and culturally:

They were disliked by the Europeans not only because of their distinctive physical appearance (their long hair plait was an object of ridicule), culture, customs and beliefs; but also because of the fear of their competitive potential. The other things held against the Chinese were their gambling and opium smoking, which were an important entertainment for them. Gambling provided excitement and a chance to relax with their friends, while opium smoking offered an escape from hardship and loneliness (Huang 2011, 32).

The Chinese stuck together on the goldfields, 'cooking together, spending nearly nothing and perhaps seeking relief from endless hard, dirty and cold work in an occasional pipe of opium' (Offwood 2008, 115). The intimacy of the Chinese miner community was very different from the international population of the goldfields. Imposed segregation and 'othering' by the European miner population went so far as to see the Chinese living on the outskirts of gold mining towns such as Lawrence as a result of increasing hostile rules against Chinese miners (Journey to Lan Yuan, 2017).

The localities of Round Hill (no longer populated) and Lawrence are located nearly a kilometre from the Lawrence Chinese Camp, also known as 'Canton' in the 19th century. This was the largest Chinese settlement in Aotearoa New Zealand, 'containing 30 to 40 buildings, but only one of these buildings remains today' (Huang 2011, 25). According to Davy's research, of those 30 to 40 buildings, most were opium or gambling houses by 1881 (2021, 184), though it must be noted anti-Chinese propaganda of the time might have impacted these figures. It is said that the Lawrence Town Council passed a by-law excluding Chinese business and residency from the town boundaries (Journey to Lan Yuan, 2017) yet I have not found reference to when this would have been passed in reports of the Lawrence Town Council or Lawrence Borough Council meetings on PapersPast (Lawrence Chinese Camp Charitable Trust, n.d.). However, I have found a commentary on the 'Celestial city' near Lawrence which is 'fortunately' some distance from the town (TT 10 May 1879). In this report, it is recorded that 'In the vicinity of the Chinese quarter, quite a number of European families are located [...] It would be beneficial

to the morality of any District, if the Chinese were compelled to erect their camps a considerable distance from European dwellings, or main roads' (TT 10 May 1879). There was obviously vocal sentiment in support of restrictions of Chinese camps in 'European' spaces, but whether those suggestions amounted to legal action is something I have struggled to find evidence for. This being said, the suggestions, and there are multiple, that the Chinese miners keep away from European townships and businesses naturally displays a resentment, even hatred, of the 'Celestials' amongst lawmakers and law-enforcers in the mining settlements.

English approximations of Chinese names in the Central Otago namescape are rare. More often, there are place-names that allude to Chinese influence in the landscape, rather than actual transferred Chinese place-names. One of the few transferred names from China represented in the NZG for the Central Otago Region is Canton Stream. Close to Lee Flat and Clarks Junction, and north of Lake Mahinerangi (45.754S 169.951E), Canton Stream is recorded by LINZ as appearing on the NZMS260 H44 1st Edition 1987 (NZG 2022). Additionally, there are some records of various Chinese miners' camps, such as that on the outskirts of Lawrence, being informally referred to as 'Canton', though it is often hard to discern which 'Canton' is being referenced in these records as there are many such sites that seemed to come and go as claims dried up. One such record stated, 'when first discovered, the reef was named the "Canton," but the present proprietors have altered this name to "Lee Yick," which, being translated, signifies "The Beneficial;" and it is to be hoped that the reef will prove worthy of the name' (TT 18 June 1879). Another name, Shek Harn, appears in the goldfields, not as a locality today, but as a historic reserve (NZG 2022). According to the Department of Conservation, Shek Harn in Cantonese means 'big stone ditch', and that the reserve has remains of gold workings as well as Chinese dwellings, including a long house (Department of Conservation, New Zealand, n.d.). It must be noted, however, that the place-name Shek Harn does not, as yet, at least, appear in any PapersPast records, and indeed I have found no evidence that this name was in use prior to its use as a historic reserve. Another Chinese name that appears in the namescape, though not as a listed place-name on the NZG, is Lye Bow Reserve, after possibly the most

prominent Chinese settler, and gold miner turned market gardener, of the 19th century, Lye Bow (*Journey to Lan Yuan*, 2017). Lye Bow lodged an application to purchase 12 acres of land at Butchers Gully in 1889, with no objections to the application (DT 25 Jan 1889).

However, Lye Bow as an actual locality name does not seem to have ever existed, and refers more to the historic significance of the land and buildings there. Lastly, the place-name Wong Gong is seen on the NZG as a creek in the Queenstown-Lakes District of the Otago Region (NZG 2022). As with Lye Bow, Wong Gong (Wong Jay Noong) was a Chinese settler, miner, market gardener, store keeper, and interpreter in Arrowtown (Heritage New Zealand n.d.b., 6–7) (Queenstown Lakes District Council 2018). Wong Gong Terrace (unlisted on the NZG 2022), on the banks of Wong Gong Creek, ‘recognises a man whose name was given to the land and to the nearby stream, and whose history is a significant story in this forbidding landscape’ (Heritage New Zealand n.d.b., 2). Besides the above transferred names, two of which are anthrotoponyms and not located within my research Districts, there are no further English approximations of Chinese place-names in the Otago goldfields, despite the heavy presence of Chinese miners and settlers throughout the history of the area.

As for place-names that contain the elements ‘China’, or ‘Chinaman’, Jan Tent suggests that these toponymic elements in Australian goldfields are not surprising due to the anti-Chinese sentiment during the goldfield naming period in the 19th and 20th centuries (Tent 2019, 3) which I believe could also be behind the motivation for similar naming patterns in the Otago goldfields. There are five instances of the term ‘Chinaman’ utilised in the Otago namescape:

Chinaman Flat (45.878S 169.485E): A river flat on the Clutha just south of Clutha Downs opposite Beaumont Forest and south of Beaumont (locality). Found in NZGB 1948 p. 939, and NZGB Honorary Board Gazettal 1936 p. 5 (NZG 2022).

Chinaman Gully (44.994S 169.215E): A valley north of Cromwell. Found in NZMS260 G41 Ed. 1 1990 (NZG 2022).

Chinamans Creek (44.944S 169.337E): A stream northeast of Cromwell. Found in NZMS260 G41 Ed. 1 1990 (NZG 2022).

Chinamans Creek (44.945S 170.487E): A stream between Naseby and Ngapara. Found in NZMS260 I41 Ed. 1 1984 (NZG 2022).

Chinaman Gully (44.774S 169.102E): A valley southwest of Wānaka. Found in NZMS260 F40 Ed. 1 1991, (NZG 2022).

Although these are not localities, but instead microtoponyms referring to natural features in the landscape, they serve as one of the few reminders in the namescape of a Chinese presence and influence there. Additionally, whilst we might not have many recorded settlement site names for the Chinese mining camps, archaeological evidence has provided us with many of the locations of these sites, as seen in the map below (see Figure 8-8).

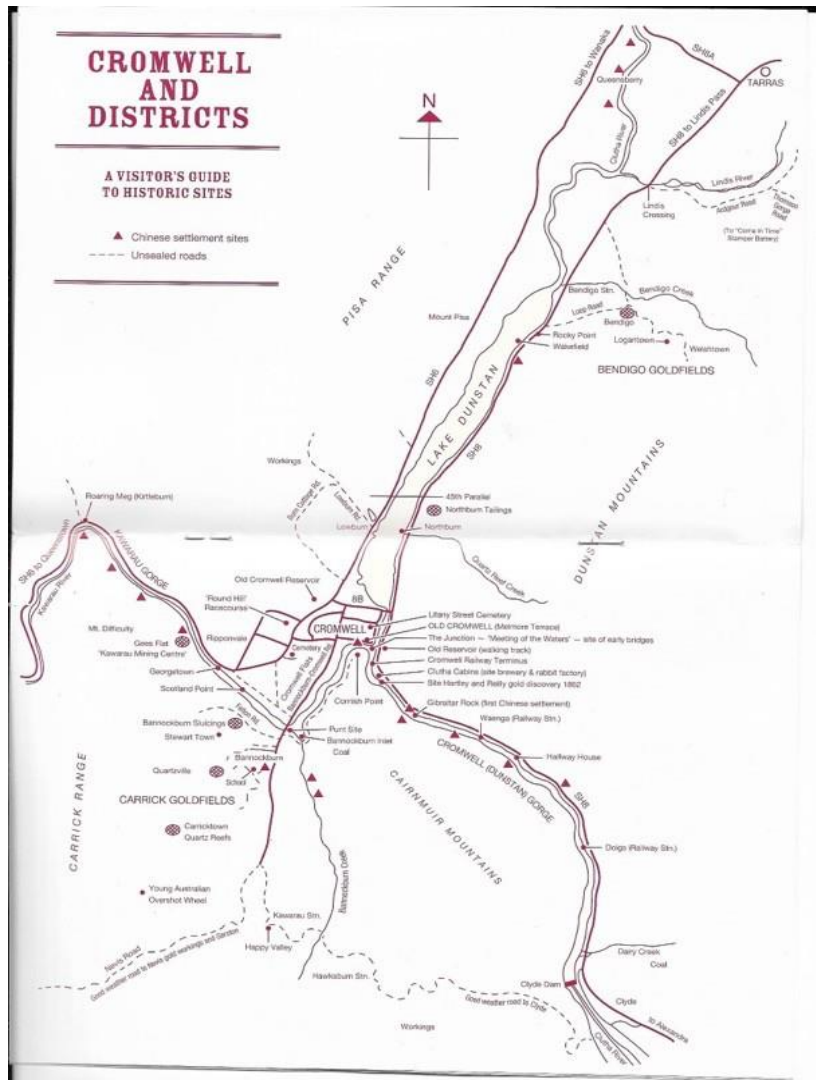


Figure 8-8 'Cromwell and Districts: an historical guide' (Cromwell & Districts Promotions Group 2012).

Despite there being very few place-names that explicitly demonstrate the presence of Chinese miners in the Central Otago goldfields by being transferred names or names with 'China' elements, we cannot ignore the place-names that are a part of this story for their history and origin that refers to Chinese miners and settlers, even if these links are more obscure. On its own, the place-name Tinkers, modern day Matakanui, for example, seems self-explanatory. As a site for thousands of gold miners, Chinese and European alike, Tinkers as a name makes a good deal of sense, however, it is also a place that represents a great miscarriage of justice that set a bad standard for the Chinese in Central Otago from the 1870s onward. It was on 11 February 1872 that a Chinese miner, Ah Lock (in some reports, Ah Lott (ES 3 Apr

1872) or Ah Loch (CA, 9 Apr 1872)), purchased a parcel of meat from the local butcher, Frederick Morgan, and realised upon returning to the miners' camp that he had received less than he had paid for (MIC 16 Feb 1872). A brawl over the incident resulted in casualties and arrests of both Chinese and European miners, though when placed in front of a court, the jury elected to acquit the European men, including the butcher, who attempted to do grievous bodily harm with a shovel during the brawl, and sentenced a Chinese miner involved with the incident, Ah Cheong, to imprisonment and hard labour (Journey to Lan Yuan, 2017; CA, 9 Apr 1872). This incident set a dangerous precedent for the Chinese miners that taught them to keep their head down and be passive about the injustices and harm that came to them on the goldfields.

Whilst we may not have residual Chinese locality names in the namescape of the Central Otago District, there are still reminders in the names of natural features, and in the archaeological evidence, of the significant impact and contribution Chinese miners made in the Otago Region. As discussed at the beginning of this section, we were aiming to evaluate the extent, if any, that there was Chinese miner toponymic attachment in the Central Otago goldfields. Indeed there would appear to be no names which have survived - or even which have been recorded - which were coined by the Chinese themselves. I also would argue toponymic attachment is not evident through the place-names of the District alone, as any attempt at this would have been suppressed by the European population of the 19th century, much as happened with Māori place-names. Instead, I think it is more pertinent to look at the cognitive toponymy of the Central Otago goldfield names with the history of the people who lived on, and worked, the land taken into account. We have seen through the analysis of place-names throughout this District that the surveyors in particular had a great deal of power over the place-naming of not only the goldfields, but the localities and features throughout, so we cannot merely assume we know the history of this land by looking at the name-giver, meaning and origin alone. Instead, we need to know who was working on, and with, the landscape at the time of naming, and ensure we do not forget the memories that a site holds that are invoked by the place-name. Many Chinese died in their

pursuit of gold in the Central Otago District, and burial customs were rarely followed. There is a project currently underway to find and properly see to rest these lost souls of the goldfields which can include the act of repatriating their remains to the home of their birth, as often the Chinese miners were buried outside of European graveyards and usually unmarked (RNZ 2018). There are some segregated burial sites that can still be seen around Central Otago, but this will naturally show only a small proportion of the Chinese mining population who lost their lives during the gold rush. Whereas many of the European miners were looking to strike their fortune in order to purchase land and make a new life for themselves in Aotearoa New Zealand, the Chinese miners sought to earn 'enough money to pay back their return shipping fare and enough extra to go home and help set up their extended family in a higher status' and then, they would return home (Offwood 2008, 115). For many of these miners, that return fare was never acquired, and their bodies never left the goldfields of Central Otago. We must endeavour to not mistakenly omit them from the narrative of the namescape of the goldfields, as their influence in the namescape development is there even if it is not as visible through a linguistic analysis, but a cognitive one.

One of the great curiosities of the Central Otago District is the rapid rise and fall of settler society, and why there seemed so little inclination to remain once the gold had been mined from the Region. Was it an unwillingness to settle in such a removed terrain from coastal access? Or perhaps the reputation left behind by the 'wild' days of goldfield miners, crime, and canvas towns? Despite the population 'boom' of the 1860s, it seemed that, 'from some cause or other, population very readily leaves Otago. If the province has attractions for those who have tried other places and failed, they do not seem sufficiently strong to prevent many seeking fortunes elsewhere' (TH 28 Aug 1869). It has been over 150 years since the days of gold prospecting in Central Otago, with only place- names remaining to remind us of what took place in many of these settings in most cases. Though some towns such as Alexandra, Cromwell, and Naseby have flourished since the gold rush era, others like Weatherstons, Kyeburn, and Ida Valley faded away as rapidly as they sprung up.

The romantic tale of Central Otago as the melting pot of the South Island in the 1860s is true to some degree, but like any romantic retelling it omits the darker truth to this narrative. The story of Chinese miners in Central Otago, while not obviously reflected in the nomenclature of the District, is frequently downplayed due to the negative light it shines on the mining period. Although this thesis is primarily concerned with the nomenclature of the Otago Region, it would be impossible to do so, and one could argue unethical, without acknowledging what, and whose, story the nomenclature reflects and what is missing. It is the responsibility of the onomastic researcher to not only evaluate what is seen in the place-name data on the surface, but where the gaps are, what is left out, based on what other evidence might suggest. The Central Otago District is an exceptional example of how essential it is to dig past the surface of what the present names on the map tell us, much like miners in the Region themselves.

9 Conclusion

This thesis has evaluated settler place-names, with a focus on those of Scottish origin, for the motivation, the referent, and history behind their creation.

Drawing on narrative sources such as settler recollections, surveyor maps, and digitised newspapers, this thesis has situated the colonial understanding of 'settlement' and belonging in the context of cognitive experiences of place such as place and toponymic attachment. Additionally, this research has analysed how place-names could be considered items of intangible cultural heritage by utilising an emerging field: anthropological onomastics. This term has been previously utilised by others, such as Vincent Chanda in 2017, though possibly with different connotations (Chanda 2017). Chanda uses the term 'anthropological onomastics' to explore the interplay between names and cultural identities, emphasising the social and cultural contexts that shape naming practices. Chanda's approach examines how names reflect cultural values, social structures, and historical contexts, highlighting the importance of understanding names beyond their linguistic properties. This perspective integrates anthropological insights into the study of names, providing a broader understanding of how onomastics intersects with cultural and societal dynamics.

In the context of this thesis, the novel approach to anthropological onomastics as a method may still offer unique insights or methodologies distinct from previous uses. Throughout this thesis, a combined method of anthropological onomastics has emphasised how the human experience can be evaluated through the lens of place-names. As such, I have presented a study of the Scottish settler experience in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts, offering a framework for conceptualising the colonial impact of Scottish settlers on the namescape, and conversely the impact of the namescape on the experience of Scottish settlers' sense of place and 'home'. In this way, the thesis has analysed the complex and differentiated ways sense of place and colonial identity are experienced.

This line of research illustrates ways in which the experience of settler migration was not always linear by considering strands of step-migration in the Central Otago and Clutha Districts (see 5.1), and patterns of return migration by Scottish migrants (see 5.1.1). The thesis has sought to explore the different ways in which Scottish settlers made their journey to Aotearoa New Zealand, discovering that the Vogel Scheme, the Otago Association, and the gold rush were all motivators and methods of migration to Otago (see 5.4).

This study revealed that there are 131 locality place-names of Pākehā origin in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts in the NZG data. The thesis has sought to address gaps in the literature on place-naming in Aotearoa New Zealand with reference to these two Districts, primarily by utilising emigrant narrative sources (Chapter 7) and a wealth of newspaper article data to uncover the earliest mentions of place-names. It has also sought to explore where Scottish settlers established homesteads in both the Clutha and Central Otago Districts, and if those homesteads were sites of a permanent or temporary nature. The findings of this research are that permanent sites of settlement were far more common in the Clutha District, due to the time period and priorities of early settlement along the coast (Chapter 7) but also in the Central Otago District in sites that were strategic for an urban population (see 8.4). Settlement of a temporary nature was most often found in the Central Otago goldfields, where an unknown number of place-names have since been lost to time (see 8.2).

Furthermore, this study has highlighted instances where changes in the NZG could be made to recognise place-names in the Clutha and Central Otago Districts as official, with the potential for dual-naming, as evidenced by the summarised information on each name in this thesis's Gazetteer. It is hoped that the findings from this study will influence how place-names are handled by governmental institutions in Aotearoa New Zealand which engage with research such as this, offer new ways to conduct this work, and inspire the continuation of this work in areas outside of the Clutha and Central Otago Districts.

At the conclusion of this thesis, then, I wish to return briefly to what is, perhaps, the central question: can analysing the settlement period of Aotearoa New Zealand through the lens of place-names and using anthropological onomastic methods change how these names are treated by governmental institutions in the country, which are involved with this kind of research, and what are the methods by which this work is conducted? What is revealed in examples such as Pātearoa (see 6.1.2), is that the overarching answer to this question is yes, engaging with place-names from their inception and utilising a multidisciplinary, mixed-methods approach, could shape governmental policy on present-day naming. Additionally, this example and others like it prove the importance of engaging with place-name research from multiple perspectives and backgrounds, not solely from that of Pākehā as it historically has been.

9.1 Limitations of the study

On the note of categorisation, some names could possibly fall into more than one category when utilising Brink's classification of transferred names, but the category that has been deemed most appropriate and relevant for each name has been utilised in this thesis. Additionally, evidence might still come to light that offers alternative insights into the background of these names, but this thesis was limited by sources which have been digitised to date.

Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, only one fieldwork journey was able to be made to Aotearoa New Zealand for data collection and to engage with the Otago Region landscape. As a result of this unforeseen complication, I have mainly been restricted to using only digitised materials. Although PapersPast has been an excellent resource to navigate around this challenge, there are still a good many maps and early records that have not been engaged with in this thesis due to this access barrier.

9.2 Future Directions

Although there are many Regions in which comparative studies with Aotearoa New Zealand could be undertaken, this thesis has primarily utilised studies from Australia, Canada, and other Pacific nations, to engage with the concept of settler place-naming. Additionally, these studies from other colonised nations have made evident where the settlement and naming patterns of Aotearoa New Zealand were likely universal, and where they were exclusive to Aotearoa New Zealand. Were this study to engage more deeply with Indigenous Māori place-names, I would suggest a thorough study of Pacific Island naming trends, as I only touched the surface of the connections in place-name elements and familiar figures from lore that are manifested in place-names throughout the Pacific.

Additionally, there is a great deal to say about the Scots in Australia and Canada and place-naming trends historically, and in the modern day, that does not fit within the scope of this thesis, but is nonetheless important and likely shares many similarities with the namescape in Aotearoa New Zealand.

As a practical point, I would make the case for the continued digitisation of resources from the Otago Region for open-source access, allowing this knowledge to reach non-academic audiences. There was an unfortunate incident while on fieldwork in the Otago Region in March 2019 where I went to find a map in an archive which shall not be named here, only to be told the storage unit containing this piece suffered water damage, with this specific map and other unknown resources being thrown out as a result. Digitisation of these invaluable pieces of history must be prioritised. Research is needed which views studies of Indigenous communities as a two-way process of giving back much more to the Indigenous community than is gained by the researcher. Needed also are Indigenous voices leading this research. We have passed the point of speaking 'for' these communities, and I would argue it is time to step away from the microphone entirely and let Indigenous people speak for themselves. Future research would

benefit from expanding on the work of the Kāi Tahu in collecting cultural memory of Indigenous place-names and histories.

Lastly, as Reed wrote over 40 years ago, ‘it would be desirable to establish in New Zealand the equivalent of the American Name Society, or of the several British organisations, for the gathering of such information is a task that can be accomplished only by cooperative effort’ (Reed 1975: ix). A cooperative effort is indeed what is called for in Aotearoa New Zealand. As a collaborative and multidisciplinary community, it is possible to acknowledge the names of the past, and the meanings they hold, and create a space for informed discussion to take place on changing the namespace, but only if robust and appropriate research methodologies underpin this, including working with, not on, the Māori community.

9.3 Epilogue: Rākau

Expressing the Indigenous experience of academic research on language (and by extension place-names):

Kei te mōhiotia ko te kaiwhakairo tērā ka kukume mai i te mauri o roto rawa i te rākau.

Ka tangohia kōtirihia ngā kongakonga rākau,
kia reri ai.

Kei te mōhio tāua, he reo kei tōku arero. Waiho ki raro te toki, te kani, te whaiuru:
Kōrerotia whakamāiretia kia kite ai au he aha rā kei reira.

Kāo, kua e tope i te kiko māwhero, i ngā paerongo tāwera:

E totō ana pūpuhi nei

kei rāoa au e aku toto, i mua iho tō otinga noa.

Ko te rākau e ngana ana koe ki te whakairo he rākau tonu.

We know that carvers coax something or someone Who’s already there in the wood.
They remove small pieces of timber, one by one, until it’s ready.

We both know a language is waiting inside my tongue.

Please put down the adze, the skillsaw, the file: Speak gently to me so I can recognise what's there.

No, don't chip away at pink flesh and taste buds: Oozing and swollen, I will choke on my blood before you're done.

The wood you're trying to carve is still a tree.

—Te Punga Somerville (trans. Te Ataahia Huurihanganui) 2018

Gazetteer

Given the limitations of the thesis, it was impractical to conduct a comprehensive survey of the entire Otago Region. Consequently, the Clutha and Central Otago Districts were chosen as the primary areas of study for this research. Place-names with Scottish connections have been underlined. These include names with one or more recognisably Scottish element such as *glen*, *strath* or *burn*; also names which refer to people explicitly identified as Scottish or who have a recognisably Scottish name. Critereon including the etymology of the name (place-names that are derived from Scottish Gaelic or Scots language), historical naming practices (names given by Scottish settlers, explorers, or surveyors), names with cultural significance (place-names that reflect Scottish heritage, such as those named after Scottish towns, regions, or notable figures from Scotland), and documented sources (references in historical documents, maps, or records indicating a Scottish origin) were applied to the corpus to determine Scottish connections.

It is important to recognise that the widespread Scottish diaspora and their global influence mean there are likely places in many parts of the world named after Scottish people or families. While naming places after individuals is a common global practice, not exclusive to Scottish culture, many cultures have a tradition of naming locations after notable or locally memorable figures. This does not mean, however, that this naming convention is solely a Scottish trait. This study acknowledges the personal connections in the place-names being examined, but it aims to ensure that these associations do not overshadow the unique Scottish linguistic and topographical aspects of these names. Nonetheless, this acknowledgement does not lessen the significance and value of place-names linked to Scottish individuals. These names create connections to individuals, their stories, and histories, adding a layer to our understanding of Scottish influence and heritage around the world.

Names with Scottish connections, as defined above, are underlined. Names given official naming status by LINZ as of 2022 are in *italics*.

All longitude and latitude locations are as given on NZ TopoMap in the official Land Information New Zealand's 1:50,000 / Topo50 and 1:250,000 / Topo250 maps.

Clutha District

Adams Flat

Locality | 46.112; 169.835

The earliest mention of Adams Flat is 1864, when it appears in an official report on Otago goldfields of which Adams Flat is one (ODT 18 June 1864). A river flat of the Adams River (NZGB HDD) believed by Reed to have been named after James Adam, an early settler (Reed, 2010, p.17). Adam is referred to in 1867 when he sold a portion of his land to the Government, which was met with some contention by fellow settlers who believed this deal granted Adam too high of a financial advantage in the area (BH 31 Jan 1867). The name James Adam is plausibly Scottish due to its historical and cultural significance in Scotland, where traditional names like James have long been popular, and Adam is associated with Scottish naming customs (FamilySearch, 2023; Behind the Name, 2023).

Ahuriri Flat

Locality | 46.401; 169.701

The first instance in digitalised newspaper records of Ahuriri Flat is in 1867, which reads: ‘for sale 150 acres land in Ahuriri Flat, near Port Molyneux [...] Title- Crown Grant. Apply Wm. Thomson, Green Island’ implying that the place- name was in existence prior to this Crown Grant (ODT 25 Feb 1867). A few years later, there is clear implication of the development of Ahuriri Flat with the creation of a road: ‘traversing the Ahuriri Flat - I make no profession of accurate nomenclature - and wending our way amid “Macs” of every variety, we enter the Ahuriri Bush, through which a paternal Government has formed a good serviceable and substantial road’ (OW 26 April 1873).

The locality of Ahuriri Flat even in the 1870s was quite unclear, with one report stating, ‘it is more than probable that a large majority of the readers

of the Bruce Herald have but a very confused idea of the exact locality of the Ahuriri Flat' (BH 13 Feb 1874). The author continues to describe the Flat as not flat in the least, but actually quite hilly and full of forest. Additionally, the author is not very complimentary about the Flat, placing judgement on its lack of fertile soil, small size (only six or seven miles in length and two in breadth) and residents that are more impoverished than the settlers on the nearby Taieri Plain.

However, another author in the *Clutha Leader* has a much rosier view of Ahuriri Flat, claiming that the Scotchmen and Yorkshiremen who came to the Flat have 'made this wilderness blossom like the rose' and that they 'progress steadily and perhaps as rapidly as much more favored Districts' (CL 3 June 1875). Within this positive view of the Flat, it is noted by 1875 there is now a schoolhouse and teacher's residence.

Ashley Downs

Locality | 46.172; 169.496

Named by early landowner James (John) Gibson as early as June 1874 (ODT 6 June 1874) after an English orphanage of the same name operated by Dr George Muller (Reed, 2010, p.32). After the sale of the property to the government in 1907 (Reed, 2010, p.32) then to a Mr James Taylor of Wairuna (CL 12 May 1908), the name of the settlement had been changed to Tomauta for an unknown window of time (NZGB HDD), or Taumata, meaning 'brow of a hill' (Reed, 1996, p.106) though it at present is still recorded as Ashley Downs.

Awamangu

Locality | 46.108; 169.645

Awamangu, is an example of a rare settler-created name using Māori elements. Previously under the name Blackburn, having been purchased from the Begg Brothers in 1906 by The Education Board as a site for a school, the

name was changed in the process of this purchase: ‘this name has been adopted to avoid clashing with another Blackburn, and the Māori name is taken to be as near a translation of Blackburn as can be got’ (BH 18 Oct 1906).

Balclutha

Settlement (not labelled as a locality) | 46.238; 169.739

(See 7.2). The first element, Bal, comes from the Gaelic baile ‘a farm, a settlement’, appearing in many Scottish place-names as Bal-. Clutha itself (Bal Clutha) was first proposed as a name for this settlement in 1846 (WI 1 Aug 1846). The first use of the place-name Balclutha is seemingly a passing mention in an 1858 article in the *Nelson Examiner*, but there is of course the possibility of an earlier mention in non-digitalised documents (NENZC 19 June 1858). Prior to 1868, Balclutha was known as ‘The Ferry’, on account of it being the location where people could get the ferry across the great Clutha River (Lovell-Smith, 2019). As the first government-funded punt to cross the Clutha was established in 1861, it could be assumed this Region was known by its Māori name, Iwikatea, until this date of government intervention (Ayson, 1937, p.31). Iwikatea is believed to translate as iwi: bones; katea: whitened, and refers to a battle which left human bones strewn over the ground (New Zealand History ‘Balclutha’, n.d.). As the first settler of the area, James McNeil, hailed from Dunbartonshire, Scotland, there is little doubt as to his influence on the naming of Balclutha (Clan MacFarlane Society, n.d.). McNeil, the man recalled by William Ayson as owning and operating the first method of ferry transport across the Clutha River, was in the early 1850s one of the first five men living in the locality during European settlement and was consulted on the development of the area (Wilson, 1912, p.124).

It is essential to explore Balclutha’s literary roots when examining its status as a Scottish place-name. The name Clutha/Balclutha can be traced back to James Macpherson’s *Poems of Ossian* from the 1760s, particularly highlighted

in poems like *Cathlin of Clutha* from 1789. In these works, Clutha is somewhat a stand-in for the River Clyde, albeit in a contrived, antiquarian form, differing from the ancient name Clōta found in Ptolemy and other historical sources. The name Balclutha, recurring in various poems by Macpherson, appears to be inspired by Dumbarton Rock, though its interpretation evolved during the 19th century. This origin indicates that Balclutha is not so much a Gaelic adaptation of Clutha—as might be argued for Inch Clutha—but rather a name transferred from literature, albeit literature deeply imbued with a romanticised Scottish sentiment. It suggests a naming practice that pays homage to the Clyde/Glasgow/Dumbarton area in a somewhat grandiose manner. This literary and romantic association raises intriguing questions about how we perceive and interpret these names in the context of Scottish heritage and culture.

Barnego

Locality | 46.231; 169.724

Barnego originated as a farm name in Stirlingshire in Scotland, NGR NS788836, and appears as a proposed locality in a 1870s map of the Clutha River and surrounding Districts (Anon., 1870). The first instance of Barnego as a place-name in digitised newspapers is an 1877 reference to a Mr Robert Paterson of Barnego who allowed the Clutha Cricket Club use of his land for matches (CL 21 Sept 1877).

In John Reid's *Place-Names of East Stirlingshire*, it is mentioned that William Paterson is the farmer at the Stirlingshire Easter Barnego in 1912, who is clearly a relative of Robert Paterson (Reid 2019, p. 252).

In 1879, due to the great floods through the Clutha District, it was announced by Mr Paterson that 'there is no road through my property along the river bank, the road having been washed away' (CL 14 Feb 1879). In 1899, Mr Paterson offered Barnego to the Government under the Land for Settlements Act, with the papers reporting that it was a locality that

consisted of ‘some 7000 acres of good agricultural land situated within easy distance of Balclutha, 500 acres of which known as Paterson’s Flat’ (CL 17 March 1899).

Beaumont

Locality | 45.822; 169.529

(See 7.4). The nearby river name, Beaumont River, was so named for the Scottish Borders place-name Bowmont Water (NGR extending from NT 8172 2327 to NT 8159 2261) and served as the probable source of inspiration for the settlement name (Reed, 2010, p.44). However, the origins of Beaumont were challenged by Beattie, who believed Archibald Anderson of Stirling (Aotearoa New Zealand) named the area in about 1856 (Beattie, 1948, p.24). The original township name was Dunkeld, likely taken from Perthshire in Scotland (NGR NO 02675 42453), in 1869 by surveyor C. W. Adam (Reed, 2010, p.44) and was retained as the name of the registration District and utilised on land surveys despite Beaumont being the name in popular use (NZGB HDD).

Benhar

Locality | 46.224; 169.794

Benhar comes from Lanarkshire (Scotland) at NGR NS 8932 6328, and can be noted as a West Lothian coal-mining site as well at NGR NS 9180 6197 (Gazetteer for Scotland, 2021) perhaps signalling a functional name transfer. The Benhar Coal Pits in Otago are first mentioned in 1876, though they were likely in use prior to 1876 as the Clutha Leader claims, ‘the Benhar Coal Pits are now being worked by Mr John Nelson’, implying there was someone prior to him in this role (CL 23 March 1876). A drawing by William Mathew Hodgkins (1833-1898) is located in the ATL with the description: ‘looking down towards a lake and mountains from a high standpoint, possibly Lake Tuakitoto and the mountains surrounding Benhar’ ([Hodgkins, William

Mathew] 1833-1898: From the scrub on Benhar [1883?] Reference Number:E-015-046, ATL).

Black Gully

Locality | 45.894; 169.348

Situated six miles from Tapanui, Black Gully is the largest of a series of gullies of the Blue Mountains: Crookston Gully, Black Gully, Ravine Gully, Whisky Gully, Brandy Gully, and Old Station Gully (OW 6 March 1912). First mentioned in 1868, Black Gully was originally a section of land reserved for cattle (TT 19 Sept 1868). Into the 20th-century, Black Gully became a popular Victorian-era picnic spot (OW 26 April 1921) and a popular hunting location of wild pigs, hares, and fallow deer (OW 6 March 1912). The most well-known resident was Mr Hugh McEwan, once called ‘The Hermit of Black Gully’ (OW 31 March 1915). The motivation for the place-name is likely due to the dark colour of the water that flows through the gully.

Blue Spur

Locality | 45.884; 169.676

Blue Spur is first mentioned in digitised newspapers in 1862 as ‘Blue Spur, Gabriel’s Gully’ highly suggesting Blue Spur was originally the name of a goldfield claim site (OW 23 Aug 1862). It is suggested by Reed that Blue Spur takes its name from the large quantities of blue clay in the area (Reed, 2010). Indeed, in some of the earliest mentions of Blue Spur, it is lower-cased so as to suggest a feature which was easily identified for its uniquely coloured clay (ODT 1 Oct 1862 & OW 4 Oct 1862).

Bowlers Creek

Locality | 45.882; 169.617

Reed believes Bowlers Creek to be a miners’ name, after Bowler of Davey and Bowler, the first owners of the nearby Bellamy’s Station (Reed, 2010,

p.55). ‘Davy and Bowler’ are listed as two individual applicants for depasturising licenses in 1858, likely as business partners (OW 5 June 1858). Further evidencing the partnership in relation to the Bellamy’s Station location, the Evening Star reported in 1906: ‘Then Davey and Bowler came and squatted next to my holding, taking up the pasturage on Evans Flat now known as Bellamy’s Station’ (ES 16 May 1906).

Bungtown

Locality | 45.889; 169.777

The first mention of Bungtown in digitised newspapers is in 1872, when it is mentioned in relation to Lawrence as an already established locality (GRA 21 Oct 1872) with further mentions of a nearby railway line (TT 5 Dec 1872) and goldfield claims associated with the locality within the same time-frame (OW 3 May 1873).

The goldfields tale of the place-name Bungtown comes from a story about a group of passengers on a mail coach, being driven by a man named ‘Mick’ on the road to Lawrence:

‘Water, water everywhere, but not a drop to drink.’ But Micky Hickey was there, an’ Mickey was never known to let a difficulty bate him. ‘Knock the bung out, boys!’ says he; an’ we did. An’ wid that one spache he quinched our thirst and christened the town! (OW 29 Jan 1908)

Caberfeidh

Locality | 46.508; 169.480

(See 7.3). Likely from the Mackenzie Clan motto meaning ‘antlers of the deer’ (Reed, 1975, p.66). Named by either Sir Thomas Mackenzie or John McKenzie at some point during the period between 1858-1875.

Chaslands

Locality | 46.586; 169.315

All records of the origin of this place-name, coined in 1850-1851, indicate it comes from a well-known whaler (ST 28 Feb 1931). Reed claims that the individual in question was Thomas (Tommy) Chasland or Chasland, the son of an Englishman and an Aboriginal woman, who arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand at the age of twenty-one in 1824 (Reed, 2010, p.77). W. H. S. Roberts also cites a 'Thomas Chasland, a New South Wales half-caste native. The headland was so named in consequence of Chasland mistaking it one fogey [sic] day for Cape Saunders when he was piloting an American whaling ship to Otakou Harbor. He discovered his mistake in time to avert any-evil consequences' (ME 9 Aug 1910).

Another recollection signed by 'F. A. J.' in the *Otago Witness* noted:

When acting as pilot for H.M.S. *Acheron*, which vessel was engaged in surveying the coast, Chasland told how plentiful seals used to be in the vicinity of the headland, and how on one occasion he induced Sydney owners to fit out a brig promising to fill her with sealskins and oil. The sealing crew, however, proved hardly answerable to discipline, and in spite of Chasland's warning not to molest the seals on their first arrival on the coast, they were too eager for the fray. After waiting for several weeks sure enough the seals came in thousands and the whalers made instant warfare on them, with the result that the herd stampeded and took to the sea. A few seals came ashore subsequently, but the main herd never came back; consequently the brig returned to the owners practically an empty ship. 'Then that's Chasland's Mistake,' was the comment of the officer to whom 'Tommy' told the story [...] (OW 18 March 1903).

According to Reed, the locality was first known as Heathfield, and has been noted as having the Māori name Waipati, lit. wai: water; pati: shallow, or splashing (Reed, 2010, p.77).

Clarendon

Locality | 46.052; 170.035

Named in 1857, Clarendon was a planned township by John Hyde Harris and Thomas Gillies in the old Waihola District (OW 28 Nov 1857). It is believed the name was coined by John Hyde Harris, superintendent of Otago (McLintock 1949, p.376) 'after his ancestor Earl of Clarendon' (Reed, 1975, p.79), noting that the family name for the earls of Clarendon was Hyde.

Clarksville

Locality | 46.129S 169.922E

According to Reed, Clarksville is named after early settler, Henry Clark (Reed, 2010, p.81). The use of Clarksville as an Aotearoa New Zealand place-name first appears in digitised sources in 1872 (BH 14 Aug 1872), contradicting Reed's findings that date the name change from Clarkesville to Clarksville as 1896 though there is the possibility both spellings were in operation for a time (Reed, 2010, p.81). However, Clarksville was known in Aotearoa New Zealand via newspaper reports since the year of 1857 from Clarksville, Tennessee, when plans for an 'insurrection among the slave population' was discovered (NENZC 29 April 1857). It was yet again in the news during the American Civil War when all the bridges in East Tennessee had been burnt and the city was captured by Union forces (NZ 8 April 1863).

Clifton

Locality | 46.192; 169.568

Clifton was the estate of William Telford, born in Cumberland in England before emigrating to Port Lincoln in Australia then on to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1867 where he purchased the land that became Clifton, a name that comes from Cumberland (Southern Institute of Technology, n.d.).

Clifton went on sale back to the government in the 20th century (CL 5 Dec. 1919).

Clinton

Locality | 46.201; 169.375

According to Reed, Clinton was a name bestowed by James McKerrow from the family name of the Duke of Newcastle, secretary for the colonies from 1852 to 1854, and colonial secretary from 1859 to 1864 (Reed, 2010, p.82). However, an article from 1912 claims it was a 'Dr Menzies, the first superintendent of Southland' that proposed the name (ME 16 Aug 1912). Reed also claims that Clinton was at one time rejected by Parliament as a replacement name for Invercargill in Southland, however, Clinton was in use (and is now obsolete) as a township near Invercargill, not Invercargill itself (ST 2 June 1863). Additionally, Reed states that a post office at the locality by the name of Poupoutunoa was renamed Clinton around November 1873 (Reed, 2010, p.82). However, Poupoutunoa is never mentioned in news articles, very unusual for a post office of the time, until by Beattie in 1910 when he writes Poupoutunoa is the 'conical hill near Clinton' (ME 10 July 1910). Possibly Reed meant Popotunoa, the location of a Survey Office (ODT 26 May 1863) and later on used alongside the locality name 'Clinton' with Popotunoa referring to a larger Region containing the locality (BH 17 Jan 1873).

Clydevale

Locality | 46.101; 169.527

According to Reed, Clydevale was named after the River Clyde in Scotland (NGR NS 496 691), the name being given by the New Zealand and Australian Land Company in 1863 (Reed, 2010, p.84). Clydevale was included in the 1907 Government Valuation of Land Act (1896), and Amendment Acts (1900 and 1903) for public inspection (TT 5 Sept 1906) as a means for the New

Zealand and Australian Land Company to divest itself of its freeholds in Aotearoa New Zealand. As a result, the Clydevale Estate went up for sale by the National Mortgage and Agency Company on behalf of the New Zealand and Australian Land Company that same year (AG 12 April 1907).

Conical Hill

Locality | 46.101; 169.527

According to Reed, the name was ‘given by Captain F.W. McKenzie to a group of hills in the Blue Mountains in the 1850s, on account of their appearance’ (Reed, 2010, p.86), with one article stating ‘it is almost a perfect cone shape, hence its name’ (LT 20 Dec 1920). However, according to a newspaper article on names in the 1920s, it was a Mr James Mackay who named Conical Hill (Press 31 May 1922). The Māori name had been forgotten according to W. H. Sherwood Roberts in his article on the place-names of Otago and Southland (ST 30 May 1914).

Craigellachie

Locality | 45.839; 169.572

(See 7.4). Craigellachie is an English rendering of Creag Eileachaidh, ‘the war-cry of the Grants’ (Beattie, 1948, p.89). Charles Alexander Grant is perhaps the most likely name-giver for the locality. The earliest appearance of Craigellachie in digitised newspapers as a locality in Aotearoa New Zealand is in 1895 (ME 7 May 1895).

Crichton

Locality | 46.149; 169.863

According to Reed, Crichton refers to an early settler (Reed, 2010, p.91), though no other information is offered to explore this possibility. As no immediate reference to an early settler of the name Crichton is apparent, the motivation for the name could have come from Scottish James Crichton

(1560-1582), known as ‘The Admirable Crichton’, a phrase referring to a person of many talents, which is used frequently in the newspapers from 1848 (NZ 22 March 1848) well into the 1860s–1870s (OW 18 Sept 1863), (NZH 24 Dec 1874). Another possibility is that Crichton is a transferred name from the village and parish of that name in Midlothian near Dalkeith, in Scotland.

Crookston

Locality | 45.852; 169.337

In 1886 an application of licence and ownership for ‘Block I, Crookston’ was made for a section of land with the note ‘the original owner of Dunkeld at Beaumont was Robert Wood from Scotland who purchased 21,500 acres in 1886’ (MS-Papers-8640-33, ATL). There are several places called Crookston in Scotland: one near Dalkeith (NGR NT 42463 52145), one near Peebles (NGR NT 2419 3726), and the best known in Glasgow (NGR NS 52554 62721).

Crossans Corner

Locality | 45.912; 169.153

Not far from this locality lived a man named Thomas Crossan of the Tokomairiro Plain (BH 2 March 1865). Crossan was a baker and opened a grocery in Milton (BH 22 June 1865) opposite the post office (BH 16 Nov 1865). We know this was Crossan’s life in 1865, but that in 1869 the bakery was sold to make way for a bank (BH 28 April 1869). Crossan’s Corner [*sic*] as a locality is first mentioned in 1883 in relation to some maintenance needing done to fill up a hollow at ‘Crossan’s corner’ (BH 23 Jan 1883). In addition to being an entrepreneurial pioneer in the Clutha District, Crossan was known within the Scottish community in Otago at their gatherings, with him having sung ‘Scotland Yet’ and his wife also partaking in song at the gathering in 1882 (MIC 8 April 1882).

Dunrobin

Locality | 45.779; 169.321

According to Reed, Dunrobin was named ‘by the early settler Alexander McKay, who settled on a farm at East Taieri with his wife Janet [...] and infant son Hector. McKay gave his farm the name of his birthplace, Dunrobin Castle in Sutherlandshire, Scotland’ (Reed, 2010, p.108) (NGR NC 85049 00820). McKay was a native of Sutherlandshire and arrived in Wellington in 1840 (ibid.). He was employed by Governor Hobson in Auckland but left in 1841 for Nelson where he did business for some time before travelling to Koputai (Port Chalmers) arriving on the last day of 1844, four years before the settlement of the province (ibid.). After a few years he settled in East Taieri for twenty-nine years until his death (ibid.).

Following McKay’s journey in Aotearoa New Zealand, he was the likely signatory, ‘Alex McKay, settler’ in the early settler correspondence to Sir George Grey protesting ‘against the Imperial Parliament legislating upon matters affecting the daily transactions of the settlers’ (NZSCSG 3 April 1852). First mention of Alexander McKay is in 1844 in a notice, ‘all persons having any claims against Alexander McKay, Sutherland Arms, are requested to send their accounts to me’ (NENZC 23 March 1844). He is listed as an innkeeper of the aforementioned Sutherland Arms Hotel in 1844, making him the likely ‘McKay’ operating the re-named hotel as the Dunrobin Hotel and coach service in 1871 (TT 28 Dec 1871). Dunrobin also appears in conjunction with McKay when a notice for the sale of his stockyard at auction is listed in 1861 (OW 23 March 1861) which appears to be the earliest record of the name in this locality. In 1871, the *Provincial Governmental Gazette* was notified that Alexander McKay has been added to the list of authorised surveyors (ODT 13 April 1871). According to his death announcement in 1879, McKay died at 82 years, and spent forty years in the Colony (CL 3 Oct 1879).

Dusky Forest

Locality | 45.846; 169.164

The first digitised mention in newspapers is 31 August 1900 (ODT) about the creation of a State Nursery between Tapanui and Dusky Forest, with active tree-planting happening. However, in 1906 there was a fire that destroyed much of the progress that had been made (MA 27 Oct 1906). The motivation for the name was likely due to the appearance of the forest as in a constant state of low-light, or dusk.

Edievale

Locality | 45.799; 169.362

According to Reed, Edievale is an anthropotonym named after John Edie, an early settler born in St Andrews (Reed, 2010, p.112) (MBM 11 Sept 1918). According to digitised newspaper articles, a John Edie of 'Springfield, Edievale' died at 83 years of age in 1918, with his obituary stating, 'when the land was thrown open in the District known as Edievale he was one of the original settlers' (MBM 4 Sept 1918).

Finegand

Locality | 46.270; 169.727

So named by John and Margaret Shaw of Glenshee, Scotland (Ayson, 1937, p.35) after Finegand farm, their old homestead, Finegand, in Glen Shee, Perthshire at NGR NO 140662 (OS Six-inch 1st Ed. 1862). The continuity of the place-name in New Zealand from Scotland is considered a psychological transfer, due to the motivation for its transfer being out of sentiment (Brink, 2016, p.7). Finegand is Gaelic place-name, for details of which see McNiven (2017, p.29).

Forsyth

Locality | 45.945; 169.731

According to Reed, Forsyth, a Scottish surname, comes from the maiden name of the wife of the engineer who laid the railway line to Lawrence

(Reed, 2010, p.128). However there is a possibility that the name-bearer in question was early settler, Mr James Forsyth who lived in ‘Spring End, Tokomairiro’, with Spring End now being an obsolete name, in 1867 (OW 13 July 1867). The Lawrence Branch of the railway line through Otago is noted as making stops at Glenore, Round Hill, Johnston, and Forsyth in 1878 (CL 20 Sept 1878).

Gabriels Gully

Locality | 45.881; 169.682

(See 8.2). The first evidence of this place-name appears on Garvie’s 1857-1858 Reconnaissance Survey of S. E. Districts, and appeared to be known locally as Blue Spur Creek (NZGB HDD). However, it is peculiar this place-name appears prior to the date given for Australian prospector, Gabriel Read’s discovery of gold in this gully on 20 May 1861, sparking the Otago gold rush era (Reed, 2010, p.134).

Glenkenich

Locality | 45.972; 169.231

The place-name Glenkenich likely derives from the New Zealand and Australian Land Company's activities in Otago in the 1860s, specifically around 1863 when they began naming and parcelling out land. The earliest digitised mention in newspapers is from 1868, when Captain MacKenzie made a motion to the Provincial Secretary regarding the survey of land in the Glenkenich District (OW 9 May 1868). The association with a MacKenzie (Mac Coinnich in Gaelic) might suggest an attempt to create a place-name with a Scottish flavor, reflecting the Scottish heritage of many settlers and the naming conventions used during that period.

Glenledi

Locality | 46.174; 170.082

According to Reed, the first name recorded for this locality was Glen-Lady, so named ‘by the five daughters of the Rev. John Dewe after their cow Lady. The name was later changed to Glenledi, perhaps by the then owner George Murray with memories of Benledi in Scotland’ (Reed, 2010, p.140) (NGR NN562098). Not to discount Reed’s findings, but there is no record of a George Murray in association with Glenledi in newspapers digitised up to 2022. Glen Lady Saw Mills was referenced as early as 1870 (BH 12 Oct 1870), however the first use of Glenledi in digitised newspapers is in 1872 (BH 10 July 1872). The Glen Lady Saw Mills name at the Tokomairiro Timber Yard is no longer used beyond 1874 (BH 20 Feb 1874) suggesting that the two names ran parallel until 1874.

Glenomaru

Locality | 46.386; 169.669

(See 7.3). A hybrid Scots and Māori place-name, meaning *glen* as in a valley, and *O-maru* which is Māori for ‘place of Maru’, Maru being a Māori chief (Beattie, 1948, p.116). The first instance Glenomaru is recorded as a place-name was in 1860 in relation to the Glenomaru Flour and Sawmill, established that same year (OW 17 Nov 1860). Tyrrell credits a ‘Mr. Scrymgeour’ for the creation of the hybrid place-name (Tyrrell, 2016, p.78), because it was clearly coined by a European, and most likely a Scot, Scrymgeour being a Scottish surname. The second element of the name likely derives from the nearby Ōmaru Stream (Kā Huru Manu, 2022) now known as the Glenomaru River.

It is also worth noting that in some early iterations of this place-name, there is a spelling variation ‘Glenomarau’ (‘Maungatua, Otokia, Taieri, Waihola, Waitahuna East, Waitahuna West, Rankleburn, Clarendon, Akatore, Kaitangata, Inch Clutha, North Tuakitoto, South Tuakitoto, North Molyneux, Coast, Glenomarau, Warepa, Clutha Survey Districts’. ANZ: Item code: R10304273).

Glenore

Locality | 46.097; 169.870

Previously known as ‘Woolshed Diggings’ until the 1860s, this area was initially named due to a large woolshed erected by James Smith in the late 1850s, prior to the discovery of gold ore (Reed, 2010). The name Glenore was likely influenced by Scottish naming conventions, reflecting the settlers' heritage. The term ‘ore’ stems from the Old English ‘ōra,’ meaning unwrought metal, which ties to the discovery of gold in the area (OED). The earliest digitised mention of Glenore in newspapers is from 1861, referred to as Glenore, Tokomairiro (OW 6 April 1861). The name change was officially recognised with the sale of the township of Woolshed Diggings in 1862, when it was announced as Glenore (ODT 5 March 1862).

The name Glenore might also reflect an attempt to recreate a Scottish identity in Aotearoa New Zealand, similar to names like the Water of Ore in Fife, Scotland, where the element ‘Ore’ here likely shares the same Old English root. This connection illustrates the practice of incorporating familiar Scottish elements into new localities during the settlement period (Fife Place-name Data, 2023).

Greenfield

Locality | 46.093; 169.584

According to Reed, Greenfield was simply named by James C. Smith a Dundee, Scotland native (OW 25 Nov 1903) (NGR NO 36971 32542) in 1865 as his run on the Clutha River was, ‘covered in tussock grass except for one small paddock he had sown with English grass seed – the origin of the name’ (Reed, 2010, p.147). James Smith was the Chairman of the Balmoral Road Board, with the Board Office located in Greenfield (CL 23 Oct 1891).

Hays Gap

Locality | 46.424; 169.795

There is a large physical gap in the landscape at this locality, with the road from Kaka Point to the Nuggets running through the large rock and the land, so-named Hays Gap after early Scottish settler (OW 17 March 1898), George Hay (Reed, 2010, p.160). Reed records the Māori name as Punawaitorika, after a woman who was killed in a battle between Ngāti Mamoe and Ngāi Tahu iwi (Reed, 2010, p.160). According to Beattie, the origin of the Māori name for this place, Puna-a-waitoriki, goes as follows:

Hay's Gap runs through a big rock on the seaside and on top of one side is some hardy vegetation and a spring, and here a woman named Waitoriki was killed. One of my accounts says she was the mother of Waitai, but an old genealogy gives the name as that of the wife of Rakitauneke. In either case, she was a lady of distinction, and both the spring and the gap have since borne the name Puna-a-waitoriki. (ODT 3 Jan 1931)

Heriot

Locality | 45.844; 169.270

Heriot was first known as Swift Creek (NZGB HDD) though cartographic evidence of this original name has not been found despite historical sources recording otherwise. One origin of the name as recorded by Reed was that Heriot, a Scottish surname, was first spelt Herriot, after surveyor Samuel Herriot (Reed, 2010, p.164). There is, however, a nearby burn, Herriot Burn, named by surveyors in 1857, which likely is the source of the nearby settlement name in 1875 (Reed, 2010, p.164). According to Beattie, Herriot Burn was named in honour of the family name of 'Mrs. Pinkerton, of Brooksdale' (Beattie, 1948, p.62) who was apparently a relative of the aforementioned Samuel Herriot (Reed, 2010, p.164). There is also a Heriot in Midlothian, Scotland at NGR NT 40536 54592.

Hillend

Locality | 46.123; 169.745

Bestowed by surveyors to a run held by the Maitland brothers in 1863 (ODT 21 April 1863), Hillend is a descriptive place-name.²¹ The Māori name is recorded as Kauwaewhakatoro: lit. kauwae (kauae): jaw; whakatoro: to stretch out. Another Māori name was Pukepito, which has the same meaning as Hillend (Reed 2010, 166). Nearby Waitahuna was named after a Ngāi Tahu chief who was killed near Hillend.

Johnston

Locality | 46.010; 169.768

Other name for this feature: Johnstone

According to the NZG, Johnston, previously named Johnstone, was named after a railway engineer, Adam Johnston, who surveyed the area. The name has been in long local use, and was granted official name status by the NZGB.

Kaka Point

Locality | 46.385; 169.781

In an article for the *Southland Times* by W. H. Sherwood Roberts in 1914, the place-name Kaka Point is recorded as having been bestowed by Europeans because of the large number of kaka birds there (ST 4 July 1914). According to Reed, the Māori name for this locality was Parauriki: ‘a suggested meaning is Few slaves’ (Reed, 2010, p.194). It is unknown where Reed found this information, as the *Southland Times* article claims the early Māori name for this locality was actually Rakitamau, signifying the ‘still-standing heavens’ because it appeared as if the sky stood, or rested, upon it (ST 4 July 1914).

Kelso

Locality | 45.907; 169.231

²¹ Whilst Hillend is likely to be a descriptive place-name of the locality itself, a transferred name could also be a possibility as there is a Hillend just outside Edinburgh and another in Fife in Scotland.

A plan of the town of Kelso was drawn up by W. D. B. Murray, assistant surveyor, in October 1875 (Lands & Survey Dept.: Wellington N.Z., 1898). The town was reportedly named by surveyor J. T. Thomson, after the birthplace in the Scottish Borders of early settler, James Logan (Reed, 2010, p.201) (NGR NT 72692 33959). On 17 January 1980, the town of Kelso was lost to the floodwaters of the Pomahaka River (ODT, 16 Jan 2010), though there are ongoing efforts to commemorate the history of this place, including the Kelso memorial.

Lawrence

Locality | 45.916; 169.686

(See 7.4). Lawrence, along with Clyde, Cromwell, and Milton, were made boroughs in 1866 (Beattie, 1948, p.45) though the name was bestowed in 1857 by Sir John L. C. Richardson after an Anglo-Indian officer, Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence (Reed, 2010, p.215). Lawrence was known for his service during the Indian Rebellion of 1857, when he met his death during the Siege of Lucknow (NZGB HDD).

Prior to Lawrence, this locality was known as The Junction, due to its location between the Wetherston and Gabriels Gully creeks before they joined into the Tuapeka River (Reed, 2010, p.215). It is theorised by Beattie that the name The Junction was superseded by the name Gabriel's Township, after Gabriel Read, the discoverer of the first 'rush' site (Beattie, 1948, p.64). However, there is no evidence that has been found by the researcher to support this on historical maps or in archival material. Additionally, a post office nearby opened on 1 April 1863 with the name Tuapeka, the town being named Lawrence on 6 November 1866 (Reed, 2010, p.215).

Lee Flat

Locality | 45.783; 170.026

Likely to be an anthropotoponym, ‘Lee’s Flat’ is first mentioned in digitised news articles in 1873 (ODT 8 Jan 1873), and again as Lee Flat Station in 1875, with the mention of ‘Mr Fulton’s manager’ of the station (ODT 29 April 1875). The man in question is likely James Fulton, resident of Lee Flat along with George Freeling Welch mentioned in 1876 (ES 8 Dec 1876) and again in 1877 listed as the manager in question at ‘Lea Flat Station’ (ODT 14 Feb 1877).

Lochindorb

Locality | 46.332; 169.526

(See 7.3). Prior to the place-name Lochindorb, this parcel of land changed hands from John Shaw who first purchased the land in 1852 as a sheep run, to Thomas Ord in 1861, followed by Charles Stewart and William Dalglish in 1861 before it finally passed into the Cumine brothers’ hands after (ES 26 Dec 1924). It is unknown the name(s) this land was given by each owner, but we do know that it was Joseph and Francis Cumine who ultimately bestowed the place-name Lochindorb. The familial tie to Lochindorb in Scotland (NGR NH 9745 3632) served as the inspiration for this locality name.

Lovells Flat

Locality | 46.175; 169.840

Although Lovells Flat, known at one point as ‘Lovell’s Flat’ (ME 16 Aug 1912) is not referenced as a locality by Reed, the feature Lovells Creek is with Reed noting: ‘named after the pioneer settler John Lovell, to the chagrin of Frederick Twiss, who was the first European to cultivate land at Lovells Flat and felt the flat should have honoured him’ (Reed, 2010, p.221). The Māori name given by Reed is Tuakitata: lit. tuaki: to disembowel; tata: near, or suddenly (Reed, 2010, p.221). A point of interest is that nearby is ‘Sod Cottage’, built in the 1860s by George Cameron, who arrived in Aotearoa New Zealand in 1852, and used Sod Cottage as accommodation on the route

to the Tuapeka goldfields (Sod Cottage information placard, fieldwork March 2019).

Maclennan

Locality | 46.539; 169.474

(See 7.3). It is believed that this anthroponym is ‘simply a runholder’s name’ (Beattie, 1948, p.89). The first settler in the Tahakopa Valley, Murdoch McLennan, reportedly arrived in the valley in the early 1870s (Tyrrell, 2016, p.99), after having emigrated to New Zealand in 1857, age 23, from Ross and Cromarty where he had been an excise officer (Lenihan, 2015, p.132). Reed claims that McLennan was known as a farmer, roadmaker, bridgebuilder, and a pioneer of the Catlins, where he took up the run now known as Maclennan in 1884, at which point this locality was coined after the runholder himself (Reed, 1975, p.227).

Manuka Creek

Locality | 46.058; 169.800

Referred to as a ‘hybrid name’ and post office (ME 16 Aug 1912), with the Māori word Manuka referencing the native tea-tree (*Leptospermum scoparium*) (Reed, 2010, p.236).

Merino Downs

Locality | 45.965; 169.082

According to Reed, Merino Downs was named by Hugh McIntyre, who established the Merino Downs station, on account of the merino sheep and the rolling nature of the countryside’ (Reed, 2010, p.250). However, the first mention of Hugh McIntyre at Merino Downs was not until 1869 (BH 7 April 1869). Whereas in 1842, it was reported that, ‘several nightly attacks have been made upon the station of Mr Duncan McCrae, situated on the borders of

the Merino Downs, and upwards of two hundred sheep have been destroyed' (NENZC 22 Oct 1842).

Milburn

Locality | 46.078; 170.008

The entry for Milburn by Reed refers to a feature name, specifically, 'the name of the stream that drove the wheels of the mills at Milton' (Reed, 2010, p.252) with the element 'burn' being Scots for a water course, such as a creek (DSL), yet it does not account for when the locality name came into use. In 1860, a William Black is mentioned in digitised newspapers with his location being listed as 'Milburn, Tokomairiro' (OW 17 Nov 1860) giving the first evidence of this name use as a locality.

Milton

Locality | 46.120; 169.964

(See 7.1). Initially, a man named Peter McGill opened a flourmill in this location in 1857, hence inspiring the name Milton, followed by a surveyor (unnamed) in 1859 arriving to bestow the literary place-names upon the town (Beattie, 1948, p.93).²² Milton is also thought to be in use under the names Fairfax and Tokomairiro [Tokomairaro] simultaneously. The name Tokoiti also is referenced as it was 'once known as Fairfax' (Reed, 2010, p.417).

Moa Flat

Locality | 45.725; 169.306

Moa Flat first appears in digitised newspapers in 1861 (OW 2 March 1861), and had been recorded as an earlier name for Ettrick (see entry 'Ettrick' in Central Otago) though it is difficult to say if this was in reference to the

²² Although the rationale for the name given here is very likely, it is also possible for the name to have been transferred from one of the many Milton place-names throughout Scotland.

same locality, or a repetition of the name in the Clutha District. Reed records that ‘Moa bones were found here during the 1850s and 1860s’ (Reed, 2010, p.255) providing an origin for the name in this space.

Money more

Locality | 46.159; 169.903

The location of Money more in the Tokomairiro Plain lies to the direct South of Milton, and just East of Chrystall Beach, connected by a street name ‘Irishmans Road’. The first white settler of the Tokomairiro Plain in 1849/1850 was Mr Robert Martin, an Irishman from Money more, Northern Ireland, likely the bestower of the settlement name.

Mount Stuart

Locality | 46.082; 169.852

The first mention of Mount Stuart in digitised newspapers is in an application received by the Crown Land Office for a Depasturing License in 1854 by ‘W. Miller’ (OW 13 May 1854). A Mr Walter Miller is cited in an 1898 obituary as one of the very early settlers to the area, and a well-known runholder at Mount Stuart and Miller’s Flat (BH 19 July 1898). Miller was born at Tweedside, Roxburghshire, Scotland (NGR NT 57850 31573) in 1827 and arrived in Otago on the ship *Larkins* in 1840 (ibid.). Given that Millers Flat was named after Walter Miller, it could have been Miller or a relative who named Mount Stuart after the name of the chief seat of the Marquis of Bute, with Mount Stuart being located on the Isle of Bute in Scotland (Hall et al., 1997, p.124).

New Haven

Locality | 46.473; 169.717

(See 7.3). The name New Haven is potentially a transferred name, reflecting the Newhaven in Leith near Edinburgh.²³ Known as 'Newhaven' during the early days of settlement, the area was scouted in 1865 as a harbour with connections to the Catlins River, leading further inland. The Otago government purchased and planned the area to attract settlers who would support the strategic locality for the timber business (Tyrrell, 2016, p. 148).

Owaka Valley

Locality | 46.426; 169.582

Also in the vicinity are the features Owaka Harbour and Owaka River. Owaka comes from the Māori o: place of; waka: canoe, or wooden trough. However, the colonial history of the spelling of this name and the locality in question began with whaler Captain Edward Cattlin (or Catlin) (1792-1856) when it was also called Quakerfield (Reed, 2010, p.296). Amongst the many spellings of this place- name are: Owarker, Owaki, and Owake, with the latter having been noted in a newspaper in 1873: 'we snatch a hasty meal on the banks of the Owake (people vary in their pronunciation and spelling of this word)' (OW 26 April 1873). Owaka was standardised as the correct spelling in 1893 in time for the local rail station to take on the name in 1896 (Reed, 2010, p.296).

Park Hill

Locality | 45.809; 169.211

A farm that became a locality (ME 16 Aug 1912) so named by a 'Mr Smith whose son, Hugh Smith, says that his father secured Section 1, Block I, in the Waikaka Survey District and named his farm after his home place in Ayrshire (or Ross), Scotland' (Reed, 2010, p.306) although it must be noted Park Hill in Ayrshire (NGR NX 18214 77273) and Ross (NGR NH 76781 75141) are not

²³ Although this is likely to be a descriptive name due to the physical attributes of the locality, the possibility cannot be discounted for it to be a transferred name from Newhaven in Scotland, with evidence such as street names including Leith Street in Newhaven in Edinburgh, adjacent to Leith.

near each other, and Park Hill is a common farm name in many parts of Scotland.

Port Molyneux

Locality | 46.362; 169.778

(See **Error! Reference source not found.**). According to Reed, this obsolete name for the Waikawa Harbour is now applied to the mouth of the Clutha River (Reed 2010, 320). Molyneux is a Captain Cook-bestowed name, as this was the name of the sailing master of Cook's ship, the *Endeavour* (Reed, 2010, p.320). In a flood in 1878, the harbour of Port Molyneux was wiped out (Jenks, n.d.). At one time the Clutha/Mara-Au River was known as the Molyneux, though it was voted out by the New Zealand Company when official place-naming debates took place, instead favouring the name Clutha due to its Scottish links (Griffiths, 1990, p.63).

Pukepito

Locality | 46.158; 169.656

Previously named Hillend, the translation of Pukepito is lit. puke: hill; pito: end, probably a Pākehā-given name for Hillend (Reed, 2010, p.327), a farm that belonged to the 'Messrs Begg Brothers' (ST 27 Sept 1913). According to early newspapers, 'Mr Joseph Maitlands' run was Puke-pito, merely a translation of the English name 'Hillend' (ST 27 Sept 1913). First appearing in digitised newspapers in 1897, the post office name of Pukepito influenced the name of the local school, with its name changing from Manuka Island to Pukepito, same as the post office' (CL 20 Aug 1897).

Raes Junction

Locality | 45.786; 169.468

According to Reed, Raes Junction was formerly Bastings, after Horace Bastings, the Tuapeka member of the Otago Provincial Council from 1864 to

1876 (Reed, 2010, p.336). However, Rae's Junction (Hotel) is listed as early as 1873 (TT 25 Sept 1873), with no mention of Bastings as a locality or feature. In fact, Bastings is only mentioned in the area after Rae's Junction was in use, in 1880 when a land sale refers to it as 'the new township of Bastings, at Raes' Junction' (OW 17 July 1880). In 1879, Rae's Junction Hotel was listed to let by Bastings, Leary, & Co, auctioneers in Dunedin Junction (ES 12 April 1879), quite possibly being the origin of the connection between Bastings and Raes Junction. This being said, Raes Junction is a case where a transferred name cannot be ruled out, similarly to Hillend, due to the commonality of the surname 'Rae' in Scotland. This is quite possibly an anthropotonym encapsulating a personal name of Scottish origin.

Rankleburn

Locality | 46.038; 169.350

The name Rankleburn first appears in digitised newspapers in 1866, with a notice of Crown Land sales by public auction (ODT 19 March 1866). Before this, Rankleburn was not in use as a locality name, suggesting it was likely created by the New Zealand and Australian Land Company during their efforts to name and parcel out Otago land in 1863. Notably, settlers in Rankleburn were dissatisfied with their treatment regarding the proposed punt site, which 'rankled' the local population (OW 7 April 1892). The 'burn' element in the place-name is Scots for a watercourse, such as a creek (DSL).

Additionally, it is important to note the existence of places called Rankle Burn in Scotland, such as those in Etrick, Selkirkshire, which may have influenced the naming. This indicates a potential connection to Scottish naming conventions, reflecting the cultural heritage of the settlers and the practice of using familiar Scottish place names in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Round Hill

Locality | 46.033; 169.806

(See 8.5). Once known as the Chinese Miners' Camp 'Canton' in the 19th century, nearly a kilometre from the Lawrence Chinese Camp, gold was discovered here in 1862 by a party of prospectors resulting in a short-lived boom (OW 10 June 1903). The local hotel, Canton Hotel, was run by publican Ly Chong, but after the gold rush, Round Hill, descriptive of the physical landscape, became a place of European settlement (OW 10 June 1903).

Stirling

Locality | 46.251; 169.782

A transferred place-name, bestowed by Archibald Anderson in 1877 after his birthplace in Scotland (NGR NS 79834 93098) (Richardson, n.d.). Previously, this settlement was part of a section of land called Balmoral before being divided into a smaller locality for the use of the Dunedin-Clutha railway as a station stop also of the same name (The Cyclopedia of New Zealand, n.d.).

Stony Creek

Locality | 46.192; 169.762

A tributary of the Shotover River, named by gold diggers (ODT 3 Feb 1933). A Māori name identified at this site is Otamita: a stream running along the northern base of the Hoko-nui (extensive barter) range often called Stony Creek (ME 5 April 1909). According to a news article, most likely Otamita means 'the residence of Tamita', Tamita may be translated 'to dash down and keep down' (ME 5 April 1909). There was a Stony Creek Hotel for sale by William Rae, of the Railway Hotel in Stirling in 1877 (CL 18 May 1877).

Stuarts

Locality | 46.532; 169.445

An anthropotonym in the Catlins, it is believed that Stuarts takes its name from an early settler, though the name of the exact individual has not been recorded (Beattie, 1948, p.89; Reed, 1975, p.378). As with many place-

names throughout Otago, Stuarts possibly refers to an influential individual in the area, such as the Rev. Dr Stuart, a minister of the Free Church of Scotland while in Aotearoa New Zealand from the 1860s until at least the 1870s, who arrived in Port Chalmers in 1860 and held a number of important roles within the Otago community throughout his life (ODT 12 Aug 2017).

Summer Hill

Locality | 46.316; 169.836

According to settler M. A. Rugby Pratt, Te-ikamaru was the Māori name for Summer Hill, which is the name of a fish familiarly known to Pākehā as ‘the white sprat’ (ST 4 July 1914). The earliest recorded use of Summer Hill was in 1851, with it representing a ‘lucky name’ as Summer Hill comes from the goldfields of New South Wales (NENZC 31 May 1851).

Tarara

Locality | 46.512; 169.569

Possibly a mistake at the attempt to replant the name Tararu, a goldfield near Auckland in the North Island, with Tarara sometimes appearing in digitised newspapers referencing the same locality and goldfields (DSC 14 July 1869).

According to Reed, Tarara ‘appears to be a transliteration of “saddle”’ (Reed, 2010, p.389), with the only reference supporting this being a quote in the *Otago Witness* in 1898 which reads:

A new school in Woodlands has been named ‘Tarara’. The facetious suggestion was given that it should be called ‘Ta-ra-ra-boom-de-aye’ so good a beginning having been made to that end; but the name has been fixed as desired by the settlers. It was represented that the word was appropriate as describing that site, which is on a saddle, and that ‘tarara’ was the Maori term for saddle’. (OW 26 May 1898)

Titri

Locality | 46.000; 170.129

Tea-tree is said to have been so named in the first place by settlers from Australia because the manuka resembled a shrub which in New South Wales and thereabouts was sometimes used in bush tea (AS 2 March 1929).

However, ‘ti’ has been re-interpreted as ‘ti’ or ‘ti kouka’, cabbage tree (Reed, 2010, p.413) with reports that ‘the worst perversion of facts and orthography is contained in the name of a railway station down in Otago- “Titri” no less’ (AS 2 March 1929).

Toko Mouth

Locality | 46.221S 170.044E

According to the NZG, Toko Mouth is a name with official name status that is a contraction of Tokomairiro. It is also recorded that the beach at the mouth of the Tokomairiro River was named Tera-nui (that big) (BH 21 Jan 1909) though it is unknown if this refers to the same locality as Toko Mouth.

Waipori Falls

Locality | 45.907; 169.981

According to Reed, the correct spelling would be ‘Waipouri’, which translates to ‘dark water’ or ‘sorrowful waters’ (Reed, 2010, p.443). Waipori was a Goldfield 40 miles from Dunedin, as listed in Beattie’s *Place-names of Otago* (1948, p.76).

Waitahuna Gully

Locality | 45.990; 169.786

A goldfield 59 miles from Dunedin, also listed in Beattie’s *Place-names of Otago* as Waitahuna Creek and Waitahuna Crossing (1948, p.63). See

‘Waitahuna West’ for origin of Māori first element. At one time Waitahuna was known as Havelock, ‘a hero of the Indian Mutiny’ (Reed, 2010, p.445)

Waitahuna West

Locality | 46.008; 169.611

According to Reed, Waitahuna West is named after a Ngāi Tahu chief who was killed near Hillend (Reed, 2010, p.445). As with Waitahuna Gully, this locality was a goldfield, as listed in Beattie’s *Place-names of Otago* (1948, p.63), and was once known as Havelock (see ‘Waitahuna Gully’).

Waiwera South

Locality | 46.216; 169.492

The first instance of Waiwera South is in 1865 as an allotment attested by George Fraser (NZH 8 April 1865). Also noted as the location of Clydevale Station (CL 2 April 1880). Reed references not the locality of Waiwera, but the river of the same name, stating it is a ‘corruption of Waiwhero, the name of a Waitaha chief’ (Reed, 2010, p.449). Cited by Reed in an article entitled ‘Teach Yourself Maori’ in 1950, he claims ‘the rendition of Waiwera as “hot water” is quite irrelevant to the South Otago place of that name, where Waiwera is a corruption of a personal name’ (ODT 6 Dec 1950).

Wetherstons

Locality | 45.896; 169.705

(See 8.2). Variations of the spelling:

Weatherston (“Tuapeka”, Mayhew, 1949, p.30; ES, 1959; Reed, 2010, p.458)

Wetherstones (Beattie, 1948, p.72)

Wetherstons (ODT 5 June 1919)

Weatherstone (Otago Prov. Gaz., 1869, p.137; Pullar, 1957, p.27)

Wilden

Locality | 45.752; 169.281

A 'Wilden Cottage' belonging to Mr William Adams was noted as being located in Nelson in 1851 (NENZC 26 April 1851), later becoming the locality of Wilden in 1865 (NENZC 4 April 1865). However, the Otago 'Wilden' comes from Mr Acton Adams of Wilden Station, Moa Flat (ODT 21 March 1908), son of William Adams of Nelson (NENZC 27 Dec 1864).

Central Otago District

Alexandra

Locality | 45.256S 169.394E

In 1863, the Dunedin Fire Brigade held a bell christening of the 'Alexandra' after Princess Alexandra of Denmark, wife to the Prince of Wales, at a celebration for the Queen's birthday (ODT 26 May 1863). According to Reed, the locality was laid out that same year, when the name Alexandra superseded the existing names of the area, Lower Township, Junction, and Manuherekia; lit. manu: bird; herekia: tied (Reed, 2010, p.21). Additionally, the name Alexandra South was used for a period of time to avoid confusion with Alexandra in the North Island, until the North Island locality was renamed Pirongia (NZG, 2022).

Ardgour

Locality | 44.880S 169.419E

The coiner of Ardgour is likely John McLean, of Ardgour Station (ODT 9 Jan 1869). Also a water feature, Ardgour Creek was part of the goldfield water-races (ODT 19 Sept 1865). Possibly this was the John McLean referred to alongside his wife and daughter from Ullapool in the immigration records for the *Lady Egidia* in 1860 (OW 29 Dec 1860). There was a critique on Canon Nevill's place-name contributions to the *Evening Star* regarding names with Gaelic or Doric origins, with Ardgour being noted as one such name:

Mr McLean and his brother Allan came from the island of Islay, and were said to be scions of McLean of Ardgour. Now, opposite, in Argyle, were certain mountains named Ardgour (goat heights) and Morven [*sic* for Morvern] (big mountain). He told me that he and his brother Allan named those places after the places in Argyle. (ES 12 Nov 1923)

In an obituary to 91-year-old Mrs Mary McLean, we learn she was born at Blaich, Ardgour, Scotland (NGR NN 03732 77049) where she married Mr

Allan McLean (ODT 5 May 1936), brother to John McLean of Ardour Station. As a result of this lineage tracing, it does seem that Ardour is indeed transferred as a name from Mrs Mary McLean's birthplace in Scotland.

Bannockburn

Locality | 45.089S 169.158E

Bannockburn is the name of a mining locality first appearing in digitised newspapers in 1875 (CA 20 Oct 1875), so named by J. T. Thomson and Alexander Garvie after the famous battlefield in Scotland (NGR NS 81060 90328) (Reed, 2010, p.40).

Becks

Locality | 44.995S 169.746E

According to Reed, Becks was originally known as White Horse, after the hotel kept by John Beck in the 1880s (Reed, 2010, p.44). White Horse Hotel, Tokomairiro, was opened by the proprietor, George Butters Vause, in March 1862 (ODT 27 March 1862). In fact, rather than John Beck, the name 'Bastings' appears in reference to the White Horse in 1879 (BH 28 Feb 1879), likely the Bastings family that are proprietors of other hotels in the Otago Region (see Raes Junction).

Becks is the name given as the post office for the locality near the White Horse Hotel in 1879 (MIC 26 April 1879), though reference to 'Beck's White Horse Hotel' appears in digitised newspapers in 1867 (DT 14 June 1867).

Bendigo

Locality | 44.926S 169.344E

(See **Error! Reference source not found.**). Categorized as a 'lucky' name and transferred from the Victoria, Australia goldfields (Carpenter, 2013b, p.18).

Blackmans

Locality | 45.247S 169.303E

A goldfield name, first mentioned in 1863 (ODT 18 Dec 1863). Also known for the nearby water feature names Blackman's Creek (DT 18 June 1869) and Blackman's Gully (DT 29 Oct 1869). Possibly a surname, or a pejorative way of referring to a man of Māori origin.

Butchers Gully

Locality | 45.298S 169.334E

The earliest digitised record of Butchers Gully appears in 1863 in reference to its status as a goldfield (ODT 13 Aug 1863). According to Reed, Butchers Gully is a 'miner's name' for a gully where sheep were killed, 'or, says Herries Beattie, after a man of that name' (Reed, 2010, p.65). There is also a nearby stream name referred to on the NZMS 260 Sheet No. H41 as 'Butchers Gully' as opposed to the locality listed on the NZG.

Cambrians

Locality | 44.905S 169.748E

According to Reed, the mining locality was first known as Welshmans Gully with an earliest reference being in 1867 (DT 14 June 1867), on account of the number of Welshman working there, and cites Cambria as the Latin name for Wales (Reed, 2010, p.67). The earliest documented use of Cambrians as a locality was in 1877 (ODT 2 Oct 1877). A letter in the *Saturday Advertiser* had a strong critique of the place-name:

'Cambrians' is a nonsensical name. 'Cambria' was the ancient name of Wales, and if Mr Barr, Chief Postmaster, had called the mining District 'Cambria' he would have done right (SA 6 April 1878).

Carricktown

Locality | 45.118S 169.121E

This locality once held a population of 2,000, 'now marked only by the gold-worked gullies above Cromwell' where Chinese and European miners

worked the diggings for a few years (ES 20 June 1927). In this locality, a mining endeavour called the Elizabeth Company established larger-scale sluicing efforts for a time (ODT 27 Oct 1871). The earliest acknowledgment of a locality with the name Carricktown in digitised newspapers is 1871, granting George Taylor a quarter-acre of land (CA 19 Sept 1871). This is most likely a name of Scottish origin from the southern part of Ayrshire called 'Carrick' (NGR NS 33727 20743), with the -town element added to the name by coiners.

Chatto Creek

Locality | 45.136S 169.513E

The first mention of Chatto Creek in digitised newspapers is as a mining town (ODT 17 November 1863), with one of the gold sources from the creek being owned by 'Chapman and Co.' (ODT 30 April 1864). According to Reed, the locality may have been named by the Shennan brothers after their home district in Roxburghshire, Scotland. However, another theory suggests that a rock formation resembling a castle led a French surveyor to name it Chateau Creek (Reed, 2010, p. 78). Chatto farmstead in Roxburghshire, Scotland has the NGR location of NT 76980 17675.

It is also noted that the Shennan brothers were identified as being from Galloway, Scotland, not Roxburghshire, casting doubt on them being the originators of the name Chatto Creek (Reed, 2010, p. 134). Additionally, Chateau Creek was reportedly used for a time in Otago, with references appearing primarily in the late 1930s (EP 21 April 1938; WC 6 September 1939; NEM 19 September 1939).

A more plausible suggestion from Reed is that the area served as a changeover station for coaches, leading local residents to nickname it Chatter Creek, reflecting the humorous naming tendencies in the goldfields (Reed, 2010, p. 78). Reed also provides the Māori name, Haehaeata, for the area, though its meaning remains unclear (Reed, 2010, p. 78).

The involvement of Chapman & Co. in owning a gold source in the creek and their potential role in naming the feature should also be considered.

Clyde

Locality | 45.191S 169.327E

At various times known as ‘The Dunstan’ with Old English elements ‘dun’, referring to a hill or mount, and ‘-stan’ often being interpreted as stone (OED). The locality was also known as the Dunstan and Hartley Township (after the well-known prospector Horatio Hartley), the Hartley and Reilly’s Township (after Horatio Hartley and Christopher Reilly discovered gold there), Upper Township, or simply Dunstan (Reed, 2010, p.83). A post office was renamed Clyde from Dunstan in 1865 in this locality (Card Index to Post Offices, Hocken Library). According to Reed, ‘the name has no connection with the Clutha River [...] but commemorates Lord Clyde (Sir Colin Campbell), one of the heroes of the Crimea and of the Indian Mutiny. The name was probably given by J.T. Thomson, who named several places after personalities and battles connected with the Indian Mutiny’ (Reed, 2010, p.83). Further references: Moore (1953) and Veitch (2003).

Coal Creek Flat

Locality | 45.493S 169.298E

First mentioned in 1865 (ES 29 Nov 1865), likely known also as ‘Coal-pit Flat’, belonging to George Walker (OW 11 Sept 1869).

Conroys Gully

Locality | 45.275S 169.324E

(See 8.2). Conroys Gully lies firmly in the Central Otago District, first recorded in 1857, about 5.5 kilometres southwest of Alexandra and just below the modern Conroy Dam (NZGB HDD). It is believed by Reed that the eponymous Conroy was the discoverer of gold at that site, and that it was J. T. Thomson and Alexander Garvie who mapped the place-name on their 1857 survey (Reed, 2010, p.86).

Although not reaching the status of Gabriels Gully or Weatherstons, Conroys Gully did well for itself as a hub of goldfield activity deep in

Central Otago (CA 8 Dec 1869), however as a canvas town, it did not retain any remnants of this enterprise beyond the gold rush era.

Cripple town

Locality | 45.118S 169.121E

Despite having official naming status on the NZG, there are very few sources on the locality of Cripple town, making it difficult to understand how it got its name, though those sources that do mention Cripple town link Charles Donnelly, a goldfields pioneer (OW 17 April 1923) with the site. It is not clear if the Charles Donnelly is early settler Bryant Charles Donnelly, though this pioneer had an extensive reputation in the Otago Region for fraudulent activity: practice of medicine without a license under the alias Robert Preston (NZT 15 Feb 1912), habitual drunkenness (NOT 28 June 1870), and false claims to loans from the Otago Finance Company (SC 16 April 1914).

Cromwell

Locality | 45.044S 169.198E

(See 8.2). Most likely suggested in 1863 by surveyor J. Aitken Connell, and previously known as Kawarau Junction, The Point, or The Junction (Reed, 2010, p.92).

Drybread

Locality | 45.004S 169.613E

(See **Error! Reference source not found.**). According to Reed, the place-name of Drybread either originates from a Russian gold miner who was unsuccessful with his claim and was thereby forced to eat dry bread without butter, or from a group of gold prospectors whose stale bread was softened by the milk of the goat they kept with them, but by the time they struck a vein of gold the goat's milk ran dry causing them to subsist on just dry bread (2010, p.106). Drybread was a canvas town, established in the 1860s during the gold rush with people moving on around 30 years later to other more prosperous goldfields ('Researchers excavating,

examining unmarked graves from Otago's gold rush era', 2020). According to Karen Glassford, long-time resident and trust member of the Drybread Cemetery, 'the name originated from Charles Wise and one or more associates, who in 1863-64 came up from Alexandra to prospect for gold along the foot of the Dunstan Mountains' (NZG, 2022).

Dumbarton

Locality | 45.588S 169.319E

Likely one of Alexander Garvie's names, after Dumbarton in Scotland (NGR NS 39541 75230), according to Reed (2010, p.107).

Earnsclough

Locality | 45.216S 169.319E

According to Reed's entry on Earnsclough River, 'Canon E.R. Nevill recorded that the name was probably given by J.T. Thomson. Strode and Fraser held the run in the 60s, and Thomson took the name from Earnsclough Water in Berwickshire' (NGR NT 5447 4872) (Reed, 2010, p.110). The first element of the name, earn, might stem from the Scots word of the same spelling for a sea eagle, with the second element of the name, cleugh, being Scots for a narrow rugged gully (DSL). The Māori name for Earnsclough is Otewhata, with Reed providing the translation as O: Place of; Te: The, Whata: Prominence, elevation (Reed, 2010, p.110). This would make sense as a 'place of prominence' due to the mountain range here.

Mosgiel man Grant McLean said his grandfather was a gold miner in Earnsclough in the early 1930s and had carved his name into a prominent rock in the craggy range. His father had painted his name some years later and that was followed by Mr McLean and his siblings painting their names in the 1960s. Mr McLean's children had visited the site and added their names in the 1980s (ODT 20 Mar 2008).

Ettrick

Locality | 45.635S 169.367E

According to Reed, Ettrick was named by C. W. Adams, a surveyor 'who came from the Border country of Scotland. The main thoroughfare of Ettrick was called Hogg Street, presumably after the Scottish poet James Hogg, the Ettrick shepherd' (NGR NT 27118 14526) (Reed, 2010, p.117). Additionally, Ettrick, Bengier, and Moa Flat applied to the same township and locality, until the end of the 19th century (MBM 1 Oct 1897).

Fruitlands

Locality | 45.343S 169.301E

Once called Bald Hill Flat (DT 27 Jan 1936), Fruitlands is a descriptive name, which Reed indicates was also once called Speargrass Flat, and Limerick (Reed, 2010, p.133). According to Reed, only one crop of apples was produced before the trees died out (Reed, 2010, p.133) making this place-name slightly humorous and ironic in a modern context.

Galloway

Locality | 45.211S 169.459E

According to Reed, Galloway was named by Alexander Shennan and Watson Shennan who were the first Europeans to explore this area in 1858 having come from Galloway in Scotland (NGR NX 83069 78079) (Reed, 2010, p.134). Beattie states that Alexander Shennan was given as the occupant of 'Galloway Station' in March 1859, with John Shennan having settled at a run nearby (ODT 15 April 1933). Alexander Shennan of Galloway Station was noted as having died in Edinburgh in 1862 (ODT 4 Oct 1862).

Gimmerburn

Locality | 45.163S 169.998E

See 'Wedderburn' for Gimmerburn, part of 'Thomson's Barnyard' (see 4.2.5) (ODT 23 Nov 1932). A 'gimmer' is Scots for a female sheep between its first and second shearing with the Scots word 'burn' meaning a stream (DSL). Also part of J. T. Thomson's 'Farmyard Patch' (Reed, 2010, p.137).

Gorge Creek

Locality | 45.376S 169.280E

First labelled as a locality in 1858 (OW 15 May 1858), with previous references describing ‘a gorge creek’ in this place (OW 5 Dec 1857). There is a memorial here to John Steward, pioneer in the Central Otago goldfields who died near Gorge Creek in the winter of 1863 (ODT 30 Jan 1950).

Hills Creek

Locality | 44.943S 169.910E

The name Hills Creek, first appearing in digitised records in 1897, may derive from either a descriptive term for the area's topography or from the surname Hill, a common naming convention using possessives (MIC 15 April 1897). This mining locality near St Bathans was notable for appointing a postmistress, Miss S. Inder, in 1897, a unique occurrence for that time (MIC 15 April 1897). The locality was mentioned as a descriptive name in subsequent newspaper articles, suggesting its importance in the mining community (MIC 22 March 1906).

Ida Valley

Locality | 45.037S 169.827E

Ida Valley is recorded as a locality in 1858, as well as a railway station on the historic Otago Central Railway (OW 30 Jan 1858). Nearby is the Ida Burn, extending from Moa Creek some 10km northeast to Oturehua. Idaburn Valley is also found on N.E. Districts Reconnaissance Roll shown centrally at confluence of Ida Burn and Pool Burn (Moore, 1953, p.105). It is believed to originate from Mount Ida, ‘so called by an early surveyor because of its striking resemblance to Mt Ida (Psilorati) on the island of Crete - or, as Dr Thomas Hocken and Dr John Hall-Jones agreed, named by J.T. Thomson after Ida’s Tower in Bamborough [sic] Castle, Northumberland’ (Reed, 2010, p.179).

Idaburn

Locality | 44.990S 169.972E

See 'Ida Valley', with Idaburn as a place-name mentioned in a file on the NZGB HDD by a C. R. Fisher in January 1916. Locality inspired by nearby water feature toponym with the Scots word 'burn' meaning a stream (DSL).

Kyeburn

Locality | 45.147S 170.255E

(See 8.2) Kyeburn, one of J. T. Thomson's barnyard names (see 4.2.5), is located in the northeast of Central Otago, to the east of Naseby and Ranfurly. It was at one point known as Cows Creek, 'because herds were pastured here in summer and taken to lower country for the winter' with Scots place-name elements replacing the English due to the predominantly Scottish community (Reed, 2010, p.211). The elements 'kye': Scots for 'cows', and 'burn': Scots for a water course, such as a creek (DSL) show a preference for the Scots form over the generic English, with the second element being a Scots word 'burn' meaning a stream (DSL). Kyeburn as a locality itself is not as well-known as Kyeburn Diggings, the site of a prosperous goldfield in the 1860s (see 'Kyeburn Diggings').

Kyeburn Diggings

Locality | 44.988S 170.286E

Well-known site of a prosperous goldfield in the 1860s, see 'Kyeburn' for first element description and motivation. The earliest reference to Kyeburn Diggings is in 1863 in relation to its goldfield status (ODT 20 July 1863).

Lake Roxburgh

Locality | 45.481S 169.311E

Other name for this feature: Roxburgh Hydro, for the nearby hydroelectric plant. See 'Roxburgh'. Lake Roxburgh takes its name from the larger town of Roxburgh situated approximately 7 km south of the Lake (NZG, 2022).

Lauder

Locality | 45.052S 169.674E

There are two accounts according to the NZG of this place-name's creation. The first is that it is a Berwickshire name given by J. T. Thomson (NGR NT 53041 47613) (NZG, 2022). The second, according to Reed, was given by Murdoch Riley, stating that Lauder was named after 'James Lauder, a shepherd who arrived on the *Storm Cloud* in 1860' (Reed, 2010, p.214).

Lindis Crossing

Locality | 44.883S 169.346E

According to Beattie, 'early runholder Robert Wilkin possibly may have named Lindis Burn, but J. T. Thomson named Lindis Pass and Lindis Peak' (Beattie, 1948, p.58) with the 'burn' element of course being Scots for a water course, such as a creek (DSL). There is no mention by Beattie of a Lindis Crossing, but Reed claims that Thomson also established the use of 'Lindis' in the Otago namescape in 1857 after Lindisfarne (NGR NU 12619 42210) and the Lindis Stream (see 'Lindis Valley') (Reed, 2010, p.218).

Lindis Valley

Locality | 44.754S 169.507E

According to Reed, Europeans 'discovered' Lindis Valley in 1857 with the survey of J. T. Thomson's, who named it, 'after Lindisfarne and the Lindis Stream in Scotland,' however, Lindisfarne is not in Scotland, but in Northumberland, England (NGR NU 12619 42210). Although Reed is incorrect about the location of Lindisfarne, he is correct that Thomson might be inspired by Lindisfarne as it was close to his boyhood home in Northumberland (see 4.2.5). A hill at the pass, topped by a rocky outcrop, resembles the hill on Lindisfarne with its castle' (Reed, 2010, p.218). The

name cited by Reed as the Māori name for the locality is Okahu, lit. o: place of; Kahu: personal name. The nearby river name in Māori is given as Omakau, lit. o: place of; makau: wife, husband, or object of affection' (Reed, 2010, p.218).

Little Valley

Locality | 45.308S 169.466E

Name is associated with Little Valley Creek (DT 5 May 1919) and is known locally for this small locality which has been a valuable site for mining (OW 4 Sept 1912).

Logantown

Locality | 44.937S 169.364E

Part of the Cromwell goldfields with its earliest recorded use being in 1869 (ODT 14 Dec 1869). Likely an anthropotonym for a local miner, Logantown was at times used alongside the name Bendigo (CA 24 Nov 1896).

Lowburn

Locality | 45.004S 169.213E

According to Reed, Lowburn is a J. T. Thomson name, given to the locality where the Lowburn Ferry could be used to cross the Clutha River. After the completion of the Clyde Dam in 1989, Lowburn as a locality was rebuilt further away from the banks of the river (Reed, 2010, p.222). Note the Scots word 'burn' as the second element, meaning a stream (DSL).

Lower Nevis

Locality | 45.240S 168.946E

See also 'Nevis Crossing'. During the gold rush of the 1860s, 'Nevis' was split into Upper and Lower, with Lower Nevis located at the junction of the Kawarau River (ODT 26 Nov 1862), and presumably the Nevis River.

Millers Flat

Locality | 45.660S 169.412E

At one time known as ‘Miller’s Flat’, with the motivation behind the name being recorded as in a group of names ‘named after men so little comment is needed’ (ME 16 Aug 1912), though this does not specify if the men had the surname Miller, or were themselves in the profession of working at a mill. Reed believes Millers Flat was named after the first European settler, Walter Miller, who arrived in Otago in 1849 (Reed, 2010, p.253). It is also worth noting that the ‘Lonely Graves’ (see 4.4.3) site is located at Millers Flat.

Moa Creek

Locality | 45.193S 169.655E

A gold mining site (LT 6 May 1884) the name was said to have been bestowed by local diggers (ME 16 Aug 1912). According to Reed, however, it was a surveyor name as ‘Moa bones were found on the banks of the stream by surveyors’ with the Māori name name being Pu Korokio, lit. bunch of korokio, a shrub (Reed, 2010, p.255).

Mount Pisa

Locality | 44.929S 169.270E

Said to have been named by J. T. Thomson (ME 16 Aug 1912). A Richard Norman wrote to the Otago Daily Times to note that ‘the first settlers in Wanaka came from Dumfries, and they named some of the places after places in that country. For instance, there is the Lochart Stream near Mount Pisa Station’ (ODT 24 Dec 1932) though of course, Mount Pisa itself is not explicitly given as a name from this grouping, merely near it, with no further insight as to the motivation behind the bestowing of Mount Pisa, a place-name with no evident Scottish connection, as a place-name for this locality.

Muttontown

Locality | 45.200S 169.358E

Muttontown is classified as a 'diggers' name' bequeathed on the Otago goldfields (ME 16 Aug 1912) and so named because settler William Fraser brought his sheep to provide meat for the diggers at Manuherekia (Reed, 2010, p.265).

Naseby

Locality | 45.024S 170.146E

Part of the Otago name grouping inspired by the Civil War (AG 8 Nov 1937), Naseby refers to the Battle of Naseby in 1645 where the Royalists were defeated by Cromwell's horse regiments, with Reed noting, 'the choice of the name Cromwell for the Central Otago town may have influenced the selection of Naseby. Alternatively, it may have been named because Naseby in England was the birthplace of the Otago superintendent, John Hyde Harris. Earlier names were Parkers Diggings (or Parkers Town), after the Parker brothers who were prospectors (Reed, 2010, p.267)

Nevis Crossing

Locality | 45.178S 168.993E

First mentioned in digitised newspapers in 1865 (ODT 29 Dec 1865), Nevis Crossing was the location of a passenger punt on the Kawarau River (ODT 15 Dec 1866). A well-known publican and store-keeper, Charles Korll, is noted as residing at Nevis Crossing at this time (DT 29 Oct 1869) though it is unsure if he had a hand in the naming of the locality. At one point, the locality itself was simply known as 'Nevis' linked to the range of mountains near the famous Ben Nevis in the Highlands of Scotland (NGR NN 16676 71282) (CA 16 Feb 1870). (See Lower Nevis).

Ophir

Locality | 45.110S 169.606E

Formerly known as Blacks (NZMS 260 Sheet No, G41), the post office (of the same name) at this locality opened in 1864, and is a recognised historic place until its closure in 1965 (ODT 22 Oct 1986). According to

Reed, Blacks took its name from the owner of the Omakau station, Charles F. Black, and his brother (Reed, 2010, p.288). The name Ophir was granted by James Macandrew, superintendent of the Otago Provincial Council, in 1872 and was taken from the biblical story of King Solomon, in which gold was brought from Ophir to the temple at Jerusalem (Reed, 2010, p.288). On the maps of S.O. 8868 (1868) and S.O. 14701 (1871) the 'Town of Ophir (Black's)' is listed, though it is noted on the NZMS 260 Sheet No. G41 that reference to 'Blacks' is not approved for mapping purposes after 1875.

Poolburn

Locality | 45.137S 169.688E

Bestowed by surveyor J. T. Thomson (ME 16 Aug 1912), the name was given in 1857, 'after the Pool Burn, a river with numerous tributaries' (Reed, 2010, p.319) with the Scots word 'burn' meaning a stream (DSL). It is also worth noting that the Auripo station was once known as Poolburn (Reed 2010).

Queensberry

Locality | 44.845S 169.328E

According to Reed, Queensberry was named by Thomas Anderson, who kept an accommodation house here, after Queensberry Hills in Dumfriesshire, Scotland (NGR NT 02966 01667) (Reed, 2010, p.334). However, a newspaper article from 1912 claims it was actually Mr Robert Wilkins, the first runholder, who is credited with naming Queensberry, amongst other names in the area from his native Dumfriesshire, Scotland (ME 16 Aug 1912).

Ranfurly

Locality | 45.128S 170.103E

Earlier known as Eweburn (Beattie, 1948, p.114) which was first mentioned in newspapers in 1863 (ODT 20 July 1863), also the name of the locality post office (NZGB HDD). Ranfurly first appears in use at this locality in 1898 (MIC 1 Jan 1898). According to Reed, Ranfurly is named

after Lord Ranfurly, who was ‘governor of New Zealand when the Central Otago railway line reached the township’ and occasional visitor to the locality who took his name from a Scottish place in Renfrewshire (RNF) (NGR NS384651) (Reed, 2010, p.338).

Rigney

Locality | 45.720S 169.474E

Likely named after William Rigney, a miner who established this dwelling near Horse Shoe Bend (BH 4 March 1868). A race for gold sluicing was constructed here by Rigney in 1869 (ODT 5 May 1869).

Ripponvale

Locality | 45.045S 169.155E

It is reported that a Mr P. R. Sargood gave the name of Ripponvale to this block of land near Cromwell, as that was the title of his father’s estate in Victoria, ‘bestowed because Sir Frederick Sargood came from Ripon in Yorkshire’ (NGR SE 31211 71257) (ES 11 Feb 1933).

Roxburgh

Locality | 45.540S 169.314E

Previously known as Teviot, as well as Teviot Junction for the post office in May 1863 for a time before reverting back to Teviot on 1 September 1866, this locality was given the name Roxburgh on 18 April 1877 (Reed, 2010, p.354). Listed as a town and borough on the west bank of the Clutha River by NZMS 1 Sheet S 152, Reed claims the name was given ‘after an ancient ruined town on the banks of the Teviot River in Scotland. It was most likely given by the surveyor Johnston, who laid out the new town, but it has also been attributed to Walter Miller of Millers Flat, or J.T. Thomson’ (Teviot River in Scotland, NGR NT 53848 17157) (Reed, 2010, p.354).

Roxburgh East

Locality | 45.552S 169.327E

See 'Roxburgh'.

Saint Bathans/St Bathans

Locality | 44.872S 169.812E

(See 8.3). Pre-1865, this locality was known as Dunstan Creek (NZMS Sheet 1 S 125). However, during this period, the Dunstan Creek post office was named St Bathans (Reed, 2010, p.373). According to Reed, St Bathans was coined by surveyor J.T. Thomson after a place near Abbey St Bathans in Berwickshire, Scotland, the home of his maternal grandfather (NGR NT 75809 62249) (Reed, 2010, p.373). This corrects Reed's mistaken reference to Berwickshire being in England, affirming its Scottish origins.

Recent toponymic research on this name in Berwickshire from the Berwickshire resource, REELS (Berwickshire Place-name Resource, 2023), supports the connection between the Aotearoa New Zealand locality and its Scottish counterpart. St Bathans appears even earlier than the 1865 naming of the post office, in historical records as a natural feature name: Mount St Bathans (NZ 21 August 1861). At this point in time, Dunstan Creek was considered a district that extended beyond the boundaries of present-day St Bathans (OW 30 September 1865).

Shingle Creek

Locality | 45.419S 169.292E

A descriptive name, first used as a water feature name in 1868 (ODT 3 Oct 1868), the Shingle Creek Hotel, proprietor John McLoughlin, opened in the 1860s-1870s in what would become the locality (TT 16 Feb 1871).

Springvale

Locality | 45.196S 169.435E

A miner-bestowed name by all accounts and likely the inspiration for the name of the short-lived Springvale Gold Dredging Co., Ltd. (ODT 26 May 1899), which was only in operation for 14 weeks (DT 16 Feb 1900) ('Galloway', 2017).

Tarras

Locality | 44.837S 169.414E

(See **Error! Reference source not found.**). According to Reed, Tarras takes its name from Tarras Water in Dumfriesshire, Scotland (NGR NY 41810 90970) (2010, p.390). Reed hypothesises Tarras could have been ‘named by an early runholder, either Robert Wilkin or “Big” John McLean, but perhaps the surveyor J.T. Thomson, since it appears on his 1857-58 map as Tarras Creek’ (2010, p.390). However, it seems the place-name of Tarras was already in use by the time John McLean and his kin came into their property in this vicinity, as an agricultural lease of 640 acres was made to John McLean ‘in Tarras District’ on 14 September 1871 (CA 19 Sept 1871). As a result, it seems Reed’s later hypothesis that Tarras was named first in 1857–58 by J. T. Thomson is the more likely option.

Teviot

Locality | 45.608S 169.354E

According to Reed, Walter Miller named Teviot after a tributary of the Tweed in Scotland, with the locality name coming from the river name (NGR NT 53848 17157) (Reed, 2010, p.412). Reed also identifies the Māori name of Teviot as Te Awamakarora (Reed, 2010, p.412). The original name of Roxburgh was Teviot, with the name Teviot remaining in use particularly with businesses (ODT 2 April 1932). According to some local history by T. S. Beck on the name Roxburgh:

A very old resident tells me that the first township was on the opposite side of the river, and that it was called The Teviot. He also tells me that the present town was named by the party of surveyors who first surveyed it, some time about the latter end of the sixties. A great number of our streets are named after towns and streams in Roxburghshire, Scotland. Quite a number of old miners still speak of this place as ‘The Teviot’ (OW 22 Aug 1906).

Waenga

Locality | 45.087S 169.271E

A new post office opened here under the name Waenga on 2 June 1902 (ES 24 May 1902), though previously it was named after the closest settlement, Halfway House (Reed, 2010, p.433). According to Reed, 'the Post Office was not satisfied with the name and asked that a Maori name be chosen, so Waenga, the Maori equivalent of Halfway, was chosen' (Reed, 2010, p.433).

Wedderburn

Locality | 45.031S 170.012E

The name Wedderburn likely originates from Scotland, where several places share the name, and it is also a common Scottish surname. The Scots term 'wedder' refers to a castrated male sheep, and 'burn' means a stream (DSL). This area is part of what is known as 'Thomson's Barnyard' (ODT 23 November 1932). According to Reed, it was also known as White Sow Valley because of a white pig owned by the early settler Peter Howard. The Māori called the sow Maruimata, and from 1900 to 1920, the locality was known as Mariomoto (Reed, 2010, p.454). Given the commonality of the name and its presence as both a place-name and surname in Scotland, various origin options exist for Wedderburn in Aotearoa New Zealand. This could include a direct naming after one of the Scottish localities or a family name of settlers in the area.

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