

Figure 4. The Young Australian water wheel and mine, Carrick Range. Peter Petchey 2003.



Bannockburn. Apart from a few orchards and mixed farms on the terraces around Bannockburn settlement and closer to the Kawarau River, pastoral farming was the only viable form of agriculture until the recent advent of viticulture. The presence of gold and coal largely shaped the landforms and settlement form we see today.

4. Historic landscape

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Bannockburn's past is part of some broad themes in the larger Otago history: exploration, pastoralism, gold mining, closer settlement and the need to find a stable economic foundation. Within that picture, Bannockburn has its own particular experience, one that links directly to the physical environment, structures and personal memories of the landscape.

This section brings together material from written, mapped and oral sources in order to piece together an overview of Bannockburn history and its relationship to the landscape. This is told in two ways: firstly through a chronological narrative, and secondly through particular layers or aspects of the past which require elaboration and which are presented in boxes. These stories of the past are also linked to a series of maps which attempt to show the layers of history that can be read from the landscape. This has been laid out so that the reader has the option of reading the chronology first as a whole, or moving between the chronology, the boxes and the maps.

4.2 MAORI INTERACTIONS WITH THE LANDSCAPE

There is more than one way to tell the story of Maori occupation, use and association with the Bannockburn area and Central Otago generally. Tangata whenua can tell of stories, actions, gods and names with which the land was peopled long before Europeans arrived. Archaeologists have worked to reconstruct the past by interpreting the physical evidence of archaeological sites and other scientific information. For the purposes of this landscape study, all of these forms of information are valid.

4.2.1 Tangata whenua information*

The first who lived in the South Island were the Eroero people, who had fair skin and hair the colour of tussock. Some say they were fairy folk, others that they were unkempt and hairy creatures, and others say that they were real people who were responsible for the earliest rock drawings.

After them came the Rabuva`i** (Rapuwai) (meaning to explore places). It is said that they did not arrive on a waka (canoe), but that they were always here.

After them came the Hawea people on the waka Kapakitua, a strong intelligent people who were specially selected to take part in a voyage of exploration. The principal chief of the Hawea waka was Taiehu. Lake Hawea is named after these people.

At the same time or later came the Waitaha people on the waka Uruao. Some say that Kapakitua was not a waka but the ceremonial adze on Uruao, and that the Hawea people were a hapu (subtribe) of Waitaha. The principal chiefs of the Uruao waka were Rakihouia and Waitaa (or Waitaha). They named the Matauu (or Mata-au, now Clutha River) after their landing point at the mouth of this river.

The early peoples travelled through Central Otago to the pounamu sources further west, and also stayed seasonally to use food resources such as moa, water birds, weka and eels. Silcrete and porcellanite were quarried from outcrops in Central Otago. The whenua ki uta (inland areas) were used seasonally in conjunction with coastal settlements. The centuries up to the present saw successive waves of tribal groups (Kati Mamoe, Kai Tahu) move into the area and intermarry with earlier groups, but there was continuity in the use of Central Otago as a seasonal food source and a route to the pounamu areas. The relationship between iwi and the inland areas has continued to the present.

The Central Otago landscape is filled with names and stories arising from the long associations with the area. Only some are in common use. Some examples are given here:

Makahi (Mt Aspiring) is important in the history of the creation of the area. The mountain is an atua (god) whose full name is Makahi a Tuterakifanoa. He dug

* The principal informant for this section is Huata Holmes of Kati Huirapa Runaka ki Puketeraki. Other information is primarily from the Kai Tahu ki Otago Natural Resource Management Plan and the Otago Conservation Management Strategy.

** Names are in the southern Maori dialect used by the principal informant, with (where appropriate) standardised Maori spelling alongside.

Box 1: THE STORY OF THE BOUAKAI

The Bannockburn area is the location of an ancient story. A woman named Kofiua had two children, a young boy Kolo and a young girl Maia. Maia had been injured (maybe a broken arm or leg) and could not easily move. A flock of Bouakai (or Pouakai) flew in and were menacing her. Her mother Kofiua became distraught, but she and her son staunchly defended Maia and kept the Bouakai at bay until help arrived.

(Bouakai is a Maori name for the New Zealand eagle (*Harpagornis*), now extinct, which had a wing-span of up to 3 m and a weight of 10–13 kg. They are among the largest birds of prey that have been known on earth. They existed at the same time as moa and became extinct possibly around 500 years ago (Peat 1999:28).)

The west branch of the Bannockburn Creek (now Shepherds Creek) was named Bouakai (or Pouakai) after this event. The east branch (Bannockburn Creek) was named Kofiua after the mother. Another stream which runs into Kofiua from the east is named Kolo after the son. Where it meets Kofiua, that ground is known as Maia after the wounded daughter. The story and the named places recall the bravery of the three as they defended themselves from the eagles.

Arising from this story, the Bannockburn area is known as Kofiua.

out lakes, valleys and harbours and clothed the earth with plants and creatures prior to the coming of mankind. Kopuwai (the water swallower) stands high on the Old Man Range.

All of the Otago/Southland area that lies south of the Waitaki and Landsborough Rivers is known as Araitauru (or Araiteuru). The name comes from a waka with the same name which was wrecked off the coast near Moeraki. The survivors came ashore and explored the land, naming the hills and mountains after those who died and those who survived. On board the boat was a giant of a man named Kilikili Katata. He brought his grandson Aoraki safely ashore on his shoulders. Aoraki (Mt Cook) is named after this boy, and the lower peak of Aoraki is Kilikili Katata.

The name for Cromwell is Tirau meaning many cabbage trees. These were planted in groves at certain places as markers for routes. As they did not grow naturally in the area, they stood out in the landscape. They were also a source of food and were cooked in umu-ti (earth ovens).

4.2.2 Routes

Maori developed a number of routes through Central Otago to access food resources and pounamu (greenstone) (see Fig. 5). Atholl Anderson's maps of the area show a traditional route from the coast to the interior on the north bank of the Mata-au (Clutha River). There was another route from Murihiku to the Wakatipu Lakes up the Mataura River, into the Nevis Valley and on to the Lakes. The Nevis Valley provided the easiest route from the Central Otago Valley basin systems to the Southland Plains and Te Anau and Manapouri (Hamel 1978:122).

Kaumatua Huata Holmes also recounted an ancient route from Wanaka to Southland that runs from the Wanaka area, up Cardrona Valley, over Tititea saddle into Tititea Stream (Roaring Meg) to the Kawarau, across the natural rock bridge Whatatorere, up the Nevis Valley and down the Nokomai to the Mataura River. The Nevis was known as Papapuni or Paapuni (camping ground).

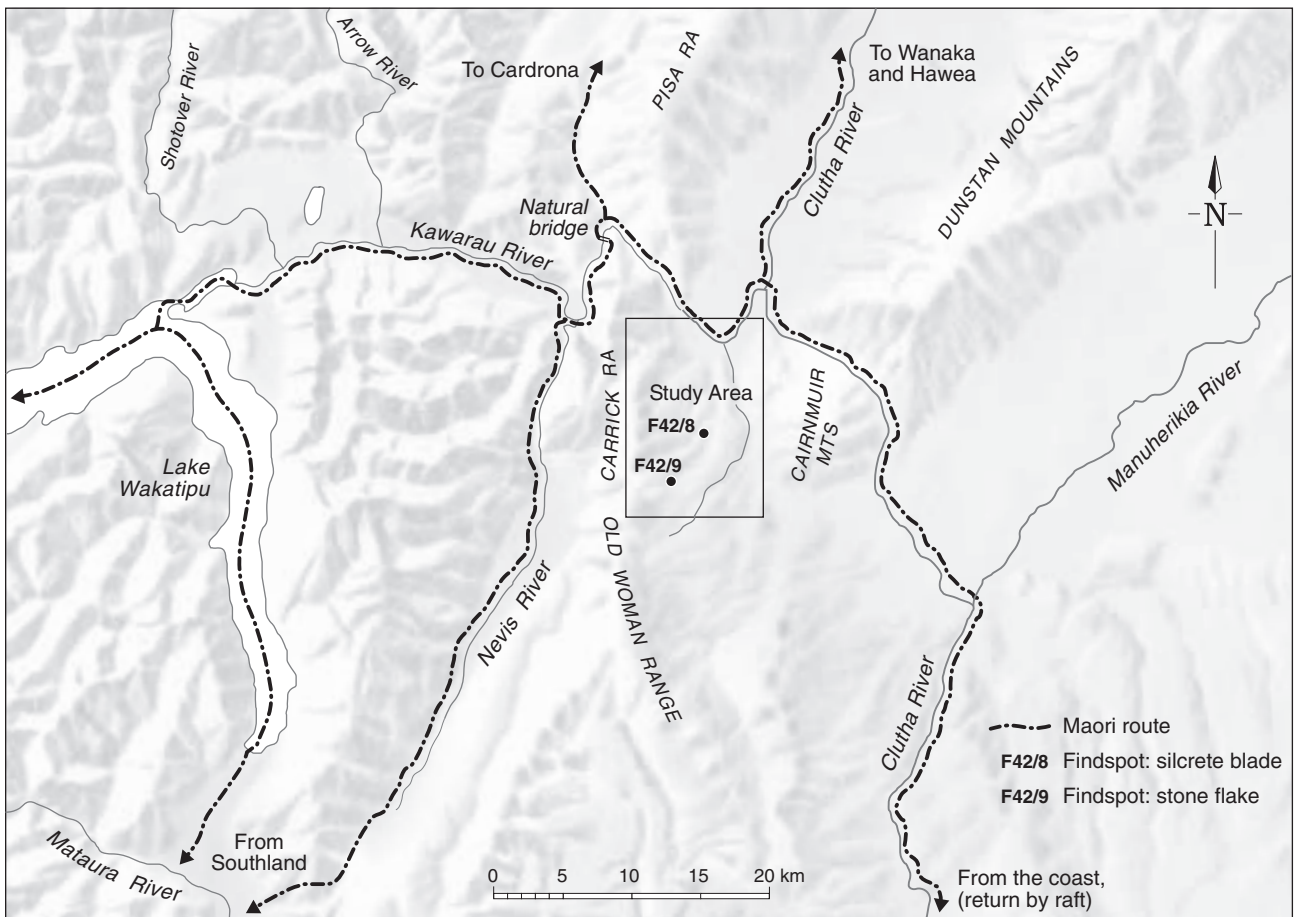


Figure 5. Prehistoric routes (after Anderson) and find-spots around Bannockburn.

Hamel notes that, before a European road was made through the Cromwell Gorge (mid 1860s), the coach road and walking track ran through low passes in the foothills north of the Hawksburn site. These may have followed Maori routes. There was also a secondary set of low passes from the Earnsclough Flats via the Fraser Dam area and the Hawksburn site to the Kawarau River (Hamel 1978:122).

Iwi knowledge of the area was evidenced by the quite accurate maps and route-finding undertaken by various individuals, such as Reko from Tukurau, who guided Europeans interested in exploring the interior in the 1850s.

4.2.3 Archaeological information

Archaeological knowledge of Maori habitation in Central Otago is relatively sparse, and limited to those sites which have been recorded and investigated. Carbon dating suggests that Maori had a presence in the area from around the mid-13th century, at which time moa were being hunted in large numbers. An important moa-hunter site is located at Hawksburn, just to the east of the study area, and this was excavated in the 1970s revealing many earth ovens, the remains of moa and other birds, tool-making sites and possibly temporary shelters. Hawksburn appears to have been principally a moa-hunting camp site occupied for short periods within a brief span of time (Anderson 1979: 58).

Iwi associations with Central Otago were founded on resource-based usage—initially the hunting of moa and other food resources. After moa numbers had

diminished, mahika kai were established where each hapu had rights to geographically scattered resources. There is very little published information about Maori occupation of sites within the study area or the Cromwell Basin generally. Anderson (1982b) compiled available archaeological information on late sixteenth-nineteenth century prehistoric inland sites in Central Otago. He found that during this period there were seasonally occupied settlements in Central Otago which were used as a base for exploiting the area's food resources, and that coastal Ngai Tahu undoubtedly knew the interior well (Anderson 1998).

It is not possible to definitively link this information to the study area. The only physical signs of Maori occupation found in the study area have been a silcrete blade and a stone flake (F42/8 and F 42/9, see Fig. 5). The latter was found near the summit of Nevis Road, which suggests that this, too, may have been a route prehistorically.

Anderson considers that the absence of Maori living in the interior by the mid nineteenth century was not 'an accurate reflection of its place in Ngai Tahu settlement and subsistence patterns of the earlier nineteenth century' (Anderson 1998: 178). There had been occupied villages around Hawea/Wanaka in 1836, but the occupants were either captured by or fled from a raiding party of Ngati Tama from Golden Bay (Anderson 1986). Additionally, the arrival of Europeans brought new food types and trading opportunities, changing Maori life from its previous rhythm of seasonal resource-gathering. Once small-scale farming was adopted, families no longer needed to rely on seasonal foods and so reduced their forays inland for tools, flax, weka and eel (Hamel 2001: 88).

4.3 COLONIAL EXPLORATION AND PASTORALISM

European exploration of Central Otago did not begin until the 1850s. Early maps of Otago fade to a blank unknown interior beyond the first range of hills near the coast. The first European to see the vastness and character of the interior was Nathaniel Chalmers of the Clutha district. Chalmers was reliant on Maori knowledge of the interior. He persuaded Reko of Tukurau to guide him from Otago to Canterbury by an inland route. In September 1853, he, Reko and another Maori companion set off up the Mataura and the Nokomai valleys and over the hills to the Nevis and Kawarau valleys. They crossed the Kawarau River on the natural rock bridge and went downriver to the flats above Cromwell. They made their way to Wanaka and Hawea, before Chalmers, who was exhausted, gave up any idea of going further, and the group returned by raft down the Clutha River (McClymont 1959: 70).

Reko and Chalmers' route skirts around the edge of the present study area because of the need to cross the Kawarau River at the natural bridge—an incomplete rock arch in the Kawarau Gorge to the west of Bannockburn. Closer to Bannockburn the Kawarau surged through steep cliffs, proving a difficult and dangerous barrier to the flat land on the other side. The details of Chalmers' journey remained largely unknown until the turn of the century.

The next wave of exploration centred on surveyors and runholders, as they began their tentative forays in the mid 1850s. Surveyor J.T. Thomson arrived in Otago in 1856. After surveying Southland, and receiving descriptions of the interior from Reko, Thomson explored the country himself—walking more than 2500 km on his reconnaissance surveys (McAloon 2002: 65).

Maori understanding of the landscape was determined by description, use, whakapapa and myth (Byrnes 2001: 92). The surveyor's maps provided a new possession of the land as a resource, 'empty' and ripe for redrawing and division as pastoral runs.

Thomson's well-publicised descriptions of the pastoral potential of the interior led to a rush of interest. Herries Beattie provides a description of the European 'spying out' of land for settlement:

...some excursions were humble affairs made on foot, and some were confined to the one man, and from this lowly standing they rose in graduation until we arrive at quite elaborate expeditions when several men with packhorses would carry a tent, blankets, and food for a more prolonged tour (Beattie 1947: 31).

Within 12 months of the publication of J.T. Thomson's descriptions of the interior of Central Otago, 3–4 million acres had been applied for. Pastoralists moved inland towards the Wakatipu, taking up vast tracts of land as stations, usually beating the surveyors to the land. It was in the context of the early exploration by surveyors and pastoralists that the Australian and New Zealand Land Company took up a vast area of land (around 200 000 acres), calling the run Kawarau Station (Parcell 1976:14). The study area comprises a very small portion of the former station.

Kawarau Station was established in 1858 by F.G. Alderson on behalf of the Australian and New Zealand Land Company, a Scotland-based enterprise which wanted access to cheap unoccupied land. The station was one of the 'big five' stations in Central Otago, the others being Earnsclough, Morven Hills, Moutere, and Galloway stations. The Company was keen to maintain sole occupation of the land, and fought for many decades against government policy of breaking up large stations, until finally succumbing in 1910.

The establishment of Kawarau Station has particular significance as the homestead and main farm buildings were built in the Bannockburn Valley and remain there to this day, serving the smaller but still extant station. The freehold title of the station homestead site was purchased in the early 1860s, but the rest of the station has remained a pastoral lease.

The Bannockburn area remained largely unmapped in Thomson's early reconnaissance surveys, probably due to the difficulties in accessing the area. Thomson was alarmed that settlement was preceding the survey of Central Otago. In 1858 he sent his assistant Alexander Garvie to make a reconnaissance survey of the Alexandra area, but these early reconnaissance surveys focus on the wider Cromwell Basin. The Bannockburn area sits on the southern edges of the map, the river curve tantalisingly evident, but with no detail of the area provided (See AG220/92/4; AG220/92/9).

The first mapped image of the Bannockburn area comes from a reconnaissance survey of 1862/63 undertaken by district surveyor James McKerrow (AG220/

92/11c). This stunning map covers the land from the West Coast to the Otago Coast, inking in the main topographical features, and sketching in the location of pastoral runs throughout this vast area. Bannockburn and Forkburn (Shepherds) Creeks are shown, as are surrounding peaks: Watts Rock, Mt Difficulty, and Cairnmuir. The position of Kawarau Station is indicated, as is an accommodation house, a likely effect of the recent influx of a mining population. The infant Cromwell (as yet unnamed) is shown at the junction of the Kawarau and Clutha Rivers. In the case of Bannockburn, it is evident that the miners and pastoralists beat the surveyors to the country (see Fig. 9).

Routes into the interior were a vital framework which shaped (and were shaped by) the development of Central Otago. Some early tracks were likely to have largely followed Maori routes. Rivers were a formidable barrier, as were mountains and gorges. It is not surprising that Bannockburn, surrounded by all three, was not on a major route. The main routes which developed in the vicinity are shown on Fig. 10, although this is only a static representation of what was likely to have been a dynamic and evolving process, especially after the discovery of gold. The primary access was initially from Clyde over the Cairnmuir mountains and down to Kawarau Station. The gold rush created a demand for new routes to new places. In the study area this included a track over the Carrick Range into the Nevis Valley, and access over the Kawarau River from the Cromwell area by means of punts, ferries, and various bridges. The various permutations of these are well described in Parcell (1976, ch. IX).

4.4 MINING AND MINING-RELATED SETTLEMENTS, 1862-1930s

The silent land, sparsely populated from 1858 by pastoralists, a few station workers, and sheep, was to be changed beyond all recognition within the space of five years. The discovery of gold at Gabriels Gully in 1861 was followed by a stream of gold-seekers who spread feverishly into the valleys and hills of Central Otago. The Otago gold rushes followed on the heels of the Californian rushes of the late 1840s and early 1850s, and the Australian rushes of the mid to late 1850s. Many miners were professionals, following the gold finds around the Pacific, bringing the knowledge, technology and experience of previous fields. Others were opportunists who hoped for an easy fortune.

The early rushes were responsible for a dramatic increase in population and a change in economic balance from the North Island to the South Island. During the months of July to December 1861 the population of Otago rose from less than 13 000 to more than 30 000 people, more than half of the influx coming from Australia (Salmon 1963: 61). Rising gold production stimulated internal commerce and provided a new market for pastoral products. It was the catalyst for a major change in the nation's economic fortune, as the gold rush led in turn to other major rushes,

...until the feverish individual quest for gold became transformed into the capitalist industry that for a half a century provided a large proportion, and for years a major part, of annual New Zealand exports. (Salmon 1963: 11, 46-50).

Box 2: KAWARAU STATION

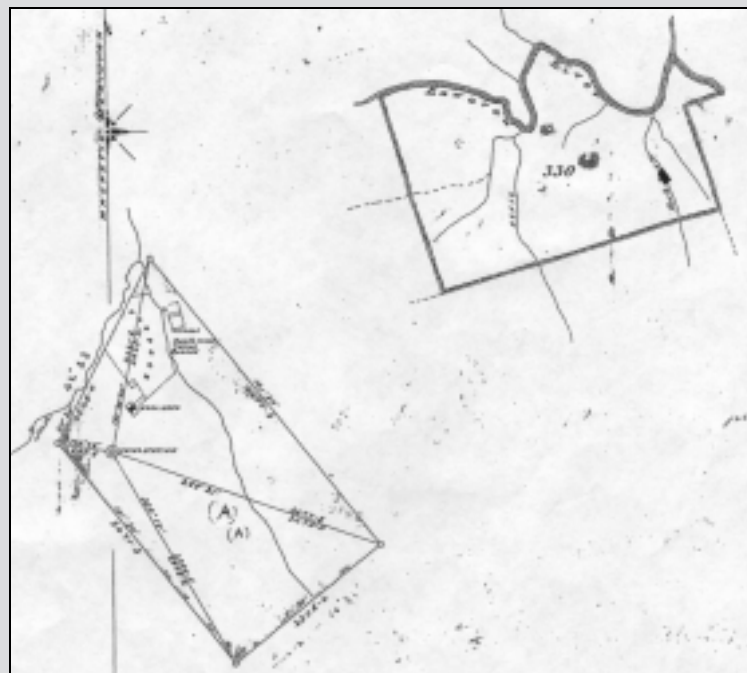
Kawarau Station homestead (Fig. 6) and outbuildings lie nestled within a group of mature trees about five kilometres from Bannockburn settlement. The modest thick-walled stone and mud homestead was begun as a smaller dwelling in 1858 and added to over subsequent years, so that today it rambles some distance in its mature garden setting. The homestead, schist woolshed, and other farm buildings cluster together on the small alluvial plain of the Bannockburn Creek.

Figure 6.
Kawarau Station
homestead.
Peter Petchey 2003.



The scale and layout today is much as it was described in early plans of the area. The 1862 survey of the 92 acre pre-emptive right for Kawarau Station shows the homestead and the station buildings (SO 16356) (Fig. 7). The buildings are clustered around Forkburn (later Shepherds) Creek. A house, storemen's house, and stable stand in close proximity, with the woolshed across the creek, a little way off.

Figure 7.
Kawarau Station
Pre-emptive Right, 1862.
(From SO 16356.)



Box 2 (continued): KAWARAU STATION

The New Zealand Historic Places Trust field record form for the station buildings describes the original portion of the homestead as a single-bay cottage with stone exterior walls and rammed-earth interior walls. The men's quarters shown on the 1862 plan were later incorporated into the homestead. Across the creek is the 20-stand schist woolshed and stone-paved yards, partly built in the 1860s, with an addition in the 1890s. G. Hamel describes Kawarau as 'by far the most intact and unmodified of the major early farmsteads in the Old Man, Umbrella and Nokomai areas' (NZHPT field record form No. 2374).

The original station boundary was on the south side of the Kawarau River from Clyde in the east, to Gibbston on the west. The southern boundary was in the mountains in the south. Owing to the formidable barrier posed by the Kawarau River, supplies for the Kawarau Station came via a pack track over the Cairnmuir Mountains from Clyde until the Kawarau River was bridged in the mid 1870s.

The building of the station homestead and other associated buildings, on a small flat at the fork made by two branches of Shepherds Creek, probably began in the early 1860s (Parcell 1976:7). Higham et al. (1976:4) note the settlement pattern associated with pastoral stations 'centred on the homestead, with its associated buildings, such as the woolshed, implement store and dairy, but employees often lived in outlying parts of the run, usually to oversee the access of stock in the absence of fencing.'

The station was of fundamental importance to the mining population, as it provided supplies, particularly mutton, when there were no other sources available. Stock were brought into town weekly, killed and sold from what became known as Slaughteryard Hill, across the road from the present Bannockburn Hotel. Miners were allowed to fence off small areas of the station to run a few animals, as long as in doing so it did not interfere with the operation of the station. Miners in turn also provided labour for the station (Parcell 1976: 8–9).

Until the station was subdivided in 1910, its operation continued to be associated with the various forms of the Australia and New Zealand Land Company. The station was still over 206 000 acres in area at the time of its forced breakup. At this point it was divided into sixteen smaller holdings, many of which still exist today. The area containing the old homestead retained the name Kawarau, but was reduced in size to 11 900 acres (Run 330a). The freehold and pastoral run were bought by P. Johnstone, who sold out to R. Jackson (Parcell 1976:13-14). After two more ownership changes, it was bought by John Anderson in 1927, whose son continues to run the station.

Figure 8.
Stone woolshed,
Kawarau Station.
Peter Petchey 2003.



The continued influx of miners followed new gold discoveries around Otago. There were no formed roads or bridges: miners carried heavy swags or drew handcarts, probably initially along the rough tracks that served the stations, and from there into the uncharted hills and valleys, creating new routes as they went. New economic opportunities arose in their wake, for accommodation,