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OLD IDENTITIES AND NEW INIQUITIES

The Taieri Plain in Otago Province
- 1770 - 1870 -

by

G.F. DAVIS

Presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of M.A. in History at the
University of Otago

Presented 1973
Dedicated

to my father, F.C. Davis.
PREFACE

Today, the Taieri Plain is primarily agricultural in function; but the nature of the landscape is changing more swiftly than at any time in the past. Soon, because of modernised farming, substantial building programmes and new patterns of communication, it will in no way resemble that which was present in the past. The advance of progress has been steady for almost a century on the Taieri. All indications of the century 1770-1870 are rapidly becoming a matter of conjecture.

Some works have been written which involve study of the Taieri Plain - in particular, Shaw and Farrant's excellent volume *The Taieri Plain - Tales of Years that are Gone* written for the Otago 1948 Centennial. As well, J.A. Thomson's *The Taieri Allans* (Dunedin 1929) and Mrs Daphne Lemon's *Taieri Buildings* (Dunedin, 1970) and *More Taieri Buildings* (Dunedin 1972) provide sources of information relating to particular families. Only Shaw and Farrant's book comes close to being a definitive study but it glosses over the important early years. The only analytical study of the general area which includes the Taieri Plain is A.H. McLintock's *History of Otago* (Dunedin, 1949). This significant work deals with the whole province and because of its wide scope, examination of the Taieri Plain specifically is limited. Because of its importance there will be sections of the thesis which will compare or contrast with ideas in McLintock's *History of Otago*.

No major work has yet been attempted which links European settlement in this local area with effects on the resident native population; or any comparison made between types of settlement before
1844, or any contrast of ideas about the development of the Taieri Plain held in the 1840s with the later realities, or any analysis of the effects of gold discoveries on the nature of a local settlement. These are significant facets of changes in the character of the early Taieri Plain. These ideas will be examined in this thesis.

I sincerely wish to thank all those who helped me, over a long period of time, to prepare this work. I am deeply indebted to the librarians of the National Archives, Wellington, Judith Hornabrook and Tim Lovell-Smith, and the Hocken Library, Peter Miller and Stuart Strachan, with whose help much of the research was carried out. In these two institutions the bulk of the information used in this thesis was found. My thanks go to Professor Angus Ross, Head of the History Department, Otago University, who shepherded me through the troublesome period of writing with a great deal of patience and understanding. The responsibility for the clear and meticulous presentation of this thesis belongs to my sister-in-law, Mrs Isabel Campbell, who spent long hours separated from her family to ensure that the work would be completed in time. I cannot thank her enough. I am also grateful for the help of Mr Peter McDonald, of the Geography Department, Otago University, who spent a great deal of time reproducing not only the photocopied maps in this thesis but also the maps which were used in analysis, kindly lent by the Lands and Survey Department, Dunedin. To others whom I have neglected to mention, I also extend my gratitude. Finally, my wife provided the kind of home as well as inspiration which enabled me to complete this work, so long after it had begun.
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### ABBREVIATIONS

- **G.B.P.P.** Great Britain Parliamentary Papers Relative to the Affairs of New Zealand.
- **(HOCKEN)** Hocken Library, Otago University, Dunedin.
- **N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30.** New Zealand Company Correspondence papers relating to Otago.
- **(O.E.S.A.)** Otago Early Settlers' Association Museum, Dunedin.
The Taieri Plain is an alluvium-filled fault depression, formed in recent geological times. As the lowering of land to a position below sea-level continued, the river dropped its load of silt from the catchment area of Central Otago, and built up an alluvial flood plain. The valley extends for 18 miles in a north-east/south-west direction and averages 4 1/2 miles in width. A low rock barrier approximately 180 feet high divides the Taieri Plain from its southern neighbour, the Tokomairiro Plain. Significant landscape features of the Taieri are the high Maungatua Range, the two lakes Waihola and Waipori, the Chain Hills on the north-eastern side with their southern end capped by the prominence of Saddle Hill (Figure 1, p.1).

Since last century, significant changes have occurred in the Taieri. The Maungatuas have been stripped of their beech and silver fern cover, lakes Waipori and Waihola although still serving as ponding-areas in time of river flood have been limited by stopbanks and a canal, the Chain Hills are no longer tussock and bracken-fern covered and Captain Cook's ...'Saddle-Back hill' ... has not only been denuded of what the explorer-surveyor Tuckett called in 1844 "... a great pig cover ..." of pine trees but also the small hill of the saddle - the Maori Turi-makamaka or sleeping taniwha - has been decapitated for crushing as valuable road metal. Most of these changes are in the recent past, the last century.
What of changes in the past? Were there other more significant human patterns established and then broken on the Taieri? Two broad patterns are evident before 1870 - the patterns and forms of settlement of the Maori which were disrupted and redirected by forces found within early European culture, and the subsistence pattern of post-1840 European agricultural settlement which was disrupted by the discovery of gold. Gold was the catalyst providing effective, dramatic changes in the people's way of life and in the landscape of the Taieri.

Understandably, defining and describing the way of life of the Maori inhabitants of the Taieri area presents a difficult problem. They left no written records. Much of the extant records on Maori culture are non-Maori in origin and very little of it relates directly to the Taieri. Argument on the Taieri Maori will be composed principally of archaeologists' deductions, Maori folklore, botanical evidence and stories told to early explorers and settlers in the area. From these a composite abstract will be formed from which a way of life will be deduced. It is the purpose of this thesis to establish, as far as possible, the way of life before the impact of the first Europeans became apparent, and then demonstrate how the impact changed that way of life in the local district. Generally, the development of European contact with the Southern Maori was detrimental to his traditional customs. One major question which will be raised in this thesis will be whether changes from the traditional Maori lifestyle were significant before or after the sale of the Otago block.
to the New Zealand Company. The establishment of a definite answer to this question greatly affects viewpoints on the 1844 deed of sale. As a means of establishing the time-scale of changes in local Maori culture in the 1800s an examination of the relationship of the Maoris with local trader-whaling institutions is necessary. The effects of contact between the two groups are important. The relationship will be examined to see whether the culture-contact caused or merely accelerated the later-apparent changes in the way of life of the local Maori. The particular details of title to land, customs, food-gathering, nucleation of villages, health, social mores, integration into a new economic pattern and changes to the landscape are integral parts of a justification of far-reaching effects caused by European incursors.

The newer pattern established by British emigrant settlers is more permanent and better-documentated. They established a way of life which well-nigh obliterated the traces of Maori occupancy. In the years 1848-1861, their survival was dependent on deriving subsistence from the land. Their establishment was in the form of a sedentary exploitative pattern on the land with the lines of individual proprietorship becoming clearer year by year. Their way of life was traditional, but foreign to New Zealand. To the early emigrants who settled on the Taieri, success was dependent upon subduing the land to an exotic, principally British-conceived pattern. The attempts of the families which settled on the Taieri Plain were abruptly interrupted in 1861 when the first major "rush" started for the Central Otago goldfields. The prime function of the Plain changed overnight from being a major food-producing area for Dunedin to that of a highway, a route to the "diggings". To
the "old identities" the discovery meant various things - hardship, if one was a farmer dependent on ready labour for planting or harvesting, or irritation, if one was hoping that wooden fence posts and battens would not be used as fuel by the seemingly never-ending trail of diggers taking the Maungatua-Waipori route to Central Otago. On the other hand, it meant a chance of a new life if you were young and energetic; or long periods of loneliness, perhaps even premature widowhood for a Taieri woman left while her man went to the "fields". To the "new iniquities" the discovery meant a chance to 'get-rich-quick'. To this last group, the Taieri was merely a place to pass through, a way-station.

Following gold, sweeping changes were apparent in the Taieri. Inhabitants came and went more rapidly, farms changed hands, much talked-of communications appeared, progress in the European style became more apparent. The old way of pre-1861 was gone, supplanted by a new enthusiasm reflecting the general air of buoyancy in the province. The hopes of the 1848-1860 settlers were being substantially realised on the Taieri.

The thesis, basically, is that there were two types of resident civilization and their respective settlement patterns on the Taieri in the century 1770-1870; the Maori civilization and the British settler civilization, and that these were disrupted by two totally different forces; the effects of the pre-emigrant trading-whaling establishment at Otakau and the effects of the discovery of gold. Although the forces of rapid change, early Europeans and gold, are different in nature, similarities exist in their immediate and disruptive effects.
The Vertical Interval between the Contours is 500 ft.

FIGURE 1

THE TAIERI PLAIN

Mask over section of Map
N.Z.M.S. 18
Sheet 25
Dunedin.

Scale 1:250,000 (1 Inch to Approx. 3.95 Miles)

Limited revision issue 1970
CHAPTER ONE

European Exploration and Coastal Settlement

The Taieri Plain is an alluvial valley hidden from the coast by a chain of low hills. The most dominant of these, Saddle Hill, was sighted by Captain James Cook on 25 February 1770 when his ship, the barque Endeavour was cruising south off the Otago coast. Part of the entry in Captain Cook's Journal for Sunday 25 February 1770 reads:

... At day light the point above mentioned bore north distant 3 Leagues and we found that the land trended away from it SWBW\(^1\) as far as we could see. This point of land I have named Cape Saunders in honour of Sir Charles\(^2\) (Latitude 45º55'S, Longitude 18º04'W) it requ[i]res no description to know it by, and the Latitude and the Angle made here by the Coast will be found quite sufficient; however there is a remarkable Saddle hill laying near the shore 3 or 4 Leagues SW of the Cape by which it may always be known when on that side of it ...

He had some thoughts of looking at some of the 'bays' north of the Cape but a south westerly wind came up and the fear of losing time prevented him. Sailing south along the coast from the Cape he observed:

... Being not far from the shore all this morning we had an opportunity of viewing the land pretty distinctly: it is of moderate height, full of hills which appear'd green and woody, but we saw not the least sign of inhabitants. At noon Cape Saunders bore N 30ºW distant 4 Leagues; Lat.\(^de\) per Log, for we had no Observation, 46º0' S ...\(^3\)

\(^1\) southwest by west

\(^2\) J.C.Beaglehole (ed.) The Journals of Captain James Cook on his voyages of discovery, Vol.I; edited from the original manuscripts by J.C.Beaglehole, with the assistance of J.A.Williamson, J.W. Davidson and R.A.Skelton [Cambridge, published for the Hakluyt Society at the University press, 1955-]. Sir Charles Saunders (1713?-1775) was the Vice-Admiral commanding the British Fleet in the St.Lawrence River in 1759, in which Cook served, p.257, footnote 3.

\(^3\) ibid. pp.257-258.
On the following days, 26 February - 1 March 1770, the Endeavour was caught in a gale. It was not until 6 March 1770 that the ship made landfall - first Ruapuke which Cook called Bench Island, then later Molineux's Harbour - a name which seems to have been transferred from Waikawa harbour to the River Clutha\(^4\) by popular usage.

Joseph Banks's Journal for 23 February 1770, indicates that he thought that the area north of Otago was uninhabited. He believed that "... the land in sight might ... be a continent". Few other members of the crew agreed with him.

His Journal entry for 4 March 1770 reads

... A large smoke was seen, and proved to be an immense fire on the side of a hill, which was supposed to have been set on fire by the Natives, for though this is the only sign of people we have seen, yet I think that it must be an indisputable proof that there are inhabitants, although probably very thinly scattered over the face of this very large country...\(^5\)

In the history of the Taieri Plain between 1770 and 1870, Saddle Hill and the Maoris played leading roles. An examination of their roles, as a settlement centre and as a society affected by European culture respectively, will form part of this thesis.

Visits following Cook's were widely spaced and had little direct effect on the Taieri.

In 1809, Captain Daniel Cooper in the sealing schooner Unity called in or near Otago Harbour, and possibly revisited it in 1811.

\(^4\) J.C. Beaglehole, op. cit. footnote p.260.

The Hobart Town Courier March 1818 lends credence to this, claiming that "Port Daniel" was "a place only known to Europeans within the last seven years." 

The next two recorded visits of European sailors tell of the first Otago disagreements between the resident Maoris and the new arrivals. The brig Matilda in 1813, commanded by Captain Fowler, out of Sydney bound for Tahiti sought refuge in Otago Harbour from a storm. The Captain and crew were received with apparent cordiality by the natives and their chief "Papuee". Later a number of the Lascar crewmen disappeared - assumedly killed by the Maoris for reasons unknown - perhaps in retaliation for the misdeeds of other sailors. The Matilda departed in haste. In December 1817, however, a different course of events ensued for Captain James Kelly and the crew of the brig Sophia. Trouble arose between them and the local natives at Small Beach. In revenge the white sailors burnt out the native village. Small Beach is now named Murdering Beach.

Habitation of the local area by natives was assumed by Commander John R. Kent of H.M. cutter Mermaid when he sailed North-east up the coast from a flax-cutting-and-buying expedition in Stewart Island. After anchoring the night off Molineux River then sailing along the coast, he confirmed Cook's bearings on Cape Saunders. Commenting from a position 12 miles S.S.W. of Cape Saunders on 16th July 1823,

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6 A.H. McLintock Port of Otago (Dunedin, 1951) p.11.
7 Sydney Gazette, 2 December 1815, (Mitchell Library) Sydney, p.2.
8 A.H. McLintock, op. cit. p.11, footnote 2.
directly seawards from the Taieri Plain, he wrote

... The country in sight today, assumed a much different aspect from the dreary, rugged appearance of the more Southern coast we had lately left, being of moderate height, level, and not too thickly wooded, the ground looking rich and probably well adapted for cultivation, it is no doubt well inhabited, as we saw several fires, as we past [sic] along the shore. I would have landed in one of the boats, but fearing a breeze might spring up, and wishing to push on around the Cape, a delay would have been occasioned thereby, and perhaps [we] would have had to return without any flax ... 9

Following the visit of the Mermaid in 1823, more regular visits of ships to Otago's coast began to occur with motives other than pure exploration. An example is that of the Rosanna commanded by Captain James Herd, in company with the Lambton which sailed from Stewart Island, after one month's refitting, up the east coast towards Otago. The ships entered Otago Harbour which was then called Port Oxley,11 and reputedly landed the first white men at the head of the harbour. On Saturday, 6 May 1826, T. Shepherd, one of the ship's company, took a rowboat and beached near the landing-place of the Scottish pioneers in 1848. Shepherd reported favourably on the fertility of the soil12 and the Captain was impressed with the safety of the harbour13. The expedition moved on, however, to the Bay of Islands where they received a cold reception. The infamy of Hongi's

10 B. Howard, Rakiura. A History of Stewart Island, New Zealand (Dunedin 1940), pp. 71-72, and pp. 355-365. This was a tentative expedition, in which sixty artisans and mechanics were on board looking for a possible New Zealand settlement.
11 Map copy in List of Original Documents, RNZN Hydrographic Dept, Auckland
12 T. Shepherd, Journal, 1826 HOCKEN.
cannibalism persuaded Captain Herd that New Zealand was not really a safe place to settle, so he set sail for Sydney.\textsuperscript{14}

The interest of France in New Zealand was indicated by the visits of Commander D'Urville and the \textit{Astrolabe} which entered Otago Harbour in 1827 and 1840 for the purpose of taking soundings and bearings. His charting of the area was not very accurate for he sees "the entrance to Otago Harbour ... situated in the southern part of Cape Saunders".\textsuperscript{15} Previously, the ship had called at Stewart Island and at "... Robuka, or Long Island, in Foveaux's Straits where the tribe of the warrior chief Tooiaki, or Bloody Jack, reside."

On coming north, "... the \textit{Herald} ... visited Otako, in which harbour were two American and two French whaling vessels ..."\textsuperscript{16} The elements of the Maori chief, Tuhawaiki, and whaling vessels, commented on by Terry, were dominant features at the time of annexation. It was not long afterwards that D'Urville's 1840 chart shows that he explored the upper reaches of the harbour by boat and identified the Weller Brothers' whaling station by the words "Maison Weller". This station and its inhabitants had sweeping influences on the Taieri.\textsuperscript{17}

The next significant event occurred as a result of British annexation of Maori residents of New Zealand. It was the visit of H.M.S. \textit{Herald} to Otago on June 13 1840\textsuperscript{18}. The ship, commanded by

\begin{itemize}
    \item \textsuperscript{14} T.M.Hocken (Comp.) \textit{Flotsam and Jetsam}, Vol.10: (HOCKEN); printed in the \textit{Otago Witness} 30 September 1887.
    \item \textsuperscript{15} Dumont D'Urville, \textit{1840 Journal}, MS HOCKEN
    \item \textsuperscript{17} Supra, Chapter 3, pp. 16 ff.
    \item \textsuperscript{18} C.Terry, \textit{op. cit.}
\end{itemize}
Captain Nias was on an expedition canvassing for Maori chiefs' signatures to the Treaty of Waitangi. Captain Mein Smith, R.A., one of the first survey representatives of the New Zealand Company called in Dunedin in 1842. He saw only 20 European men in Dunedin, no women and about 100 natives; he was not impressed with the area. His cutter, the Brothers, foundered in a squall in Akaroa Harbour, and his maps were lost. Smith was the forerunner of organised settlement, to be followed by the experienced sailor, hydrographer and surveyor, Captain Thomas Wing on a charter voyage for the New Zealand Company which was seeking a suitable survey site for their 'New Edinburgh' settlement.

Whilst preliminary expeditions were occurring, the period of the late 1820s to 1840 also was the first recognised era of land sales by the local Maoris to early settlers. Many of these sales came under examination in the OLD LAND CLAIMS COMMISSION which was held in Wellington under the auspices of Commissioners Godfrey and Richmond in 1843. Some of the old land sales - prior to the Government claim on pre-emption, however, were never heard. Although some of them became publicised as a source of dispute after the sitting of the Old Land Claims Commission, many were passed over because claimants did not come forward to plead their cases. Some reasons for this were: death of the claimant, difficulty of transport, a sense of hopelessness, and lack or loss of viable evidence to a claim for purchase of land prior to British jurisdiction being imposed in February 1840.

19 T.M. Hocken, Flotsam and Jetsam, Vol. 10.
20 Record copies held in National Archives, Wellington.
Many early settlers of the pre-British era exercised "squatter's rights" with the agreement of the local Maoris. Such was the case with the Weller Brothers' whaling stations, established in the mid-1830s. Two enterprising brothers from Sydney, Edward and George Weller, founded stations at Otago Heads and Moturata Island, off Taieri River mouth. "They employed 70-80 Europeans ..." But men of this class contributed little or nothing to the topographical knowledge of New Zealand. Their horizon did not extend beyond the narrow limits of their daily life ..." According to W.G. McClymont in his book The Exploration of New Zealand, the early inhabitants were more adventurous than Hocken presumes - "... from Dunedin whalers went overland to the Taieri plain and canoed down the Taieri River to the station at its mouth".  

Neither Hocken nor McClymont offer proof for their statements. Whatever the truth of the matter, by early 1839, George Weller had been so impressed by verbal reports of the area inland from the Moturata Island (Taieri) whaling station that he sent a Mr Dalziel in the Dublin Packet [the same vessel was sunk north of Moturata Island on 9 July 183924], ...

... to inspect the lands in order that we may have an agricultural Establishment. He is a gentleman from Scotland and bred to the farming ... he [Mr Dalziel] informs me that he is in correspondence with about 20 farmers in Scotland and should he approve and settle at New Zealand that they all would join him and rent the land we have there on twenty years leases, from

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21 This maximum figure is valid only if one is looking at all the Weller activities spread along the coast from Purakanui to Taieri, and then only at the height of the whaling, in 1839. The normal figure would be around 20 European men employed 1839-1844 at Otakau - refer F. Tuckett Diary, Sunday 28 April 1844, HOCKEN.

22 T.M.Hocken: Flotsam and Jetsam, Vol.10; recorded Otago Witness, 30 September 1887.


what Mr Cureton tells me of Tyaru [sic] that it should be the most desirable spot. Wheat and Barley will be our principal articles of growth. Cureton says that we might get one hundred acres of grain in before winter, as all that the land requires is the fern burned off and ploughing and harrowing and that the ground is then ready for grain. I purpose that Mr Dalziel shall have the whole management of the Agriculture Department and that if he chooses to bring a proportionate sum into the concern that he shall have a third of the concern - not including the ground - and that we always retain wholly and solely ours. After you have seen Mr Dalziel and conversed with him on the matter you will write to me your views ... if we wish to retain possession of the different purchases we must either settle on them or send someone to claim it on our parts ... 25

This is the first evidence of a transaction planned involving the Taieri area. The Cureton referred to, was Mr David (Tyarie) Cureton, headsman for Weller Brothers in Otago. He was in Sydney in January and February 1839, and played a significant part in purchasing land from the Maoris. He seems to have successfully persuaded George Weller of the attributes of the Taieri area. At about the same time, 14 February 1839, Edward Weller wrote to his Sydney brother, in a normal report,

... I send a sample of pine timber, which is growing at Tairai and from 50 to 60 feet long much superior to Otago pine. Banks the carpenter approves of the wood for boatbuilding and the natives say they will assist in getting timber, though they cannot be depended upon. I have seen a boat built of the pine and it looks well ... 26

Despite the optimism of George Weller and D. Cureton, Dalziel's report indicated that he thought little of the land, the rivers and

25 G.Weller Correspondence, M.S.Copy. G.Weller to E.Weller, 17 February 1839, HOCKEN; there is also significant evidence in the Journal of Octavius Harwood which supports the belief that the Wollers were aware of the Taieri district's potential, particularly to be found in the entries for 3 December 1838 - 5 December 1838, 24 February 1839 - 5 March 1839, 6 June 1839 - 11 June 1839. At two of these times Edward Weller personally visited the area.

26 C.G. Thomson Collection. Edward to George Weller, 14 February 1840; HOCKEN.
especially the harbour. The bad report by Dalziel seems to have stopped short the idea of an "Agricultural Establishment" on the Taieri, but the enthusiasm of the Wellers for possession of some of the area was yet unsatisfied. Accordingly they entered into an agreement for purchase of land. If the correspondence of George Weller is correct in substance then the Wellers had already made agreements with the Maori proprietors on land leases for their whaling stations, which they hoped to extend into actual purchases. On 26 December 1839, they purchased a large area including the Taieri Plain from 'Tyria' [Taiaroa] and 'Jackey White' [Karetai, the local Ngaitahu Chieftain at Otakau]. For £66.13.0 they purchased

... All that parcel of land lying and situate and being known as from the Middle of Akahai beach adjoining Mr John Jones purchase of Whycowiki ... to the north point of Molyneux's Harbour or Bay called Tokota including the rivers Purikanui, Oxley, Tyarie, Tokannarau, Whyraru and Owhyhoa ... the sea to the eastward and half the Island inland to the Westward.

Obviously there was disagreement about the validity of the purchase as just over one month later, Edward was writing to George Weller, "I was obliged to repurchase the land ... for £100 as the natives would not acknowledge the claim".

The extra money was made up by another £60.13.0 paid on 26 December 1839 for an estimated area of 1 million acres, £10 for an extra 57,600 acres "... Waiwak to Bluff and 30 miles inland ..." plus £10 for unspecified 3,200 acres, and the balance made up of expenditure for prolonged negotiations!

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28 Thomson, op. cit. George to Edward Weller, 17 February 1840.
Despite the claims in 1844 by the Sub-Protector of Aborigines, Dr Edward Shortland that John Tuhawaiki, the principal Otago chief, was well-known for his honest, straightforward character, he seems to have either been very shrewd or misunderstood the nature of land transactions because he apparently sold the same area a number of times, firstly to Henry Fisher, 12,800 acres south of Mr John Jones' property for £100. Then on 6 December 1839, to Edward and George Weller, 2 million acres south of Mr John Jones' property for £66.13.0. This was followed by a sale on 26 December 1839 to Edward and George Weller of 1 million acres from Okahai (Waikouaiti) to Tokota (north Molineux) for £60.13.0. In 1840, a sale was made to William Wentworth, of property already possessed by Mr John Jones, merchant of Sydney, who withdrew his own claims. These are only the claims which came before the Commissioners. In all cases no grant was recommended in mid-December 1843, because "the claimant did not appear or bring evidence in support of the claim".

The amount of direct European interest in the Taieri area before 1839 was not large. After the failure of the Wellers' proposed "Agricultural Establishment" another three and a half years were to elapse before exploration preparatory to organised colonisation would occur.

The Wellers' actions were precisely the kind of negotiations and schemes that Edward Gibbon Wakefield had been referring to in 1836 when he stated ...

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31 Old Land Claims Commission, Claims 188-189, (National Archives, Wellington)
32 Old Land Claims Commission, Claim 240
33 Old Land Claims Commission, Claim 239
34 Old Land Claims Commission, Claims 241, 241a, 241m
35 Old Land Claims Commission, Claims 124a, 124b, 124c
Very near to Australia there is a country which all testimony concurs in describing as the fittest country in the world for colonisation, ... I mean New Zealand. It will be said that New Zealand does not belong to the British Crown, and that is true, but Englishmen are beginning to colonise New Zealand. New Zealand is coming under the dominion of the British Crown. Adventurers go from New South Wales and Van Dieman's Land and make a treaty with a native chief, a tripartite treaty, the poor chief not understanding a word about it. But they make a contract upon parchment, with a great seal; for a few trinkets and a little gunpowder they obtain land. After a time in these cases, after some persons have settled, the Government at home begins to receive hints that there is a regular settlement of English people formed in such-and-such a place, and then the Government at home generally has been actuated by a wish to appoint a Governor and says, 'This spot belongs to England and we will send out a Governor'. The act of sending out a Governor according to our constitution or law or practice, constitutes the place to which the Governor is sent a British Province. We are, I think, going to colonise New Zealand though we be doing so in the most slovenly and scrambling and disgraceful manner.

Disregarding Wakefield's rhetoric, the basis of his speech contained some fundamental truths. The nature of the early land purchases, the understanding of local Maoris about the dealings, the avaricious motives of the merchant interests who wished to profit from natives and their land, all left much to be desired. The processes and effects of early land deals left the Maoris with a very erroneous impression of what they were to expect from later transactions. In Chapter 3 a discussion will follow in which the contention will be put that the

36 Apart from whaling and trade enterprises, he was referring principally to settlements in the North Island, although the statements have wide application.

37 C.G. Thomson papers, E.G. Wakefield giving evidence in June 1836 to Commons Committee.
activities around the Wellers' trading and whaling post assume
great significance in the history of the Taieri Maori inhabitants.

Although sighting of the Taieri by "official" observers had
not occurred before 1840, changes in the Taieri had occurred, not
to the landscape but to the people. Slow progress towards
European observation and settlement was a complementary factor
of the distance from the Old World and the physical setting of the
Taieri, hidden from the coast by a range of hills.
CHAPTER TWO

Site and Sale

The Weller interest in the Taieri had ended. At first it had been discouraged by Dalziel's poor reports but ultimately it was quashed by the bankruptcy of the Wellers' main office in Sydney in early 1841.1 Harwood, the Wellers' Otago manager who had previously been so enthusiastic about the prospects for the southern Taieri Plain in December 1840, turned his mind to the more immediate business of establishing himself as an independent Otakau merchant.

The New Zealand Company chartered Captain Hein Smith to make a coastal survey for the purpose of aiding a decision about the selection of a settlement site in the South Island.2 In 1843, he spent three months surveying the coasts, including five days in Otago Harbour. He never ventured inland to the Taieri. His opinion of the present site of Dunedin was that it compared well with Bluff, being easier for shipping to enter, had a better town site and had "... more land fit for grazing and agricultural purposes in its immediate neighbourhood..."3 Both places, Otago and Bluff, he did not consider as satisfactory as Akaroa on Banks' Peninsula. Although his diary and maps were lost in the foundering of the Brothers, his later report carried much weight.

1 G.Weller Correspondence MSS Copy (HOCKEN) G.Weller to Jackson Barwise, London, 26 April 1841, p.27; O. Harwood, The Journal, 24 February 1841 (HOCKEN)
2 supra, p. 7.
3 New Zealand Journal, No. 95, 19 August 1848, p.213.
because the Company decided upon Akaroa as a site for their next settlement. It seemed that the Taieri was to wait even longer for colonization.

Following hard on the heels of Captain Smith's survey, Doctor Edward Shortland, Sub-Protector of the Aborigines paid Otago an inspection-visit. He accompanied Colonel Godfrey, Land Claims Commissioner who was investigating the validity of pre-1840 land claims. Their brief was to seek out

... the nature of the claims to John Towack [Tuhawaiki] and others to immense tracts of land amounting to millions of Acres said to have been sold to people in Sydney ... 4

Shortland's part in the affair was determined by his role as an expert in the ways of the Maoris

... your knowledge of native customs, and the disposition of the Europeans to take advantage of the Natives, will induce you to treat such claims in the way they merit ... 5

Further, Shortland was instructed to visit areas where the natives lived, count how many lived there, determine their claims to tribal land and furnish "... as correctly as possible a statistical account of the Country through which [he travelled] ..." 6 In the company of "Earle, Smith, Davy - 2 natives" 7 he boated to the head of the

4 G.Clarke Miscellaneous MSS and Letters (HOCKEN), G.Clarke to E.Shortland 11 July 1843; supra, p. 11.
5 G.Clarke, ibid, 11 July 1843; O. Harwood Daybooks, June 1844 (HOCKEN) Harwood complains of the "upset" caused by the enquiries of Colonel Godfrey for the Old Land Claims Commission.
6 ibid.
7 E.Shortland Journal MS fragments (HOCKEN). Shortland writes of a journey leaving Waikouaiti at 11 a.m. and boating to the head of Otago Harbour. The account is almost identical with his account in The Southern Districts of New Zealand (London 1851), p.166, of the beginning of his journey to Taieri.
The Southern Districts of New Zealand,

from the Admiralty Chart of 1828, with Additions and Corrections

by Edward Shortland.

Outline of Banks's Peninsula, from Government Resurvey Chart.
They negotiated the swamp area (at present South Dunedin), slept the night in a temporary breakwind near Saint Clair and the following day walked along the coast to the abandoned Moturata Island whaling station, Taieri river mouth. He found no natives at the Kaik (Onumia) opposite the Island; it was the mutton-bird season. One of the Maoris in the party constructed a mohiki, a raft of korari sticks, and floated up the gorge into the Taieri Plain. He later returned with two boats, manned by natives from Mataipapa kaik, the only significant village on the Taieri Plain. Relevant sections of Shortland's observations about the Plain and the Maoris are included in Appendix A, pp.195-196. It can be concluded from what Shortland wrote that he was not impressed with the countryside

... a wide and eligible place for feeding sheep, but unfit for cultivation, as evidenced by the poorness of the vegetation, and the absence of wood ...

He also commented, interestingly, on the signs of recent burning of the hillside vegetation at a point which reads very much as if it was on the Chain Hills north of Saddle Hill. The firing of vegetation was probably caused by the Maoris preparatory to digging fern roots. What is unusual is the distance of the occurrence from Mataipapa despite the fact that it was on a well-known land route to the head of Otago harbour. There seems to be a note of sourness in Shortland's assessment of the area, particularly as he saw it in springtime when the

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8 Figure 2. Shortland names Moturata Island as 'Taiari'. p.16.
10 ibid, pp.172-173.
11 supra, pp.68-72.
Taieri normally appears attractive today, and no doubt would have then. His comments on its possible function are widely at variance with the observations of both Harwood, the Wellers' manager and later observers such as Wakefield and Tuckett. The reason may lie in an unpleasant memory revealed in Shortland's correspondence,

...On my return to Waikouaiti I visited Tairi, when I was attacked with inflammation of the Eyes, which delayed me between 2 and 3 weeks ....\(^\text{12}\)

It is quite possible his eyes were smarting from an inflammation caused by the pollen of the native fern. The plant gives off dense clouds of yellow pollen when violently kicked or when one is moving through areas of it in late September and into November. A painful attack could cause even the most usually-impartial observer to give a biased account! Despite Mein Smith's report on Otago, it was chosen as the site for the New Zealand Company's 'New Edinburgh' site, and the Taieri Plain was recognised as a valuable hinterland. How did this come about?

A detailed account of the process of the New Zealand Company purchase of Otago will follow as a basis for establishing both the effects upon the Maori inhabitants of the region\(^\text{13}\) and the preliminaries to the pattern of settlement founded upon the Taieri Plains in the 1850s as a result of the New Zealand Company and Lay Association efforts. As a direct result of Captain Mein Smith's report to Colonel Wakefield in Wellington, the latter informed Governor FitzRoy\(^\text{14}\) of the

\(^{12}\) E. Shortland Letterbook A. MS (HOCKEN) E. Shortland to G. Clarke, 18 March 1844.

\(^{13}\) supra, Chapter 3, pp. 42 ff.

\(^{14}\) N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30, Colonel Wm. Wakefield to Governor FitzRoy, 30 January, 1844.
Company's selection of Port Cooper as a site\textsuperscript{15,16} for the new settlement. Governor FitzRoy had no qualms about the move "provided that a valid purchase [could] be effected.\textsuperscript{17}

In late February 1844 the New Zealand Company Principal Agent in Wellington, Colonel Wakefield, attempted to engage a competent surveyor, Frederick Tuckett, to act as surveyor for the site of 'New Edinburgh'. Tuckett, however, had been doubtful about the site selected for the 2nd New Zealand Company Settlement, Nelson, where he had acted as principal surveyor and engineer under Captain Wakefield. His acceptance he made conditional upon being able to examine the country between Banks Peninsula (Port Cooper) and Milford Haven.\textsuperscript{18} His previous experience made him extremely wary of accepting a site chosen by a far-removed company acting on someone else's advice, and accordingly he made his concern known to Colonel Wakefield,

...It appeared from the prospectus that the site of the future Settlement of ... New Edinburgh was already predetermined, and that with regard rather to the quality of the port, than that of the land, a preference which I consider I must (unless the character of the country and quality of the soil be very different from what it is here) inevitably entail upon the future emigrant community great disappointment and distress. From all that I have been able to learn of the district adjacent to Port Cooper ... I should be agreeably disappointed if there should be found there an extensive and accessible tract of prime land ...

\textsuperscript{15}ibid. Governor Fitzroy to Colonel Wakefield, Principal Agent N.Z. Company, Wellington, 2 February 1844.

\textsuperscript{16}O.Harwood MS copy (HOCKEN), Robert Harwood Senr, Dalston England, to O.Harwood, 29 July 1844. "...it is expected that the Scotch Colony will be settled at Port Cooper, no great distance from you".

\textsuperscript{17}N.Z.C.Correspondence 3/30. Mr George Rennie, N.Z. House to T.C.H Harington, Secretary New Zealand Company, 15 September 1843, confirming decision on Port Cooper after Captain Smith's report.

\textsuperscript{18}N.Z.C.Correspondence 3/30. F.Tuckett, Nelson to William Wakefield, Wellington, Saturday 23 March 1844.
... Nothing would interest me ... short of an opportunity of selecting the site after reporting to you on the comparative advantages of different localities, making a careful examination of the coast from Banks's Peninsula to Milford Haven ...

Wakefield agreed to Tuckett's proposal but wrote

... The result of your labours, will, I think, confirm you as to the superior eligibility of Port Cooper above all other spots ...

Tuckett's personal inclinations were for Otago or Foveaux Straits.

He hoped

... to find not distant from Otago ... an extensive tract of good land, near to a sufficiently good shore for the safe and convenient landing of freight, etc. or on the shore of Foveaux Straights, the same on the bank of a river ... preferably close to millable timber, coal and lime ...

Tuckett engaged the Deborah mastered by Captain Wing for the voyage.

The ship was larger than Tuckett had anticipated but he thought could transport "timber, bricks and lime" for building purposes. He intended to take Barnicoat, an assistant surveyor with him on the
voyage, and also to collect J.J. Symonds, Police Magistrate at Wellington "... to obtain from him the information respecting claimants and established claims to the land ..."23 Symonds was given his instructions from Governor FitzRoy who directed him to go to New Munster and assist the New Zealand Company Agent (Colonel Wakefield) in the valid purchase of "... not more than 150 thousand acres of available land ..."24 The Crown's right of pre-emption was waived on the land on the conditions that Symonds would:

... not countenance any, even the smallest encroachment on, or infringements of, existing rights or claims, whether Native or other, unless clearly sanctioned by their legitimate possessor ...

... inform the settlers now established in New Munster that their cases will be most carefully and kindly dealt with by the Government under existing regulations, or by a special act of grace such as waiving the Crown's right of pre-emption in their favour to a reasonable extent ...

... inform the Aboriginal Native population that [he was] sent to superintend and forward the purchase of lands which they wish to sell, and that [he] ... on behalf of the Government, [would] not authorise ... or sanction, any proceedings which [were] not honest, and equitable, and in every way irreproachable ...

... extend [his] authority as Police Magistrate and report [his] proceedings ... to the Superintendent of the Southern Division ...25

Symonds's role, as well as the permission for Tuckett to act were outlined in an interview given by Superintendent M. Richmond in


25 ibid, p.129.
Wellington prior to the departure south of the expedition. The amount of detailed organisation and legal preparation for the venture contrasts strongly with the fragmentary preparation for purchases made prior to 1840 by Sydney traders and businessmen. This venture was to be no mere exchange of money with the signature of the participants on a hurriedly-prepared parchment. The very legal nature of the undertaking and its seemingly slow progress was the foreword to a new type of society about to be established in Otago.

Tuckett's plan was to land at Port Cooper (Banks' Peninsula) and make that place and the adjacent 90-mile beach to the south the standard of comparison with other areas. He intended to walk south to Otago and progress from there to Milford Haven on the West Coast, all the time taking an "eye survey". He thought that he would spend 6 to 9 days in Otago, depending on how long it took him to arrive there.

The party was late in leaving Nelson - 31 March 1844. After surveying Port Cooper, Tuckett shipped to Waikouaiti then walked over the bush-covered hills from Purakanui (Brokenewy whaling station) to Otago harbour with much difficulty. One of his guides, Karikai left him on 26 April to go to 'Tiarea'. The entry for the following day mentions Octavius Harwood, who conducted "a store and Taverns". On viewing the harbour and surrounding hills he became

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26 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. His Hon. M. Richmond to the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, London. 11 July 1844.
27 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. Frederick Tuckett, Diary.
28 Octavius Harwood, Journal MS (HOCKEN)
29 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. F. Tuckett, Diary.
more convinced than ever that he was at the best site for 'New Edinburgh'.

On the 30 April 1844, Tuckett, Dr Munro of Nelson and 3 Maori guides decided to walk to Molineux and examine the other possible southern sites. The entries in Tuckett's diary for Tuesday 30 April, to Friday 3 March 1844, have significance in Taieri history -

... 30 April ... Ground white with hoar frost - the sun rose with warmth, and a brilliant day succeeded. Walking over the hills towards the heads of the Tiarea with the Kapuketaumahaka on our right to the north, the first two miles the ascent is easy and the lands of tolerable quality, but bearing more fern, flax and toot than grass. The soil pretty stiff but impoverished by frequent fires. I estimate the distance of the Tiarea valley about 6 miles which I would survey in sections the first and the last 2 miles and omit the intermediate 2 miles over the summit. From near the Tiarea valley a road might diverge to Walkouwaike or a road might be formed nearer the coast past the conspicuous peaked mountains called Saddleback on the north side to the centre of the Tiarea Plain.

... The first sight of the Plains was very prepossessing, as we approached nearer it was apparent that much of it was subject to constant irrigations. I estimated its extent as equal to 12 miles by 3/2 [3 or 2] the land at this head was very rich and free from swamp and there appeared a continued line of high rich ground along the South West side of the Plain in the direct course to Molineux ... this course I wished to pursue but encumbered by Maorie guides we unfortunately walked down the N.E. side of the Plain. At the foot of the Saddle Back Mountain my guides expecting to find other natives of whom they might procure a canoe to convey us down the Plain and across to the West side landing at a point from whence there is a beaten track to Molineux.
... On the east side there is one large wood of Pine Timber and two or three smaller ones to the further of which we walked and then slept for the night. The Saddle Back is also wooded to the summit from the ascent from the plains [i.e. on the coastal side?] ... it is a great pig cover.

... Guides much disappointed at not finding any Maori huts in either woods. On the west side opposite to this wood there is one of great extent.

... Wednesday May 1st. Having found the grass under water for some distance the preceding afternoon (the water flowing) today we kept along the low hills on the East side of the plain on which side also was presently observed the course of the River Tiarea here a considerable river, deep and tranquil, not saline but rising and falling with the Tide and well adapted for inland navigation. Maories insufferably tedious, finding that they were ignorant of the way and discouraged, being disappointed of procuring a canoe pursued a fatiguing walk over hilly and broken ground without any tracks, till twilight when we camped in a wood on the East Bank of the river.

... Thursday May 2nd. About half an hours walk thro the woods and beyond on grasslands at the skirt of another wood we arrived at a Maori Settlement two or three decent huts made of Totara bark and as many raised stages for Potatoe Stores. Still we found no inhabitants nor canoes. From whence our course was by a branch of the Tiarea to a vast lake on the West side, unable to pursue this we were reluctantly compelled to follow the river Tiarea to the coast, from hence in a course about east nearly at right angles to that of the Plains - from hence to its mouth it is shut in on either side by steep hills, these rent asunder perhaps by volcanic action or cleft by constant denudation have offered a passage to the waters once accumulated in the vast basins of the Tiarea. Another most fatiguing walk, wind and rain bitterly cold and the growth frequently difficult to penetrate - impossible to proceed at this rate of a mile per hour. From this last ascent we joyfully gained sight of the Seashore and the Whaling Station on the island at the mouth of the Tiarea. We descended on a gentle slope of five strong lands. Maoris followers lagging behind and sulky - their legs and feet rather sore. Made fires and discharged a gun on the beach. A Maori came from the island and conversed across the waters with our party, gave us cold comfort in the assurances that a boat would come
for us in the morning. A short distance up the River was a Maori dwelling and a canoe on the bank, [Wymouth kaik of Harwood papers] one woman only there who would not or could not launch the canoe. Grumbling all night on this beach.

... Friday May 3rd. One of the whalers came from the Island along the sandbank opposite to us ....

Dr Munro wrote a parallel account of the journey which was published in the 'Nelson Examiner' under the heading 'Notes of a Journey Through a Part of the Middle Island of New Zealand'
(see Appendix B, pp. 197-199.)

Although the two accounts do not concur exactly, for example in matter of measurement of the plain (Tuckett thought '12 miles by 3/2', Munro 'stretching away to the southward for at least twenty miles, with an average breadth of five or six') because it was an 'eye survey'; at the very least they are complimentary in description. What they both recognised was an alluvial flood plain, most of which was at that time inundated. Extensive flooding was, and still is an occurrence on the Taieri Plain.

In the years 1853-1900, when floods were recorded by European settlers 10 out of 15 major floods occurred in the first 6 months of each year.\(^{31}\) As early as 30 April 1844, Tuckett had firmly decided on Otago as a site and he was contemplating surveying sections in the Upper Harbour for two miles towards present Wakari and in the Northeastern section of the Taieri Plains for 2 miles working south from

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30 N.Z.C.Correspondence 3/30. F.Tuckett Diary, 30 April 1844 - 3 May 1844 (NATIONAL ARCHIVES)

31 A.J. Houston: 'Flooding and Flood Control on the Taieri Plain' List of recorded floods. (Geography Department, Otago University, M.A. Thesis, 1966)
the head of the Plains. After optimistic beginnings on 'rich' land and soil both accounts deal in detail with what was to become the daily burden in the life of Taieri Plains settlers - marshy swamps and small streams draining the northern section of the Plain into the Waipori and Waihola Lakes and Taieri River. Despite fatiguing walks by day and positively uncomfortable nights in the open on the Taieri neither report is written with a sense of despondency symptomatic of wasted exploration. Tuckett seems to blame the misfortune of trudging down the swamp and bush-covered eastern side of the Plain on the Maori guides rather than attributing any fault to the countryside. He writes almost ecstatically about the "great pig cover" at the back of Saddle Hill, the "considerable ... deep and tranquil" Taieri River; his reluctance to quit the Plain only balanced by "joyfully" gaining sight of the coast and whaling station. Munro used the medium of the Maoris in the party to point out the possible use of flooded areas as communication by boat (a method extensively used by both Maoris and early European settlers). Also he saw a much valuable farmland along the edges of the basin despite his belief that most of the Taieri plain could not be drained because he thought the swamp level was 'not above that of the sea'.

While Tuckett makes a good deal of the amount of timber on the Plain - "... one large wood of Pine Timber and two or three smaller ones" ... "The Saddle Back is also wooded ... it is a great pig cover" ... "Wood on the East bank of the river" and again two items in 2 May entry; Munro on the other hand calls Tuckett's 'wood' a 'grove of trees of a few acres in extent' and further claims "there
is a great want of wood in the district". The availability of
millable timber, was in Tuckett's view\textsuperscript{32} one of the major pre-
requisites to settlement.

When the Maoris in the party reached Tairei Mouth they were
reluctant to proceed further. Tuckett threatened to with-hold
payment from them. The crisis passed when the local Maori chief
Te Raki joined them while they were at the whaling station.

The party, now guided by Te Raki proceeded south. On or
soon after 5 May 1844 Tuckett met Mr Willshire, agent for the
Sydney merchant Jones. Tuckett comments in his diary "This Mr
Jones pretends to a claim for land here preposterous in extent, it
was not submitted to Colonel Godfrey's investigations. Russell
states he has purchased land here of Mr Jones ..." The almost-
cynical nature of the comments adds weight to the proposition that
Tuckett had made up his mind already on the area of purchase -
Otakou to Molineux.

The party passed on to New River and Bluff and was joined by
Messrs Barnicoat and Davison as well as Taiaroa and Tuhawaiki.

By 24 May Tuckett had returned to New River. He had not
pursued his intentions of going to Milford Haven. The rumours and
information which he had heard from whalers, Maoris and settlers
around Bluff had discouraged him from continuing to the west. He
had already made up his mind on the site for the Scottish settlers -
he wrote to Colonel Wakefield from New River -

\textsuperscript{32} N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. F. Tuckett to W. Wakefield 23 March 1844
(NATIONAL ARCHIVES)
... Sir, Yesterday evening I returned from Jacob's River with the determination to return to Otago and there form the Settlement of New Edinburgh, taking as the district the valley of the Tiarea and the plains of Molineux, or the river Matau (the native name) subject to a confirmation of this judgement on a fresh examination of the Districts for which object I purpose landing again at Molineux exploring the courses of the Matau in the interior and walking from thence inland to Otago in order to verify my opinion that an easy line of communication may be established on dry ground along the S.W. side of the Tiarea valley. Anticipating that this will be my first choice ... .

It would seem then that Tuckett saw Otago as centering on the harbour with an extensive hinterland aided by good communication lines. His correspondence suggests that the Taieri Plain played a significant role in the selection of the Otago site. No record exists of his actual assessment of the role the Taieri played in his decision to make Otago the colonising-ground. It is obvious from his correspondence, however, that he was favourably impressed by the area in conjunction with the Clutha valley as an agricultural hinterland to the settlement of 'New Edinburgh'.

His second choice was Otago as the port with land to Moeraki, his third the Mataura River area, his fourth the Aparima River area, and his fifth Port Cooper (Banks Peninsula) which he had used as a standard against which to judge the others. It is quite significant that he was willing to act directly contrary to the opinion of Captain Mein Smith.

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In his diary, the entry for 1 June 1844 Tuckett repeated his intention to land at the Molineux, explore the land beside the Matau River then walk to Otago to join "the Schooner" on the 11th June.

On his way back to Otago Tuckett skirted the Tokomairiro Plain, crossed the low hills to the Taieri, canoed the Taieri Gorge from the Kaik [Mataipapa] to the sea and returned to the harbour by way of the coast.

Immediately on his arrival at his Otakou base he despatched to William Wakefield in Wellington his diary of the southern expedition and enclosed a specimen of coal from a cliff-face north of the Molineux River and a 'sketch of Lands to be Annexed to New Edinburgh Settlement'. Enclosed with the diary were suggestions on the distribution of sections and a remark about the tedious negotiations with the Maori proprietors on the price of the purchase.

Colonel Wakefield in Wellington posted forward the copies of the correspondence, diary and tracings to the Secretary of the Company confirming Tuckett's decision to 'fix the New Edinburgh Settlement at and near Otago'. He commended Tuckett's "judgment and unwearied exertions" on behalf of the Company.

34 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. Despatch to W. Wakefield from F. Tuckett Otago, 13 June 1844, including Sketch of Lands to be Annexed; Figure 2, p.30.

35 Sections were to be dispersed according to Tuckett's decisions in his diary entry 30 April 1844. The proposed areas were also shaded in red on Tuckett's sketch. Figure 3, p.30.


37 ibid, p.131.
FIGURE 3

Sketch of the district comprising the lands to be annexed to the settlement of New Edinburgh, 15 June, 1844. Surveyor - Frederick Tuckett.

Lands and Survey Department Map 2, 1844.
The basis of the remark about 'tedious negotiations' referred firstly to a protracted dispute between Tuckett and Police Magistrate John Symonds who accompanied Tuckett from Wellington to Otakau, and then, after a series of arguments with Tuckett returned to Wellington without having completed the purchase of land from the Maoris. It also referred to the Maori demand for a higher price than the Company would pay. The start of the Tuckett-Symonds argument had been the surveys of Messrs Barnicoat and Davison in the Waikouaiti-Purakanui areas while Tuckett was heading south to Molineux. Symonds' complaint was that such surveys were not permissible until the land had been alienated from the Maori proprietors. Tuckett vehemently supported his subordinates actions and Symonds left Otago, arriving in Wellington on 29 June 1844. Communication between the two, even while Symonds was in Otago was by letter through the agency of Mr Daniel Wakefield in Wellington!

Tuckett himself speedily effected his work and also sent another copy of the planned area of purchase to Mr Daniel Wakefield, in which he commented

...Sir, I beg you will communicate to the Government representative J.J. Symonds, Esq., that I wish to effect a purchase of the 150,000 acres allowed for the settlement of New Edinburgh in a district inter­ajacent between the harbour of Otago and the South Headland (Tokata) of Molyneux Bay (Karoro), the precise limits of such 150,000 acres to be defined hereafter on execution of an actual survey; the reserves in such limits, if any, are required to be defined by the sellers. It would greatly facilitate a clear understanding with the present proprietors, if a continuous block of land, equal to about twelve miles in its extreme breath, in a course inland about due West by compass, might be acquired.

38 T.M.Hocken MSS Journals, Barnicoat's Journal, 22 April 1844, which gives a statement of the argument from the viewpoint of one of the surveyors involved.

39 N.Z.C.Correspondence 3/30. J.J.Symonds, P.M. to His Hon.M.Richmond, the Superintendent of the Southern Division, 29 June 1844.
... In the accompanying plan of my route, such a block of land is indicated in the space coloured red and green; the former represents the land I would survey and subdivide into sections, the latter that which I consider ineligible for occupation. The boundaries, as nearly as I can define them in words, are along either shore of Otago Harbour, from the entrance to the head, the summit ridge from which the water flows to the harbour, or, if preferred, say one mile back from the shore of the harbour, of which, on an average, not more than half a mile would be available ...

... Remarks on the District ...

... Immediately south of the mouth of the Karoro, Molyneux Bay, on the sea shore, three or four good houses have been erected, two of which are occupied, the one by Mr Wiltshire, the other by Mr Russell; the former the agent of some party in Sydney, the latter as proprietor of land which he purchased of the same party in Sydney.

... Mr Wiltshire has cleared and partially cultivated about 10 acres of land; Russell less than half that quantity; they have no acknowledged claim.

... Immediately north of the mouth of the Maroro, also on the sea shore, reside a few Maoris, viz., Toki, the widow of Tahu, formerly the chief of Karoro; Makawai, a young woman; Maihou and Touwere, aged men; Kaki-kaki and Tohitu, young men; also three children. They have lately erected some new houses of improved construction, and have a few acres of land adjoining under cultivation. These, with Te Raki and Kuri, of the Taiari, who reside at the Taiari, are the only aboriginal residents; Tuawhaiki was born on the banks of the Mataura, and considers himself as almost sole proprietor.

... The two clearings of Te Raki are near the mouth of the Taiari; the other, on the plain on the east bank of the river, I have not coloured, supposing he would not part with them; otherwise, the latter I should like to acquire. The Native proprietors at Otago are, I believe, known to Mr Symonds. I do not wish to acquire any of their usual places of residence at the entrance of the harbour; but of a point occupied as a whaling station, and thence inland on the east side of the harbour, on which many Europeans reside, I consider it important that I should be put in possession, either by the Magistrate or the aboriginal proprietors. ...
request you will also communicate with Mr Symonds on another subject. The practice of squatting on lands purchased by the New Zealand Company has been a source of much trouble in all the former settlements; here, unless some rigorous measures are pursued, the evil will be greatly increased on the arrival of adventurers prior to the emigrants. ...40

Despite the absence of Symonds, the Government representative in the negotiations, events in Otago were accelerating.

Correspondence indicates that Tuckett was contemplating buying the equipment to start the survey on 50 acre subdivisions.41

Communications were also uppermost in his mind for he wrote

... A Ferry boat and a station at the head of Lake Rakitoto to convey goods, passengers and horses coming from Otago to any part of the Matau.

... A Road from the head of the Waiola [Waihola] (vide Tiarca [sic] Plain) to Rakitoto, a few water courses excepted, if [it] is in its natural surface passable for a cart in the summer season. A Ferry boat and a station either at the head or elsewhere on the Tiarca River. A road from the head of Otago Harbour to the last-mentioned Ferry station ....42

One point which crossed his mind was the complication to new settlements caused by dissatisfied settlers coming from older-established areas like Taranaki. He discussed the possibility of dissatisfaction amongst the arriving emigrants if others had arrived previously.43

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41 F.Tuckett to D.Wakefield, 13 June 1844, pp.101-102.
42 ibid. Tuckett to Colonel Wakefield, 17 June 1844
43 ibid.
At this stage, Tuckett was thinking in terms of completing negotiations with the Maoris himself for in the postscript of the same letter he remarks

... If the Maoris are not willing to live out of the District I have delineated, and insist on extensive Reserves within it, it would be my wish to cover such reduction by substituting an equal portion of land in a new District north of Otago, between the Totara and Waikawaite Rivers ... 44

His choice of new land was merely an extension of an idea he promoted earlier in the same letter

... If the Company are desirous of extending their operations and forming other settlements ... each successive settlement is to possess the best remaining District, the next settlement will consist of the lands north of Otago, and the consequent concentration of capital and enterprise will achieve the first success of colonization in New Zealand ... 45

Tuckett himself began by 19 June 1844 the negotiations on the money transaction. In correspondence to William Wakefield Tuckett declared Tuhawaiki arbitrarily decided to whom money was to be paid by claiming it for himself, Taiaroa and Kareta. At this point, a dispute occurred among the assembled Maoris about Tuhawaiki's decision because Kareta dictated to "a young Maori penman a succession of names of Proprietors at Otago and Tiarea" of which Tuckett enclosed a copy. 46 Tuckett further commented that

44 ibid.
45 ibid.
46 N.Z.C.Corrrespondence 3/30. Letter Tuckett to W.Wakefield, 19 June 1844. On this list appear the names of two Taieri proprietors 'Tuarea' [Taiaroa], and Te Raki who is nominated as "chief of Tiarea", i.e. Taieri.
the same group of Maoris had been disgruntled when they were
previously told by Symonds that he was returning to Wellington
and that they would not be paid 'until the return of the
Government representative'. 47

The same day, Tuhawaiki blatantly declared that he had never
alienated any land other than a small piece sold to Mr Jones of
Sydney.

... Tuawaite Chief of Karero (Molineux)
declares that he has never sold any land
within the District described on the sketch
of a District proposed to be purchased for
the Settlement of New Edinburgh other than a
small piece of land south of the stream
Karero which he sold in 1839 to William Jones
of Sydney and which a Mr Wiltshire has built
on and cleared and that for this piece of
Land he received in payment Twenty Pounds
(£20.)

Signed by Tuawaite
Witnessed by J.W. Barnicoat
and Frederick Tuckett

This declaration throws some doubts upon the Europeans' judgement
of Tuhawaiki as a straight-forward and honest chief. He had
entered into previous contracts, but now saw the opportunity of
making the largest windfall to that date, for himself and his
people. He certainly had cultivated a keen business sense from
his previous contacts with Europeans.

47 ibid.

48 N.Z.C.Correspondence 3/30. Tuhawaiki's declaration. 19 June 1844;
c.f. supra, p.11.
The climax in these negotiations was reached when on 20 June 1844, Tuawaiki, Taiaroa and Karetai advised by John Jones of Waikouaiti presented a document addressed to Colonel Wakefield. It was, in essence, an ultimatum serving one month's notice, to the 20 July 1844, for the Company to honour its intention to purchase the Otago area, or in default of payment of £2,400 the survey party were to leave.  

In a covering letter, Tuckett complained that he had not been assisted by an interpreter or given help by Symonds. He suggested that the Company could well do with the help of John Jones, of Waikouaiti who

... wishes to establish himself as a Merchant ...
if a waterfront section in the town is given to him by the Company. In return for his assistance and influence he will endeavour to persuade the natives to abandon any land which we wish to acquire, if this cannot be done he will probably induce the natives to make a Reserve which will answer his purpose ...

He carried on to describe how the native proprietors wished £2,400 but he acknowledged that he knew William Wakefield would not exceed £2,000 purchase money.  

The correspondence travelled north rapidly probably arriving on 29th June on the same vessel that carried Mr Symonds. The latter explained his leaving Otago without effecting a purchase by "The


marked discourtesy and want of co-operation of Mr Tuckett ... compelled me to resort to this measure, ..."\(^51\)

After deliberating the case a few days Colonel Wakefield chose a course of action. He instructed Mr Daniel Wakefield to proceed immediately to Otago in the company of Mr Spain, a man experienced in land transactions with the Maoris, who was at that time in Wanganui. Mr Spain was to act as referee between the Company and the Government. Mr Symonds would also proceed south in the 'Scotia' but was not to contact Tuckett.\(^52\) As soon as he could, the Colonel would follow to Otago. He decided to accede to the proposals made by the Southern Chiefs\(^53\) who had been advised by the white residents in Otago. The Colonel thought that the Otago natives were few in number but "very amenable" to the influence of Europeans. Obviously at this juncture Colonel Wakefield thought it prudent to act quickly on behalf of the Company or face the possibility of having to pay a higher purchase price to the Maoris who were being advised by resident Europeans with vested interests. Delay would also lead to more unsatisfactory arrangements being made in the purchase or, on an unlikely chance, forfeiture of the purchase through the Maoris adhering to the terms of the ultimatum. Wakefield committed himself on the basis of Tuckett’s judgement and made arrangements to go south and make a personal inspection of the proposed site and effect the

\(^{51}\) ibid. J.J. Symonds P.M. (Wellington) to His Hon. Superintendent Southern Division, 29 June 1844


\(^{53}\) ibid. W. Wakefield to Secretary, New Zealand Company, 4 July 1844
purchase of the land. He arrived in Otago on 15 July 1844 and found it an agreeable harbour principally because it did not open to the south as did Akaroa and Port Nicholson. He was, however, concerned with the safety of the channel, which in his opinion needed pilots and buoys. He observed the movement of Maoris around a village a mile inside the Heads, sited there "... from having been the site of a whaling station..."

There is meaning to be found in Wakefield's use of the past tense. The halcyon days of whaling were over. The Otago whaling establishment was now Harwood's general store serving the needs of the Otakau Maoris and the few white residents. Contrary to Shortland, Wakefield saw much timber in the areas neighbouring the harbour "... The neighbourhood of Otago is ... a poor man's country - containing good land and plenty of wood ...".

Symonds proposed that they should walk the boundaries and observe the physical limits of the landscape where possible. On 18 July, Symonds, G.Clark, Colonel Wakefield and six natives left the harbour to make the journey. Walking towards the Taieri Plain over the ridges between Abbotsford Hill and Three Miles Hill, Wakefield saw the "... extensive and repeated burnings, which [had] impoverished the land ..." Nonetheless, he still thought "... the worst of it, however, affords abundant food for sheep ...". The optimistic tone of Wakefield's correspondence is sustained in his

54 17th Report of the New Zealand Company, 13 February 1845, Wakefield to the Secretary of the Company, 31 August 1844, pp. 131-149.
55 ibid, p.134.
56 ibid, p.137.
57 ibid, p.137.
observation of the Taieri Plain itself. He thought the river could be navigated for twelve miles from the sea. Even seeing the parts of the Plain that were subject to flooding did not fill him with dismay -

...About two-thirds of the Plains are now available. The remainder is subject to inundation, but may be reclaimed and rendered more valuable than the higher ground.

... One considerable forest of useful timber trees and two smaller ones are seen on the plain in evidence of the lapse of time since it was covered in water ...

... The Taieri plain is enclosed on three sides with mountains - that to the westward being one thousand feet high and thickly covered with snow at this season, is called Maunga Atua or God's Hill. This range forms the inland or western boundary of the block between thirty and forty miles to the south of Otago ...

... The land at the head of the Waihola Lake consists of undulating downs, round-topped and covered with herbage, grass of various descriptions and anise of larger growth than any I had previously seen. Quails are plentiful over all these downs and in the plains adjoining them and would become more so but for the hawks and kites. Hereafter it will become the business of Scotch sportsmen to give rewards for their destruction ...

... The communication with this country from Otago [Harbour] is extremely easy. Water carriage can be made use of down the Taieri to the head of Waihola Lake. A good roadway may be made without much expense from thence to Rakitoto ... 58

Following the inspection Colonel Wakefield made an undertaking to select 150,000 acres to which the Crown's right of pre-emption had been waived as soon as the block had been surveyed. 59

58 T.M.Hocken (Comp.) Otago collected pamphlets. Documents relating to the Purchase of the Otago District for the site of the Scotch Settlement in New Zealand, William Wakefield to the Secretary, New Zealand Company, 31 August 1844.

Wakefield, like Harwood before him though he occupied a different role, was enthused with the prospects.

The transactions were accordingly despatched with speed, although the time limit laid down by the Maoris was superseded. It must have been obvious to them that the almost frenzied activity of the intending purchasers, from immediately before the ending of the time limit, indicated a seriousness of purpose. The Deed of Sale was signed on 31 July 1844 with due ceremony. Among the signatories to the document were Tuckett whose single-minded purpose had led to the selection of the area, and representative Maori proprietors of the Taieri district. John Tuhawaiki signed as paramount chief from Otago to Stewart Island, Te Raki as the resident Taieri chief and Pokene as a chief with peripheral influence over the Plain. A report of the transaction was written by J.J. Symonds and addressed to his superior, the Superintendent of the Southern Division, the Honorable Mr Richmond. This document is of great importance to any student examining the Otago purchase. In it are described in detail the happenings of the purchase from an official viewpoint, in particular, the willingness of Wakefield to shift the responsibility for the further choice of reserves on to the Governor of New Zealand. Symonds admits that he made no "express stipulation" to the natives on the matter of extra reserves at all, yet he was aware that it was part of New Zealand Company policy formulated in agreement with the British Government. The tone

60 Appendix C, pp.200-201.

of his report seems sympathetic to the natives, especially the observation of how he expressly tried to make the natives aware of the long-term implications of the Deed of Sale.

This document is at a junction in the thesis. The first pattern of settlement in the century 1770 - 1870 on the Taieri Plain, was the Maori pattern which was greatly affected by forces, mainly arising from the Weller brothers' Otakau post. A discussion of what the Maori pattern was, and how it was affected will follow in Chapter 3. After 1848, the pioneer-farming pattern was established on the Taieri Plain by the principally-Scots emigrants. The factors causing its disruption lay in the discovery of gold which will be examined in Chapter 7. Symonds' report is chronologically between these phenomena and more importantly, contains references to the Maori way of life and the European claimants to the land, including Octavius Harwood of Otakou. The purpose of the document is to report on the mechanics of signing a deed, the function of which was a pre-condition to the establishment of the emigrant pattern of settlement.

The Deed was signed, the transaction a fact. The Otago Block awaited the emigrants and the Taieri awaited the "Scotch sportsmen" whom Wakefield referred to in his correspondence which painted the district in such promising colours.
CHAPTER THREE

The Original Proprietors

The land had changed hands. Who then was "the legitimate possessor" referred to in Governor FitzRoy's instructions to Police Magistrate J.J. Symonds prior to the enactment of sale? According to the Deed of Sale, the Ngaitahu tribe was the former owner. The binding agreement in the Deed of Sale was that the natives "... conveyed all their right, title and interest in the districts of Otakau, Taieri and Mataura to the New Zealand Company ..." excepting the areas of Omata, Puka-kura, Taieri and Karori, which had been confirmed as native reserves. Later, a further choice of reserves, in area equivalent to one-tenth of all the land sold by the New Zealand Company was to be made by the Governor of New Zealand. In return, the natives were to share £2,400 purchase money. The conditions of further choice of reserves were not made specific at the time of the sale nor is there any mention of it in the terms of the Deed of Sale. It was left to the good faith of future Government and local authority officers to execute the instructions of Lord Stanley on the matter.

The matter of the size of extra reserves was a subject of official policy with the New Zealand Company. In the 1st Report of Directors

1 Appendix C, pp.200-201.
2 ibid.
3 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. Lord Stanley to Governor R. FitzRoy, 8 April 1844 - instructions which ratified the 13th clause of the 1st Agreement between Lord John Russell, Secretary of State and the N.Z. Coy. November 1840; supra, p.178.
the Company specified under 'Terms of Sale of Land 1 June 1839'

conditions for preliminary sales read,

... These [choice sites] will be divided into 1100 sections, each section comprising one town-acre, and 100 country acres. 110 sections will be reserved by the Company, who intend to distribute the same as private property amongst the chief families of the tribe, from which the lands have already been purchased. The remainder being 990 sections, of 101 acres each, are now offered for sale in sections, at the price of £101 for each section or £1 per acre ....4

These conditions were made primarily for the Port Nicholson site5 and mention that the extra reserves were to be made from the selection of choice sites, that is, dispersed amongst those lands which the N.Z. Company had selected as settlement sites from the bulk of their land purchases from the natives. Such was not the case in Otago, where neither the lands in the primary reserves, nor the later selected sites could in good conscience be described as "choice sites". Even in 1845, the Company was representing its policy as beneficial to the natives.

... These Reserves we desired to be selected in exactly the same way with the possessions of the Colonists, and to be intermingling among theirs, with a view of their progressive increase in value, and the development of common interests and feelings, on the importance of which we laid much stress, ....6

Behind these statements is the belief that not only would the natives share with emigrants the prime lands to be selected by lottery7 but that the native lands would not be separate in any way from the rest.

5 A. Mackay: A Compendium ... of Native Affairs ... Vol. I. p.9.
7 A. Mackay, op. cit., p.9.
Did the Maoris present at the Otago block purchase realise all of this? Were they conversant with the implications of a deed of conveyance? For the majority, it would be ridiculous to suggest that they were entirely familiar with the proceedings and their possible results. Only Tuhawaiki may have realised the significance of the transaction. Colonel Wakefield, comparing Tuhawaiki with his fellows thought him

... a shrewd, straightforward, and highly intelligent chief. He entered into the details of the sale, described the boundaries exactly by name and designs on paper, and conducted the transactions on the part of the Natives with the tact and readiness of an accomplished man of business ...

This was an opinion with which Dr Edward Shortland, sub-protector of the aborigines concurred.

... Tuhawaiki, their most influential chief, who has unfairly acquired the sobriquet, Bloody Jack, is perhaps one of the most intelligent natives in New Zealand. His character for honesty is such that he as frequently obtained on credit slops, flour, and rum, in large quantities, with the latter he retails to whalers at advanced prices. He has a good weather-boarded house at Ruapuke, and has recently purchased a small schooner, with he navigates with a native crew, and one European sailor. In this vessel the Bishop of N.Z lately visited Foveaux Sts, and returned thence to Hakaroa ....

Tuhawaiki further rose in the Colonel's esteem because of his willingness to give up 'the drink', a decision which contrasted favourably with the habits of many other Otago Maoris, especially Taiaroa and Kareta who were "fast sinking".

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8 N.Z. Company Correspondence 3/30. W. Wakefield to the Secretary of the Coy., 31 August 1844.

9 J.H. Wohlers, Memories in the Life of J.H. Wohlers (Dunedin 1895)


10 E. Shortland Letterbook A MS (Hocken). E. Shortland to The Chief Protector of Aborigines (George Clarke).

11 N.Z. Company Correspondence 3/30. W. Wakefield to the Secretary of the Company, 31 August 1844.
If this, indeed, was the state of things what did the Deed of Sale mean to the Otago Maoris? Were the limitations to be imposed on their wanderings and rights of possession in Otago of any consequence to them? Or had their life-style and pattern of movement already changed to such an extent that they could readily accept a document written in the traditional, legalistic terms of European proprietorship with all its limitations for their future lives?

The answers to many of these questions can be found by examining the composition of Otago's residents at the time of, and prior to, the land transaction.

Under the Governor's requirements on land purchase, favourable consideration was to be given to existing proprietors, and all settlers would have their cases heard "carefully and kindly..." by the Government, either under existing laws or by "... a special act of Grace...." i.e., waiving the Crown's declared right to pre-emption "... to a reasonable extent ..." 12

The names of George Willsher, Octavius Harwood, James Fowler, James Brown, John Murray and Stephen Smith appear in a footnote of Symond's correspondence to Major Richmond, 2 September 1844. 13 This group form landowners or landowners' representatives amongst European traders and whalers who had arrived in Otago in the early nineteenth century. George Willsher was a settler who had taken up land at the Clutha River mouth as representative for the Sydney merchant, Thomas Jones. 14

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12 N.Z.Company Correspondence 3/30. R. FitzRoy to J.J. Symonds, 27 February 1844.

13 Reference to this group is also made in Appendix D, pp.202-204. 17th Report of Directors of the N.Z. Coy, No. 36, 13 February 1845, (London 1845), p.142.

14 Reference to land claims in O.L.C. Commission Nos. 127, 127A, 127B in which no grant of land was recommended.
in a rudimentary manner, up to 20 acres of land and lived in a whare. Octavius Harwood was a trader who managed a shore whaling-depot on behalf of the Sydney merchants, George and Edward Weller. They went into receivership in 1841 but Harwood remained at Otakou, and later that year took up partnership with an ex-senior member of the defunct Weller Brother's firm, Charles Schultze. This agreement was dissolved in 1843 and Harwood carried on as an Otakou merchant, having abandoned the whaling side of the business. In 1839, he had bought three acres of land near the Otago Harbour entrance from the chiefs Taiaroa, Pokanui (Pokene) and Kareta, at what is now known as Harwood Township. James Fowler was a whaler stationed at Otakou who acted as a pilot for vessels using the harbour entrance from the 1840s to the 1860s. Fowler was sold land surrounding his house by Kareta to the amount of "... 10 rods ...". James Brown was a whaler and grog-seller at Otakou. He became involved in a violent dispute with the local Maoris on 5 February 1840 because he refused to sell more drink to one of them. The result was a tragedy in which one European and one Maori died. Brown claimed 50,000 acres of land, purchased in 1838, from Otakou natives.

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15 F.S.Pillans of 'Myres' Inchclutha Diary, records a one-night stay by the author - entry 16 September 1851. (HOCKEN)

16 O. Harwood MSS (HOCKEN). O. Harwood Memorial to Gov.R. FitzRoy 184- (?) in regard to a purchase made on 9 December 1839 pleading to be regarded as a .. "special case" ..

17 O. Harwood and others. Petition to the Governor 19 May 1844 - O. Harwood MSS;
M.G. Thomson, A Preliminary Page to the History of Otago, p.4. (Dunedin 1886) p.4;
W.T. Smith, Diary, p.23. 20 January 1863.

18 G.C. Thomson collection - Reminiscences of "Haberfield" (HOCKEN MS); or full account in R. McNab The Old Whaling Days (Dunedin 1913) pp. 284-285.
"Tuterackipana, Bogany [Pokene], Matabulla and Jackey White [Karetai]"\(^{19}\) John Murray was a whaler for the Weller brothers and settled on land at Otakou.\(^{20}\) Stephen Smith was a whaler J.J. Symonds reckoned to be of "excellent character", who kept a Maori woman and cultivated two acres of land at Waikouaiti, as well as running few cattle.\(^{21}\)

To this group of men, the concept of individual proprietorship was entirely acceptable. Their traditional 'European' upbringing had familiarized them with the ideas that they should own or rent land, and that it should be theirs to develop, neglect, or sell if they so wished. They were the products of a European tradition which generally gave one person or a small group of people, in partnership, individual title to the land. On the other hand, the Southern Maoris first became acquainted with the concept of legal title to the land, signified by an imposing written document, in the early 1800s. These "booka-bookas" were drawn up when agreements to sell or lease were made with local whalers, sealers, traders and missionaries. Immediately difficulties arose because of the differing concepts of land proprietorship. These difficulties were aggravated by a number of conflicting factors such as: the unscrupulousness of some Europeans eager to acquire land, the desire

\(^{19}\) O. Harwood Papers, Typescript MS. Agreement for Sale of Land of James Brown to O. Harwood, 3 April, 1847, p.18;


\(^{21}\) E. Shortland Journal MS (HOCKEN), the character reference is the opinion of J.J. Symonds.
of some Maoris to alienate land, regardless of whether they had the right over it or not, because they were entranced by the possessions of the Europeans. The acquisitive principles on both sides were disturbed by the difficulty both in communication of tangibles and more so in the case of concepts about possession. When thinking of land ownership, the Maoris and the Europeans were approaching the question from totally different points of view and the resulting friction, when the consequences of alienation became obvious to the natives, was almost inevitable. The process of transfer of lands into European hands was facilitated through the gradual acceptance by Maoris of the concept of individual ownership. Simultaneously, the Maori people accepted eagerly other European mores, foregoing tribal customs. The Maori chiefs were impressed by the respect with which Europeans regarded written legal titles and were covetous of these pieces of paper. There was a keen trade for a time in the late 1830s and early 1840s in title-deeds drawn up by Sydney lawyers which contained a chief's moko for his signature. It was not, however, going against traditional custom for the chiefs to represent the interests of their tribe. In the case of the Otago Maoris, the chiefs were recognised as representative of the subsections of the Ngaitahu tribe. It is most likely that only Tuhawaiki understood the nature of the proceedings\(^22\) although some of the others present had previously sold land.\(^23\)

\(^{22}\) E. Shortland Letterbook A. E. Shortland to G. Clarke, Protector of the Aborigines, Enclosure 1, General Report.

\(^{23}\) G. Clarke: Early Life in New Zealand (Hobart, 1903) p.65. The Rev. G. Clarke was present at the Otago block purchase in a translator's role and later claimed there had been no subsequent arguments over rights not fairly extinguished.
The concept of written transactions is of great significance in the history of the N.Z. Maoris. It effectively marks the beginning of a new era in their education: conversely, the end of tribal agreements through rights of possession and the establishment of 'mana rahi' or great mana; the end of tribal disputes customarily settled by an honoured custom of inter-tribal warfare followed by solemn, yet festive agreement.  

The dubious nature of many of the pre-1844 land transactions was not a good introduction, for the Maoris, into the European style of proprietorship. In Otago before 1844, the majority of land purchases had been the result of speculation on the land market, mainly by Sydney merchants. Most of these claims were invalidated by the deliberations of the Old Land Claims Commission in 1843, mainly because the proprietors did not appear before the Court to plead a case for ownership. Following the pattern established in land transactions before 1844, it would be entirely natural of Otago Maoris to think that all sales were those made to absentee landlords who would never reside in the district. There was precious little preparation for what was to follow - the proposed, relatively large-scale emigration of Scots settlers to 'New Edinburgh'.

The pre-1844 settlers had made a considerable impact upon the local natives. It could be seen not only in a new type of land exchange system for the Maori people, but also in nutritional changes,

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differing clothing habits and modified patterns of settlement. By an examination of a microcosm area - the Taieri Plain, it is hoped that some of these changes will be clarified. In particular, an examination of modes and patterns of settlement will prove that the Maori once had some characteristic types, in this inland basin, which were disrupted by the influence of the pre-1844 European.

Dr Edward Shortland left a description of his visit in 1843 to the small Taieri village of Mataipapa, where he was entertained by the chief of the Taieri area, Hakaraia Te Raki.

... the native village, a few huts by the water side. The place had been selected for the convenience of eel-fishing, owing to its vicinity to some lakes, where they were caught of a large size, and very delicate flavour ... [there was here a] small party of natives which consisted of four men, six women, and nine children ...

Te Raki belonged to the family of John Tuhawaiki who was principal chief of the Matau (Clutha) district from Taieri to Tokata. In May of the next year, Frederick Tuckett visited Te Raki's Mataipapa village and recorded "... a Maori Settlement two or three decent huts made of Totara bark and as many raised stages for Potatoe [sic] stores still we found no inhabitants nor canoes ..." and further down the Taieri Gorge he found a dwelling which was probably the remnants of 'Wrymouth Käique' described by Octavius Harwood

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28 F. Tuckett, Diary, 2 September 1844.
in 1840. This place had similarly been found deserted by Shortland in 1843. In 1849, the Reverend Thomas Burns of Dunedin, paid a 'visitation' to 'Te Raki, Native Village of the Taieri', and found 27 inhabitants at the kaik. He offered no explanation in his diary as to why he did not use the native name Mataipapa. It was well-known to settlers in the 1840s - Tuckett first recorded it on his sketch maps for the N.Z. Company. The differences in the number of inhabitants is significant, pointing to the temporary, seasonal nature of habitation. By 1849, although Shortland and Tuckett had earlier only recorded Maoris resident in the Taieri area, Burns found Europeans, Jamaicans, Antiguans and half-caste persons.

During the 1830s and 1840s, it seems that the Taieri Plain was a stopping-off place for natives moving between Kaiapoi and Solander Island. By the late 1830s, the Maoris used water-travel in the area in preference to trekking overland - a fact well-attested by such things as the sale of whaling boats to the local Maoris, the travel habits of Otago Maoris in the 1840s, and the readiness with which a mokihi of dried korari sticks could be prepared and used for inland waterways. In the Taieri, lakes Waihola ('Waihore' was the

29 O.Harwood MS Journal, 8 December 1840.
30 E. Shortland, Southern Districts, p.168.
31 G.C.Thomson Collection (HOCKEN), T.Burns Diary, 21-23 February 1849.
32 F.Tuckett, Sketch of District comprising the Lands to be Annexed to the Settlement of New Edinburgh, 13 June 1844; Figure 3, p.30.
native name) and Waipori were known as food reserves and travel-ways by the natives. Both Shortland and Tuckett anticipated being able to use well-defined Maori tracks to the Molineux from the western side of the Plain. Shortland found that they had been obliterated from misuse and Tuckett was unable to negotiate the swamp area around Lake Waipori and so reach the Maungatua foothills to find out whether the tracks existed or not.

The implications of obliteration of well-known tracks are important, especially in an area which existed as a stopping-off point on a well-travelled route. Although some Maoris possessed European whaling or sealing boats, and although the Maori population in Otago was small compared with North Island provinces, there seem to be more weighty reasons for the neglect of the tracks on the Taieri. The 1830s and 1840s were a period of great change for the Maori people of Otago. Besides adopting European habits of clothing and food, they had been prey to European sicknesses. These sicknesses had far-reaching effects, when death struck the survivors congregated in their 'whanau' or family groups, thus unwittingly spreading the diseases faster than if they had remained dispersed. Sickness often induced immobility and Maori groups tended to concentrate in impermanent villages and European settlements - reintroducing themselves to the diseases. The Reverend George Clarke, sub- protector of the Aborigines later wrote,
The natives appeared to be in a miserable condition. More than in any other part of the country they had suffered by their intercourse with the very roughest of whalers and sealers, and altogether they were in a more pitiable state than any of the tribes in the North Island. In numbers, in physique, and in morals they had greatly gone down. Their very jargon was a strange medley of bad French, bad English and bad Maori.\textsuperscript{36}

In the same publication, Clarke recapitulated an impassioned plea by principal chief Tuhawaiki to stop Tuckett's survey assistants cutting sighting lines through a section of native land which was thick with the Maori graves of his own generation.\textsuperscript{37} The chief attributed the deaths to the incursions of Te Rauparaha and the diseases of the 'pakeha'.\textsuperscript{38}

The oldest settlers agree that the Native population was formerly much larger, and attribute its decrease principally to the introduction of measles, which cut off great numbers about 6 years ago [c.1837-1839] and the wars carried on with Te Rauparaha.\textsuperscript{39}

The conditions of life in Maori villages in the locality were appalling - Mataipapa being no exception especially when southerly and south-westerly cold breezes blew over the Taieri Plain.

\textsuperscript{35} Octavious Harwood's brother, Thomas, visited Otakou in 1842-3 and in an undated letter to his father R. Harwood, Clerkenwell, England he observed "Our society here is very limited, there not being above thirty Europeans residing at this part and these with one or two exceptions are the greatest rascals to be met with and we have no law here but club law." Despite the lack of flexibility shown in Thos. Harwood's views, his comments on the Otakou society were probably correct.

\textsuperscript{36} G. Clarke, op. cit., p.61.

\textsuperscript{37} A.H. McLintock, History of Otago, p.96; N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30 W. Wakefield to Sec., N.Z. Coy, 31 August 1844.

\textsuperscript{38} In vengeance for an attack on his forces Te Rauparaha led a force which 'almost annihilated' the Ngaitahu at Kaiapoi; references, A. McKay, Compendium of Native Affairs, p.20; F. Tuckett Diary, 21 May 1844; and G. Clarke, Early Life in N.Z., p.62.

Despite the obvious ill-health in local communities the people formed a convenient pool of labour which the traders and whalers used. To William Wakefield, at least, much was admirable in the local native men,

... They differ much in their habits from the natives of the northern parts of the Islands; dressing as European sailors or fishermen, possessing and using with great skill and boldness fine sealing and whale boats, and deriving large profits from the collection of stranded whales, the bone of which they sell at the European stations at which they have running accounts. 40

The last-mentioned sophistication was evident at Otakou in the late 1830s and early 1840s. 41 There is much evidence on shore whaling and whaling contacts by local Maoris - Rev. Clarke on mixed speech patterns, 42 Rev. Wohlers on "Bloody" Jack's English ...

... 'learnt mostly from rough whalers and sealers ...' 43 to employment lists of local whaling stations. 44 In June 1844 John Jones of Waikouaiti stated to F. Tuckett that he was using Taieri Island (Moturata Is.) as a whale fishery - where Thos. Chaseland and some Maori employees were camped. 45 The Harwood MSS record the employment of local Maoris at Taieri whaling station in The Journal, which set out in chronological order, reads,

41 O. Harwood, Daybooks and bills MSS (HOCKEN)
42 G. Clarke, Early Life in N.Z. p.60.
43 J. Wohlers, Memories, p.86.
44 O. Harwood, Daybooks, MSS unpagd, HOCKEN
E. Shortland Diary fragments - 'Maoris at Whycowaike.'
1. Thursday 26th April 1838 "... victualed 14 Mostays belonging to Mr Chaceland and Price's Gangs for 1 week".

2. Wednesday 16 May 1838 ... Grog to Chaceland's Gang and Mowray Bone Cleaners - 6 - ...

3. Wednesday 26th September 1838 "Tikolaki, Mauruarua, Dudu, Ruatai absent - Cully cleaning Bone .."

4. Saturday 3rd November 1838 "Mr Cureton came over from Tyarie, one of his Mowrays dying - brought him over with him".

5. Saturday 15 - Sunday 23rd June 1839 ) Chief Taiaaroa performed Tuesday 23rd - Saturday 27 July 1839) shuttle service to Taieri with gear for whaling station.

6. 22nd February 1841 "Shipped Teoto and Rua Keony for Tyarie fishery ." 

In the O. Harwood Daybooks, there is an undated list of "Maoris Employed" begining "Golak-chief, Jacky White, Tyroa, Bloody Jack arrived 10 boats September 8th 1839 ... 60 or 70 men" witnessing to the large-scale employment at Otakau of local Maoris. McNab states that one half of the Wellers' whalers were Maoris. 46

The employment of local Maoris in the Otago area had started much earlier than the 1830s even though by then Otago Harbour was "...famous in point of obtaining right whales ..." 47 Ironicaly, when Otago became famous, N.Z. shore whaling was waning and the importance of Otago only became significant with the failure of the Davis Strait (Australian) fisheries in 1836. In 1792 Australian whalers had visited Fiordland 48 and as early as 1805 there were reports of Maoris employed in whaling gangs being jettisoned in Sydney. 49

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48 1792, the visit of the "William and Anne" and the "Brittania".
Other contacts between the local Europeans and Maoris at the time, of course, existed. Most of these tended to be motivated by the pecuniary desire of the Europeans. Otago became the centre of greenstone artifacts trade for a while - in the hands of Harwood at Otakou a profitable trade grew both with Northern Maoris and overseas vessels. The Weller correspondence records the qualities of Otago timber for cask-making and boat-building. European carpenters were brought out by the Weller Brothers' firm and Maori cutters were used to help felling - and occasionally in building. Pine logs were cut near Taieri Mouth, and also near the 'Lakes' on the Plain.

O. Harwood's Journal entry of the 3rd November 1840 reads, "... Big Boats returned from Tyarie. Brought 161 Pine Plank and some copper ..." and when Harwood visited the Taieri via the whaling station his Journal records for 9 December 1840, "... Went up to the Lakes [Waihola - Waipori] and saw the logs cut by the Natives, some of them very small, numbers of Apes' logs floating about in the River - indeed, the greater part unsecured - ..."

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50 Weller typescript MSS (HOCKEN), G.Weller to E.Weller, 14 February 1839.
51 Weller MSS (HOCKEN), Memorandums for employment by G. and E. Weller for Peter Legg, N.S.W. 3 March 1840, and Thomas Parnell, 25 February 1840.
52 O. Harwood Journal - Bogany (Pokene) built a storehouse at Otakau.
53 E. Shortland, Journal. Apes was an American sawyer employed on the Taieri by Weller Brothers, and from 1843 was employed as a whaler by J. Jones of Waikouaiti.
FIGURE 4

Reduction of an Original Sketch made for
Mr Halswell c.1841 by two Southern Maoris

In 1839, Edward Weller, resident in Otago had written to his Sydney brother, George, recommending Taieri pine as superior in quality to most other Otago timber. Also, Otago Maoris were aware of the Taieri as a source of useful timber, as the map drawn for E. Halswell, Protector of Aborigines in 1841 indicates. Despite the obvious deficiencies of the Maori cartography, the comment "Plenty of white pine" for the Taieri area can be taken seriously. The forest south of Otago Harbour and extending into the Taieri, in the age of Maori occupation was composed "... of podocarps, the relative proportions of individual species varying with altitude and climate ..." Maoris were not only employed as sawyers by the Weller Brothers, but also by Harwood acting on his own behalf.

Native flax (phormium tenax) cutting, retting, drying and weaving were among the activities of local Maoris. The only extensive swamp south of the Waitaki River, which grew both flax and raupo conjunctively, was on the Taieri Plain. It was a convenient association forming both a food and economic resource area. It would be logical to find past Maori activity there. The flax trade started in the 1810s in the Foveaux Strait area and rapidly products made from local flax grew in reputation. In 1813, a report was made on local flax as a very efficient substitute

54 G.Weller MSS (HOCKEN), Edward Weller to George Weller, 14 February 1839.
55 Figure 4, p.57.
57 H.M.Leach, Subsistence Patterns in Prehistoric New Zealand, (Otago University Anthropology Department paper, 1969), p.34.
for normal hemp cordage, and by 1823, Otago flax had a reputation "... far surpassing anything of its kind in the world for amazing strength ..." During the 1830s, the Marine Department in London was paying up to £45 per ton for N.Z. flax. Captain George Harris, R.N. was supervising a Government project manufacturing articles from N.Z. flax - a scheme blessed with the patronage of George IV. In the 1830s, however, the flax trade declined because Maoris grew careless in dressing the fibre, and a debate had grown on the worth of the N.Z. fibre. Although there seems to be no direct evidence on the matter it is not inconceivable that the abundance of flax on the Taieri was once used, in the heyday of the trade, to supply local trading vessels calling at Otakou.

It is in the field of nutrition that the early European contacts made one of their most long-lasting impacts. The humble potato, brought to N.Z. and left at Charlotte Sound by Captain Cook, in the course of half a century supplanted many of the traditional foods in the Maori diet. More than that, it had far-reaching effects on the accustomed pattern of Maori life, permanently changing its basic patterns.

The earliest record of a N.Z. potato crop is that of 1813, in a report written by Robert Williams, a ropemaker to the Colonial Secretary. In his correspondence he bore witness to extensive potato

58 Sydney Gazette, 2 December 1815, p.2.
59 ibid, 3 April 1823.
60 ibid, 28 June 1831, and J. Ward; Information Relative to New Zealand (London 1840), p.47. Evidence of Mr C. Enderby before a House of Lords Committee.
cultivation - the products of which were used to feed local
Maoris and resident whalers. 61

In addition, the Sydney Gazette, published on 4 September 1814
another report by Williams stating his observation of a 100 acre
garden with potatoes of various ages. 62 It is evident that a
regular supply trade grew in potatoes with the coastal whalers,
sealers (1804-1811) and traders, and gradually extended to include
contract growing. A flourishing village was situated on the Spit
opposite Otago Heads, from 1813 - 1817, thought by Golson and
Gathercole 63 to possibly be based on potato cultivation. Shortland,
when he visited the Taieri in 1843 was fed eels, turnip tops and roots 64
because by September the available store potatoes would have been
consumed and seed potatoes planted. 65 Tuckett, however, arriving
at Taieri kaik in 1844 noticed "... as many [two or three] raised
stages for Potatoe Stores ..." 66 Earlier still, the Weller Brothers
had requested of their local manager 67... 'Big Yellow Potatoes ...
they pay for this market ...' The large, yellow potatoes being a

61 R. McNab, Murihiku and the Southern Islands (Invercargill, 1907)
pp. 135-140.

62 The truth and interpretation of the reports by Williams are questioned
by Mr S. Parkes, presently anthropologist, Otago Museum. He holds
that the report could mean that potatoes were found far to the north
of Foveaux Straits. Dr Basil Howard, however, writing in The Mapping
of Otago (Otago Branch, N.Z. Geographical Society, 1947), p.4. holds
that the party only travelled overland from Bluff to the Hokomoko inlet
in New River. Moreover, a reading of the full report of Williams
enclosed in McNab's Murihiku pp. 130-144 can only validly support the
conclusion that the sole area explored was in the Foveaux Straits.


64 F. Shortland Journal MS 1842-1843. (HOCKEN).
65 H.M. Leach, Subsistence Patterns in New Zealand, p.52.
66 F. Tuckett, Diary, 2 May 1844, MS (HOCKEN)
67 Weller Correspondence MS, George to Edward Weller, 21 March 1840.
variety which is extinct today and probably grown at either Otakou or Taieri. There is evidence of potatoes being grown at Taieri for the Wellers. There was a regular trade at Otakau in potatoes e.g., O.Harwood's Journal entry for Saturday 14 September 1849 ...
"received 100 Baskets Potatoes from Bogamy and 150 Bkts from Tyroa ..." and other entries of a similar nature. It is interesting to note that the Rev. Burns found Bogany (southern dialect for Pokene), living at Mataipapa in 1849. It is possible, although there is no proof for the hypothesis that Pokene was normally resident on the Taieri Plain and grew his potatoes there. 68 In 1840, Pokene and Harwood entered into a formal agreement of partnership witnessed by Charles Aldrich master of the Lucy Ann aboard that ship at Otago. 69 There is more conclusive evidence for potato growing at Taieri in a reference of 10 December 1840, in O. Harwood's Journal -

... Took an A/c of all things on the "Island" [Moturata Island] - mustered all the old copper - Blocks & c. - 7 goats and 2 Fowls and 1 Boar Pig on the "Island". W. N. W. Skidmore's schooner discharging potatoes into the "Santa Maria" having sold them to the Capt. Brought 49 Grouper from Lewis - Natives are nearly finished picking the potatoes in the Carpenters shop - two of the beams gave way, being loaded with potatoes and nearly killed a Native woman of the name of "Negroa" - sold Mr Duvourshille 4 pigs for £7.15.2d - 420 lbs.

Fri 11th - At 10 a.m. left Tyarie with the wind from the S.E. - At 2 p.m. arrived in Otago ....

There is no reference to where the potatoes were grown - all we know is that they were stored in the carpenter's shop of the whaling station.


It would be pure speculation to hazard a guess as to whether they were grown at Taieri Mouth or on the Plain. The proof in favour of the Taieri Mouth site is seasonal occupancy by whalers, and in the case of the Plain, Harwood's opinion of 23 December 1840 "... beautiful country for Agricultural purposes ...",70 and Tuckett's sighting of "... "Potatoe Stores" ..." The fact that Taieri Plain soil has been, since European occupancy, eminently suitable for large-scale potato culture only adds another tentative point to a fragile case in which just not enough solid evidence exists.

It is apparent that in a number of occupation-groups and in different seasons, Maori labour was used and that this employment, which enabled the Maoris to purchase the "benefits" of trading station at Otakou, acted as a strong magnet on the local Maori population. The overall effect was to nucleate native settlement near the trade posts, which in turn further exposed the Maoris to the ravages of new mutations of well-known European diseases.

What was the 'life' of the Taieri Maori before the coming of Europeans? Maori knowledge of the area goes far back into pre-history; A.W. Reed recorded the story of the taniwha of the Taieri. The legend is basic to the area, explaining in native terms two of the most significant landforms of the area - Saddle Hill and the Taieri River course. A 'taniwha' is a mythological water monster which inhabited land as well as lakes and streams - fresh or saltwater, and even sometimes had the power of flight.

70 O.Harwood MS The Journal, 23 December 1840.
... It may well be that the taniwha which once lived in a swamp in the Silverstream Valley, near Whare Flat, was the greatest of its breed. On one occasion it travelled downstream and rested for a while. The weight of its body caused a depression, and it is in this hollow that the town of Hosgiel was later built. From there it made its way down the Taieri River, and the sharp bends between Allanton and Otakia were caused by its passage. This section of the Taieri River was known as Te-Rua-taniwha (the den of the taniwha).

When it died its body was too big to waste away, or to be buried, and it can be seen today in petrified form in the double-peaked hill which was named Saddle Hill by Captain Cook on account of its shape. The two humps of the hill were Puke-makamaka and Turi-makamaka, and one of the names for the twin peaks was Makamaka, which may also have been the taniwha's name ... 72

Although the story, as told, post-dates the nineteenth century because of the inclusion of the name of Allanton, the names of the peaks are in accordance with those recorded on survey maps of the 1840s and 1850s. 74

European eyewitness accounts of the 1840s record only two small, nucleated settlements at Mataipapa and Waiputaka, both near the entrance to the Taieri Gorge. It is most likely, however, although unproven as yet, that a larger, more widely-dispersed population of Maoris lived on the Taieri Plain. 75 The traditional tribal group of the Southern districts at the beginning of the nineteenth century was the Ngaitahu who overran the Ngatimamoe who had previously supplanted two earlier groups, the Waitaha and Rapuwai.

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71 G.R. Kerr and G.A. Bryant, Observation Calling (DN 1947) state that Saddle Hill was 'Omakamaka' (shrub with rose-coloured foliage and Jaffray's Hill 'Pikawara', pp. 13-14.

72 A.W. Reed, Treasury of Maori Folklore (Wellington, 1963), p.337.

73 Greytown was the original name until changed in 1895.

74 Figures 2, p.16 and 3, p.30.

75 Figure 5, p.65.
Of the last two groups very little is known; Beattie recorded that the peaceful Waitaha "... increased in numbers and spread over the land ...". Canon Stack thought that the Ngatimamoe moved south to the local area in the 1500s, and D.R. Simmons estimates that the Ngaitahu shifted southwards to Otago from their strongholds in North Canterbury "... by 1800 with the introduction of potatoes ...". Relatively speaking, in terms of Maori history, the nominal possessors of Otago in 1844, the Ngaitahu, were "Johnny-come-latelies!"

What then of Ngaitahu, Ngatimamoe, or even earlier settlement on the Taieri Plain? No significant archaeological surveys have yet been attempted in the area - in consequence there is no 'hard' evidence of widespread Maori occupation of the area. The only evidence of Maori ovens has been found in the North of the Plain at Reid's 'Salisbury' Estate.

... the blue metal stones used to pave the floor were taken from the linings of the few Maori ovens found around the foothills on the property ... These cobble-stones were still to be seen in the stable floor in the year 1912 ...

This, connected to siting of Maori villages in the 1840s and 1850s argues conclusively a case of siting of settlement at north and south of the plain. There is, however, a body of circumstantial evidence

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79 E.N. Reid, Donald Reid Pioneer 1835-1919, (Dunedin 1939), p.48.
FIGURE 5

Sketch of the Taieri with Maori Place names.

Sources: G.R. Kerr and G.A. Bryant,
Observation calling (Dunedin 1947)
pp. 13-114

A. Mackay (comp.) A Compendium of Official
Documents Relative to Native Affairs
in the South Island Vol. I.
(Wellington 1873) facing p.104.

S.M. Scroggs Fieldbook 11, 1846

Hockens MS Journals, J.J. Symond's Diary 1844
'Appended notes'.

M.A. Bathgate, The Maori Occupancy of Murihiku
(M.A. Thesis, Otago University, 1969)
Figure 19.
dependent on Maori nutrition which has been largely neglected.

The Maori extended family or "whanau" functioned as a unit, although dispersed at particular times of the year. The family supplied personnel for seasonal activities\(^80\) which included: eeling, fishing, rat-trapping, bird-baiting and spearing, and root hunting and digging. Not included in this list is kumera-growing which was very rarely found south of Banks' Peninsula or the 52° F isotherm. While male members of the unit engaged in more strenuous occupations, women and children would cultivate patches of garden, collect berries and indulge in other pursuits requiring less physical force. The gathering of food determined day-to-day movements of individuals and the group, personal responsibilities and roles, and much of the ceremony of the tribe. Early observers thought that the Maori diet was strictly a limited one. Cook, in his Journal stated, "... In the article of food these people have no great variety. Firm roots, Dogs, Fish and wild fowl is their chief diet, for cocos, Yamms and sweet Potatoes is not cultivated everywhere ..."\(^81\) An observer, less than a century later, wrote "$... Fish, fernroot, sweet potatoes, birds, dogs, rats, taro, karaka and hinau berries were the staple articles of life ...$"\(^82\)

Both of these comments, obviously, are based upon observations taken amongst Maoris further north than Otago. W. Colenso, in 1868 tried to dispel the myth that Maori dietary habits were uniform throughout.

New Zealand when he wrote "... there must have been a great difference in the food of the natives of the Northern and Southern Islands ..." There were also significant differences at both ends of the South Island, mainly due to climatic factors. It was these differences which were responsible for a regular barter trade in food between Otago Maoris in the early nineteenth century and their relations at Kaiapoi and Kaikoura. Sir Peter Buck in his work, The Coming of the Maori, emphatically makes the point that of plant foods, the 'aruhe' or rhizome of the bracken fern ('fern root' to most English observers from 1770 onwards) was the most important staple. The plant was the richest source of carbohydrates and it took the place of cultivated tubers. In Otago, the fern-root would assume greater importance because of the lack of locally-grown kumera. Three quarters of Buck's number of principal Maori foods grew on the Taieri Plain. In addition, the coast, lakes and river provided fish protein. For the Maori inhabitants the Taieri Plain was a veritable food-store.

Moreover, H. Leach confirms that in the southern region, which includes the Taieri, the cabbage tree and bracken fern were of considerable value for sources of carbohydrate; and further, that flax and raupo were economically important "... The only extensive swamp in the southern zone was located on the Taieri Plains ..." and flax provided "... raw material for clothing [as well as] a luxury

85 ibid. p.86.
food, a liquid honey-like fluid supplied abundantly ... during mid-summer ..." and as well the bull-rush "... possesses edible roots of good quality throughout the year and quantities of yellow pollen during the summer, which were mixed with water and cooked ...". Another choice food, kauru, was obtained by baking cabbage tree roots in a native oven. Alexander McKay, Native Commissioner in 1872 wrote that "... 'ti'.. or ..'whanake'.. [cabbage tree abounded] at Taieri and Te Waitoruati, where its preparation gives employment to nearly the whole population, during the months of December, January and February ....". Food from these sources was supplemented by other forms available from podocarp forest growing on the hillsides (particularly in gullies where secondary growth remnants may still be found in isolated areas) and in patches on the Plain. P. Wardle and A.F. Mark, botanists, judge the forested areas south of Dunedin to have been composed "... largely of podocarps, the relative proportions of individual species varying with altitude and climate ...". It is in this system that H. Leach claims existed ..."a multitude of edible berries, both from the tall podocarps and from the dense undergrowth comprising ... edible ngaio .. the fuschia ... and the climbers. The superior quantity of berry foods and flowering plants in podocarp

86 H. Leach, Subsistence Patterns in Prehistoric New Zealand. (Otago University, Dunedin, 1969), pp. 34-35.


88 Observations of Tuckett, Munro and early settlers accounts of bush on the Plain, passim.

89 Transactions of the Royal Society, Vol. 84. P. Wardle and A.F.Mark Vegetation and Climate in the Dunedin District, pp. 33-34.
forests attracts the large berry and honey-eating birds sought after by the Maori ...". These birds were certainly in evidence when the early settlers came and the occasional wood-pigeon, tui and bell-bird can still be heard and seen on the lower Maungatapu.

Eels and river fish played a large part in the diet of Taieri Maoris. Eels, in particular, were common at Riverside, in northern centre of the plain, even in the 1930s. In 1882, a local newspaper reported eel catching as "... a popular pastime amongst Mosgiel youths of an evening. The bush swamp [Riverside] is said to abound with these slippery customers ." Shortland recorded the "... large size, and very delicate flavour ..." of the Taieri eels when he visited in 1843. He even attributed the placing of Mataipapa kaik to "... the convenience of eel-fishing ." Unfortunately, we have to rely so heavily on the evidence of Shortland but it may safely be assumed that resident Maoris had been catching eels at Taieri since Maori occupancy of the district.

The amount of podocarp forest had diminished under Maori occupation. John Buchanan, Otago's first naturalist commented in 1868 on the extensive remains of pre-European forest in Otago. He

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90 H. Leach, Subsistence Patterns, p.33.
91 E. McDiarmid, MS (HOCKEN) Early Woodside, pp. 5-6 and E. Valpy (Fulton) Diary, pp. 27-28.
92 Taieri Advocate, 18 January 1882, p.2.
93 E. Shortland, Southern Districts, p.170.
FIGURE 6

Sketch of Estimated Vegetation Circa 1840

Reference: M.A. Bathgate, The Maori Occupancy of Murihiku. Figure 7 p. 58a.

Key:

Mixed Podocarp Forest

Grasslands

Swamplands

Note: The sketch on the facing page is an enlargement of Bathgate's map. The area covered by mixed podocarp forest is much larger than suggested in any of the 1840s European observers' reports. It would be true, however, that the area shaded green had the potential to grow forest which may have been as extensive as the map indicates about the late 1700s.
concluded that "... blown over ... in the line of prevailing winds after destruction by fire ..." at the time of European exploration it extended in patches along the foothills of the Maungatua Range, a concentration in the Woodside-Outram Glen area. It carried on to cover the Three Mile Hill and the Chain Hills, over Saddle Hill, and was found in isolated areas between Scrogg's Hill and Henley. A distinct bush grew at Henley and in the Taieri Gorge, and three isolated patches on the Plain with small woodlots surrounded Lake Waihola. In the extent of about 100 square miles of Plain, these forested-areas did not seem substantial to early explorers and new settlers. The Maori technique of slash-and-burn in forest areas was used to create new fern-root gardens. The length and intensity of European occupation has obliterated any direct evidence of these, apart from on Swampy mountain north-east of the Plain. Whether from natural or man-made sources, fire had depleted the Taieri podocarps so that by the 1840s the district was "... very poorly furnished with timber [and] many parts of the plain are miles distant from the nearest bush ...".

For the Southern Maori, the Taieri Plain was an immensely valuable food supply area. Why then was it not more heavily populated when Europeans first came to it? No settlement remained

94 Transactions of the N.Z. Institute, J. Buchanan, The Botany of Otago (Wellington, 1868), p.181. Also comment on Maori or accidental burning in McGlashan Papers (HOCKEN) MS Letter J. Blackie (Schoolmaster) to relations in Dundee, 22 July 1848.

95 [H.R.Graham] The Handbook to the Suburban and Rural Districts of the Otago Settlement, (Dunedin, 1849), p.4; Shaw and Farrant, op. cit. in 1858 the swamp area of 'Findlayston' farm immediately north-east of the 'Big Bush' on the Taieri Plain contained huge stumps of totara and black pine. p.139; c.f. Figure 6, p.70.
on the Taieri apart from the Mataipapa kaik and two small villages sited north of it by Scroggs the surveyor. In the 1840s, settlement took the form of strongly nucleated villages, temporary in nature. The temporary function was connected with food-gathering activities in coastal settlements where Maoris could follow migratory fish like the barracouta, and areas around whaling settlements. The multifarious possessions and customs of the Europeans attracted the Maori out of the coastal hinterlands. This movement over the years 1830 - 1840 could well have been accelerated by the ease with which the European potato could substitute for the Maori fern-root. If, in the Taieri, available fertile fern-root areas were declining and podocarp forest getting further away from traditional residential areas, the overall tendency would be a drawing of the local population into a tight area around the village, dependent on trade with Europeans for subsistence. Add to this European sicknesses and the situation observed in the 1840s becomes explicable.

The cultivation of the European potato in plots close to the village reinforces the theory of a movement from dispersed to nucleated settlement. It was a branch of the Ngaitahu who were observed at Mataipapa in 1843 - 1844 and again in 1849, who had moved south with potato cultivation to displace the Waitaha. L.M. Groube in 1965 claimed the potato made ...

96 supra, pp. 82-85.
... possible a sedentary way of life. This must have its reflections in the settlement pattern: a change from the dispersed settlement recorded by Cook in Queen Charlotte's Sound ... [and] ... The movement over the landscape necessitated in some areas by the demands of seasonal activity ... would be reduced: ... 97

For the Ngaitahu who had come south the forces for nuclear or concentrated settlement on the Taieri were strong: potato cultivation from August to March, employment by the Weller Brothers and J. Jones at Moturata Island during the whaling season, trade with Harwood at Otakou, the attractive process of Europeanisation, the security of the family in time of sickness. The remnant observed at Mataipapa in the 1840s and 1850s were those who remained to survive Europeanisation and its consequences. The fate of this group will be discussed in a later chapter. 98

The argument put forward so far has suggested that Maori settlement on the Taieri took three distinct forms, the first recognisable type being that of the Rapuwa and Waitaha tribes in dispersed settlements following traditional food-hunter roles. The second type observed from the 1790s to 1830 was that of the Ngaitahu tribe in concentrated settlement at Mataipapa or close by engaged in potato-growing and trade with Otakou Europeans. The third type is the Ngaitahu changed in 1830 - 1844, still nucleated in settlement but diminished by European diseases. Many of the women had intermarried with members of the whaling community.

98 supra, pp. 178-185.
The situation was that in 1844, the Otago Maoris who were definitely limited in territorial movement through the adoption of European foods and customs, accepted a deed of sale of their lands to the New Zealand Company. The traders and whalers, as precursors of traditional settlement had been untowardly and unwittingly efficient in preparing the local natives in some ways for immigration by the colonists. Labour would be needed to establish the Scottish settlement, and that was what the Maori men had become accustomed to. Adequate native reserves had been promised both by Company policy and by Government spokesmen. The Maoris' former interest in the land had long been supplanted by the ease and attractions of European culture. What the local Maoris did not understand about the 1844 transaction, was the difference between it and former transactions. In the main old sales had been negotiations with absentee landowners; the 1844 purchase was the action of intending-resident proprietors.
Legally, the New Zealand Company was now the owner of the Otago Block with immediate rights of settlement over approximately one-third of the area. With the news of the financial collapse of the Company, possession seemed likely to remain purely nominal. The arrival in Wellington of the *Raymond* from England confirmed rumours that were rife concerning the Company's situation.

Frederick Tuckett, after he had closed down operations in Otago, and appointed Davidson caretaker-surveyor in his stead, left Otago for Wellington on the 22nd December, 1844 - never to return. The Taiari district, once important in his estimation as an agricultural district, seemed fated to become, for some time at least, merely a part of Tuckett's sketches.

Over a year passed between the departure of Tuckett and the arrival of a surveyor who was to make a striking permanent impact on the Otago scene. According to Hocken¹ and McLintock² the few Otago settlers, around Koputai (later Port Chalmers) found time hanging heavily on their hands until the arrival of Charles Kettle and his survey party in the *Mary Katherine* on 23 February, 1846.

Kettle swiftly started work assessing the district for the type of survey to be used, and dividing the area into suitable blocks for contracting out to assistant surveyors. The rural district of the

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Taieri formed part of the agreement between the N.Z. Company and the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland in September 1845. Five-sixths of the properties were to be sold to private individuals and the remainder to be divided between the Municipal Government, the Trustees for Religion and Educational Uses, and the New Zealand Company.\(^3\) In late March 1846, Kettle traversed the Taieri,\(^4\) and immediately recognised the Taieri river as a convenient division of the survey area -

... Here the Taieri [river] for the first time approached the hills on the east side, coming ... across the middle of the district, dividing it into what might be called the upper and lower plains ... \(^5\)

He examined the waterway on the eastern side and came to the conclusion that although the flow of water was obstructed by thick vegetation, the swampy land could easily be drained.\(^6\) He did, however, have reservations about the possibilities of the Western side of the plain - and so excluded much of it from the survey contracts.\(^7\) This is shown in the Kettle map by the significant unsubdivided space between the major branches of the Taieri river.

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4 C.H. Kettle, Fieldbook No. 28, 1846. [Preliminary triangulations of the Taieri Plain from Saddle Hill to Waihola Hill], Lands & Survey Dept. Dunedin.

5 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30, pp. 332-333. C.Kettle to W.Wakefield, 7 April 1846.

6 ibid.

7 Figure 7, p.77.
FIGURE 7
Index Map of the Otakau Settlement, Middle Island, New Zealand. Surveyed in the years 1846 and 1847. Signed Charles H. Kettle, Principal Surveyor. Lands and Survey Department Map 5, 1847.
Taking advantage of water transport provided by Te Raki, as many surveyors were to do, Kettle examined "Pariaka" which he writes of as having swampy banks and bounded on the western side by "... low hills and some wooded land ...", and which was joined to Waihola Lake. "Pariaka" was obviously Te Raki's name for Lake Waipori, a small, shallow-bottomed, raupo-infested lake which also acts as a ponding-basin for the Taieri river when it is in flood. Kettle thought the waterways between these two lakes invaluable for communication. Near the end of his enthusiastically-written letter, Kettle states dogmatically -

... The reservation for the third Town will be at the head of Waihola Lake, and will comprise about 400 or 500 acres - I have selected this place as a site as it is as near as possible in the centre of the block, and at a point where watercarriage from both the sea and the northern extremity of the block will meet with the land carriage from the southern ports - As the Tokomairiro streams are not navigable, the Waihola must become a kind of inland Port where the productions of that district will be shipped into large schooner-boats for conveyance to any port of the coast and where timber and all other importations must be landed ...

Kettle, of course, was aware that his proposal would be supported in principle by Colonel Wakefield. Most of Kettle's concepts were, in fact, merely amplifications of what Frederick Tuckett had previously written in reports to William Wakefield. In his reply to Kettle, in a letter written at the end of April, 1846, Wakefield

10 W. Wakefield to Secretary, N.Z.C. 31 August 1844. National Archives Microfilm 1400 C.O. 208.
cautioned him against reserving more land than was necessary for siting towns, particularly Kettle's "... intention of reserving ... 400 or 500 acres at the head of Waihola Lake ..." which Wakefield thought out of proportion to the expected number of immigrants. Although it may appear unusual today, the focus of attention in the Taieri district in this period was almost exclusively in the south, near Lake Waihola. The reasons for this phenomenon are easy to ascertain, although changes wrought in the landscape since the 1840s have obscured them. During the nineteenth century most of the millable timber was found in forests in the south and west of the plain, despite the fact that there was a "Big Bush" on the present site of Mosgiel. Water communication was available in the southern river and lake area while any communication was virtually impossible in the central swamp area. In fact, the Taieri river's penetration of the coastal hills formed the natural, and first-used mode of communication with the Plain. The soil was heavier, and more naturally fertile in the southern end of the plain. It would have been a matter of great wonder for early surveyors, boatmen and farmers to have been presented with the thought that the principal town of the Taieri Plain would ultimately appear at the northern end of the plain.

By early April, 1846, S.M. Scroggs had successfully tendered for the contract Number 4, the survey of the Taieri district. Towards the end of the same month Charles Drake was contracted for Survey Number 3, which included the southern Taieri Plain, south of

12 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. W. Wakefield to C. Kettle, 29 April 1846.
13 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. C. Kettle to W. Wakefield, 8 April 1846.
the Waihola-Waipori rivers' junction and also including the Tokomairiro Plain. Because of the difficulties of terrain - particularly the swampy nature of the ground, Scroggs' contract was worth more - one shilling and three pence per acre compared with Drake's contract of eight pence per acre. The "covenants" or agreements covering matters such as inspection, payment of work and management of disputes were set out clearly largely as they had been established for the Matau contract Number 1.

Twenty-two of the covenants were held in common by Scroggs and Drake, although interestingly, the contract for Scroggs carried a penalty feature. Both contracts have significant sections which deal with local problems. In summary, the special features outlined in Contract Number 3 (Drake's) are that it included a seashore frontage survey at the mouth of the Taieri river, the cutting of the north-eastern boundary of the native reserve (which was not to be fired - an acknowledgement of the Maori dependence on native forest) and the exclusion from subdivision of a then-unspecified area of land at the head of Waihola Lake which was to be reserved for a future town site. Care was to be exercised near waterfrontages, where backlines were to be as closely parallel with beaches as possible. Along the banks of waterways a space of 80 links was to be reserved for roadways. The difficult traverse of Lake Waihola was to be accomplished by using clear-standing, high posts with easily visible flags. All survey lines around the lake were to be cut

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15 Appendix E, pp.205-207.
through the vegetation. Irregular sections formed around water obstacles were to have road access for every 6th to 8th section measured from the survey base line.\footnote{16} In Contract Number 4, which encompassed the area between the Chain Hills in the north and where the Taieri River crossed the plain, contract conditions were different. The first task to be undertaken was the cutting of an access road from the Owhiro stream to the foot of Scroggs' Hill from whence a Maori track ran over the Chain Hills to the proposed New Edinburgh site. The northern section of the Plain was to be divided into fifty acre sections and the best of these were to be subdivided into 10 acre sections. A clear implication of this priority of actions was that Kettle obviously thought that land communication from Otago Harbour was important and that early settlers would soon take up residence on the Taieri once they had arrived in Otago. Again, provision was made for irregular blocks with water frontages, and the reservation of 80 links clear space on banks of rivers for roadways. A traverse was to be made of the west bank of the Taieri River. The contract left the option open for the chief surveyor to modify the method of division, if the 10 acre sections were required in any particular area.\footnote{17}

Both contractors undertook not to employ any men who were bound to the New Zealand Company, nor any who had broken contracts and deserted the Company's employment, unless the specific permission of the chief surveyor was granted.


\footnote{17} N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30, pp. 374-380. \hspace{2em} Specification of Contract Survey No. 4.
Before the official signing of the contracts on 30 April 1846, another surveyor, Thomas, arrived in the vessel Levin. He had been given to understand by Tuckett that he would be granted the survey for the Taieri district (Contract Number 4). Ultimately, he was contracted for the Molyneux survey district.18

With the onset of winter, the work of all surveyors slowed down. Kettle reported to Wakefield that Scroggs' work was being hindered on account of provisions not being supplied to the base station on the Taieri.19 Both Scroggs and Drake used Mataipapa as a provision post, base station and marker for surveys. Provisions were transported around Cape Saunders from Otakau and up the Taieri River by "Captain Thomas's boat". Whenever unfavourable winds affected sailing, provisions ran low.20 The efficient Scroggs had, however, advanced by August 1846 as far as completion of a map of his survey of the Taieri River with the sighting-lines drawn according to the first two clauses of the specifications. He was about to begin on subdivision of the area into sections21 - a most difficult task, with the worst part of winter approaching.

Meanwhile, after some experimentation and preliminary surveys, Kettle decided on the trigonometrical method of survey.22

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18 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. C. Kettle to W. Wakefield, 10 August 1846.
19 ibid.
21 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. C. Kettle to W. Wakefield, 10 August 1846.
22 C. Kettle. Fieldbook No. 28, 1846, Triangulations.
FIGURE 8


Lands and Survey Department Map 12, 1857.
Triangulation allowed the areas to be "closed" (mathematically assessed) every two to three miles thus limiting both lineal and areal error. During the winter months of 1846 Kettle busied himself with triangulating the Taieri area using Saddle Hill, Mount Scroggs, Owhiro, Mataipapa, Taieri Gorge and Waihola Hill as intersecting and sighting points. His triangulations were extremely accurate; upon measurement of the base line in 1850 "exact agreement" was found. In November, he was able to send to Wakefield a plan of the town of Dunedin

... shewing the trigonometrical connexion of the Taieri District with Otakau Harbour, and the sections laid out in those places up to the present date ...

Moreover

... Upwards of 200 sections have been completed in the Taieri district - I found the work well executed, and whatever was wanting in detail has since been accomplished without difficulties arising...

In this instance, Kettle had been examining the work of S.M. Scroggs.

The fieldbooks of the surveyors held now in the Lands and Survey Department, Chief Post Office, Dunedin, reveal the methods of traversing, determination of bearings, selection of significant landmarks, and the routes followed in survey work on the Taieri.

23 C.H. Kettle Letterbook. C.H. Kettle to Captain Cargill, 9 October 1850.
24 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. C. Kettle to W. Wakefield, 7 November 1846.
25 ibid
26 Fieldbooks Nos. 5, 6, 10, 11, 20, 22, 23, 28 and 35 hold valuable evidence of surveys on the Taieri Plain to 1850. A reasonable degree of training in basic survey work is, however, needed to interpret them.
Scroggs was a tidy, methodical worker who refrained from personal comments, sketches or observations in his fieldbooks. In comparison, William Davidson made occasional notes which are pertinent. It is obvious that Kettle and Scroggs had agreed on certain points in common between the former's triangulation and the latter's traversing of the Taieri district to ensure correct orientation and to serve as a check on linear measurement made by the contracting surveyor. Owhiro hill was a significant landmark in his bearings and often used as a traverse-line check. Scroggs began his traverse of the Plain at Mataipapa (Henley) working north along what he envisaged as a possible roadline. After leaving Mataipapa a mile behind Scroggs sighted a group of Maori whares and two miles further north, near a sharp bend in the Taieri River Scroggs recorded another Maori settlement, "Waiputaka". It was on the east bank of the river, south of Owhiro and would be today on the foothills facing Momona.27 Neither of the two settlements had been noted before - nor have they since. It would appear that these were temporary settlements, or else old settlements in decline - possibly part of a then-disappearing pattern of Maori settlement on the Taieri. From his road-line traverse parallel to the river, Scroggs continued to survey the irregular-block river sections.

During 1846 Charles Drake's work had been concerned with laying out a six-by-two mile block in the Tokomairiro district. In January, 1847, he and his men were traversing the Waihola-Waipori

27 S.M.Scroggs Fieldbook 11, 1846. "River Taieri from Te Raki's and Survey of River Sections";
area by using markers placed around the Lakes as well as the flag mast at Mataipapa. In his fieldbook Drake reveals a certain flair for artistry - with pencil portraits of some of his men. By April 1847, Drake was working his way down the Taieri River to the Maori settlement at Onumia - on the north side of Taieri Mouth, opposite Moturata Island. It was his responsibility to cut, but not fire, the 'line MR', the boundary of the Native Reserve on the north bank of the Taieri River gorge.

In April, 1847, Kettle reported the completion of Scroggs' contract and the settlement of his account. He wrote of Scroggs' work,

... it being the first survey of any extent he ever executed I think its complete accuracy reflects great credit on him; and had I ever Contract Surveys to allot again there is no person I would sooner entrust with one ...

The only criticisms made of Scroggs' tasks were made by the vigilant William Davidson who found a small error in the chaining (lineal measurement) from the Owhiro Hill Station. He attributed the miscalculation to a slightly slack chain - a common fault, even among today's surveyors.

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28 C. Drake Fieldbook No. 22, 1847 "Traverses".
30 N.Z.C. Correspondence 3/30. C. Kettle to W. Wakefield, 13 April 1847.
31 ibid.
32 W. Davidson Fieldbook No. 5. 6 February 1847.
Whilst Kettle busied himself with accurate triangulations, his senior assistant Davidson, was inspecting traverse and block surveys and in October 1847 reported on Drake's work. He was disappointed. After having walked from Koputai to Owhiro and boated from there to the head of Lake Waihola to find Drake had passed him going the opposite way to Dunedin, he wrote that the selection of "... inferior [country was] far below what I had expected ..." and more seriously, "...The staking appears to have been carried out ... with tolerable attention to the terms of the agreement but many of the stakes are driven insufficiently into the ground ..." and "... N.B. Roads laid without any regard to the nature of the ground ...".33

Having waited at Drake's fieldcamp a day and night for him to return, Davidson hotfooted back to Dunedin to report the situation to his superior, Kettle. On arrival at Koputai, he expressed disappointment when he found Kettle had gone to Waikouaiti.34

Although there are no surviving records written by Kettle on Drake's work, it would certainly seem that his confidence had been misplaced. It is unusual that Kettle himself did not take more time to pay inspection visits to his contractors.

On completion of Scroggs' contract a dispute arose between Kettle in Koputai and Wakefield in Wellington. The matter was finance; the payment of Scroggs for the amount of land surveyed. Wakefield wrote

33 W. Davidson Fieldbook No. 6, 26-28 October 1847.
34 *Ibid*, 29 October 1847.
tersely,

... In Mr Scroggs' contract the quantity of land entails a charge of £273.12.0 in excess of the estimate [equivalent to 4378 acres] ... for which the Company could be liable to that gentleman ... This could not have arisen but for the important omission in the Specifications (copied, I presume, from those prepared by Mr Tuckett) of definite quantities of land to be surveyed by each contractor ...35

The difference in viewpoint between Kettle and Wakefield is understandable - the latter a cautious overseer of the precarious finances of a company, foundering on the brink of financial disaster, and the former an enthusiastic young man-on-the-spot feeling the full potential of an unexploited landscape. Kettle was angry that his Wellington superior should complain and launched a traditional Victorian letter-sally which almost broke their friendship. The essence of it was that Wakefield was "penny-pinching" in all of his correspondence - especially since the amount of land surveyed in the Otago block was 29,000 acres more than the original estimate. He made clear to Wakefield that,

...the Taieri district, Contract No. 4, has cost £214 less. The only instance in which I departed from the original boundaries [as laid down by Tuckett] was in the [Taieri] district, where I cut off about 2000 acres of land which was useless - and would have entailed an expenditure of £1200 ...

The area Kettle referred to was the swampy ground between the lakes and the Taieri river traverse of the plain. It appears incomprehensible that on the one hand that Wakefield in Wellington wrote of a cost of £273 in excess of the estimate while Kettle writes of a saving of £214.

35N.Z.C.Correspondence 3/30. W.Wakefield to C.Kettle. 6 May 1847.
36N.Z.C.Correspondence 3/30. C.Kettle to W.Wakefield. 18 June 1847.
This financial wizardry was caused by the displacement by Kettle of the lands in the original survey planned by Tuckett. The overall effect was that areas closer to New Edinburgh would be more intensively surveyed and so cost more - hence the higher estimate which Kettle placed on Scroggs' services. It does appear that as a full year had elapsed between the letting of the surveys and their financial assessments that Kettle had kept much of the technical information to himself and at the completion of the contracts had presented Wakefield with a fait accompli.

It says much for Wakefield's confidence in Kettle that he closed the correspondence and left the rest of the decisions in the area to Kettle.

The year 1847 saw great strides being made in preparation for settlement. In June, the trigonometrical triangulation from the head of Otago Harbour to Waihola Lake had been completed. By December, Kettle suggested further subdivision of Taieri land, because he could not obtain more than 1200 sections of really good land in the neighbourhood of the Harbour. He proposed to "... allot the remainder of the Taieri valley by subdividing nearly half of the 50 acre sections which [have] been laid out in that district ..."). He thought that this work would not take a great deal of time compared with that which had already been spent subdividing North-East Valley. To accelerate the survey, the

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37 ibid.
38 N.Z.C.Correspondence 3/30. C. Kettle to W. Wakefield, 4 December 1847.
original roadways and blocks were to be retained and each block was simply to be divided and pegged into sixty instead of twelve allotments. In Kettle's opinion, it would not matter if the whole of this new subdivision was not staked before the emigrants from Britain arrived. 39

The priority of the Taieri is significant. Kettle had no other area in mind for suburban sections when he realised that the area surrounding the harbour was not going to be sufficient. Also his correspondence implies that he obviously thought the settlers would naturally "come over the hills" from Dunedin to the Taieri Plain. His vision of the expanse and density of the settlement was much greater than the immediate future was to prove.

In a remarkably short time, from the arrival of Kettle and his assistants to the landing of the first emigrant company settlers on the Philip Laing and the John Wickliffe, 40 the Taieri district and the southern Taieri had been surveyed. The only section excluded was the central ponding basin of the river. The land was ready for the people.

39 ibid.

The main body of Scottish emigrants had been preceded to the Taieri Plain by a hardy pioneer runholder - Archibald Anderson whose sheeprun extended to Saddle Hill; he had shipped in the *Bengal Merchant* to Wellington in 1840 and started a farm at Cape Terawhiti. In 1846, he shifted to Otago bringing his stock and leased a run which included Saddle Hill. The first Scots settlers, from the emigrant ships, to settle on the Taieri were William Jaffray and his wife, Margaret. Jaffray was in the employ of Anderson as a shepherd and worked for him between 1848 and 1852 until the latter moved to Clutha (Stirling was named after Anderson's birthplace). The Jaffrays came from Birse in Scotland, to make a home for eighteen months in a Maori whare at the foot of Saddle Hill. What propaganda had brought them to start such a precarious way of life?

Although romantic stories of the Antipodes abounded in the 1820s to 1840s, as well as tales of ever-fertile soil, initially, the most potent force to bring people to the Taieri was its purchase by the

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3 Map of Scotland showing districts from which the first Taieri settlers came - C.E.S.A.Museum. [unsigned, undated - suspected M. Shaw c.1947-8]
4 Sydney Gazettes. September 1813, 3 April 1823, 28 June 1831, on potatoes and flax.
N.Z. Company and the subsequent propaganda given to the area by the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland. It was a long step from E.G. Wakefield's persuasive speeches to the House of Commons' committee in June 1836, persuading the British government to become interested in New Zealand, to actual settlement of the Taieri area. The efforts of his speeches were to arouse interest amongst investors who applied pressure on the British government to consider, despite the current antagonism to further colonisation, extension of British protection over New Zealand. But the persons who would have the greatest impact on the Taieri landscape, the settlers, would be largely unaffected by his embellished descriptions. It is not my intention, in this local study to develop in depth the politics of the N.Z. Company in Britain. For any needed references see A.H. McLintock's History of Otago.

More significant were the comments of E.G. Wakefield's brother, Colonel William Wakefield, whose report was published at a time when interest amongst intending settlers was awakening -

... The neighbourhood of Otago is ... a poor man's country - containing good land and plenty of wood ... extensive tracts of pasture grounds [which, even in winter] yield a more abundant herbage than in the heats of summer ...

Of the land south of "New Edinburgh" site he observed

... extensive and repeated burnings, which impoverished the land [but] ... the worst of it affords abundant food for sheep ... 

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5 C.G. Thomson Papers, (HOCKEN)

Naturally, Colonel Wakefield, as N.Z. agent for the Company wanted to picture the area in its best light - even to the extent of implying a larger amount of available timber than actually existed. The comments of a trained observer, J.W. Barnicoat who accompanied Tuckett also seem lavish. He wrote in his Journal that the view of the Taieri Plain from the Chain Hills was "... a glorious prospect..." Even the taciturn J.J. Symonds, despite his wish to dissuade Colonel Wakefield from all rash actions, had nothing ill to write about the Taieri after a "tiresome" walk inspecting the proposed purchase in July, 1844.

Not all the publicity, either in general terms on New Zealand or on Otago specifically, before 1850, was favourable. Australian newspapers seemed to delight in printing reports which vilified the country - the "country is a wilderness" and "to make a journey of any length is an enterprise of labour and peril" were the type of comments spread in the 1830s. Even after the beginning of Otago's systematic colonisation the newspaper South Australian was printing pessimistic accounts of the area as "...on the bleak eastern coast of New Zealand ... where there was no land fitted for agricultural pursuits..."

7 J.W. Barnicoat Journal 1844, 6 April, transcribed in HOCKEN'S MS JOURNALS
8 J.J. Symonds Journal, 18-19 July 1844, transcribed in HOCKEN'S MS JOURNALS.
9 [Anon.] Hobart Town Courier, 7 May, 1831.
If there was one factor in settlement which acted both as an attraction for coming, and an incentive for staying, it was the amenability of climate and soil which rendered the area suitable for farming. After his visit to Otago in 1848, Governor George Grey enthusiastically wrote

...I am happy to state that I have never seen any locality which appeared to me better adapted for the occupation of British settlers; and from the fertility of the soil, the unequalled facilities which it offers for the depasturing of sheep and cattle, and its general remarkable advantages ....

Publicity about the suitability of the countryside and the fertility of the soil attracted absentee landowners who selected sections of land as a long-term investment. On the Taieri, sections were bought by the Macredies, Alexander Ferrier, Doctor Smyttan (over whose land there was considerable dispute) and Gilbert Burns. The investments of this group, however, did not play a significant role in the Taieri landscape for 10 to 15 years after 1848. Although these people had purchased, in the main, large sections of land, it was left untouched, or merely grazed, until prices rose sufficiently for it to be cast on the market for residents to buy. On the Taieri, another settlement motive was dominant, the desire for religious freedom.

The religious discontent which issued forth in the Disruption of 1843 drove Free Church followers to seek a new haven. They had been badly treated by the authorities in districts where the established

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11 G. Grey to Earl Grey, 16 March 1848. Despatch No. 34.

"Auld Kirk" held sway. The New Zealand Company promoters saw an opportunity in the hardship of the Scots to offer them a home in "New Edinburgh". This was especially true after the New Zealand Company entered on hard times in 1844.

An examination of some case-studies of early Taieri settlers reveals the predominant motives for emigration. The Sutherlands of Clarendon and the Chisholms of Outram were escaping from the oppression of local authorities. After 1843, the Sutherlands could not worship in the local kirk because the laird of Berridale would not allow Free Church services. The Chisholms were threatened with a doubled rent if they did not return to their South Perth "Auld Kirk". In both cases, the work of the Lay Association agents guided the families' thinking towards Otago. The hope of religious freedom also moved William Duff of "Maryhill" Waihola. He had been deeply affected by the events of the Disruption and was attracted to a settlement which was firmly based on Free Church principles. His involvement led him to election as one of a committee of laymen sympathising with the Free Church at a Glasgow meeting on 16 May, 1845.

On the other hand, the worldly visions of adventure and profit gripped Peter Grant of "Gowrie", West Taieri. He came to New Zealand to avoid catching a blinding sand-blight disease in Sydney. He farmed at Alexander Rennie's property, Outram, in the early 1850s and stayed on to buy land and establish his own model farm.

13 New Zealand Journal No. 95, 19 August 1843, p.208.
To the Borrie family of Outram, Otago offered the double attractions of independence and a better life. They left the employment of the Duke of Atholl as tenant farmers because the future seemed to hold little hope. The family elders were well-trained in farm management and had little difficulty being selected by James Adam, the immigration officer of the N.Z. Company in Glasgow. In all cases religion played some part, if not the major part.

The advertising campaign of the Lay Association's representatives in Scotland - in particular that of Dr Aldcorn and the Rev. Burns is recorded in the memoirs of many Taieri settlers. In a meeting of hard-pressed Paisley (Scotland) weavers he extolled the virtues of New Zealand with its "... very best of soils ... every advantage of water supplies and the most salubrious of climates ..." These advantages compared favourably with the "utter sterility" of Adelaide, South Australia, or with Canada which the meeting previously had favoured as an emigration-place. Burns appealed to the meeting to bring the "...poor but noble aborigines [Maoris] within the reach of civilization ..." Even before becoming one of the chief advocates of the Lay Association in Scotland, he was promoting "... a scheme of well-considered, well-arranged, and benevolently-conducted Christian civilization (much cheering) ..." Behind these thoughts lay the birth of a "class settlement". A class settlement is one composed at its commencement at least, of emigrants from the same country,

19 [Anon pamphlet] Emigration to New Zealand. Report of the speeches delivered by the Rev. Burns and others at the meeting in the Philosophical Hall, Paisley, 27 June, 1840, pp. 1-10. (Paisley,1840)
20 ibid.
broadly espousing the same principles and holding the same religious faith. Burns' speech was effective, for the meeting composed a memorial to Lord John Russell, Principal Colonial Secretary, appealing for the Paisley intending emigrants to be allowed "... to avail themselves of the approval [he had] lately expressed in the Wakefield System of Emigration [and laid claim] for free passages for themselves, their wives, and their children, to that colony." 21 One of the first Taieri emigrant families, Joseph Callendar and his wife, came from Paisley. 22

Although the New Zealand Company was growing more active and became royally chartered one year following Burns' Paisley speech, 23 it was probably the work of the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland which attracted most emigrants. In fact, the parlous state of N.Z. Company affairs by 1845 encouraged some of the emigration leaders to seriously consider taking the whole movement out of the hands of the Company. 24 The Lay Association's base was firmly planted on religious singlemindedness - as was witnessed when one of the N.Z. Company prime movers, George Rennie attempted to suggest secular education. He was forced to leave the movement in disgrace. In 1846, the Rev. Burns travelled through the Scottish Districts of Renfrew, Beith, Kilwinning, Saltcoats and Ardrossan on a speaking-tour. 25 He was armed with the Lay Association's publication,

21 ibid
22 T.M.Hocken, Contributions, p.287; [M.Shaw] Map of Taieri Settlers (O.E.S.A.)
24 T.Burns, Letters 1843-1847 (HOCKEN), W.Cargill to T.Burns 21 April 1845
25 E.N. Merrington, A Great Coloniser - Rev.Dr. Thomas Burns. (Dunedin 1929), pp. 133-134.
Scheme of the Colony of the Free Church at Otago, New Zealand

(Glasgow, 1845) in which were contained the Association's inducements to emigrants. These took two main forms; the outlining of capital needs, both for the first party of colonists whose aggregated purchases would yield £40,000 (page 7) and an extensive section on profitability for prospective absentee landowners (pp. 8-9) offering them the conditions of agreement between the N.Z. Company and the Lay Association. The absentee purchasers had the option of selecting their own emigrants (conditional on approval of the Association) who might, after arrival be sold their sponsor's land. The rest of the pamphlet (pp. 16-49) was designed to appeal to emigrants who wished to farm. The climate (p.16) and soils (pp.21-23) were described at length with supporting "authorities" being quoted. The Taieri Plain was directly mentioned as being "...swampy to a large extent; but on the whole a valuable district ..."26 and again mentioned in part of Colonel Wakefield's published correspondence27 which dealt with his visit prior to the Deed of Sale.

As can be expected, the pamphlet had the overtones of selective, "class" settlement - with the establishment of a Church and a College as high priorities.28 Both the pamphlet and Rev. Burns' promoting were aimed at a specific audience - the Free Church adherents, with a view to establishing a purer Scots society beyond the seas.

26 [Lay Association pamphlet] Scheme of the Colony of the Free Church at Otago, New Zealand (Glasgow, 1845), p.40.

27 ibid, pp. 46-47.

28 ibid, p.11 and pp. 32-33.
FIGURE 9

Reference: Scheme of the Colony of the Free Church at Otago, New Zealand. (Glasgow 1845). following p.48.

Key:

rich alluvial soil

hill pastures available for early settlers but ultimately to be disposed of under the agreement between the Company and the Association.
On the other hand, publications from the N.Z. Company tended to stress care in planning, adventurous agriculture and the profit motive. In regard to Rennie's work in 1843, the New Zealand Journal editor commended the care of planning before migration in the proposed 'New Edinburgh' scheme. One month later, Rennie's 'Address to Scotch Farmers' was published, in which, as a representative of a famous Scottish farming family he pointed out the defects of Scottish agriculture. In contrast, he pointed the way to a "... new Scotland" in which the "skilful, practical agriculturist" would most certainly occupy an important place. Further in his speech he outlined the economics of migration and appealed to his audience with "... less capital than is here required for a farmer will make a landowner in New Zealand ..."

He minimised the risks and enjoined the group to accompany him "at the end of next October ..." In 1845, the New Zealand Company used factual appeal by printing a serialised account by Dr Munro of Frederick Tuckett's journey of 1844, including descriptions of the Taieri. In 1846, part of Kettle's descriptive correspondence with Colonel Wakefield in Wellington was printed. From 1846 to 1848, and particularly in the year 1847, Otago settlement received new impetus with the revival of the New Zealand Company. In that year, Colonel Bunbury's opinions preceded the bulk of New Zealand

29 New Zealand Journal, No. 92, 8 July 1843, p.169.
30 ibid. No. 94, 5 August 1843, p.196.
31 ibid. No. 135. 1 March 1845, pp. 55-56.
   No. 138. 12 April 1845, p.95.
   No. 149. 13 September 1845, pp. 233-234.
32 ibid. No. 179. 24 October 1846, p.271
33 supra, p. 7, Bunbury came with Captain Nias in 1840.
Company publicity. He estimated that the value of areas surrounding 'New Edinburgh' especially for agriculture had been "much underrated".\textsuperscript{34} In the \textit{New Zealand Journal} of June, the arrangements for land disposal were detailed.\textsuperscript{35} The same month, J. Ward wrote "Letters to Intending Emigrants to New Zealand" in which he dwelt heavily on the use of native plants, whales and their bones, and other benefits to emigrants' lives. He placed heavy stress on planned agriculture - both arable and grazing.\textsuperscript{36} Again on 22 September 1847, Johnathan Hutcheson writing a letter to the editor of the \textit{Edinburgh Advertiser} outlined the agricultural capabilities of Otago

\...
\... the grain was heavier and the grasses richer
\...
\... there were fewer insects by far than I found at
\... Wangamui
\... the potatoes of Otago and Moeraki [Hoeraki]
\... were the best I saw in the islands ....\textsuperscript{37}

The basis for the differences in advertising-matter between the Lay Association and the New Zealand Company lies in their origins. The Lay Association's involvement with Otago settlement follows directly from the events of the Disruption. Of course, agricultural suitability of the chosen district was important - but only secondary to the immediate objectives of men like the Rev. Burns. It is notable that in the 1843 - 1845 period the correspondence between the New Zealand Company and the Free Church representatives was mainly based on discussion of the agricultural suitability of the chosen settlement. After 1845, the basis of discussion between the Company and the Lay Association shifted to place more stress on the type of emigrant that was sought and the mechanics of land negotiation. The New Zealand Company

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{34} \textit{New Zealand Journal}, No. 196, 5 June 1847, p.157
\item \textsuperscript{35} \textit{ibid}, p.158; Appendix F, pp.208-209.
\item \textsuperscript{36} \textit{ibid}, No. 196, 19 June 1847, pp. 176-177.
\item \textsuperscript{37} \textit{ibid}, No. 205, 9 October 1847, pp. 274-275.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
had, undisguisedly, been from the outset interested in the profit motive. The bulk of their correspondence deals with the process of vying for British Government favour, and selection of a suitable site. Most of the 'propaganda' of the Company representatives or organs is biased towards agriculture, preparation for settlement and description of blocks. Both classes of advertising were a natural outcome of the objectives of their respective organisations.

Certainly the most potent advertising to draw immigrants to the Taieri after the Philip Laing and John Wickliffe settlers arrived, was the volume of personal testimonies in reports and letters which found their way into journals and newspapers in Britain. It is unusual that there are so many favourable reports by settlers on the Taieri. In fact, Otago enjoyed a "most-favoured-province" position in relation to the other settlements in New Zealand. More personal testimonies appeared on behalf of Otago in the New Zealand Journal in the years 1845 - 1850 either as letter publications or reprints from Scottish newspapers, than for any other province. Of course, there are some reasonable explanations of this phenomenon. Compared with more northerly settlements there was no Maori problem - although the accidental drowning of John Tuhawaiki in 1844 had removed from the scene a wise arbitrator who could have smoothed over the small differences which arose between Maoris and settlers. When the settlers arrived they found a country which was reasonably easily converted to their traditional way of agriculture. Compared with forested areas like Taranaki, the stumping of ferns and bushland around Otago was relatively simple. The transfer from the harsh climate of Scotland to the more salubrious Otago made the majority of the settlers pleased. The climatic change was not so large as to
cause discomfort, but still significant enough, in terms of pleasant weather to be most agreeable. The solitude and natural aspect of Otago were most acceptable after the traumatic events of the Disruption of '43 and the agricultural famine of 1845-1847. It is doubtful that all testimonials were genuine and unsolicited. Probably they can be divided into well-defined categories:

New Zealand Company and Lay Association letters - each having a vested interest in the continuance of the colony, those writers taking parts in debates concerning the roles of different districts in Otago (see next Chapter) and personal observations of bona fide settlers, writing letters to relatives, with no later publication motives in mind.

Personal testimonials were printed in the _New Zealand Journal_ from issue No. 232 (21 October, 1848) onwards. In that edition, an anonymous writer extolled the virtues of the interior plains for grazing. In December, parts of a letter by Mr Robert Donaldson of Saddle Hill were printed. He, like William Jaffray, was employed as a shepherd on Anderson's Saddle Hill Sheepstation. The tone of his letter is one of admiration for the district with its "beautiful sheep runs", "weather ... very pleasant", "Birds of every description", "[boundless] wild boars and pigs". There soon followed a letter from Mrs Jaffray to her brother in Birse, Scotland, in which she writes of the Taieri as "... very splendid country and very healthy..."

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40 *ibid*, No. 236, 16 December 1848, p.207.
She advertised the good qualities of the climate and soil, the wild pigs, the ducks, the varieties of timber, and the "very harmless, inoffensive creatures" - the Maoris. By 1849, more settlers were on the Taieri Plain; and three young men, John Forbes, William Filleul and Frank French had pitched tents at a spot they called "Craighwood-Tents, Otago, Taieri River". Forbes wrote to his mother on 14 April 1849 telling about building a house, of the two white settlers close by, of the whalers who married Maori wives, and of the vicissitudes of pioneer life with water scalding and the trials of being caught in log jams. The same letter was also printed in the _Otago Journal_ (the 2d. per issue occasional paper of the Otago Association).

This was also the age of pamphleteering. The Edinburgh, 1851, pamphlet 'Otago' reproduced an extract from the _Edinburgh Witness of _8 October 1851 in which the Reverend William Nicholson, late minister of London Wall Church compared Taieri weather with Dunedin's

... In the Taieri [sic] Plain, for instance, it is mild and warm, when at Dunedin it is cool and windy ...

also

... The Taieri Plain is the only one of these beautiful flats which I have been able to visit ...
The Plain presents, all along its margin, numberless localities, most inviting to the intending settler.

He did, however, admit that the district suffered from a scarcity of fuel and building timber. A more descriptive letter is found in

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42 _Otago Journal_ No. IV. (Edinburgh 1849), pp. 70-71.
43 _Otago_ pamphlet (Edinburgh 1851), p.2.
44 _ibid_, p.2; _supra_, pp.116-117.
G. B. Earp's *Handbook for Intending Settlers*, written by two brothers, Howard and Heber Lakemann, who looked over their Waihola rural section site in December 1848. A final example of the publication surge, but by no means exhaustive of all examples, is *Notes on New Zealand* which was published in monthly editions beginning August 1849. In the second month, September 1849, the letter of Mr William Fox, New Zealand Company Agent in Otago reported a visit to the Taieri which he assessed as a "... fine plain, capable apparently of growing a great quantity of agricultural produce ...".

The two principal criticisms of the Taieri as a prospective emigration field, lack of timber and possibility of flooding, were overriden by the volume of propaganda in favour of the district. Moreover, far less than half of the correspondents whose letters were printed remained anonymous. In general, propaganda specific to the Taieri fell to those who were ready, first-hand, to witness to what they had written.

Dr McLintock holds that the genesis of the Otago scheme lay not only in the minds of the leaders, Rennic, Cargill and Burns, but also in the "criss-cross of a thousand and one causal effects" not least among which were the social and economic ills created by the Industrial Revolution. In the Scottish urban districts, conditions were worse than in England, with innumerable wretched tenements

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46 [N.Z. Company]. *Notes on New Zealand*, No. 2 September 1849, being extracts of letters from settlers within the Colony, affording general and useful information for intending emigrants (London 1849), pp. 10-12.

surrounding coalfields and factories.\textsuperscript{48} The rural areas were plagued in the 1840s by widespread distress which McLintock attributes to the breakdown of the clan system, inadequate poor relief service, and the famine years of the "hungry Forties". To those trapped in the Scottish situation, emigration must have seemed like a "heaven-sent panacea".\textsuperscript{49} And the above study of letters and publications demonstrates the method by which the vision was made known to the intending emigrants.

In general, my study of Taieri Plain settlers' motives would seem to support McLintock's reasoning, though his work is more broadly-based. Of the approximately sixty families which came to the Plain by the mid-1850s, nineteen were from the Central Valley industrial region of Scotland, between the lines Edinburgh to Renfrew and Fort Teviot to Greenock, six were from the Southern Uplands and border area and thirty-four were from the Highlands to Orkney Islands area.\textsuperscript{50} The distribution shows a heavy bias in favour of northern Scottish rural districts. This pattern conforms to areas where the clan system was under considerable strain, and places which were suffering from the emigration of young labourers.

It would also be appropriate to state that the survival of the Otago scheme after 1848 depended to a large extent upon the continued flow of immigrants into the colony. There was, by the 1850s, a

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid, p.153

\textsuperscript{49} Ibid, p.154

\textsuperscript{50} Map of Scotland showing districts from which Taieri settlers came (O.E.S.A.)
dearth of good labourers and the one factor which towers above others as an attracting force for further emigrants was that of published personal testimony.

Closer examination of the individual motives of Taieri settlement is prohibited by lack of primary evidence. There is one outstanding factor, though, the need for religious independence seemed to dominate the "causal effects" of Taieri families to a greater extent than McLintock suggests for Otago. A study of the records of attendance, where possible (East Taieri Church records have been destroyed by fire), reveals an exceedingly strong Free Church district. 51 Only ten out of seventy families in the district in 1850-1855 were not adherents of the Free Church. In 1855, the local census supports this contention when, out of a total population in the Taieri of 459 people, 380 were Presbyterians. 52 They were not merely nominal in their convictions. The strength of the people in their religious convictions is evidenced in the speed with which they requested and received a minister of the Free Church - on 19 February 1854 53, and raised a substantial Sustentation Fund for him. 54


53 M. Shaw and E. Farrant, The Taieri Plain, p.152.

54 J. McGlashan Papers, [HOCKEN]
Large-scale European settlement on the Taieri began inauspiciously. Despite the promises made of the district by the majority of those who had visited it, almost all agricultural use or any widespread habitation developed only tentatively at first. In 1850, J.R. Godley, a founder-member of the Canterbury settlement, expressed surprise that no land on the Taieri had been ploughed.\(^1\) A year later, the Rev. William Nicholson who was delayed in Otago while on his way to Hobart, preached the gospel to the settlers on the Taieri. He rode to "The only human habitations [which] were two sheep stations, about five miles apart ... We made up a congregation of thirteen persons ..."\(^2\) In 1853, the Rev. Burns estimated the total Taieri and Molyneux population to be no "...more than 300 souls ..."\(^3\) Why was it that earlier observers' expectations were so slow in being fulfilled?

In 1848, the selection of rural lands had been delayed by a rainy winter. Once conditions allowed, parties were established for the inspection of districts away from Dunedin. Some settlers were immediately attracted to the Molyneux area by the pleasant outlook and plentiful timber. Others chose sites along what they hoped

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\(^1\) J. McGlashan Papers (HOCKEN) J.R. Godley Journal copy 8 March 1850

\(^2\) J. Chisholm, Fifty Years Syne (Dunedin 1898), pp. 110-111; supra, pp.116-117.

\(^3\) T.M. Hocken, Contributions, p.137.
would be a Dunedin to Lake Waihola road line, while a few chose on the fertile foothills of the Maungatuas. The Rev. T. Burns, who often acted on behalf of absentee landowners, and his 18-year-old son Arthur, later a major Taieri figure, spotted sections in and around the centre of the Plain – near the present town of Mosgiel⁴. The Rev. Burns wished to select adjoining sections and save the cost of unnecessary fencing. He was thwarted in this aim by Kettle who chose some for municipal reserves.⁵ Even after the rural selections were made, few settlers came to the Plain.

At the end of 1848, the area was launched into the centre of a bitter debate. The point of the controversy was a division over the future development of the Otago block. The New Zealand Company agent, William Cargill, epitomised the group of settlers who saw the need for concentration of energies and manpower around the newly-established Dunedin. In view of the shortage of good labour he was correct. The policy of making the number of labourers conditional upon the amount of land sold, and at the same time encouraging labouring families to become small proprietors was unfortunate. On the other hand, the editor of the Otago News, H. Graham, represented the group of settlers who saw the block primarily as an agricultural one. The great regret to this group was that Dunedin had been established as the first settlement area. Graham favoured the Clutha area, seeing Otago's greatest potential lying in the fertile soils of the Clutha valley. A closer

⁴ J. Barr, Historical Papers [Otago] Scrapbook MS (HOCKEN). For further comment on the activities of A.J. Burns, material can be found in Jane (nee Burns) Bannerman, Reminiscences of her life to 1855 (HOCKEN MS copy)

⁵ J. Barr, ibid.
examination of the controversy reveals the distance which
separated views of Company agents' like Wakefield in the early
1840s from the hard-headed, often pessimistic realism of the
late 1840s.

In the second issue of the Otago News a writer to the
Editor penned a long note which conveyed very distinct messages:

... People having seen ... the Taieri with its
formidable swamps, fancy they have seen the best
part of the country, and are fully competent to
pronounce on its capabilities. They are
mistaken. They have seen nothing, or, rather,
worse than nothing ...

and

... In my humble opinion ... Dunedin ought not
to have had an existence at all, at least on the
present spot ..."6

Broadening the area of his condemnation 'Agricola' saw little
future for Dunedin or its hinterland, for it had no available
(no arable) land close by, no river communication with the interior,
and was separated from the habitable lands, (Molyneux) by thirty
miles of deserts, swamps and rugged hills. He further stated
that he would be pleased to see the time when Dunedin would benefit
from "... the sterile downs and impassable swamps of that same
[Taieri] plain ..."7 The Taieri did have one saving feature,
according to the writer - "... one fine tract comprising a few
sections under the Maungatua range of hills. But this tract is
small, and otherwise isolated by swamps and marshes ..."8

6 Otago News No. 2, 27 December 1848, 'Agricola' to the Editor, p.3.
7 Ibid.
8 Ibid.
As one might expect 'Agricola' saw virtue in the site increasing proportionally with the southerly distance from Dunedin. Around Waihola, he thought the land was well adapted for grazing, the Clutha being reached through fine country. The virtues of the Clutha, a district "par excellence" are argued succinctly - good soil, a wide navigable river, easily drained river flats. 'Agricola' concluded the article as vociferously as he had begun, recommending prospective purchasers to refrain from buying immediately. First, they should see the country - "... then choose - in the Taieri, if you will ..."\(^9\) The gauntlet had been thrown down, and the challenge was publicly acknowledged less than a fortnight later by Captain Cargill at the opening dinner of the Royal Hotel. He stated firmly that four proprietors had settled on the Taieri specifically because it was near a town and market. Moreover, one proprietor who had gone to the Clutha returned, having found it "... a Robinson Crusoe affair ..."\(^10\) - a remark his audience enjoyed. One of the audience, however, found himself opposed to Cargill's remarks and he sallied forth in the 'Original Correspondence' columns of the next edition of the Otago News. Signing himself 'A Colonist' he engaged in a partially-mathematical argument which in summary meant that because the four Taieri settlers were separated by twenty five miles from Dunedin that Cargill's reference to them could hardly be construed in favour of concentration of population. Continuing on sound logical

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\(^9\) *Otago News*, op.cit. Almost certainly, Graham, the editor of the *Otago News* was himself 'Agricola'. There is a distinct similarity of ideas and styles of writing between 'Agricola' and Graham, who, at the time of the debate published a 13 page pamphlet, *The Handbook to the Suburban and Rural Districts of the Otago Settlement.*

\(^10\) *Otago News*, No. 3, 10 January 1849, p.3.
grounds, he further argued that since the district was eminently suitable for extensive grazing, it was, by nature, predisposed towards dispersed settlement. In support of this claim, however, he used dubious evidence referring to the success of the United States where, he held, settlers had not radiated out from concentrated settlements on the Eastern seaboard. Unfortunately, he forgot that as a first measure of security, at first, most pioneer settlements in the United States had been tightly concentrated, if not in his lifetime. He concluded by making practical suggestions which the authorities could have considered as a measure of aiding rural settlement: 'rustic bridges', 'Warries at certain distances', 'ferries over unfordable rivers', and a clearing of fern and grass from established lines of surveyors.  

In the following issue of the Otago News, two articles were written to stimulate the controversy. The first was an editorial by H. Graham in which the rather sarcastic tone was maintained -

... The Taieri [sic] district - though possessing a few good sections, and having the advantage of "contiguity" to the town, is allowed by all to be nothing but a lake in winter; and, even if it were otherwise, a few flocks of sheep would soon fill it ....

His opinion was reinforced by 'A Settler of No Party', who admitted that while there was rich land on the Taieri, questioned the cost

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11 Otago News, No. 4, 24 January 1849, p.3.
12 Otago News, No. 5, 7 February 1849, p.2.
of drainage, especially since there was difficulty in getting either fall or outlets for drains. 13

The last printed word in the debate was issued by Graham - who briefly exclaimed that the rural districts (Clutha) only needed inhabitants and roads to make them superior to the older settlements 14 (Dunedin and suburbs). The whole argument was abruptly curtailed when a much more rancorous debate ensued about religion after the Otago News published a report of a sermon on Popery by the Rev. Burns. 15

The Taieri-Clutha debate is notable because it was the first in a local Otago newspaper and more importantly because it contained the concern of the people over the development of the area. Cargill concentrated on preventing the dissipation of resources from a struggling settlement. He was concerned with the rising cost of available labour in Dunedin and had made strenuous attempts to peg labour costs by agreement. 16 His general ruling, accepted by most of the emigrant proprietors, was that 18 shillings a week was a fair, average wage for 55 hours work. These terms, he thought, were reasonable, because 60 hours for 12-15 shillings a week was standard in England. 17 He had been unduly optimistic in

13 ibid, No. 5 Supplement p.1.
14 Otago News, No. 9, 4 April 1849, p.3.
15 ibid.
16 J.McGlashan Papers (HOCKEN) William Cargill to J.McGlashan, 27 January 1849, in which Cargill recommends the making of engagements and establishing of wages in Britain before emigrants depart.
17 Otago News, No. 3, 10 January 1849, p.3.
hoping that all employers would keep to the agreement when labour became short. By the end of 1849, pastoralists were offering good men £1.0.0 a week and sometimes more, to work as shepherds. Cargill was well aware of this trend, particularly in reference to the Taieri. As early as February 1849, he had instructed Kettle to report on the Taieri River's suitability for navigation because he was anticipating a considerable number of landholders would take up extensive grazing in the South Taieri and Waihola districts. If men were drawn as far away as Taieri and even to Molyneux, they would contribute little to the development of Dunedin.

Although Graham and his supporters may have overstated their case, in terms of readiness, the Clutha area was more acceptable to new farming emigrants. According to William Fox, the Graham faction were motivated by having already selected land in the Clutha not by any desire to aid the development of the settlement. Whatever the case, in comparison with Clutha, the Taieri suffered from lack of timber for building and extensive occasional flooding. Also, there is a degree of appropriateness in the remarks of 'A Settler of NO Party' in his claim, in 1849, that ...

... [arable cultivation is impossible] except at an immense loss, especially as the chief part of those designed for this AGRICULTURAL (?) COLONY are men who were never in their life between a plough's stilts ...

18 Kettle Letterbook MS (HOCKEN), C.Kettle to W.Cargill, 26 February 1849.
19 Otago Journal, Vol. VI 1850-51, William Fox to Secretary, New Zealand Company, 2 April 1859, p.93.
In passing the remark, 'A Settler' no doubt was thinking principally of 'townies' who formed the majority of Dunedin's emigrant population, it equally well applied to the Taieri where the bulk of early emigrants, although from Scottish rural districts, had a distinct background in pastoralism rather than in arable farming.

In the light of the official policy of "concentration", the shortage of labour and the slow progress of settlers on to the Taieri Plain, Godley's plaint that there had been no land ploughed is not incomprehensible. What is surprising, however, is his assessment of the capabilities of the plain. The description in his 'Journal' is more eulogistic than many of the surveyors', ringing with phrases like, "great agricultural capabilities", "a fine wood of Five Hundred Acres", "plenty of bush on the hills around", "the market as far as its limits go, is as good as London", etc. He expressed "surprise" that it had not been ploughed, perhaps overlooking the fact that the clay track by which he travelled to the plain was a quagmire for about two-thirds of the year, unless there was a dry winter.21 It is evident that when Godley visited Dunedin in March, April 1850 that the Taieri-Clutha debate was still a "hot topic". He obviously listened to the Graham faction who claimed that he had only ridden over the sound, dry parts of the plain, and he contrasted that with what he heard from Kettle and Cargill.22 Ultimately he

22 ibid, 4 April 1850
leaned towards the official line, deciding on "concentration" with accelerated agriculture in districts close to Dunedin.

He did, nevertheless, think it plainly ridiculous that the emigrants "... seemed to think their first business was to make a Town ..." rather than raise crops and at least, make the district self-sufficient in food production. This was a point of view not totally accepted in the "concentration" argument, but still far away from the "separate district" argument of the Grahamites.

In October 1851, a mini-debate arose between William Fox, ex-Attorney-General of New Zealand and the Rev. William Nicholson, late minister of London Wall Church. The matter, this time, was individual interpretations of the Taieri Plain. In February, 1849, Fox had visited the area and reported it as entirely suitable for agricultural (arable) production surrounded by extensive hill country sheep runs. He also saw a sackful of "excellent coal" from Saddle Hill. After six weeks' residence in Otago in 1851, Nicholson wrote some observations to the editor of the Edinburgh Witness. In sweeping terms he described a "... magnificent expanse of fertile country, reposing within its massive mountain enclosures of perennial verdure, whose slopping [sic] sides beautifully merge away into the noble expanse ..." that is, his view of the Taieri!

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23 ibid
25 J.McGlashan Papers, W. Fox to Secretary, New Zealand Company, 15 February 1849.
26 J.McGlashan Papers, MSS (HOCKEN). Otago leaflet which reprints an article from the Edinburgh Witness (Edinburgh [1851]), p.3.
description did not give offence, but rather his concluding comments criticising those unnamed persons who gave a misleading impression of the pastoral nature of the country.

Ostensibly, Nicholson favoured a higher degree of arable farming for the Taieri than Fox, although the correspondence does not make this clear until the attack by Fox on Nicholson in a letter to McGlashan at the Otago Office in Edinburgh. Doubts were cast on Nicholson's ability to judge the land after "... a few days' experience, and ten or a dozen miles' ramble from the port ..."27 What is more important is that although Fox maintained that he did nothing to qualify the original report that he made, he did quite definitely stress the pastoral capabilities of the district rather than the arable.28 Despite what he wrote to McGlashan in 1851, his stance was different from that adopted in his letter to the Secretary of the New Zealand Company on 1849.

The second Taieri debate emphasises the points: that the discussion on the future of the area was still alive and that "concentration" with an emphasis on pastoralism in the immediate rural districts to Dunedin as a policy, was in the ascendancy in 1851, because of continued labour shortages. The Fox-Nicholson correspondence also reveals that a good deal of the argument between the contestants was understood as the grounds for their antagonism only becomes, at best, partially clear in the dying stages of the debate.

27 J.McGlashan Papers (HOCKEN) W. Fox to J.McGlashan, 17 October 1851; supra pp. 104-105
28 ibid
In terms of Godley's, Kettle's and Cargill's aspirations, development on the Taieri until the mid-1850s was decidedly slow, reflecting not only the uncertainty over the function of the area, arable versus pastoral, but also the general loss of confidence in Otago as a colony. The revenue of a province and its volume of exports and imports, in a period when Britain was turning to Free Trade and making herself a manufacturer to the world, is a reasonable indicator of the viability of the province. There was obviously stagnation on the local scene in the years 1850 to early 1856, with a time of intense depression in late 1852 to mid-1854. These trends are indicated by shipping numbers and tonnage which I have aggregated and averaged to give a clearer picture of the economic situation of the settlement. In the first two years of emigrant establishment, 1848 and 1849, an average of 23 ships serviced Otago, they had an average displacement of 3,587 tons. Over the period 1850 to late 1855 the average number of ships entering and going from Otago dropped to 20 per year, with an average displacement of 2,860 tons. Within this period, the years 1852 to 1854 stand out as particularly depressed averaging 14 ships per year and 2,482 tons displacement. These trends are emphasised by a study of the value of imports and exports, as well as the figures of revenue of the province over the period 1848-1856. The Taieri Plain was part of these trends. Inspection and early settlement, from 1848 to early 1850, began optimistically. In July

29 Otago Provincial Government Gazette (hereafter to be abbreviated O.P.G.G.) Vol. IV No. 172, 26 March 1862, p.353, Table: 'Return of the Number of Vessels Entered Inwards and Outwards at the Port of Otago, 1848-1861'.

30 Ibid, p.352. Table: 'Abstract of the Value of Imports and Exports, and of the Revenue of the Province of Otago, from 1848 to 1861'.
1848, Cargill wrote to Wakefield in Wellington reporting that coal had been found in two places on the "...skirts of Saddle Back and within a mile of the navigable Taieri River..." He quoted Kettle's assessment of Saddle Hill coal being in many respects similar to that of Clutha. Cargill saw the discovery of coal as a complete rebuttal to the objections which had been raised regarding the Taieri's scarcity of wood fuel, a viewpoint much influenced by his "concentration" argument.

Following William Fox's visit to the Taieri, he pronounced on the "excellent coal" from Saddle Hill and compared it favourably with that of Massacre Bay. By April 1850, his estimation of the Saddle Hill coal had improved - after it had been tested by Captain Stokes of the steamer Acheron. According to Fox, Otago blacksmiths would not use Massacre Bay coal when Saddle Hill coal was available. In 1851, on instructions from John McGlashan of the Otago Association, Alexander Kemp, a research chemist in the University of Edinburgh, subjected samples of Saddle Hill coal to analysis and concluded that it was a "very good quality coal," suitable for smelting.

Despite the benefits offered by a potential coal mine, people did not come to the Taieri with any great speed. In the period 1848-1855, two significant factors stand out in Taieri development:

32 [New Zealand Company, ed.] Notes on New Zealand: being extracts of letters from settlers in the Colony, etc. No. 2, September 1849. W. Fox to Secretary, New Zealand Company, 15 February 1849 (London, 1849)
33 Otago Journal, Vol. VI. November 1850, W. Fox to Secretary, New Zealand Company, 2 April, 1850, p.93.
a slowly, but fairly steadily increasing population and a non-utilization of the Taieri's agricultural potential. In these difficult years, smallholders came to the Plain and practised subsistence farming. There were 459 settlers by the end of 1855. In comparison with the later patterns of settlement and agriculture, the pattern in the 1848-55 era was one of small houses and whares, and occasional tents, and only a small amount of farming being undertaken. In 1848, J. Blackie and I.M.I. mentioned the choosing of rural sections on the Taieri. Only in personal correspondence are references to actual settlement on the plain found. For example, a 'Letter from a Settler's Wife' [Mrs Jaffray] of July 1848, described the pioneer state of habitation: with climbs over mountains, pig-hunting, bird-shooting, buildings made without a nail, hunting for firewood with the two resident Maori chiefs whom she calls 'Tiraki' and 'Ewaddo', and the behaviour of Scots gentlemen who wrapped up in a blanket and slept in the bracken all night! In 1849, three young men, John Forbes, William Filleul and Frank French were camping near Mataipapa, at a place Forbes named 'Craigwood-Tents'. He commented in a letter, that there were 8 white men living in the Maori community, married to Maori wives. These were described as 'Shaproons' by J.R.Godley in his correspondence, that is, retired whalers going "bush". He

37 J. Barr, Scrapbook MS (HOCKEN) I.McIndoe writing a history of Otago Settlement in 1881 (typescript copy) Part IX 'The Ballot'.
FIGURE 10

Sketch map of the country comprising about one million acres to the north and west of the Otago block, from explorations made in February and March 1851 by C.H. Kettle, Principal Surveyor.

Lands and Survey Department Map 9, 1851.
vividly portrayed typical camping life with canoeing, cooking and eating damper and parrot soup - being the norm during any Taieri day. 39

About 300 settlers had become established on the Taieri by 1853, each family or group going through the arduous motions of clearing a patch, erecting a temporary whare then building a more permanent, weatherproof structure, and finally clearing and cultivating more land while going over to Dunedin for supplies. Most of these people had established themselves in East Taieri, along survey boundaries adjacent to, or at least reasonably near to a proposed roadline. The largest landowner at the time was William Valpy who owned the Leith saw-mill and who had established a sheep-run south of Lake Waihola surrounding Horse-Shoe Bush. 40 Lee and McDiarmid had started in a smaller way than Valpy who was the biggest capitalist in Otago at the time. Valpy spent $1,200 a year on wages alone. 41 His death in 1852 contributed to the economic decline of the province in the depressed era, 1852-1854.

The fact that the great majority of the early settlers in the 1848-1855 period settled near survey and road boundaries points directly to a matter of deep concern. Communications, at a time when a settlement is struggling, are of the utmost importance.


The quality of communications between Dunedin and the Taieri often determined whether a family would settle in the area. Above all, the quality of communications, in the case of the Taieri, helped establish the function of the area. The principal benefit of the Taieri, as pointed out by numerous observers was as an agricultural district. The use and profitability of the land depended directly on whether there was adequate access to Dunedin, the prime market. Whilst Codley compared Dunedin, in its way, with London as a captured market, what he overlooked was that the track on which he had travelled to the plain was only a Maori path trampled down by horse traffic. Such a path for most of the year became a quagmire, particularly when the narrow-rimmed wheel traffic of the early 1850s was let loose on it. The first priority after subdivision of sections was accessibility; not only for incoming settlers but also for the transport of supplies to and from Dunedin. Until such transport could be undertaken, the Taieri would not develop its agricultural potential.

A combination of the two major factors, lack of adequate transport and reluctance to go to an area which would give the impression of greater isolation than in Dunedin makes more comprehensible the slow development of the Taieri in the early era. It also helps explain the accelerating rise of development in the period 1856-1861. Settlers were becoming encouraged by the permanency of the Plain settlement, better road and water communication was developed, and as some small-holders on the Taieri began to expand their properties and productions their neighbours were encouraged by the apparent success to do the same.
How much development had occurred on the Taieri to 1955: or in another sense, how much had the European incursion altered the landscape to that date?

In terms of the 1848-1850 debate on concentration, the Taieri benefited at the expense of the more southern districts. In a gazetted return of cultivations and livestock of December 1854, the Taieri appears as the most advanced district. Of the three districts Molyneux, Tokomairiro and Taieri, the last-named had by far the greatest crop-acreage, 624 1/4 acres. In comparison, Tokomairiro had 279 1/4 acres and Molyneux 99 3/4 acres. In numbers of houses, cattle, sheep and goats, Taieri's numbers were greater, though only marginally in sheep. In view of this agricultural development, justification is necessary of the judgement that Taieri's agricultural use developed only tentatively at first. In comparison with the rapid rise in farming on the Taieri in the period 1856-1861, the first years, although they make the district superior in production and development to the two more southern areas, showed a quite steady, but slow progress.

At the time of the first Otago census of 31 December 1855, there were 459 people living on the Taieri Plain, 259 of whom were males. These people were represented in the Provincial Government by M.P.C.s elected by 79 local voters. 14 of the voters were

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absentees, so the resident voting population was 65.\textsuperscript{45} It would be erroneous to suggest that there were 65 land-owners on the Plain, representing 65 families whose sum totalled 459 persons. The property qualifications on the franchise excluded a significant number of smallholders: freehold land had to be valued at £50 or more, leasehold to a clear annual value of more than £10 on the lease, and householders with a tenement worth more than £10 in Dunedin or more than £5 outside Dunedin. All these criteria had residential qualifications attached to them, and the whole franchise exercised the usual discrimination against aliens, the treasonable, felonious or infamous type of people.\textsuperscript{46} There are no records extant which help a historian judge how many groups of people there were. In all probability there would have been at least as many resident groups or families as there were voters, making at least 130 groups with an average number of about 3.5 persons per group which would seem about correct. In addition, this would account for the number of single young men there were in the district both labouring and looking for available land. The family group was smaller on average than the typical Victorian counterpart in Great Britain because: young couples tended to emigrate either before their children were born or soon after the birth of their first child, as well, there were a great many young, unmarried men in the first emigration period, 1848-1850. It was not until the period 1856-1861 that the Taieri was to see a re-establishment of the Victorian pattern, based on the births of children to settling families.

\textsuperscript{45} \textit{ibid}, Vol. II, No. 24, 19 May 1855, pp. 66-71.

The distribution of the settlers on the Plain in 1855, reveals a striking pattern. The 'Classified Roll of Electors' for Otago, for the year 1855-1856, provides a reasonably accurate sample for establishing population distribution, naming 40 East Taieri resident voters, 9 West Taieri, 9 Waihola, 5 Mataipapa and 2 Taieri River mouth settlers. The focal point of settlement was undoubtedly the East Taieri region - extending from Saddle Hill to Otakia. This development provides a direct contrast to the dreams of Tuckett who saw Waihola as the primary area of the plain, and H.B.Graham who grudgingly conceded some worth to the Maungatua foothill soils. It also directly indicates that the communication which opened the area, that is, the road from Dunedin to Scrogg's Creek was the first determining factor in the location of most early Taieri Plain settlement.

As the road progressed from Dunedin, the people followed. Necessity taught the first lessons, such as the narrow-wheeled carts brought from England might be suitable for English macadamised roads but were entirely unsuitable for Otago's mud tracks. In the years 1849 and 1850, a dray road, suitable for broad-tracked vehicles was made from Dunedin to the Junction of Scrogg's Creek with the Taieri River. The path of the road roughly followed that of the old Maori track. The quality of roading was decided by two variables, the amount of use the track received and the weather. The greater

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48 New Zealand Journal No. 269, March 1850. W.Cargill Resident Agent to W. Fox, Principal Agent, New Zealand Company, 31 August 1849, pp. 67-68.
49 Otago Journal No. VII, May 1851. Report of Captain Cargill on the Province in 1850 mentions the dray road from Dunedin to Queensferry North (Allanton) and Queensferry South (Henley) and his assessment of its function. p.111.
the use in dry weather, the more packing the subsoil would have to enable it to resist the erosive influence of hard downpours, and the more weed-free it would remain.

Cargill was hopeful in 1850 that the dray road would have a function of "great importance" but the years 1852-1855 were to sorely disappoint his desires. Although this road was to become the basis of a "shoe-string" type of settlement in East Taieri, and so determine the shape of settlement on the Taieri until 1855, it did not draw people to the area as soon as it was formed.

Security in settlement was the basic factor which permitted most settlers to move from the pioneer establishment of Dunedin to the relative "frontier" of the Taieri. The economic difficulties of the period 1852-1855 meant that many would-be Taieri settlers delayed their move to rural lands. Those who went to the plain in this period, with the exception of the large runholders, did not embark on a policy of agricultural expansion.
In terms of progress in agriculture and settlement, the period 1855 to 1870 separates clearly into three parts. From 1855 to the beginning of 1861 the Taieri Plain underwent steady progress in agriculture with a noticeable expansion of population, a significant proportion of the latter was due to the birth of Taieri children. In 1859, Taieri had the distinction of having the highest number of New Zealand-born children in any of the Dunedin districts. The second division of the period was initiated by the gold rushes of early 1861, which brought swift and remarkable changes to the Taieri and temporarily changed its function from that of an agricultural supply district to Dunedin to that of a way-post for rapidly-moving miners in transit to the goldfields. By 1865, the boom period was over, although the effects of the rushes were to be stamped on the Taieri landscape permanently. Simultaneously with the gold rushes, came another disruptive factor for Taieri farming - the outbreak of pleuro-pneumonia which stifled farming aspirations with progressively fewer effects right up until 1868. The beginning of the third division stems from a return to concentration on farming in 1864-1865 and its progressive acceleration to 1870. In this last division of time, the atmosphere was different - a greater number of landowners, the introduction of farm machinery on a larger scale, the growth of

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1 O.P.C.G. Vol. IV No. 113, 1 June 1860, 'Table of the Population of the Province of Otago, 31 December 1859, p.56.
significant market towns and the land subdivisions made during the gold-rush period, all culminated to rid the Taieri forever of the frontier landscape which existed prior to 1861.

In terms of population and agricultural progress, the Taieri district advanced rapidly between 1856 and 1861. In December 1856 there were 462 people residing in the area, excluding Waihola, of whom 290 were men. The majority, 372, were living in East Taieri.\(^2\) The last available and reasonably reliable census figure for the area prior to the goldrushes is that of 31 December, 1859, which gives the Central District 1096 persons of whom the majority, 647, were males.\(^3\) Extrapolating the progress would mean that by the beginning of 1861 there would have been approximately 1500 people on the Taieri. The majority of this number, just over half emigrated from Scotland and the rest were made of a growing number of children born of emigrants, probably one-third of the district's total population, and an increasing contingent of Englishmen. A startling increase in agricultural activity took place on the Taieri between December 1855 and December 1856. In 1855, 711 acres were cropped, 1,269 cattle and 5,176 sheep were grazed.\(^4\) In 1856, 1,113 acres were grazed and the numbers of cattle and sheep grew to 3,766 and 9,953 respectively.\(^5\) By 1859 the trends in cultivated acres (3,951) and cattle numbers (5,255) which had been

\(^2\) N.Z.G.G. [0], Vol.III, No.54, p.82.
\(^3\) O.P.G.G. Vol.IV, No. 113, June 1860, p.56.
\(^5\) ibid., Vol. III, No. 54, p.82.
established earlier, continued, whilst those of sheep numbers changed dramatically. 1859 saw a peak in sheep numbers of 51,079; the highest number until 1863. 6

All-important modes of communication correspondingly improved. While opening the 11th Session of the Provincial Council on 12 December 1860, Superintendent James Macandrew outlined the expenditure for the previous financial year. Emphasis was placed on ferry services and road to the Taieri. Of the total sum of £22,600 to be spent on road, £7,731 was allocated to roads on the Taieri Plain. He reported that despite the abandonment of the Halfway Bush road as the main route to West Taieri and the Central districts, the provincial government was going to keep it passable. Determination on the part of the provincial government was expressed for having the road to Scroggs\' Creek metalled (gravel laid on the clay surface) before the winter set in. Macandrew hoped that the road line between Taieri Ferry (Henley) and Waihola would be completely cut, ready for metalling, and that the southern extension from the head of Waihola Lake to the Tokomairiro Plain would be metalled. Arrangements were in progress for a paddle steamer to ply daily between Scrogg\'s Creek and the head of Lake Waihola 7 as well as a vessel to ply between Dunedin and Invercargill and calling at Lake Waihola on its way. 8

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8 O.P.G.G. Vol. IV, No. 119, 16 August 1860. The Oberon contract between Greer and the Otago Provincial Council, pp. 77-79.
During the early period, from 1848 to 1855, the settlers had established themselves along road lines and in some senses "followed" the roading development. The circumstances of the era 1856-1861 were different. In this period of agricultural expansion the roading development post-dated settlement. Only after the population density had increased, did the provincial government deem it necessary to metal the clay tracks. The main south road from Dunedin coming into the Taieri at Saddle Hill only received allocation for expenditure on metalting in September, 1859, more than ten years after the establishment of the settlement and approximately three years after the Taieri obviously served as the prime agricultural supply area for Dunedin.\(^9\) Between September 1859 and December 1860 expenditure on road development became much heavier and widened in application. The balance-sheets of the provincial government in the period indicate a sudden spurt of enthusiasm for roading in 1859. The activity was not to be short-lived. The frequency of increased expenditure became more excessive so that a stark contrast can be noted between the works' expenditure for 1859 and that of December 1860. The provincial balance-sheet for the year ending 30 September 1859 records £3.10.0 spent on Taieri navigation (out of a Public Works budget of £5,546), £158 on metalting the road to Saddle Hill (roads' budget £9,546), £37.10.0 for the Upper Taieri (Outram) ferries, and £51.6.0 for a loan to James Harrold of the Lower Taieri ferry.\(^10\)


\(^10\) ibid.
According to the 1860 annual balance sheet, great strides had been made; the expenditure for the year ending 30 September indicated annual sums spent of: £165,0.0 on the Lower Taieri ferry jetty, £227.0.0 on the Waihola jetty, £20.0.0 on improving the entrance to Waihola Lake, £8,743.18.0 on roads in or to the Taieri district with most of the expenditure apportioned to the Dunedin to Taieri ferry road (£3,133.18.3), metalling the same road (£2,629.1.5) and the dray track from Taieri to Tokomairiro (£1,338.18.3). This phenomenally high rate of expenditure was carried on into 1861, and became even higher after the discovery of gold.

It would be merely a case of over-simplification to presume that the heavy expenditure on roads in and to the Taieri was undertaken in recognition of its value as an agricultural district. It was undertaken in line with a deliberate policy of expansion by the Otago Provincial Council, but the great amount of expenditure was due to unforeseen factors. By the beginning of 1861, Superintendent Richardson claimed that the outlay of £1,600 per mile on roads to the Taieri was heavy. In fact, it was exactly double the estimate made by Chief Surveyor J.T. Thomson.

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The most likely reasons for the excess expenditure are: softness of the ground, slow progress because of scarce labour and land purchases costing more than the Provincial Council had anticipated. The actual timing of the inpouring of capital, which coincided with a policy of better exploitation of land, was dependent upon the solvency of the Provincial Government more than any other factor. From 1855 onwards the revenue of the province had increased, virtually doubling in the years 1857-1858, and again in 1858-1859, reaching £91,831 for the year 1860. The most outstanding factor in the increase in revenue was sale of Crown lands which moved from accounting for just under a half of the total provincial revenue in the year ending 30 September 1858 to marginally over three-quarters of the revenue in the year ending 30 September 1860. In the years 1860 and 1861, before effects of gold were felt on the provincial revenue, other financially important revenue areas rose in conjunction with land sales: customs, which increased from £3,971 in the year ending 30 September 1858 to £15,452 in 1861, immigration which had an annual assessment of £1,958 in 1859, and £8,912 by 1861. Even usually less significant areas, such as sales' licences and jetty dues, income climbed with the increasing prosperity which was symptomised by a healthy surplus in the provincial council coffers. The balance carried over the

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16 J. Hall-Jones, Mr Surveyor Thomson (Dunedin 1971), p. 84; article on roads to Tuteri - Otago Colonist 27 February 1857, p. 2.
17 O.P.G.G. Vol. IV, No. 125, 3 November 1860, p. 100.
30 September assessment of revenue and expenditure improved from £2,101 in 1858 to £22,720 by 1861.  

The prosperity of the province was reflected in ways other than merely indicated by local statistics for improved agriculture and expenditure. On a personal level, James Fulton of Maungatua, representative of larger Taieri landowners, was making a handsome profit from the sale of wool. In 1859, 30 bales of wool sent by their local agent, John Jones by the ship 'Sultana' via Melbourne, sold by public sale in London in November, realised £935.16.0. The profit after freight charges, commission on sales, haulage and warehousing costs had been deducted, was £850.15.1 - a handsome sum for those days! James Fulton was extremely fortunate; he started with the advantage of capital and a trustworthy labour supply. His sheep run extended over the Maungatuas and his sheep were carefully managed by a faithful and expert retainer, Robert Harvey. Whilst the rest of the Taieri district was overcoming the early 1850s doldrums, the Fultons in 1855-1856 imported English machinery and built the first flourmill for local use outside Dunedin. At 'Ravensbourne', the Maungatua property of James Fulton, the English mill was built by an expert wheelwright named Hugh Thomas.  

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20 O.P.G.G. Vol. IV, No. 154, 5 November 1861, p.258  
21 J. Fulton MS Collection (O.E.S.A.) Account J.Jones to J. Fulton  
22 C.H.E. Fulton (nee Valpy) Diary typewritten MS copy (HOCKEN), p.16; Figure 11, p.135 shows the location on Garvie's Reconnaissance Survey Map of Fulton's station at the north-eastern end of the Maungatua Range.
FIGURE 11

South East Reconnaissance Survey of Otago Province, October - November 1857 and February - March 1858 by Alexander Garvie.

Lands and Survey Department, Map 18, 1858.
mill water power was used for a circular saw, chaff cutting, churning and boring fence posts. 23

At the other end of the farming scale were the Jefferis' of the 105-acre Park Farm, North Taieri. The farm is registered on the Crown Grant Index Record Map of Taieri-Waihola held in the Lands and Survey Department Dunedin. In the early 1860s, John Jefferis opened the Race Course Hotel in North Taieri. The small farm merely provided an unsteady base for the family's income while it was being brought into production. Tangible income was derived from the contracting work undertaken by the men who worked bullocks and by Miss Lucy Jefferis' teaching in her nine-pupil school. Diversification was the order in small farms like the Jefferis' with bullocks for ploughing and stumping, cows, calves, pigs, ducks, wheat, oats and potato growing. Personal recognition depended on

23 ibid, p.21. Assuming that Mrs Fulton's diary is correct, and there is no reason to suspect otherwise because her dating of other events on the Taieri tally exactly with official evidence then, James Fulton's mill was the first built outside of Dunedin. E.N. Harraway in his thesis, 'A History of Flour-milling in Otago - M.A. 1965 University of Otago, claims Peter McGill's mill, established in 1857 at Milton was the first (p.iv). He also maintains that the first mill to be established on the Taieri was on the 'Mossgiel' property of A.J. Burns but does not date its establishment other than estimating that it existed in 1859. His estimation was based on the Otago Colonist, 12 August 1859 report that there were four mills around Dunedin which he deduced as McGlashans, Dunedin's, the Green Island mill and, Burns' mill (p.14). The fourth could well have been Fultons, and probably was.
... the boys are getting [sic] very useful. Ben can plough, John can take the team to bush himself. Father is going to break up More land this summer for next year. Rowland and Walter [are] getting useful out with Father so that is all the worse for their schooling ... 24

In this instance, the mood of purposefulness and expansion in the 1856-1861 era which affected the Jefferis' broadly covered the whole range of Taierri farms. Mechanisation in farming made its entry on the plain. In early 1857 A.J. Burns of the "Mossgiel" property used a reaping machine. In a leading article on the success of the machine, the editor of the Otago Colonist hoped "... to show the vast importance of such machines in a country where labour is scarce, and must continue to be so for years to come..." 25 In that same year, Burns lost a threshing machine by fire at Taieri and had it rebuilt by Mr Mason of Lower Kaikorai. Burns, in a later edition of the Otago Colonist wrote at length on his Crosshill Bell's Reaping machine which cost him £50. In his eyes it was a great saving of time and energy. 26 It marked the advent of a slowly-dawning new era for the Taieri. The importance of agricultural machinery became even more marked during the relatively brief withdrawal of labour by the gold boom of the early 'sixties. The new era of agricultural machinery enabled a more extensive and rapid impact on the landscape by Taieri farmers.

24 L.Jefferis typewritten MS copy (HOCKEN). L.Jefferis to her uncle in England, 29 October 1859, (unpaged)
25 Otago Colonist, 20 March 1857, p.3.
26 Otago Colonist, 27 March 1857, "Original Correspondence", p.5.
Of great consequence to the Taieri settlers were the strongly linked religious and education systems. From the outset of settlement, religion figured strongly in Taieri settlers' minds. Their generosity was shown by raising large sums for religion in a relatively small district. As the Rev. James Chisholm pointed out in his book Fifty Years Syne there was a "red-letter day" in the history of East Taieri when the new resident minister was introduced to his flock by the Rev. Thomas Burns. The Rev. William Will's congregational charge extended over the whole of the Taieri and included all the adherents from Green Island to Waihola who came to services in rough sledges pulled by bullocks over unformed roads. All of William Will's visitations and journeys to preaching stations around the Taieri were on foot at first. This was a great burden in winter when roads were ankle-deep in mud, streams in flood and swamps dismal with great stretches of stagnant water. At East Taieri, the meetings were held in a primitive sixteen-foot-square building, which comfortably accommodated the whole congregation. The keen participation of church members in the 'life' of the church was evident at the early days of Taieri Church, and this habit continued right through the period to the mid-1900s. In April 1856, a notable East Taieri

27 supra, p. 107.
28 J. Chisholm, Fifty Years Syne (Dunedin 1898), pp.118-119.
29 ibid: C.H.E. Valpy Diary, MS copy (HOCKEN)
30 J. Chisholm, op. cit, p.136.
resident, Alexander Todd underwent the finals of his public probationary trials and was licensed to preach the Gospel.\textsuperscript{31}

In 1857 the Taieri community raised £84.4.0, almost one-third of the total Otago sustentation fund.\textsuperscript{32} By 1858, the East Taieri and Green Island parochial districts were needing separate ministerial charge from the rest of the Taieri. The Otago Presbytery decided to provide ministration for West and North Taieri first.\textsuperscript{33} The burgeoning charge of religion in the district made 1858 a momentous year. In February, the southern settlers of Waihola, who were linked to the Tokomairiro settlers, sent a memorial and subscriptions of £129.18.0 to the Otago Presbytery praying for more frequent ministrations. The West and North Taieri settlers increased their sustentation fund in the hope of being made a separate charge. The Waihola call was deferred until "greater harmony" came about. A grant was made of £10 to permit the erection of a "... place of worship ..." in June for North Taieri, and the promise of the same later for East Taieri from the Otago Presbytery. In August 1858, John McNicol was formally inducted to the charge of Tokomairiro-Waihola.\textsuperscript{34} A larger church population, combined with difficulties of transport and a strong parochial bent, created tension in the provincial presbytery. By late 1860 Green Island had separated from East Taieri and had its own Kirk Session and Deacons' Court.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{31} J. McGlashan Papers MSS (HOCKEN) report of St. Andrews Presbytery meeting, 2 April 1856.
\textsuperscript{33} A.M. Finlayson (Comp.) Proceedings of the Presbytery of Otago, 1854-1865, 24 March 1858, p.18.
\textsuperscript{34} ibid. J. McGlashan Papers Memorial, March 1858 of East Taieri and Green Island congregations, pp. 17-20.
\textsuperscript{35} ibid. 19 December 1860, p.27.
All three major types of education which were practised on the Taieri up to 1870, also existed in one form or another in the period 1856-1860. The earliest stage, home tutoring, occurred from 1848 onwards and continued to play an important part wherever there was no formal school. An example of this, from the earliest emigrant settlement times was at the Fultons' of Maungatua. Formal schooling was not available for them until the establishment of the West Taieri schoolhouse in 1856, and even then the distance, poor road and demands of farming made attendance almost impossible for children on the Fulton homestead. The homestead was equipped with writing and geography manuals. The Fulton boys were tutored by a Mr Bremner, who arrived at "Ravenscliffe" (formerly "Ravensbourne") West Taieri on 8 April 1861, and the girls were under a governess - a Miss Peach. Evidently equal educational opportunities were not to reach the more isolated areas of the Taieri for some! The second stage was that of teaching groups of pupils in a private school. In the building which became Jefferis' Race-Course Hotel of the 1860s, Lucy Jefferis taught up to twelve local children. She kept poor health and was not trained in any manner for teaching. Her school was closed in 1860. The Gardner family conducted a private school, first at

36 J. Fulton Collection 103 (OESA Museum) particularly interesting are (a) W. Hughes, The Emigration Atlas (London 1851) and (b) Jehosaphat Aspin, ed. World Maps after Abbe' Gautiers (London 1833

37 C.H.E.Fulton Diary, copy (HOCKEN), p.23.

38 L.Jefferis to her uncle in England, 29 October 1859, MS typed copy (HOCKEN). The letter contains many stylistic and mechanical errors.

'Breadalbane' farm North Taieri and later at 'Clairinch' close by Outram. Private teaching was supplanted by the establishment of an Otago Education Board school near the West Taieri Church site in 1858 and A. Gardner was appointed as the teacher. Other West Taieri private schools were run for a short time by Robert Barley and Mrs Sandie McIntosh. The West Taieri people had lobbied hard for a school since the establishment of a school committee in 1856. East Taieri had the distinction of being the first area to establish a private school. Under the direction of the Kirk Session the school opened on 19 November, 1853. A schoolhouse was built on the Church property and was reported prominently in the Otago Witness, 17 November 1853. Mr Alexander Gebbie was engaged at an annual salary of £40. East Taieri was an active district in education - from a first meeting of "Subscribers to the building of a school-house and preaching station ..." it was just one year to the opening of the school. The fact is more remarkable in view of the economic depression which gripped the province at that time. Five months before the expiry of Gebbie's contract, the Otago Education Ordinance was passed in June 1856. It superceded any private contracts and at first the East Taieri residents refused to elect a committee or in any way follow the terms of the Ordinance which centered an Educational District on East Taieri. After preliminary skirmishes with the Otago Education

40 E. McDiarmid, Early Woodside MS typed copy (HOCKEN), p. 3.
41 West Taieri Schools' Centennial Jubilee, 1858-1958 pamphlet (Dunedin, 1958), pp. 5-7.
42 East Taieri Church records.
Board the residents established a committee and in August applied for a site. By February 1857, contracts were being let for the erection of a master's house and for lining and repairs to the old schoolhouse established in 1853. In January, the Trustees for Religious and Educational Uses had agreed to the erection of a schoolmaster's residence, cancelled the existing landuse and resolved to sell the Board of Education 10 acres around the school at £3 per acre. Prominent men in the negotiations with the board with long-term residents Edward Lee and William Stevenson. In the report of John Hislop, ex-East Taieri school teacher, who was appointed in 1861 as Inspector of Schools in Otago, the statement was made that

... The Teachers in this Province labour under a great disadvantage from the general irregularity of their pupils' attendance at School, arising mainly from the demands upon the children's services at home or on the farm, and from the impassable state of many of the roads during the greater part of the winter season ...

In summary, the inadequate communications on the Plain and the agricultural role of the district continued to make adequate education of the children difficult right through the period under examination. The development of education and religion

43 M. Shaw and E. Farrant, The Taieri Plain, p.168.
45 ibid, p.3.
46 Otago Variae, Vol. XVII, Paper 20, Annual Report of the Secretary of the Otago Education Board 1861, Appendix A: School Inspector's Report. Five years' teaching experience at East Taieri enabled Hislop to isolate the indisputable importance of farm or home service and communications; Archibald Adams MS typed copy (HOCKEN) On the difficulties of establishing a public school during the 1860s harvesting season, p.28; L.Jefferis Letter, 29 October 1859, (HOCKEN).
on the Taieri has been well-documented and further mention of it will be limited to references which support the thesis.  

The foregoing argument clearly points to the more rapid development of the Taieri as an agricultural district in the period 1856 to 1861. Although prosperity was beginning to colour the district, the amount of it gave little indication of what was to happen after 1861.

The most climatic nineteenth-century event for the Taieri, and Otago, was the discovery of gold in mid-1861. For a while, until 1865 at least, the Taieri was turned topsy-turvey while cosmopolitans of the world trekked its muddy roads. The function of the area was changed by the massive influx of miners as well as by dislocation while local farmers, tradesmen and labourers sought to "strike-it-rich" in the gold-fields. The whole area became subject to intensive scrutiny of different kind from that of pre-settlement days. This time the measure was totally exploitive with no prior intentions of long-term settlement. The district was reported on in detail as far away as France by the commander of a large sailing vessel, le Suffren. 

47 Accurate and detailed references to religious and educational progress on the Taieri may be found in the following sources: Shaw and Farrant, the Proceedings of the Presbytery of Otago, 1854-1865 and in the Otago Variae volumes which are the bound copies of miscellaneous papers of the Otago Provincial Council.

48 A. Robiquet, Commander of the sailing vessel le Suffren out of St. Malo visited Otago in September and October 1863. He published his observations in (a) Considerations sur Otago (Nouvelle Zelande) pp.499-508 - a copy of the original is held in the Alexander Turnbull Library. This reference deals with sailing channels, signals, soundings ports and naval supplies. (b) Renseiguements sue la Nouvelle Zelande, pp.12-13 on Otago specifically, and pages 186-195 with general descriptions of New Zealand's coastline, the political and administrative systems, resources in particular notes on the location of the goldfields.
Otago was subject in December 1861 to the most detailed census the Provincial Government had ever undertaken. The object of the intensive survey seems to have been a demonstration of the remarkable progress Otago had undergone since 1848. There is more than a small element of showmanship in the presentation of statistics amongst which were abstracts of imports and exports from 1848 to 1861, enumeration of vessels entering the harbour, age-structure analysis and occupation analysis of population and to agricultural products' census. The volume of statistics betray, in themselves, extra revenue available for the provincial government, a small part of which went towards the numerical assessment of the situation.

The cause of this flurry of activity was the anticipation of large amounts of gold in 1861 but interest in the goldfields of Central Otago in which the involvement of Taieri settlers is well-documented, had been evident before that date. In his authoritative work on gold, History of the Early Gold Discoveries in Otago, Vincent Pyke reported a claim by Mr William Palmer:...

... an old whaler, then resident at East Taieri, that, many years previous to the [European] settlement of Otago, he was told by a native chief, whose name he gave as "Tuawaiki"... that "plenty ferro" or yellow stone... was to be found on the river-beaches inland, and that the Matau or Molyneux River was the place where it principally occurred...50

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Pyke further claimed that the earliest party to seek gold was a five-man team which included Mr Thomas Archibald of Pomahaka and an American miner with Californian experience who spent nearly three weeks seeking gold up the Clutha. Although they sighted beach gold they found no substantial lodes. This claim was refuted by James Crane of Waihola who was one of an 1851 party who had listened to the tales of Raki-Raki (a Wakatipu Maori) about finding gold pieces at Te Houka beach on the Clutha river. William Palmer, John Bennet, Te Raki (chief of the Taieri), Tuera [Tuarea] and James Crane sailed up the Clutha in a whaleboat to Pomahaka Falls. Their finds were not substantial. Crane's interpretation of Archibald's story was that it was a year later than their expedition that an American whaler happened to put into Molyneux Bay, and one hand 'jumped ship' and became the "Californian miner" of Mr Archibald's party. It was Mr Archibald, however, who forced the party to abandon the search after three weeks. After the December 1856 report of Charles Ligar on a payable goldfield at Tuturau on the Mataura River, and the spread of general rumours concerning the strong possibility of gold in Otago, Mr William Stevenson of Wingatui, representative for East Taieri on the Provincial Council presented a petition of 138 inhabitants of the province to the Council. It prayed for a fuller investigation of the existence of


53 V. Pyke, op. cit, p.12.
payable goldfields and suggested the Council offer a "handsome reward, under proper conditions, for proof of the existence of a remunerative"Goldfield" in the province". 54

Little else followed these ripples of excitement because the Provincial Government chose to ignore reports on gold, until the effects of Gabriel Read's discoveries at Tuapeka about 26 May 1861. As far as the Taieri district is concerned it is the effects of the discoveries which have paramount significance. Professor W.P. Morrell claims that the rush which ensued from Read's discovery

...almost emptied the little town of Dunedin of its male population. In the neighbouring farming districts master and man went up together, agreeing to return at harvest time ... 55

On examination of the evidence available it would appear that Professor Morrell's comment is valid for the Taieri Plain, but must be strictly limited to the period mid-1861 - mid-1862. The meetings of the newly-formed Taieri Agricultural Society ceased on 15 November 1860 and resumed again in August 1862. 56 The Society, which met in the Schoolhouse, East Taieri, recorded in the minutes of its August 1862 public meeting ...

... It having been explained by the promoters of the Meeting that its object was to consider the desirability of resuming the action of the Society which had been suspended owing to the Gold discovery in June 1861 having withdrawn a very large number of the Settlers from their normal occupations for some time, and after discussion it was Resolved to resume operations of the Society and enrol Members for the current year ... 57

54 Votes and Proceedings, Otago Provincial Council, Session VI, Appendix Petition ... on ... a Remunerative Goldfield, p.42.
56 Minute and Cash Book MSS of the Taieri Agricultural Society (HOCKEN), pp.1-10.
57 Minute Book MS of the Taieri Agricultural Society, p.10.
The phrase 'having withdrawn a very large number of settlers from their normal occupations ...." gives a more accurate assessment of the situation than the impression that all the manpower suddenly left the Taieri district. A letter written by Margaret Jaffray of East Taieri contains the comment "... Not a man left on the Taieri! ... all off to the diggings ... fathers went too."58 Very little evidence remains of the participation of Taieri men in the diggings. Robert Fulton of Maungatua59 and the Adams of Taieri Mouth60 are two sets of people for whom evidence exists. The first flush of enthusiasm did not last long. Many Taieri men were soon drawn back by harvesting responsibilities and a significant number saw the advantages of acting as suppliers, either to miners on their way to the fields or where transport was available, to miners on the fields. The latter group by their actions at least had a guaranteed income, even if they gave up the chance of becoming excessively rich through a strike. It was this group - the suppliers, rather than the miners, who made spectacular changes to the landscape of the district. Services provided included bed

58 Shaw and Farrant, op. cit, p.110.
59 V. Pyke History of Early Gold Discoveries, p.34 contains the statement that a letter of 1886 from Captain Baldwin to V.Pyke reported that "James and the late Robert Fulton ... started for Waitahuna ..." in August 1861; The impression that James Fulton was mining is erroneous - he sent stores by bullock dray to Tuapoka to be sold and sold colts at a high price. C.H.E.Valpy (Fulton) Diary typescript, p.24.
60 Archibald Adams MS typed copy (HOCKEN)
and breakfast, food-growing, hostelling, the provision of groceries, and general merchandise, and carting provisions to the goldfields. From the miners' point of view the first and the last were the most important functions. Donald Reid of North Taieri, who started his career as a bullock driver and later built up 'Salisbury' estate as a model farm, financed his merchant ventures which ultimately created the well-known stock and station agency Donald Reid and Company, on the earnings he made from transporting goods to the diggings.

In terms of supply of merchandise and hostelling, a most colourful and swift change came to the Taieri - the startling growth of licensed premises and accommodation houses. The reason for this growth is shown in John Graham's Miner's Guide to the Goldfields map (Dunedin, 1862) one of many maps printed in the period, which fixes West Taieri, or in particular the Upper Taieri Ferry at Outram as the focal point for four roads out of Dunedin to the goldfields. The fifth road, the "Long Road to Gabriel's Gully" roughly paralleled the Main South Road to Milton where it cut north-west to Waitahuna and the sixth road went north through Waikouaiti and cut inland towards the Manuherikia Plain. Much heavy traffic to Central Otago traversed the Plain from Three-

61 Appendix G, pp.210-212.

62 Figure 12, p.149, an example of an 1866 goldfields' map.
FIGURE 12


Lands and Survey Department Map 27, 1866.
Mile Hill across North Taieri to the Ferry while some went the
'Long Road' via Milton. Along both of these routes there
sprang up a string of public and private accommodation and liquor-
selling houses. Most were of a temporary nature and were
converted from existing homes and built between August 1861 and
June 1862 - the date of the issuing of licenses. Up to 1871, 42 were gazetted in volumes of the Otago Provincial Government Gazette as being licensed. Of this number 29 lasted no more than two years and most of them no more than a year. The initial number of 14 licensed in June 1862, signified the Provincial Government's attempt to bring down some sort of control over the irruption of wayfarer's grog-shops which were springing up on the route to the diggings. The 14 represented exactly half of the total bush licenses issued for the area between Oamaru and Milton.

By November 1863, the rush of building was over - coinciding with the change in nature of the gold findings from surface scratching of the earlier diggers to the more capital-intensive and less labour-demanding sluicing claims. The hotel licenses which remained valid until 1871 coincide with areas which remained economically viable and subsequently became centres of localised population: Waihola, Outram, Saddle Hill Junction, Greytown (Allanton) and Mosgiel.

The location of the licensed premises points, once again, to the overwhelming importance of the siting and nature of communication on the Taieri. In this study one feature dominates all others - that in all eras, including that of Maori occupancy, and even including

63 ibid
64 Appendix G, pp.210-212.
65 supra, pp. 42-74.
the twentieth century, the function of the land has been determined largely by the availability and nature of local communications.

Immediately the reports of a payable goldfield had been ratified an eminent Dunedin personality, Mr T.B. Gillies stated in the Colonist that

...A railway from Dunedin, through the Taieri, Waihola, and to Tokomairiro, to the Tuapeka, ...will be required at no distant day, and will give an immense impetus to the agricultural as well as mining pursuits of those districts ....

Mr Gillies was a little more than ten years ahead of his time with that particular vision. Nevertheless, under three months later, in September 1861, the provincial government published a notice warning owners on the Taieri of the imminent requisition of their land for roading purposes. The new road line conformed approximately to the line of Gordon Road (the main road) through the present-day Mosgiel and cut West from Five Roads towards Wyllie's Crossing. The requisition finished at the property of George Turnbull for sections 2, 3, 4, 10 and 11 of Block XVII, Taieri, some two and a half miles short of the Upper Taieri Ferry.


67 Otago Colonist, 19 July 1861, p. 5.

Before the road sites could be purchased, miners poured across the Taieri. The increased numbers of travellers were reflected in the much higher fees paid for the use of the Upper Taieri Ferry up to December 1861.\textsuperscript{69} The provincial government made plans to cope with the obvious difficulties and Superintendent J.L.C. Richardson decided that it was wise to continue the

... present heavy expenditure, which may rather be termed as an investment payable on the sale of surveyed land ... Our chief object will be to open out and simply make traversable as many communications as possible between the sea-coast and the gold districts ... \textsuperscript{70}

A period of chaos ensued, starting in November 1861 when the provincial government accepted numerous tenders relating to the construction and repair of communications on the Taieri.\textsuperscript{71}

The initial contracts dealt with metalling the road to Upper Taieri Ferry, building suspension bridges over the Taieri, removing snags from the Taieri river, Saddle Hill to West Taieri new road, mileposts to be erected on the Main South Road and construction of a new punt for the Upper Taieri Ferry. In this era, the roads followed the routes being used to the goldfields. During the summer months of 1861 and 1862 the surfaces remained reasonably firm but by the winter of 1862 the full effects of rainy weather, cold and use of new roads and repaired sections took their toll on traffic.

\textsuperscript{69} O.P.G.G. Vol. IV No. 169, 17 March 1862, where Ferry dues doubled in one year to reach £96.16.0, pp.330-336.

\textsuperscript{70} Otago Variae, Vol. XVII, Council Paper 9, Address of Superintendent Richardson opening the 13th Session of the Otago Provincial Council 23 October 1861, pp.2-3.

\textsuperscript{71} ibid, Vol. IV, No. 166, 5 March 1862, pp. 314-318; No. 177, 12 April 1862, pp. 376-379; No. 188, 29 May 1862, p.457; Vol. V. No. 207, 17 September 1862, p.103 ...
The road from Maungatua to Waipori was frequently blocked by snowstorms which were not uncommon in those times. It seems that the mid-nineteenth century Taieri experienced, on the whole, colder weather than today. The road at the southern end of the Plain from Waihola and through Clarendon to Milton was a quagmire whenever rain came. Often flax was laid transversely to the axles of vehicles as a means of speeding their movement.\(^{72}\) The road between the Reliance Hotel, Otakia and Clarendon was impassable for passenger vehicles. There were two to three feet deep potholes in the clay in places.\(^{73}\) In July 1862, Waihola Lake became frozen over. A report in the *Otago Daily Times* of 21 July claimed that "... in parts the ice would bear for skating. People have skated from Clarendon to Waihola ... Cobb's boats have continued to pass up the lake with the mails, but the ice had to be broken for the purpose ..."\(^{74}\) The roads were so bad between East Taieri and Clarendon when the ice melted that the Provincial Government subsidized a small 25-ton steamer the *Betsy Douglas*, built at Port Chalmers, to ply between Scrogg's Creek and Clarendon.\(^{75}\) She was only one of an increasing number of vessels used for that purpose. Water transport came of age on the Taieri in one brief flourish in the early 1860s. The frequency of the vessels compares with the

\(^{72}\) V. Pyke, *op. cit.*, pp.48-50.

\(^{73}\) E.M. Lovell-Smith, *Old Coaching Days in Otago and Southland* (Christchurch, 1931), p.15.

\(^{74}\) Pyke, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

\(^{75}\) O.P.G.G. Vol. V. No.210, 8 October 1862. Agreement for the steam service of the *Betsy Douglas*, p.145.
licensing of premises on the Taieri - the peak obviously being in 1862 with a sudden cut-off in 1863.\(^{76}\) Once the roads were made serviceable the need for risky water-transport was ended. One of the vessels which plied the Dunedin to Taieri run in 1862, the P.S. *Planet* sank off Taieri Mouth on 21 March 1863\(^{77}\), a fact which may have shaken local faith in the sea and river passage but contributed little to the ending of the lake run abruptly in December 1863. Preparations had been made in October 1861 for a brisk water-trade between Dunedin and Taieri - the Otago Harbour Department was extended and authorised: to erect a lighthouse at Taiaroa Heads, to erect signal stations at the mouths of the Taieri and Clutha rivers to indicate the state of the bars and to subsidize steamers plying the local coast.\(^{78}\) Part of the Council's scheme involved George Marshall's successful tender to remove snags from the Taieri River from Scrogg's Creek (Allanton) to the Ferry (Otakia).\(^{79}\) This was followed on 4 April 1862 by Governor Sir George Grey establishing Taieri as a "Port" under the Customs Regulation of 1858. Waihola township and the Taieri Ferry reserve were to be "... legal landing places for the lading and unlading of goods at the Port of Taieri ...".\(^{80}\) In November, Mr A.W. Logie was appointed Sub-Collector of Customs at the Port of Taieri.\(^{81}\) Activities followed

\(^{76}\) Appendices G, pp.210-212 and H, p.213.

\(^{77}\) Index Chart of New Zealand; Total Loss of Vessels, compiled c 1940 cartographer unknown (General Assembly Library)

\(^{78}\) Otago Variae, Vol. XVII, Council Paper 9, p.3.


\(^{80}\) ibid, Vol. IV No. 198, July 1862, pp. 26-27. Governor's Order No. 20 - Establishing the Port of Taieri

the general pattern, increasing in frequency from the beginning of 1862 and continuing through at least to 1863. When township sections were being sold in October 1862, "Greyton" (Allanton) was advertised as "... near Scroggs’ Creek, where the steamer plying on the river may land her passengers ...". Such was the powerful but temporary attraction of water carriage! At the end of 1862, the first boom was over and it was followed by a lull in shipping. In his November 1862 report to the provincial government, harbour master William Thomson assessed that there had been no increased coastal trade with Taieri for the previous two months although the trade with Clutha was growing. He confirmed that the owner of the sunken Betsy Douglas was bringing another steamer out to ply the Lake Waihola run. A combination of various factors: the discovery of gold on the West Coast, the changing nature of Central Otago goldmining and the greater reliability of the roads spelled the end of the heyday of Taieri water-transport. Although a few boats remained to ply the lake and river between Scroggs’ Creek and the head of Lake Waihola, by 1864, the transport operations had turned to other activities. In 1865, Taieri was closed as a port.

The period of gold-mining brought in its wake great disturbance both to the people of the Taieri and to the landscape. Gold was a mixed blessing to the Taieri agricultural community. On one hand initially it created a lucrative market when there was an inrush of

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83 supra, p.153.
population to Dunedin. Prices of produce rose dramatically and the farmers benefited correspondingly. On the other hand shepherds' wages on the Taieri rose from £45 - £50 annually, to £90. As labourers left for the goldfields, harvesters became scarce despite reassurances to return at harvest time. The period early 1862 to mid-1863 was a bleak one for Taieri farmers. Although provincial finances were being poured into road and bridge construction, the effects of an unreliable labour supply tended to outweigh any benefits from improved communications. The unreliability of the labour supply also caused many Taieri farmers to purchase machines for harvesting, reaping and binding crops.

Four different reaping machines were demonstrated at the Taieri Agricultural Society's annual show in December 1863. The winner was John Andrew of Green Island with a 2-horse Ayrshire machine, which cut 3 acres of wheat in 3 hours. Prizes of £10 and £5 were awarded for the first and second competitors. The few labourers who did come to work in the district were not always appreciated.

Many of the characters who went through the Taieri to the diggings were judged by Taieri identities as 'undesirable'. This description was used of them by descendant of the Borrie family of Huntly. Besides farming, the Borries were transporters.

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86 supra, p. 146.
87 Taieri Agricultural Society Minute Book MS, p.28; One Hundred Years of Progress pamphlet of Centennial Show 19 November 1960 (Dunedin 1960).
89 J.Borrie, Huntly and the History of the Borrie Family, MS typed copy (O.E.S.A.) p.6.
Borrie operated the punt at Upper Taieri Ferry and charged 2s 6d. per head - he was familiar with all the "types" who crossed the Taieri, many of whom made the mistake of killing farmers' sheep for supper!\(^90\) Mrs Fulton of "Ravenscliffe", Maungatua, wrote in her diary for 1861,

... We did not, however, relish the new order of things, for many undesirables had come over from Victoria and New South Wales, who tore up our sheep fences on our run for firewood, and did other damage ...\(^91\)

Later in her diary she recorded that

... My husband in 1862 had temporarily to dispose of his sheep as the diggers continually destroyed the fences on our run, burning them for firewood. They also killed and scattered our flocks, so we had [to] recourse to pasturing some of the sheep in our home paddocks, but selling the greater number ...\(^92\)

Little wonder the runholders found the newcomers undesirable but worse was still to come. The next entry in the diary reports Mrs Fulton's being disturbed by a "stranger [who] came to try the [kitchen] door".\(^93\) She had fortunately taken the precaution of allowing Leslie, one of the farm's bullock drivers, to sleep in the kitchen overnight. Realisation of Taieri farmers' fears came on 16 October 1861 when there was a hold-up not far from Fulton's home. A ticket-of-leave man, Henry Beresford Garrett and his accomplices trapped wayfarers as they came down from the Maungatua slopes on their-way to cross the Plain bound for Dunedin. The booty

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92 ibid, p.34.
93 ibid, p.24.
carried off was valued at nearly £400. Garrett made his way swiftly to Dunedin to get away in a small ship bound for Sydney. Meanwhile, the Fulton's homestead was used by the constabulary as a base from which to pursue the other culprits. Garrett was later arrested in Sydney and brought back to Dunedin to be convicted and serve time for bushranging. The area of the robbery was known for some years after as "Garrett's Gully".

In view of the tumultuous events of the early 1860s a certain amount of resentment grew between the old-established families on the plain who were nick-named "old identities" and the newcomers who were known as "new iniquities". The origin of the naming is obscure but Dr Hocken offers an explanation of the "Old Identities" in a witty song by Charles Thatcher in Dunedin during the election campaign of E.B. Cargill in 1862. The song was basically a satire on the point of clinging to outmoded customs for their own sake. To the newcomers, the style of keeping traditions, acknowledging respect for elder citizens, and asking the advice of those familiar with the land seemed tedious. There was also an amount of envy on the part of the early settlers who watched newcomers benefit, in particular, from heavy provincial government spending on long-awaited

94 ibid, pp. 25-26; R. Gilkison, Early Days in Central Otago (2nd edition, Dunedin, 1936), pp. 82-87. Garrett was an interesting figure who wrote of his earlier experiences as a prisoner on Norfolk Island penal settlement in the manuscript 'The demon' by Klodopr [typed copy HOCKEN] in which he dwells at length on the "art" of flogging. He was a man of notable intelligence but deprived upbringing.

95 J.T. Thomson, The Taieri Allans, p. 53.

96 T.M. Hocken, Contributions, pp. 201-202.
roading. It must have been a bitter moment when many long-
term settlers realised that the fruits of their life's labour
was worthless in comparison with the fortuitous wealth of gold.

Despite the large-scale movement across the Plain by
miners, the Taieri was not without its own small goldfields.
Contained in an 1862 pamphlet was a report on gold-bearing ground
near Saddle Hill,

... auriferous system of rocks [may be seen]
in the cuttings of the new main south road as
it crosses the shoulder of Saddle Hill .... 97

The writer, Dr W.L. Lindsay commented that respectable wages,
but nothing more, had been made by miners at the Saddle Hill
goldfield and, as a consequence, it had been abandoned for "more
favourable Eldorados ...." As late as 1881, the Prospectus of
the Saddle Hill Leasehold Quartz Mining Company was issued. The
company was floated with a capital of £900 in 90 promoters' shares
of £10 each. 98 An extension of the same rock type was found in
1864 on William Stevenson's property at Wingatui where some miners
found paydirt in a small gully. This group of miners were
discovered by Stevenson and ordered out. A sample of their ore
was assayed by Vincent Pyke (goldfield's warden) and he was of the
opinion that there was a quartz lode in the immediate vicinity.
Gold was also found near Lake Waihola, where, at 'Maryhill' in 1864,
some fine nuggety specimens were obtained. 99

97 W.L. Lindsay, The Place and Power of Natural History in Colonisation
98 Taieri Advocate, 17 August 1881. p.2.
99 Pyke, Early Gold Discoveries, p.92.
The advantages from an increasing but fluctuating Dunedin market and the small gold finds on the Taieri were offset by the spread of pleuro-pneumonia disease in the early 1860s. This disease hit at the base of Taieri cattle farming. Far in advance of the outbreak, the Board of Management of the Taieri Agricultural Society was prepared to act against the disease and at a meeting in September 1862, the Board brought down the following resolution,

... The meeting having had under consideration the prevalence of pleuro-pneumonia amongst Cattle in the Australian Colonies and the danger of its introduction ... requested the President to prepare a Memorial from the Society to the Government against the importation of Cattle from Australia ... to be signed by the Settlers within the Hundred ... 100

Pressure was brought to bear on the Otago Provincial Council by all agricultural groups to act to prevent the beginnings of the scourge, and when pleuro-pneumonia was confirmed to be rife in Gipp's Land, Australia, and in June 1863 John Hyde Harris, the Superintendent, prohibited the importation of cattle from that place under the powers of the Diseased Cattle Act 1861. 101 These prohibitions were thought to be unnecessarily harsh by the business community, especially in view of the need for beef to supply the miners at the goldfields, so one month later they were rescinded. 102 The scare became a reality six months later when a herd of cattle imported to Waikouaiti from Twofold Bay by John Jones proved to be infested. Shortly afterwards

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100 Taieri Agricultural Society Minute Book MS. Minutes of the Board of Management 9 September 1862.


it appeared in some agricultural districts including the Taieri. Part of the area was immediately declared infected and stringent measures were taken to prevent its spread.\(^\text{103}\) At first, only the area north of the Taieri River was declared infected, and Messrs Stevenson, Todd, Gow, Shand, Henderson and Cullen, all notable Taieri farmers, were appointed as unpaid inspectors under the Diseased Cattle Act 1861.\(^\text{104}\) Two months later in early March 1864, the detailed instructions for Inspectors of Diseased Cattle were gazetted - a measure to ensure that all farmers knew what was going to happen to their stock.\(^\text{105}\) The disease ravaged Taieri cattle herds until 1868. In January 1866 the Taieri Agricultural Society decided to hold a show in February but "... no Cattle [were] to be shown on the present occasion,"\(^\text{106}\) as a precaution against the further spread of the disease. 1866 appeared as the year in the Province with the worst ravages, consequently additional regulations were gazetted for the destruction of diseased cattle,\(^\text{107}\) and in January 1867, the inspectors were made Assistant Inspectors and their ranks were widened with a distribution of farmers on a more even geographical basis.\(^\text{108}\) By the following year, most of the inspectors were removed from office as the scourge began to lose effect.\(^\text{109}\) Their

\(^{103}\) Mackay's Otago Province and Goldfields Almanac for 1865 (Dunedin 1865), p.56.


\(^{105}\) ibid, Vol. VII No. 292, 2 March 1864, pp. 73-75.

\(^{106}\) Taieri Agricultural Society Minute Book MS copy, p.43.

\(^{107}\) O.P.C.G. Vol. X No. 412, 21 March 1866, p.51


\(^{109}\) ibid, Vol. XII, No. 533, 25 March 1868, p.113.
place was taken by Deputy Registrars of Cattle and Sheep and the Taieri appointees were Mounted Constable James Carter, based at Outram, and Mounted Constable George Purdie of East Taieri, who was also appointed Inspector of the slaughter-yards. In their report of 7 April 1868 they claimed that they had "... been unable to hear of a single case of pleuro-pneumonia in the country ...".

Cattle disease was not alone in striking the Taieri stock. There had always been sheep diseases - sheep measles, scab, footrot and parasitic infections but fortunately most of these could be localised. N.J.B. McGregor of the Silverstream Valley was hit hard with diseases among his flocks in 1862, half of his 8,000 sheep being infected. This proprietor suffered very bad fortune, 8,000 sheep being infected in 1868; however, by 1870 he had a new, clean flock of 4,615 sheep. Few other Taieri proprietors suffered to the extent of McGregor with sheep diseases, although in 1867 the sheep of W.T. Cumine of Waihola, Donald Borrie West Taieri, George Shand, William Milne and Andrew Todd of East Taieri, and John Stevenson, North Taieri were infected. And in 1868 further spread of scab was registered with Thomas Reid, James Fulton and John Stevenson. After 1868 sheep diseases were not considered to be serious enough in effects to be registered in the provincial government's publications.

110 O.P.G.G. Vol. XII, 7 April 1868, p.120.
113 O.P.G.G. Vol. XIV, No. 735, 1 June 1871, p.227.
In essence, the period 1861-1865 was one of great change for the Taieri. It began with the district facing a steadily-growing agricultural future, then was launched into the hurly-burly of the gold rushes. The rushes were only transitory: when the mode of exploiting gold changed the Taieri reverted back to becoming a solely agricultural area. The turmoil left its toll however, reflected in the high ambitions which crashed with the onset of a slump period. Bankruptcies became frequent and from late 1864 to the end of 1865 there was a marked progression of debtors seeking relief under the Debtors and Creditors' Acts which were modified a number of times to meet the demands of the Otago situation. Faith in Otago gold was declining and although the 1864 census recorded 15,700 people at the goldfields, during the early winter months over 6,000 left for the newer goldfields of West Coast, Marlborough and Auckland. By 31 March 1865, there were only about 7,000 goldfields' inhabitants remaining. The loss of confidence was reflected in lower public works' expenditure, less shipping and in the closure of merchandise and liquor-supply premises. The boom was over.

The disruption in agriculture which had been caused by the gold-rushes, was not long-lasting. Descriptions by observers of the Taieri report farming activity progressing favourably; at least on superficial examination. W.T. Smith of Kaitangata wrote

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115 Appendix I, p.214.
116 Pyke, Early Gold Discoveries, p.91
'notes of a Journey from Dunedin to the Dunstan Goldfields'
on 24 January 1863 in which he describes a ride to the TaieriFerry by coach

... there are farm houses all the way. Some of them have splendid crops ... The corn in general was not as strong as on Tweedside [though] it carried a heavier head than at home and I don't think any of it would have seen lime or guano but the wheat [here] seems to grow better than the corn for there really was some fine fields of it and the potatoes was first class. The most of them you could not tell the drills, just a forest of blossom ... About a mile this side of the ferry [Lower Taieri] 2 men was erecting a house in the real wattle and daub style ... 117

Although the description is very general the impression given is one of activity amongst the local people. 1863 was a good year for the Taieri Agricultural Society - its financial expectations were over-fulfilled allowing the organisers to award prizes to the value of £136.10.0. The surplus was spent on a Reaping match held on a wet blustery day at "Ury", the East Taieri estate of George Shand. A writer for the Otago Witness, "Pakeha" recorded his walk from Dunedin to Taieri via Fairfield and return via Halfway Bush. He described Saddle Hill as being a "wooded eminence". From its shoulder he could clearly see the 640 acre divisions of the Plain. The farmers were busy ploughing (the time was early September), burning off, harrowing and sowing. Young lads were employed in the firing. 118 Despite the impression of activity, this was the beginning

117 W.T. Smith Diary MS typed copy (HOCKEN) pp. 24-25.
118 Otago Witness, 8 October 1864, p.7.
of a period of decline which lasted through 1865. The Taieri Agricultural Society finances showed a marked decline both in subscriptions for 1864 and for the Show takings which dropped 30%. By 1865, the Society lapsed for 'want of a quorum' at its meetings - including the Annual General Meeting.

This pattern was repeated elsewhere on the Plain - in District Road Boards' Meetings and Educational Districts Meetings. A feeling of introspection gripped the people of the Plain: they were unwilling to contribute any more to co-operative ventures. It was a disappointing end to an era which had started with the promise of a prosperous future.

In the period 1866-1871 the Taieri firmly took hold of the agricultural destiny it was to pursue into the twentieth century. An another account by 'Pakeha' for the Otago Witness of March 1872 recorded that live fences of hawthorn and bluegums were being planted in North Taieri. On walking to Outram he found "a very pretty picture which [did] not lose by nearer inspection ..." The level stretch between Outram and Scroggs' Creek Ferry he assessed as

... the most fertile part of the whole Taieri district. The crops were magnificent on both sides of the road, and nearly all ready for cutting, or in the course of being cut, machines going busily here and there ...

This was also indicative of the progress in the Taieri between 1866 and 1870 which was marked by the working of fertile, friable soils.

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119 Mackay's Otago, Southland, West Coast and Gold-Fields' Almanac for 1866 (Dunedin, 1866) states that there was a depression of trade and commerce because of the 'decreased yield of gold', p.57.

120 Taieri Agricultural Society Minute Book MS oopy, pp. 36-42.

121 Otago Witness, 9 March 1872, p.16.
the growth of heavy crops, brought in by machines and the
development of good roads. Another writer, "Occasional Corre-
respondent" in September 1872 reinforced the agricultural virtues of
the Taieri that were stated previously by 'Pakeha'; but he also
added that the hotels were similar to the best English country
inns, that there were boating excursions regularly on the river,
and that brown trout had been released by the Acclimatisation
Society for fishermen's pleasure. In mentioning these points, he
unwittingly demonstrated the development of a new factor on the
Taieri; that the late 1860s and the early 1870s saw the growth
of leisure activities. Although, as "Occasional Correspondent"
admits, tribulations still existed, especially in the form of
"... intermittent floods [which seemed] only designed to give healthy
exercise to [Taieri farmers'] energies ...". The period of
unremitting toil and hardship with little immediate prospect of
reward seemed over. There is an element of direct humour in the
remark "healthy exercise". In February 1868, the Taieri suffered
its most disastrous flood of the nineteenth century. Upper
Taieri Ferry and several homesteads were washed away after two days
of torrential rain. Contemporary observers suggested damming

122 Otago Witness, 28 September 1871. West Taieri - Past and Present,
p.8.
123 Figure 13, p.167.
124 Mackay's Almanac for 1869, Otago, Narrative of Events 1868,
p.167.
FIGURE 13

Sketch of the extent of the February 1868 flooding.

Reference: Journal of the House of Representatives 1870, Appendix to Votes and Proceedings Session XXVII 1870
Report on the Floods in the Taieri Plain, pp.1-5
Plan of the Taieri Plain shewing the Overflow in the time of highest flood - A. Johnston, Assistant Surveyor, 5 April 1870.
the Styx (Upper Taieri) or Deep Stream and the Waipori Valley. Despite the hardships created by floods, the frontier had passed on and now lay in Central and South Otago.

The advancement of the Taieri Agricultural Society is a reasonable indicator of farming viability in the district. In 1866 a new committee of management was appointed on which the majority of new members were not early settlers. The committee was infused with an active spirit and decided to employ a previously untried, aggressive method of propaganda. It divided the district into areas which individual committee members were to canvass as a means of promoting the society. The result was a doubling of membership and the promise of £156.16.0 in subscriptions. A year later, the society was in better heart financially, with a surplus of £36 out of an income of £191.8.0. Perhaps because of the better condition of the society, overtures from the Otago Provincial Government on a number of schemes designed to help the growth of farming were rejected. A model farm for the district was rejected on the grounds


126 Taieri Agricultural Society Minute Book MS, Annual General Meeting 6 November 1866, pp. 45-47.

127 ibid. Committee Meeting, 26 November 1866, p.49.

128 ibid. Annual General Meeting, 1 November 1867, p.53.
of being a waste of public money; experimental, new crops on the grounds that labour was scarce and dear, moreover the cultivation of flax required many labourers and the soil and climate were unsuitable for sugar beet. The committee turned down the proposal of Government bonuses for sugar and malt manufacture because there were five malting factories being built in the province. In addition, they rejected any proposal for a meat-curing establishment. In a reply to the provincial government's letter the committee of the Taieri Agricultural Society appealed

... respectfully to urge upon the Government to take immediate steps to provide a suitable market in Dunedin for the disposal of farm Produce; that every effort be made to promote the immigration of suitable farm labourers and that the formation of good roads be carried on to the utmost extent that the funds at their disposal will allow ...

The reply indicates the realities of farm practice: no new-fangled experiments but reliance on the tried methods of management and known crops; and a dependence on the all-important triad of adequate market, reliable labour and good communications. In 1869, the summer Show had an extended number of sections which included horses, cattle, sheep and dairy produce. The Show was fast-becoming the agricultural and social event of the year - although in the latter aspect it faced a strong challenge from the Dunedin Racing Club's annual meeting held at the Race-course,

129 ibid. Committee Meeting, 11 December 1867, p.57. Circular Letter, Provincial Secretary to Secretary, Taieri Agricultural Society 28 November 1867.

130 ibid, p.60.

131 ibid. Committee Meeting, 18 November 1868, pp. 65-66.
In early 1869, the Agricultural society embarked on a course of making a class for juniors in the reaping section with handsome prizes of £5, £2 and £1. Despite the fact that the Provincial Government had lowered the subsidy, first granted in 1868, to £90, the turnover for the year was the highest ever, at £327.13.7. The Show for 1871, to be held at Donald Borrie's farm, "Balmoral", West Taieri, was growing so large that the pig and poultry sections had to be eliminated.

Similar trends are reflected in the Government statistics for farm growth in the period, although because the statistical years were 1864, 1867 and 1870 an exact parallel does not occur when the dividing-point for greater farm growth is 1865-1866. In December 1864, an agriculture census was taken for the Provincial Electoral Districts of Otago. The area of the Taieri, including Waihola was surveyed with the following results: 33,230 acres were fenced, 17,159 acres in crops, 1,877 horses, 11,077 cattle and 100,951 sheep. Any advantages which the Tokomairiro Plain may have had in the period 1856-1861, on comparison with the Taieri, were ended. In December 1867, the number of acres fenced had increased by a quarter, but the number of acres in crops had more than halved, suggesting

132 Mackay's Almanac for 1866 in the Narrative of Events for 1865 is listed the Dunedin Annual Races at the "Silver Stream" course where even in that depressed year the value of plates won amounted to £1,030.

133 Taieri Agricultural Society Minute Book, p.69.

134 ibid. Committee Meeting, 4 November 1870, p.77


that by about 1865 the readily available land had been taken up and was being exploited - another indication of the ending of the "frontier". The census of December 1867 puts Taieri far ahead of any other Otago district in the possession of agricultural machinery with 19 steam, 4 water and 47 horse-powered threshing machines and 129 reaping machines. In comparison, Bruce sub-district had 98 and Clutha 78, total numbers of machines.

In the periods between the assessment of the December 1867 census and the return of John Hislop, Superintendent-collector in March 1870, a remarkable slowing-down in cropping occurred. Entrenchment made on the advances in the period 1866 to 1868 became predominant. The total number of acres in crop only increased by 1,788 to reach 29,848 acres in February 1870. The amount of land being broken up in preparation for cropping diminished from 2,660 acres to 784 acres. While wheat acreages remained steady, those for oats declined by 2,000 to 8,000 acres. On the other hand, the area in sown grasses including land in hay increased dramatically from 11,663 acres in 1867 to 17,010 acres in 1870.

The most obvious reason for the deceleration of increasing crop acreage is the drop in grain prices which occurred at the time when American and Canadian prairie wheat carried by windjammers and steamers monopolised the market. E.N. Harraway in his thesis on Otago flourmilling states that the drop in the prices in the late 1860s

138 ibid, p.184
139 ibid, p.138; ibid, Volume XIV, No. 658, 21 March 1870 Account of Land in Cultivation, and of the Agricultural Produce thereof, in New Zealand, February, 1870; Superintendent Collector's Return Province of Otago, p.136.
"... persuaded many farmers to turn more to sheep, and other crops. This was particularly evident on the Taieri Plains ..."140

While the first part of his statement is valid, the part relating to other crops is not. In terms of diversification of crops the Taieri had led Otago districts in the late 1850s.141

The figures indicate a sudden acceleration, beginning in 1868 to pastoralism, although the district was to retain for some time the large amount of cropping it had built up before 1868. In terms of crop acreage, by 1872 only the Clutha, of all Otago districts, was beginning to overtake the Taieri.142 The increase in pastoralism was both contributing to and reflective of the general swing in Otago. Between 1864 and 1870 the numbers of Otago sheep doubled to reach 2.5 million.143 On the Taieri, the Boyds were keeping 3,000 sheep on the Plain and 10,000 on their run; William Cumine at Waihola was doing the same; the Fultons were herding 1,500 on the Plain and 15,000 behind the Maungatuas. Most of the Taieri, however, was covered by much smaller landholders such as William Jaffray running 630 sheep, William Milne with 800, James Shand with 2,500 and Andrew Todd with 206.144 Records of stock totals fluctuated year to year, very much depending on the market and whether returns were sent in by particular farmers or not. Although

140 E.N. Harraway, 'A History of Flourmilling in Otago' (Thesis), p.78
141 O.P.G.G. Vol. IV, No. 113, April 1860, Return of Cultivations, etc. 31 December 1859, p.57.
142 ibid. Vol. XVI, No. 787, 10 April 1872, p.204.
143 ibid. Vol. XV, No. 751, 23 August 1871, p.357.
penalties were brought down for non-return, statistics' tables in official documents often indicate that the returns were not complete. Mackay's Almanacs featured estimates of sheep populations for each year and in the period after 1865 the following figures are stated: 1866 - 92,955; 1867 - 70,074; 1868 - 157,530; 1869 - 102,697; 1870 - 82,645. A general increase in sheep numbers accelerated through the 1870s. It was naturally accompanied by a corresponding increase in the area of sown, permanent pasture. The Taieri had become established as a mixed pastoral - arable farming district.

The population of the area slowly increased in the period 1866-1871. The December 1867 population return gives a total for the district of 3,206 inhabitants, the majority 1891, being male. By 1871, the Taieri population had increased 25% to 4,237. Through reverse extrapolation from the figures of 1874 it can be safely assumed that in 1870 the number of inhabitants who were born on the Taieri nearly approximated the number of immigrants. In point of fact, there could well have been some second generation Taieri-ites!

The 1874 census also recorded the numbers of people in areas and settlements on the Plains: North Taieri having wrested the supremacy from East Taieri by 728 to 662, Outram 650, Waihola 582, near to and in Greytown 214 and Saddle Hill 197. Smaller settlements

145 Results of a Census of the Colony of New Zealand, taken for the Night of the 1st of March, 1874. (Government Printer Wellington, 1875) reporting 146,440 sheep in the Taieri district, p.264.
146 Mackay's Almanac for 1869, the 1st December 1867 Population Return.
147 Results of a Census, op. cit. pp.8-9.
148 ibid. In 1874 the analysis of Taieri population shows 1,879 New Zealanders, 1,669 Scots, 447 English, 264 Irish, p.91.
were registered at Woodside, Berwick, Riccarton and Saddle Hill Junction. This pattern of distribution is indicative of a number of economic and historical factors such as the growth of North Taieri during the 1860s because of the easier use of its soil as cropland and the improvement of the road from Dunedin to Outram. The growth of Outram was primarily due to its position as a goldfields' route junction. Waihola's population growth occurred early in the 1860s when it was used as the Port of Taieri and because of the already-available subdivision of sections in the Clarendon district. It was doomed to become almost a ghost settlement as the centre of population moved inexorably north in the 1870s and 1880s. Greytown and Saddle Hill partially owed settlement to their functions as transport nodes, but in the case of Greytown subdivision of land undertaken as a deliberate measure by the Otago Provincial Council stimulated its growth in 1869 and 1870. This was part of the policy of town land sales of unsold allotments which were unprofitable to the provincial government. The policy as such indicates the end of an era. It is the "mopping-up" operation at the end of land settlement. It differed radically from the policy of opening-up the land which the local government firmly believed in despite the resistance to sweeping measures by the central government.

149 ibid, p.21.

In terms of development, the Taieri had come of age. It was, by 1870, what it was destined to be for the next 100 years, an agricultural district. The fundamental triad of market, labour and communications continued to dominate the economic and social development of the district.

The pattern of development which has been outlined reinforces the basic contention of the thesis, that in the century 1770-1870 there were two outstanding disturbing features. In the quiet movement of Maori civilization on the Taieri, the coming and activities of the pre-emigrant settlers such as the Wellers' employees had significant, long-lasting effects. The resident Ngaitahu became subject to European sicknesses and attracted to European culture and habits. There was begun the process of rapid centralization of population which aided the transmission of sicknesses to which the Maori had little resistance. It was a process of destruction. What was seen of Maori life on the Taieri by the European observers of the 1840s was a mere shadow of what had been. As the second pattern of civilization on the Taieri, the emigrant settlement had become established in the 1850s, and the Taieri district settled to a new way of life, the events of the early 1860s radically changed that pattern. The gold discoveries destroyed the pioneer pattern of farm landscape on the Taieri; they acted as a tremendous catalyst, accelerating events which would have normally taken another twenty to thirty years to come about.

151 supra, p. 169.
The repeated pattern of relatively lengthy development followed by rapid disruption seems to be valid not only for the Taieri but also for many human societies. Change of a substantial nature seems to be dependent upon disruption. Although they were very different in type and age, the resident Maori culture of the early 1860s and the European frontier and pioneer culture of the 1850s were both "established" in type. It could even be argued that their established nature was a form of conservatism. Relatively speaking, in comparison with what followed, they were slow moving, and they were known patterns. It could be validly argued that the European culture, belonging to a constructive pattern was itself modifying and destroying the Maori culture. This claim is more true of the pre-emigrant European pattern where the sailors, whalers and traders exploited the Maori people and gave little in return. At least in the 1850-1860s pioneer-culture concern was expressed about the future of the Maori people and steps were taken by European residents to help them. The fate of the Taieri Maoris is discussed in the next chapter.

The pioneers of the 1850s followed an established routine. The progress in the 1850s was of a type which was anticipated: it was recognised in the early days of settlement that life would be difficult at first and that the period of intense hardship would be relieved sooner or later. The change to better times on the Taieri after 1856 was at least hoped for by the settlers, even if the timing of it could not be exactly anticipated by them.

152 J.McGlashan Papers. (HOCKEN)
In one sense, the Taieri district witnessed the passage of two European 'frontiers' in the century 1770-1870. The first frontier was created by the whalers and traders whose familiar area was along the Taieri river gorge and into lakes Waihola and Waipori. In the European tradition, this was the true frontier of explorers - who 'knew' the Taieri existed and reported on it. This we must acknowledge since we are aware such reports existed even if they have since disappeared. At this time, the Taieri was not a 'frontier' to the Maoris, it was a homeland. This first European frontier was eclipsed by that of the more widely-publicized efforts of the explorers of the 1840s, promoted by the New Zealand Company. This second frontier was thrust rapidly inland by the effects of the discovery of gold.

Recognition of the existence of a broad pattern of development in the period 1770-1870, encompassing two climatic happenings raises two remaining important questions. In relation to the coming of British settlement to the Taieri, what was the fate of the local Maoris up to 1870? And what was the changing pattern of local power, in terms of area-function and personalities, on the Plain from 1770 to 1870 and did either the coming of Europeans or the gold rushes have any effect upon it?

153 supra, pp.8-9, 11.
CHAPTER EIGHT

The Fate of the Taieri Maoris

Under the agreement made with the New Zealand Company, Otago Maoris were to have certain reserves of their own choice, as well as an amount of land equivalent to one-tenth of all land sold by the Company. Under the Company's earlier agreements and borne out in publications the one-tenth was to be dispersed amongst the area settled by the New Zealand Company immigrants. This system was only verbally agreed in the case of Otago. It had been adopted for the first three settlements of the Company: Port Nicholson, Nelson and New Plymouth; but as the agents for the Otago Association interpreted the concept it meant that the Maoris were to have occupation reserves only, somewhat after the style of official treatment for the North American Indians. The Company, as party to the agreement, was only too willing to shift the responsibility for reserves to the Government, as came to be indicated in correspondence between Lord Stanley and Governor FitzRoy when he wrote "... It seems quite plain, therefore, that the Government is to reserve for that purpose [the benefit of the natives] one-tenth of the Company's land ...".

1 *supra*, pp. 40-41.
3 A. Mackay *Compendium of Native Affairs ... Vol.I.* Lord Stanley to Governor FitzRoy, 18 April 1844. The British Colonial Office's interpretation of the 13th clause of the agreement of November 1840 between the New Zealand Company and the British Government, p.28.
This understanding, too, became subject to review during the period of extreme duress for the New Zealand Company in mid-1844 to 1846. By the time the Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland published their agreement about the disposal of New Zealand Company lands in Otago, all mention of native reserves, and especially a one-tenth equivalent of land sales was completely overlooked. It could well be that because of the financial embarrassment of the Company during the period, the New Zealand Company representatives deliberately did not make clear their obligation, or the New Zealand Government's commitment to the local Maoris. Whatever the reason, even the administration of Sir George Grey in New Zealand was quietly avoiding the question of extra reserves as early as April 1846. In some ways the above comment offers an interpretation of the events which led to the Taieri Maoris having only the property adjacent to and on the north bank of the Taieri river and none on the Plain. Why did this come about? Either the New Zealand Company and the British Government forgot about the tacit understanding with the Maoris because J.J. Symonds's correspondence was overlooked, or it was not, and there was some collusion between New Zealand Company agents and Sir George Grey or his officers either to reduce Company losses or to get the transactions over and done with so that periodic negotiations over the one-tenth would no longer be a bother. Whatever the correct answer is, the Taieri Maoris received only their one reserve.

4 New Zealand Journal No. 196, 5 June 1847, pp. 158-159; Appendix D, pp. 202-204.
5 Mackay, Compendium of Native Affairs ... G. Grey to Lord Stanley, 14 April 1846, p.105; Mackay, Compendium, Vol. II. Petition of Hori Kerei Tairaoa and John Topi Patuki Aboriginal Natives of New Zealand, 13 July 1893, a plea for redress and relief in respect of lands not given to the Ngaitahu tribe subsequent to the Otago block transaction, p.401 ff.
At first, in 1844 to the mid-1850s it did not matter, the early European influence had centralised settlement. Also seasonal activities were not hindered because there were no fences. As the Maoris helped transport goods to isolated settlers they were allowed free range over the Taieri. Also, the number of Taieri Maoris was small, and from the colonists' point of view, they had previously occupied an inordinately large amount of land. When the Rev. Thomas Burns stayed at Mataipapa from 21 – 23 February 1849, there were only 27 natives, 12 males and 15 females. He also found there 34 more people, other than Maoris. This group was composed of some few emigrants and their children - the Williams, Milnes and the trio fromCraigwood-Tents, Forbes, French and Pilleul, but most were ex-whalers from the Weller establishments and their children. Names from this group of 'shaprooms' became well-known on the Taieri through the nineteenth century: Russell, Wybrow, Palmer, Low, McKenzie, Perkins and Williams. The Russells, Wybrows and Palmers came from Australia while the rest came from the United States and Canada. These people introduced Taieri Maoris to techniques of European cultivation and were responsible for clearing away much of the bush near Mataipapa, so much so that a traveller passing the spot in 1851 "hardly recognised" it as the same place.

6 J. Fulton Notebook MS (O.E.S.A.)
7 T. Burns Diary, Visitation of Te Raki, Native Village on the Taieri, Native Population of Te Raki, 21-23 February 1849. (O.E.S.A.)
8 Otago Journal No. VIII, August 1852, Journey from Dunedin to the Clutha, 18 March 1851, p.125.
When, in 1853 Commissioner Mantell visited Mataipapa there were only 23 natives resident,\(^9\) of whom had been present at the Rev. Burns' visitation in 1849. The explanation for the exchange in persons lies in two factors: increased fatal sicknesses and the extreme mobility of the Maoris.\(^{10}\) Five years later the Taieri Maori population appears to have risen to 31 - mainly again through population shifts than by natural increase, as only 7 were children under 14 years.\(^{11}\) It was in this period of the mid-1850s, simultaneous with a general decline in population and a feeling of depression among the Maori people that the Free Church became more active in Maori welfare work. In June 1856, the

... Committee on the condition of the Maori population was re-appointed in the earnest hope of some plan being devised for our congregations manifesting an interest in the spiritual welfare of the Maori population ...\(^{12}\)

Suggestions were rapidly made about an industrial school for native and half-caste children. A report was compiled and sent to the Superintendent of the Province in August 1857.\(^{13}\) The concern expressed by Free Church members continued into the late 1850s with the Reverend William Will of East Taieri, James and Robert Fulton,

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\(^{10}\) G.B.P.P. Third Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonisation from Ireland together with an Appendix ... taken in sessions 1847 and 1847-48. In this document Edmund Halswell (Protector of Aborigines for the Southern District in 1841) in a letter to T.C. Harington, 2 April 1846, makes some very accurate, relevant comments on native mobility.

\(^{11}\) ibid. F.D. Fenton, Observations on the State of the Aboriginal Inhabitants of New Zealand (Auckland, 1859).

\(^{12}\) A.M. Finlayson, Proceedings of the Presbytery ... 1854-1865, 17 June 1856, p.11.

\(^{13}\) ibid, pp. 12-14.
Alexander and Andrew Todd and W.H. Valpy forming a central committee of helpers for the improvement of the Maoris.\textsuperscript{14}

As far as the Maori children were concerned the situation was ameliorated by placing them in the Taieri Ferry (Moeraki Bush) school under a government teacher in June 1860.\textsuperscript{15} By the end of the 1860s there was a move afoot to establish a native school. The Taieri natives assented to the Native Schools Act in early 1868, under an agreement that the government should provide a one to one subsidy for the education of native children.\textsuperscript{16} In the same correspondence the natives expressed strong reservations about alienating any land set aside for a school.

Just as land formed the basis of any possible dispute in the 1840s in the Otago purchase, so also did it in the 1860s on the Taieri. The Taieri Maoris had become fully aware by the 1860s of the colonists' intention to have land. The principle of individual proprietorship and its ramifications were now clear to the natives. In particular, they were disturbed by the aggressive moves of the Otago Provincial Council under the leadership of Macandrew; and they had watched with trepidation the removal of their Dunedin waterfront (Princes Street) reserve. Their fears were principally directed at one man, W.H. Cutten, Chief Commissioner of Crown Lands in Otago. It was Cutten who had initiated the moves to take away

\textsuperscript{14} J. McGlashan Papers. List of names of parties to whom Circulars in connection with the improvement of the Maoris were forwarded, Central District, August 1859.

\textsuperscript{15} ibid. Memorial of the members of the Society for elevating the condition of the Maoris to the Governor of New Zealand, 9 July 1860.

\textsuperscript{16} Mackay, Compendium of Native Affairs, Vol. II, pp. 143-149, the [Maori] Meeting of Taieri to Alexander Mackay, 17 January 1868.
the waterfront reserve granted by Sir George Grey in 1846. And it was he who wrote to his superior, the Superintendent in 1858

... This [Taieri] reserve was made out at the time of the purchase of the Otago Block by the New Zealand Company. It is situate on the north bank of the Taieri River ... It comprises about 2,300 acres. Timber is scarce in proportion to its extent, but there is more than sufficient to supply the wants of the present Native inhabitants. A portion of this reserve at the western extremity is remarkably valuable for the site of a village. A few natives live there, but the land generally is not made use of, the Natives preferring to cultivate the sides of hills, and in doing so they have destroyed much valuable timber ... 17

From the tone of the letter it is obvious that not only did Cutten have little appreciation of the Maoris' needs but also he held an ill-concealed dislike of their use of the land. To him, the land's value needed to be 'realized'. Justification for the natives' fears of Cutten is found in another letter written some time later to the Colonial Treasurer in Auckland.

... Were another town laid off at Taieri, I believe that £10,000 would be obtained for it in the course of one or two years ...

... No authority until lately has been given to the Commissioner of Crown Lands to let reserves, and the Commissioners of Native Reserves have no title to land, consequently no revenue has hitherto been derived from any Native Reserve in Otago .... 18

He further argued that if the Commissioners had power to deal with the land money could be set aside to improve the condition of

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17 Mackay Compendium ... of Native Affairs, Vol. I. Enclosure 1 in No. 20, 14 April 1858, pp. 117-118.

the natives. It was these machinations which the Maoris feared most and were powerless to oppose. Fortunately nothing came of Cutten's pleas and the matter lapsed. In 1864 further correspondence on the subject was written by Dillon Bell to secure a town site on the reserve. The motive came from the increased movement of people in the area and the volume of trade which built up with the gold rushes, and the idea ended when the gold-rush boom was over.

In May 1868, a dispute came to court over the settlement of the will of Hakarara Te Raki who had died in 1862. The will was read in the Dunedin court and it named two of the contending parties: Te Wereta's group who came from Kaiapoi in 1831 to escape from being slaughtered by Te Rauparaha's followers; and Rawiri te Uaura, as principal chief in East Taieri. The Court decided that since there was a great deal of mobility between Taieri and Otakou natives and, as well, they had strong blood ties, that the Otakou natives should have a quarter-share of the reserve. Because Wereta Tuarea had been in residence with his group so long they should have a quarter-share. The remainder was allocated to the Taieri natives.

Altogether, 27 natives shared the reservation, although only 19 were living on the property at the time. The few natives remaining by 1870 divided their time between traditional pursuits like eeling or catching wild ducks and farming on the European pattern. One,

19 ibid. Memorandum by Dillon Bell for the Colonial Secretary, 1 April 1864; E. Shortland Native Secretary to H. Clarke, 4 April 1864, re Dillon's Memorandum. p.123.

20 Mackay, A Compendium of Native Affairs, pp. 227, 233-234, 249. Vol II.
Hoani Kana (John Connor) opened a general store. The process of assimilation was well under way; today, all traces of Maoridom are gone.

Land was central to the Maori way of life. Not just in quantity but also in type of vegetation. Too late, the more-traditional Taieri Maoris realized that the sawmill which brought them steady employment in the 1850s also destroyed any chance of a return to the old ways of life. The soil-type and nature of secondary growth on the native reserve dictated that most of the land would be used in the nineteenth century for extensive pastoralism rather than cropping. This change predetermined a small population. The days of the Mataipapa kaik were numbered by 1870. The fate of the Taieri Maoris was one of poor-farming or migration. Most chose what they were used to, migration.

Of all the reserves from Waitaki in the north to Stewart Island, Taieri had the highest migration northwards in the 1870s. This trend was carried on into the twentieth century, by which time the remaining Maori inhabitants were an integral part of the farming community on the Plains.

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21 Shaw and Farrant, *The Taieri Plain*, Good material is written in this reference on the Mataipapa kaik, pp.89-94.

22 ibid. In 1849, William Westmoreland opened at Mataipapa one of the first sawmills in Otago, p.78

23 M.A. Bathgate, 'The Maori Occupancy of Murihiku', Table 20, p.344.
CHAPTER NINE

Focal Areas on the Taieri, 1770-1870

In the time of Maori occupancy, the inhabited area was limited almost exclusively to the coastal districts and the areas bordering the Taieri river. In Figure 5, the Sketch of the Taieri with Maori place-names, only the most outstanding inland features are named. The belt of names extends 5-7 miles inland, then becomes noticeably less dense. Some of the names of further-removed places named by the Maoris are Wairongoa, because of its mineral waters, Te Kirikiri or the gravelly place, Makakaitoa because of the plentiful supply of fish and Maungatua or the "hills of the gods" because of its ominous appearance and dominance of the Plain. In the period 1770-1820 there probably was widespread occupancy of and travel across the Plain. With the advent of whaling and trading localisation of the Maoris occurred with the focal point being Mataipapa. This area lost much of its attraction with the establishment of the trading post at Otakau and there was probably (although it is not able to be proved absolutely) a relatively rapid migration of Maoris to the lower end of the Otago harbour.

When Shortland and Wakefield inspected the Taieri in the 1840s the focal area was still Mataipapa, and Wakefield, in particular, was impressed with the possibilities of development in the southern end of

1 supra, p. 65.
Although Wakefield's expectations were partially reflected during the survey period, settlement in the early 1850s concentrated in the East Taieri area, from Saddle Hill to the northern edge of the Taieri Reserve. A study of electoral rolls reveals that East Taieri, followed by West Taieri and Waihola, were the most numerous districts through to 1863. In that year the highest enfranchised districts were East Taieri with 93 voters, West Taieri 38 and Waihola 28. Of the other areas, Saddle Hill had 17 people eligible to vote, North Taieri 17 and Mosgiel 5. The situation was completely changed by the effects of the gold rushes and by the consequently more rapid opening of sections of land by the Provincial Government, undertaken as a deliberate measure to entice the miners to stay in the Province. In the electoral roll for Taieri for the year ending 31 August 1870, East Taieri retained its lead with 96 voters, but other districts were progressing faster, by comparison; West Taieri (in particular the area around the newly-formed town of Outram) had 56 voters, Outram itself had 7, North Taieri had 38 voters, over double the 1863 figures, Mosgiel was emerging with 16 voters and Otakia which had been opened up for sales in the late 1860s had 30 voters. The increase in voters for the more northerly areas is strongly indicative of a change which became permanent. By the turn of the century, Mosgiel outstripped all other localities on the Taieri as a focal point.

2 supra, p.39.

To regard the move in focus of local influence as merely northerly would, however, be an oversimplification of the case. Crown Land sales reveal a definite, structured pattern within the general northerly movement. As might be expected, land sales were highest in number in the East Taieri - Waihola areas in the 1850s. This is accounted for by the smaller size of sections in the southern end of the Plain. The largest sections went to buyers on the hill slopes in the north-eastern end of the Plain like N.J.B. McGregor; those in the central swamp area of the district like the Shands near Otakia and those run-holders like the Valpy's or the Cumines who held land on the rolling country bordering the lakes and in the Waihola Gorge. There is an interesting distinction recorded in official publications: the earliest East Taieri landowners were 'runholders' or 'stockholders' rather than 'farmers' or 'agriculturalists'. The last two terms seem to be applied more to the settlers of the area around the southern lakes. One implication that could be drawn from this is that the area in the south was, in the main, tilled more than that in the north. This contention is supported by the strong lift given to Tokomairiro arable farming census figures by the Waihola area production in the late 1850s. In the period 1855-1858, Waihola was surveyed for town sites by the surveyors Briscoe and Mountfort and this led to land sales and subdivision in the following period. Otokia was surveyed

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5 Fieldbook MS 44, Briscoe and Mountfort. Waihola Survey 1855-1858 (Lands and Survey Department).
in the period 1860-61 and became available for subdivision
soon afterwards. Concentration on land sales was most notable
in the Clarendon, Otokia and Maungatua districts from 1863 onwards.
By 1866, most of the available land had been taken up in the
Taieri with the smallest amount left lying in West Taieri. The pattern was developing a north-west swing towards Outram.
One result of the swing was a lot of unsold land around Waihola
and Clarendon. Once the port of Taieri at Waihola was closed in
1865 the area lost its function and suffered the disability of
being further than other Taieri districts from its market. In
1869, Crown Grants reveal the growing interest being shown in the
Greytown and Dunedin-East Taieri Survey District.

Part of the importance of each area in the Taieri Plain at
various times is reflected in and was partially caused by the
dominant personalities in each district. In the early days of
settlement, W.H.Valpy's Horseshoe Bush property at Waihola formed
a stopping-point for travellers between the Taieri and districts
further south. He was the major employer of labour in Otago
until his death in 1852. In the 1850s, George Stevenson, a
share-holder in the New Zealand Land Company, farmed at East Taieri
and later was an important figure in the Taieri Agricultural Society.

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East Taieri's 73,600 acres, 15,352 was left unsold
West Taieri's 60,161 acres, 9,754 was left unsold and
Waihola's 70,400 acres, 27,437 was left unsold. p.229.

8 Otago Provincial Government Advertising Sheet. Vol. II, No.613,
9 June 1869, Sections for sale in Greytown. No. 623, 18 August 1869,
Crown Grants, pp. 229-231; No. 639, 8 December 1869, Crown Grants,
p.354;
All of these show the trend of sales moving north and west.
The Fultons of Maungatua were a powerful influence in their district from the start of colonisation. James Fulton grew in respect with the district, becoming a resident magistrate in the 1860s and a Member of the House of Representatives for Taieri in the late 1870s and 1880s. The Taieri was also represented in the central administration by Donald Reid of "Salisbury" estate, North Taieri. As early as 1858 he had been appointed as one of the Wardens of the Taieri Hundred and in 1863 he was elected as a representative for Taieri on the Provincial Council. In 1865 he was appointed a Justice of the Peace and also elected as Taieri representative to the General Assembly in Wellington. There he earned respect for his forthright stands on issues, particularly those affecting his closest interest, farming.9

The movement of influence was reflected in the lives of these prominent people. The importance of Donald Reid and his Salisbury Estate contributed significantly to North Taieri becoming a focal point on the Taieri after 1860.

From Maori occupancy which was originally widespread but came by 1840 to be concentrated in the southern Taieri, to 1870 when the farming influence had shifted west and north, there is a full swing in the geographical area of influence. Today, the Taieri still reflects this swing.

9 E.N. Reid, Donald Reid, p.362.
CHAPTER TEN

Conclusion

The thesis attempts to prove the place of two significant happenings in a local district. In doing so, the mechanics of change have been examined through the establishment of a pattern of events in the century 1770-1870. In the first case on the Taieri Plain, the mechanics of change are discovered in the motives for exploitation and the deeds of the pre-emigrant European settlers. It would be incorrect to suggest that everything that happened to the 'original proprietors', the Maoris, as a result of contact with traders and whalers, was detrimental to their culture. Generally, however, the effects on them were not beneficial. The introduction, in terms of land exchange, which the whalers and traders gave to the Maoris bore little relation to what was to happen after the colonists arrived in 1848, and more significantly, to what happened when the flow of colonists became continuous and substantial after the mid-1850s. In modern anthropological terms, the local Maoris underwent a "culture shock" which increased in depth from the time of their connection with Europeans in the early nineteenth century. Although the vanguard of the culture-shock was formed by the much-maligned whalers and traders, the situation might have been worse for the Maoris. They could conceivably have been massacred. The worst parts of the first contacts with Europeans were the introduction of sicknesses and the lower moral standards aided by copious amounts of alcohol. The effects of European contacts limited the Taieri Maoris geographically to use a small part
of the Plain by 1844; so much so, that the signing of a treaty legally limiting their proprietorship had little effect. Only later, after the death of their chief, Te Raki and after they had witnessed the greed of individual Europeans for land, did they understand the value of what they had transferred to the New Zealand Company. The lesson bore fruit in the argument of 1868 between groups of local Maoris over their ownership of the reserved lands.

Following the establishment of the emigrant farming culture, the effects of gold discoveries form the second part of mechanics of radical change on a pattern of settlement on the Taieri Plain. The effects of the gold discoveries in 1861-1865 are obvious and potent. In this case, a 'culture-shock' was administered to the European pioneer-farming society on the Plain, as has already been discussed in Chapters 7 and 9. The impact of this shock was just as significant and more permanent than that administered to the Maoris. The pattern of subdivision of farm- holdings on the Taieri today is very similar to that of the 1870s with the exception of the Wingatui-North Taieri and Southern Otokia areas. These two districts have changed because their development was not as great by 1870 as the remaining areas on the Plain. Many of the farming families who came to the Plain in the 1860s or before, have representatives still holding the same or neighbouring properties. The present road pattern was generally established in the 1860s and the preparations made for the construction of the southern Main Trunk Railway. In summary, the discovery of gold rapidly accelerated the Taieri Plain towards its destiny as an agricultural district by providing the three paramount needs, as defined by the
Taieri Agricultural Society in the early 1860s; a ready market, good means of transport and communication and a reliable labour supply. Although the last was not always fulfilled, the discovery of gold fortunately acted as a catalyst forcing farmers to use machinery as a means of making up the production lost by an uncertain work force.

It would be valid to claim that the terms 'old identities' and 'new iniquities' apply remarkably well to the people of the Taieri in the century 1770-1870. In the early period before 1840, the 'old identities' were the Ngaitahu tribe who were introduced to many of the worst aspects of British civilization by the whalers and traders. The breakdown of communal life and its replacement by self-concern are serious. The 'new iniquities' for the Maoris were often not so much the individual traders or whalers as the kind of society and its pressures that they introduced. In regard to the 1860s, the more immediate effects of the gold-rushes seemed to Taieri farmers to be iniquitous, often outweighing the benefits brought from the new wealth. It was the activities of the goldminers on their way to the Central Otago diggings which left much to be desired and deserved the term, "undesirable".

In the century 1770-1870, the inhabitants, both old identities and new iniquities did not long remain distinct from each other. The representatives of the 1830-1840 whaling brotherhood, so iniquitous in effect upon the Maoris, had, by the 1860s, become respected members of the river community, living between Otokia and Mataipapa. By 1870, many of the gold-rush diggers had settled in
the Taieri farm subdivisions which had been created in their tumultuous wake. The pattern of their establishment remains imprinted on much of the Taieri Plain today.
APPENDIX A

From E. Shortland, "The Southern Districts of New Zealand"

... Proceeding along the north bank of the river we found some deserted huts; but, contrary to our expectation, no natives. Without their assistance, or a boat, we saw no possibility of going any further; as steep precipices arose from the water's edge, and barred a passage along the side of the river. Earle's man, whom we had already found an excellent travelling companion, and alive to all the expedients of a New Zealander in the bush, had been one of a whaling party formerly stationed at the island just mentioned, and knew the place where the natives usually resided, about five or six miles up the river. This he proposed to reach on a raft aided by the flood tide. Our natives soon constructed one sufficiently large and buoyant to serve his purpose, from the dry stalks of the flax plant (*Phormium tenax*), a material as light as cork, and which we found here in great abundance. An old paddle was also picked up among the bushes, with the aid of which an experimental trip was made across the river; and the raft being then pronounced seaworthy, our messenger shoved off amid loud and hearty exclamations invoking a prosperous voyage.

At dawn of day he again made his appearance with two boats, manned by natives, who were the more delighted to see us, as, since the abandonment of the whaling station at the island, they had received no visits from Europeans. Their tobacco was consequently nearly consumed, and, its use having been for some while reduced to sparing quantities, our arrival, like sunshine in winter, brightened every face.

As we pulled up the river, we saw several "kotuku", a species of heron with white plumage, hovering over the cliffs, where they probably had nests; but we could never get near enough to shoot one of them ...

... The river, for two or three miles of this part of its course, ran in a deep channel between lofty and precipitous hills, generally well wooded on either side; after which the banks became gradually less abrupt, till, having reached the distance of from four to five miles from its mouth, we entered the limits of an extensive plain. Another mile brought us to the native village, a few huts by the water side. The place had been selected for the convenience of eel-fishing, owing to its vicinity to some lakes, where they were caught of a large size, and very delicate flavour.

These fish, "korau" or wild turnip tops, and fern root, were just now the natives' only food; all their old potatoes having been consumed or planted, and the young crop not being yet ripe. But whoever has experienced the craving for any sort of vegetable, which seems to invade the whole frame after an abstinence from that sort of food even for twenty-four hours, although the supply of animal food has been never so liberal, will understand the relish with which we sat down to such
a meal; having for the two previous days had only salt meat and biscuit: for at Taiari we were unable to add to our diet even the "korau", which is generally to be found along the banks of the rivers in this country.

As it was Saturday, and I never travelled on a Sunday, we remained here two days. This small party of natives consisted of four men, six women, and nine children. I proposed to their chief Te Rakii, that he should go with me as a guide overland to Matau or Molyneux, where there were a few European settlers, besides a small party of natives; but I found him unwilling. He described the path as very bad and quite overgrown, passing through woods and over mountains. It had formerly been a beaten track; and from Molyneux there had also been a path, by which the different settlements along the coast to the south were reached.

The natives have, however, ceased to travel by land, if they can avoid it, since they have so generally obtained possession of whaling and sealing boats; for these are easily managed, and by few hands. The large double canoes they formerly had were too valuable a property to be possessed by any but the wealthy, and required a more numerous crew for their management than a boat does; so that a great part of the population were then, as they are at the present day in the North Island, obliged to travel by land.

On Monday morning, Te Rakii took us up the river in his boat, promising to show us a nearer way to Otakou, than by returning to the sea coast. After pulling several miles up the main stream, which flowed from the hills to the northward and westward, we took advantage of a small branch, called Owhiro, and followed it as far as the depth of water would permit. We then landed, and, obeying the directions pointed out to us, traversed the plain for nearly six miles, in an E.N.E. direction, having on our right hand a range of hills separating us from the sea coast. We found no impediment to walking; the dry ground we trod on bearing little but dry wiry grass which grew in tufts, and low fern - a wide and eligible space for feeding sheep, but unfit for cultivation, as evidenced by the poorness of the vegetation, and the absence of wood.

Having reached its northern boundary, we ascended along the spur of a hill which jutted out into the plain. It had been burnt quite bare by a recent fire, and was of so easy an inclination that a cart might have been driven along it. This led us to a point on the range a little to the east of a peak rising above the rest, and occupying the position of the pommel of Saddle Hill on Captain Cook's chart. It is called by the natives Makamaka, and was the mark which had served us for a guide-post.

From our lofty position, we could see the wood where we had lost our way, not far off, and just below us was a valley [Kaikorai Valley] with a small river running through it, distinguishable by its green banks of "raupo" (Typha latifolia). The descent we found more steep and rugged; the northern slope of the hills having no friendly spur near us, such as that along which we had ascended, did not offer the same facility for making a road. Having crossed the valley, we struck into a path which brought us to the south end of Otakou, across an undulating country, where the soil was generally very good, producing tall fern, and vigorous "tupakihi", besides wood at intervals ...
... Our course was about south-west, and led us by an easy enough ascent to the summit of a rounded range of hills, at an elevation of 1,000 feet, after having walked some four or five miles. From this point we had an extensive view. We looked down upon a plain stretching away to the southward for at least twenty miles, with an average breadth of five or six, bounded on all sides by naked hills of rounded outline. This plain we learnt from the natives, was called the Tairii. Its general colour was a brownish yellow, broken only by the black hue of one or two patches of wood, and by the glitter of water, which seemed in some places to form lagoons, in others to wind about with many sinuosities. To the westward we saw a great extent of country of an upland but not mountainous character. Its general level is not very high, but its surface is singularly broken lying in rollers, or like the sea in a heavy swell. The appearance and colour of this tract of country indicated that it was partly though not purely grassy. I believe it will be found to be covered with short fern principally, with a considerable sprinkling of grass, anise, flax, etc.

By a rather sudden descent, we reached the plain or valley of the Teiari, and estimated our distance from the head of Otago Harbour to be about seven miles. The soil at the upper part of the valley appears exceedingly rich, covered with a dense succulent-looking vegetation of coarse grass, sow-thistle, ti-ti, etc. This rich soil is, however, of very limited extent. Further down the valley, we passed over a few miles of dry, short grass; but, below this it became marshy, and we had a great deal of wading up to our knees, besides crossing many narrow grass-tree swamps, in which an injudicious step often plunged us to a much greater depth. Upon a surface of this sort, it was impossible to walk far or long so that, after having made a distance of about eight miles, we camped in a grove of trees, of a few acres in extent, at the foot of the range of hills on the eastern side of the valley.

Next day we did not advance more than about ten miles. A large canal-looking stream of dark peaty water flows close to the base of the hills, appearing to cross over from the western side of the valley, in which direction there are several sheets of water. Our walk was a most fatiguing one; inasmuch as, if we preferred the narrow strip of level land by the side of the river, we had to wade through fern and coarse grass over our heads, to say nothing of swamps - while, if we took to the side of the hills, they were so steep, and the footing so bad, that progression was most fatiguing, and stumbles frequent. The Maories appeared to the full as much inconvenienced as ourselves by the nature of the ground; falling sadly into the rear, and squatting frequently reminding us of the
character in Pilgrim's Progress, named by old John Bunyan, Ready-to-halt. When we asked them if there was no path, they answered, "There was their highway," pointing to the river; and they told us that no one ever thought of walking where we were, that there was neither profit nor pleasure to be gained by it. In summer, they said, they sometimes came up the river in their boats to fish for eels, and to catch ducks in the moulting season; and from the head of the navigation they walk across to Otago - a distance of about fourteen miles. There is a famous cover for pigs, too, between the upper part of the Teiari Valley and the sea. This is a large bush on the upper part of a hill called the saddle-back, which is a very conspicuous object for a great distance round. The whalers come up the river in their boats and kill great numbers of pigs here, they told us. But, between the point where they leave the river, to reach this pig preserve and the sea, no one ever attempts to walk.

After an uncomfortable bivouac - a good deal of rain having fallen during the night - we trudged on again, still having close upon our right hand the black, sluggish, deep Teiari River, and, on our left, the precipitous, grassy banks, with an intervening level space, occasionally only a few yards in width. It was, as yet, a perfect puzzle to me how this large river was to find its way to the sea, for in which ever direction I looked the valley appeared completely surrounded and shut in by hills. But after we had walked for about an hour this morning, following down its banks in a direction almost due south, it turned abruptly off at a right angle to the left, or towards the sea, and being joined by a larger stream of the same character from the south-west, the two united - forming a stately deep river, at least 150 yards in width - entered a narrow gorge in the hills, with almost perpendicular sides, descending to the water's edge so steeply as not even to leave footing for a goat. It was Mr Tuckett's original intention to have reached Molineux by an inland route, but we now found ourselves in face of a broad and deep river, flowing straight to the sea, which we had no possible means of crossing. There was, accordingly, nothing for it but to climb up the hills on its northern bank, and make our way along the ridges towards its mouth, and that we proceeded to do.

Having gained the summit of these, we had a good view of the Teiari Plain, and I have never seen any place which more strongly warrants the supposition of its once having been a lake. It is, in fact, a deep basin shaped hollow, surrounded on all sides by hills, with the exception of the narrow gorge of which I have spoken; and here the continuity of the range appears to have been broken by one of those violent movements of the strata, which undoubtedly have been frequent in the geological history of New Zealand, and a deep rent has been formed, through which the waters have found an outlet to the sea. About the upper third of the Teiari basin is, in my opinion, available, but the two lower thirds can hardly be called terra firma, being, in fact, an immense grass-tree swamp, through which canals of black sluggish water wind in various directions, and interspersed with stagnant lagoons. And I very much fear that this swamp is not susceptible of being drained, for its level is not above that of the sea. The tide ebbs and flows in the Teiari River
for many miles up the valley, and in the lagoons with which it communicates. It is a perfect sea of brown grass-tree tops, only relieved by the occasional green of a flax bush or ti-ti growing along the sides of the canals, where the ground has some consistence. Along the edges, however, of this basin-shaped valley, much valuable land will be found: and the surrounding hills are, generally speaking, well grassed, with a fair sprinkling of anise, but there is a great want of wood in the district. The distance from where we commenced the ascent of the hills over to the sea is about five miles. The surface we found very broken and hilly, with many landslides on the Teiari side of the range. Towards the sea, the descent is gradual by long ridges, with steep intervening gullies, generally wooded. The soil here appeared of fine quality, judging from a vegetation of tutu, fern, and flax, etc., so luxuriant that we forced our way through it with difficulty. A cold southerly wind was blowing with cutting showers of sleet. This, and forcing their way through the bushes, although they followed Mr Tuckett and myself, made the Maories so miserable, that they said they were ready to cry, and sat down and tore up their calico shirts to make leggings to defend themselves from the briars. We reached the sea-shore in the afternoon, and took possession of a cave where we had a very comfortable bivouac although the frost was keen.

Opposite the mouth of the Teiari River, at the distance of about a quarter of a mile, is a small but lofty island, upon which there is a whaling station. As our Maories refused to accompany us any further, although they had promised to take us to Molyneux, Mr Tuckett and I crossed over to the island to see what was to be done. Close to where we landed, an enormous whale's head, stripped of its blubber, was anchored, which I mistook for a large rock, and on a projecting ledge the process of trying out was going on, busily, and diffusing a most grateful odour of train oil. We were rushed up a species of wooden railway by a following sea, which thundered into foam about us, a number of men being ready to seize the boat and drag it high and dry. We then ascended a sort of staircase along the edge of a steep cliff, with a rude balustrade to hold on by; and, on a little platform at the top, found a number of grass huts, the habitations of the whalers.
APPENDIX C

Deed of Sale £2,400.0s.0d. Ngaitahu Tribe
Otakou Purchase, dated 31st July, 1844.

Translation

KNOW ALL MEN, by this document, we, the chiefs and men of the Ngaitahu Tribe in New Zealand, whose names are undersigned, consent, on this 31st day of July, in the year of our Lord, 1844, to give up, sell, and abandon altogether to William Wakefield, the Principal Agent of the New Zealand Company, of London, on behalf of the Directors of the said Company, all our claims and title to the land comprised within the under-mentioned boundaries: The names of the said lands are, Otakou, Kaikarae, Taieri, Mataaua, and Te Karoro. These are the boundaries: - The Northern boundary line commences at Purehurehu, runs along the sea shore, crossing the entrance of Otakou (harbour) to Otupa, thence along the coast to Poatiri; the Eastern boundary is the ocean from Poatiri to Tokata; thence the Southern boundary runs along the summit of Taukohu to Pohueroa, it then runs along the summit of the Kaihiku Range and crosses the Mataau River; thence along the summit of the Maungatua Range to Wakaari, along the summit of Wakaari to Mihiwaka, Otuwareroa; thence it descends to Purehurehu, on the sea coast.

We also give up all the islands Tamautaurua, Rakiriri, Okaihe, Moturata, Paparoa, Matoketoke, Hakinikini, and Aonui, excepting the following places, which we have reserved for ourselves and our children - that is to say, a certain portion of land on the eastern side of Otakou, called Omate; the boundary line commences at Moepuku, crosses over to Poatiri, thence along the coast to Waiwakaheke, then crosses to Pukekura, and runs along the side of the harbour to Moepuku; also a certain portion of land at Pukekura, the boundaries of which are marked by posts, containing one acre, more or less; also, a portion of land at Taieri, the boundary line of which commences at Onumia, and runs across in a straight line to Maitapapa, the Taieri River forms the other boundary; also a portion of land at Te Karoro, bounded on the South by the Karoro River, on the East by the ocean. The Northern boundary includes the village of that place, and extends inland about one mile, which said reserved places we agree neither to sell nor let to any party whatever, without the sanction of His Excellency the Governor of New Zealand.
We have received as payment for the above first-mentioned land, the sum of £2,400 in money, on this day, in the presence of these witnesses.

John Tuhawaiki
Taiaroa
Karetaia
Korako
Kai Koarere
Takamaitu
Te Raki
John Tuhawaiki, for Topi. Te Raki
Kihau
Horomona Pohio
Pohau
Kahuti
Kurakura
Mokomoko
Te Ao
Korako Karetaia
Tute wai uo
Papa Kawa
Te Hoki
Kaiwakana
Potiki
Pohota
Taiaroa, for Pokihi
Pokene

Witnesses:
John Jermyn Symonds, P.M.
Frederick Tuckett
George Clarke, jun., Protector, Aborigines
David Scott.
APPENDIX D

Report of Mr J.J. Symonds to the Superintendent of the Southern Division, Wellington, 2nd September, 1844.

Sir,

In accordance with the instructions of His Excellency the Governor, I proceeded to New Munster, or the Middle Island, where, having ascertained the names of all the chiefs who laid claim to the district in the vicinity of Otakou, I requested them to assemble at that place, in order to afford me an opportunity of judging of the merit of their respective claims, and of carrying on my negotiations in the districts proposed to be acquired. I found that the tract of country between Otakou and Taieri was claimed jointly by the Native chiefs Tuhawaiki, Taiaroa, and Karetai, on behalf of their several families and dependents, and that the Matau district, from Taieri to Tokato, belonged to Tuhawaiki and his immediate connections, as marked in the sketch of the boundaries which I have the honor to transmit.

In order to remove all grounds of dissension hereafter between the European settlers and the aborigines on the subject of the purchase, I deemed it expedient that the boundaries should be clearly defined and formally pointed out. Knowing from previous observations how much importance the Natives attach to this form, in all transactions of the kind amongst themselves, and having mentioned my views to the principal claimants, they readily admitted the expediency of adopting such a course, and accordingly deputed four of the younger chiefs to accompany the Principal Agent of the New Zealand Company and myself to carry my suggestions into effect.

In order to facilitate the purchase, and to include 150,000 acres of the most available land, also to obtain natural boundaries, I sanctioned the extension of the limits on the express condition that the Agent of the New Zealand Company should confine himself to the selection of such land, as the Crown's right of pre-emption had been waived in favour of the said Company, receiving at the same time an acknowledgement to that effect from Colonel Wakefield, which is annexed to the deed.

The Natives having expressed their anxiety to make some special provision for the future benefit of themselves and children, by reserving certain portions of land within the limits of the purchase which they now partially occupy, the management of which, to a certain extent, they were desirous of retaining in their own hands, I personally inspected, accompanied by Colonel Wakefield, Mr Clarke, and the most influential chiefs, and saw the boundaries pointed out and marked off. With regard to the fourth, at Karoro, I suggested to Tuhawaiki that he should retain a portion of land on that river, where some of his family resided, the precise limits of which should be hereafter defined by an agent appointed by His Excellency the Governor for that purpose, as I found it impracticable to visit that part of the purchase without materially delaying the proceedings, and exhausting the patience of the Natives.
I pursued this course as regards Native reserves from the conviction that the system heretofore adopted in other purchases of large tracts was beyond the comprehension of the aborigines, and at the suggestion of Colonel Wakefield I left the further choice of reserves - namely, the tenth part of all land sold by the New Zealand Company - to be decided by His Excellency the Governor, without making any express stipulation with the Natives on the subject.

I have the honor to enclose the duplicate of the document (Deed of Sale, 31st July, 1844) by which the Natives have conveyed all their right, title, and interest in the districts of Otakou, Taieri, and Mataura to the New Zealand Company, accompanied by a certified translation.

I also beg leave to observe that before this deed was formally read over and signed by the Natives I requested Mr Clark to explain to them the nature of the conveyance, to the effect that in disposing of their land they for ever surrendered their interest and title to such land; that their consent to sell it was binding on their children as well as themselves; that they should remove from any portion then occupied by them, and confine themselves exclusively to their reserves, and never expect to receive further compensation; that they should not alienate or let any portion of their reserves without having previously obtained the sanction of His Excellency the Governor; to all which stipulations they unanimously consented.

The boundaries were at the same time frequently explained to them by Mr Clarke in my presence, and repeated by them to each other, and they stated that they fully understood all the terms and conditions of the purchase, as specified in the deed.

After the documents had been formally read over in Native and in English, and signed by the most influential chiefs and proprietors, the purchase money, to the amount of £2,400, was amicably divided among the different families, and they all expressed themselves fully satisfied with the whole transaction.

As the site of the township had not been decided upon previous to my leaving Otakou, I was unable to comply with your instructions regarding the reserves for the purposes of Government, but confined myself to the selections of such points as I deemed proper for the purposes of fortifications, signal stations, &c., which are marked red in the accompanying sketch (No. 2). I proposed reserving both the islands in the harbour; but as Colonel Wakefield appeared disinclined to cede the larger of the two, I considered it more prudent to refer the matter for your consideration, and would strongly recommend that it be reserved, as from its commanding position and proximity to the intended depot it will become most eligible for the purposes of Government.
I beg to enclose, for the consideration of His Excellency the Governor, the accompanying documents transmitted to me by certain settlers named at the foot,* the justness of whose claims the Natives allowed before myself and Mr Clark. The first named, George Villsher, is settled at Karoro, and is anxious to obtain a title to the land (20 acres) which he has brought into cultivation; the four next claim small portions situated in the Native reserve at Oatakou, none of which exceed two acres; the last named claims a portion of land at Waikouaiti (about two acres), and bears an excellent character.

In conclusion, I feel it incumbent upon me to call the attention of His Excellency the Governor to the present position and state of the aboriginal population at the different settlements I have visited in prosecution of the duties intrusted to me. From their intercourse with Europeans, chiefly whalers, they have habituated themselves to their customs, and I regret to say that intemperance is the most predominant vice to which they are addicted, added to which, from the introduction of measles and other foreign diseases, owing to the absence of the simplest remedies, they are rapidly disappearing, and I fear that unless some vigorous measures are taken to allay the progress of the virulent epidemics so prevalent among them, the whole aboriginal race, from Port Cooper to Ruapuke, will shortly become extinct. I am the more confirmed in this opinion, not only from personal observation, but by the melancholy forebodings of the chiefs themselves.

I have, &c.,

The Superintendent of the Southern Division

John Jermyn Symonds, P.M.

APPENDIX E

THE "COVENANTS" OF SURVEY CONTRACTS Nos. 3 and 4.

The blocks and the sections in each block are to be numbered progressively.

At each corner of each block a stake in length four feet - in scantling four inches by three shall be driven thirty inches into the ground - on the outer face of the stake shall be branded the number of the block - on the inner face of the stake the number of the corner sections of the block.

The division of every section shall be marked on the Roadway by a stake in length 30 inches, and in scantling 3 inches by 2 1/2 - The stake shall be driven twenty (20) inches into the ground and on two of the opposite sides shall be branded the corresponding numbers of the sections - a line three chains in length shall be cut from such stakes and pegs eighteen (18) inches in length driven half way into the ground at each chain to indicate the line of division of each section.

All stakes to be of sawn and sound timber, either black pine or totara.

A ranging rod distinguished by a piece of white paper or cloth higher than the adjacent growth to be placed firmly in the ground at each stake, to facilitate the restoration of the boundaries hereafter, when the cut lines shall have become indistinct from the progress of vegetation.

The Contractor shall renew any of such ranging rods or stakes from time to time during the progress of the survey until the final completion of the whole contract, should any of them be removed or defaced.

The boundary line of each block and each traverse line to be accurately measured by the Contractor, and the measurement to be indicated on Pegs driven at intervals of ten chains or less.

The Contractor will be required to complete Fifty Sections of Fifty acres each of land monthly, or in the first month before the Sections are subdivided to cut lines, linear measurement to the extent of two thousand (2000) chains.

Conditions of Contract for each tender.

Blocks & Sections numbered progressively.

Blocks indicated by stakes carefully branded.

Division of Sections indicated on Stakes carefully branded.

Staking.

Ranging rods.

Stakes & ranging rods if defaced must be renewed.

Boundary and traverse lines to be accurately measured and indicated on pegs.

Monthly amount of land to be surveyed.
On completion in all respects as required and herein specified the contractor will be entitled to require the Company's Surveyor to inspect such portion of the survey within two weeks of a Notice being received by the Company's Chief Surveyor such notice to be a written one, declaring that such a quantity has been executed, according to the Specification, and as represented in the plan which will be required with each written notice, such plan being a reduction from the working plan accurately plotted shewing the position and extent of the survey executed up to the date of such Notice.

The Contractor shall provide the Company's Chief Surveyor, or any one appointed by him to examine the Survey with a competent guide and chain-man if required.

On the plan - the Blocks and Sections are to be distinguished by numbers, and the roads by letters to facilitate in correspondence a reference to any portion of the survey.

Such portion of the survey being examined by the Company's Surveyor, and found to be accurately completed, the Contractor shall then be entitled to immediate payment on a certificate from the Company's Chief Surveyor of its extent and accuracy - The payment shall be made by Bills at three days sight drawn on the Principal Agent of the New Zealand Company by the Resident Agent of the Settlement.

The position and range of Hills-watercourses, and woods bounding the District surveyed, and within the limits of such District together with their extent shall be ascertained by the Contractor and accurately delineated on the plans of this survey.

The sections shall consist of productive land only, excluding from computation any quantity of sandy-surface, or permanent water surface, which may occur within the boundaries of a section.

The Contractor shall plot the surveys of the banks of the Matou and Koau rivers on a scale of eight inches to a mile, and the working plan of the whole Contract shall be plotted on a scale of four inches to a mile - He shall keep his field books in ink and deliver them with a mounted Plan of the Survey, on completion of the whole survey to the Company's Chief Surveyor. The field books and working plans he shall submit to the examination of the Company's Surveyor whenever required of him during the progress of the Survey. The working plans shall be executed on mounted drawing paper.
As no deposit or Security is required of the Contractor, it is expressly stipulated that until he has completed the required quantity of Fifty sections of fifty acres each of land per month from the date of the Contract, or in the first month preliminary lines to the extent of Two thousand (2000) chains linear measurement, he shall not be entitled to any advance of money on his Contract - And Also That if he shall require the Company's Surveyor to inspect any portion of the Survey, and which has not been accurately executed, in accordance with this Specification, he shall be liable to a permanent deduction of twenty five per cent on the Contract price of the quantity of one hundred sections of Fifty Acres of land each in the survey of which any inaccuracy may be found - And all further payment on the Contract shall be deferred until the Contractor shall have requested a fresh examination of the corrected survey, and until the same shall be certified to be correct by the Company's Chief Surveyor.

Any difference in judgement as to the terms and fulfilment of this Contract shall be referred to the decision of two arbitrators one to be chosen by the Chief Surveyor the Other by the Contractor.

The Arbitrators to choose an Umpire whose decision, if appealed to, shall be final.

The arbitrators and umpire must each be a proprietor of land in the Settlement of New Edinburgh, but otherwise uninterested parties.

The expense of such Arbitration to be defrayed by the party against whom the arbitrators or their Umpire shall decide.

In this Contract the Contractor will be required to range, cut and measure with great accuracy a base line D (wide sketch) thro' this and the adjoining Contract north of the Matou - Within the Contract it will be a boundary line of sections, beyond the limits of this Contract north of the Matou it will be paid for at the price per chain which shall be specified in the Contractors accepted Tender for extra work.

Separate Sealed Tenders to be sent in on or before the Thirtieth (30) March - stating the price per acre on the nett quantity of each section as sold to the proprietor, for the execution of a survey according to this specification and the price per chain for any extra work required of the Contractor. The lowest Tender will not necessarily be accepted. Only such as are accepted will be acknowledged - Such parties being invited to sign their Contracts within one Fortnight or immediately - at their Option.

APPENDIX F

OTAGO. - ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A SETTLEMENT, AND FOR
THE DISPOSAL OF THE LANDS OF THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY AT OTAGO.

1. All arrangements with regard to the Settlement of New Edinburgh, formerly intended, to be considered as at an end.

2. The Association of lay members of the Free Church of Scotland, as reported by the General Assembly of May, 1845, to be recognised as the party to promote the Settlement now contemplated.

3. The lands to be sold under the following arrangements to persons brought forward or approved by the Association; and the Association (including those parties) to carry out the enterprise on their own principles, and, so far as possible, in their own name, looking only to the Company for such assistance and acts of trusteeship in the matter of surveys, emigration and general process of founding the Settlement, as may be requisite.

Amendments which experience may, from time to time, show to be desirable, to be made by the Company and the Association, concurrently, in those parts of the following arrangements in which they are not already provided for.

4. The site of the Settlement to be at Otago, in the middle island of New Zealand, on the land granted to the Company by a deed under the seal of the territory, bearing date the 13th day of April, 1846.

5. The Settlement to comprise one hundred and forty-four thousand six hundred acres of land, divided into two thousand four hundred properties; and each property to consist of sixty acres and a quarter, divided into three allotments; namely, a town allotment of a quarter of an acre, a suburban allotment of ten acres, and a rural allotment of fifty acres.

6. The 2,400 properties to be appropriated as follows, namely:

2,000 properties, or 120,500 acres, for sale to private individuals; 100 properties, or 6,025 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the local municipal Government; 100 properties, or 6,025 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the trustees for religious and educational uses; and, 200 properties, or 12,050 acres, for the estate to be purchased by the New Zealand Company.

7. The price of the land to be fixed in the first instance at forty shillings an acre, or 120/. 10s. a property; to be charged on the estates of the municipal Government, of the trustees for religious and educational uses, and of the New Zealand Company, in the same manner as on the 2,000 properties intended for sale to private individuals; and the purchase-money, 289,200/. to be appropriated as follows, namely:
Emigration and supply of labour (three-eighths) ..... £108,450
Civil uses, to be administered by the Company, viz.
  surveys and other expenses of founding the Settlement,
  roads, bridges, and other improvements,
  including steam, if hereafter deemed expedient,
  and if the requisite funds be found available
  (two-eighths) ........................................... 72,300
Religious and educational uses, to be administered by
Trustees (one-eighth) ................................. 36,150
The New Zealand Company, on account of its capital
and risk (two-eighths) ................................. 72,300

It is to be observed, that from the sum of 36,150£. to be assigned
  to the trustees of religious and educational uses, will be defrayed
12,050£. the price of the 6,025 acres to be purchased as the estate
of that trust.

In like manner, out of the sum of 72,300£. to be assigned to the
New Zealand Company, will be defrayed 24,100£. the price of the
12,050 acres to be purchased by the Company as its estate.

But the 6,025 acres, constituting the estate to be purchased by the
local municipal Government, must be separately paid for by that
Government; and until payment therefore of the price, 12,050£.,
together with the colonial interest thereon, the land will be held by
the administrators of the fund for civil uses, with power to dispose
of the same, if such payment be not made within one year after the
completion of the sales of the remainder of the two thousand four
hundred properties.

8. The Company to reserve to itself the power of increasing the
  price above-mentioned of the first ballot, and from time to time, as
may be arranged after consultation with the Association.

Articles 1-8 on the disposal of New Zealand Company lands in Otago.

## APPENDIX G
### TAIERI HOTELS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>License dates</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
<th>Proprietor(s) in chronological order</th>
<th>Site</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - 1871</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Lake Hotel</td>
<td>Robert Coghill, E.H. Grey, A. Marshall, R. Bell</td>
<td>Waihola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - 1871</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Buck's Eye or Buckeye Hotel</td>
<td>John Horr, John Vingoe Glasson, Emmerton and Co., T. Broadway</td>
<td>Upper Taieri Ferry (Outram)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - [1863?]</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>[House]</td>
<td>Peter Birtles</td>
<td>White Swamp, North Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - 1871</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>White Horse Hotel</td>
<td>John Barr, Thomas Culling, James Riddell, John Smith</td>
<td>North Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - 1871</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Reliance Hotel</td>
<td>E.C. Mais, George Howorth, W. Clements, S. O'Kane</td>
<td>East Taieri (Otakia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - July 1863</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Race Course or Race's Hotel</td>
<td>John Jefferis</td>
<td>North Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - [1863?]</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Bargeddie Hotel</td>
<td>Peter McLachlan</td>
<td>Saddle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - [November 1862?]</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>[House]</td>
<td>Harold Clements</td>
<td>East Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - 1871</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>East Taieri Hotel</td>
<td>John Cramond, J. Souness, R. Fenwick</td>
<td>East Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - [1863?]</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Sunnyside Hotel</td>
<td>James Marshall</td>
<td>Saddle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - October 1863</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Riddell's Hotel</td>
<td>James Riddell</td>
<td>North Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - August 1863</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Saddle Hill Hotel</td>
<td>Alexander McMillan, John Gracie, Ewen McColl</td>
<td>Saddle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - [1862?]</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Settlers' Arms</td>
<td>John Kedzlie</td>
<td>North Taieri Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1862 - July 1863</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Thistle Inn</td>
<td>T.R. Simpson</td>
<td>East Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>License dates</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Name(s)</td>
<td>Proprietor(s)</td>
<td>Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 1862 - June 1863</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Clarendon Arms</td>
<td>Israel H. Moses</td>
<td>Waihola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 1862 - September 1864</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Lower Taieri Ferry Accommodation House</td>
<td>John Dyer, James Swanton</td>
<td>[Henley]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1862 - September 1864</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>West Taieri Ferry Accommodation House or Hooper's Home</td>
<td>Edwin Hooper</td>
<td>Outram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1862 - [1864?] (B)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Exhibition Hotel</td>
<td>William Wintrup</td>
<td>Waipori Junction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1862 - [1863?] (B)</td>
<td></td>
<td>House</td>
<td>Alexander Marshall's house on the road to Wetherstones and Waipori from Outram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1862 - [1863?] (B)</td>
<td></td>
<td>House</td>
<td>Robert Simmons near Fulton's Station on Dunstan Road.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1862 - April 1863</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Waihola Hotel</td>
<td>John Simpson, Alfred Evans, Charles Faulkner</td>
<td>Waihola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1863 - September 1864</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Taieri Bush Inn</td>
<td>Harold Clements, Thomas Roskruge, William Mitchell</td>
<td>East Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1863 - April 1864 (Bottle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>House</td>
<td>Alexander McLeod, Isaac Fowler, William Wilson, Tickle</td>
<td>West Taieri Tickle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1863 - 1871</td>
<td>(B)</td>
<td>Big Swamp Store</td>
<td>Joseph Waterman</td>
<td>West Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1863 - September 1864 (Bottle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Outram Store</td>
<td>James Goodbody, John Smith</td>
<td>West Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 1863 - [1864?] (Bottle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Junction Corn Store</td>
<td>Benjamin Dawson</td>
<td>Waihola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1863 - [November 1863?] (Bottle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Store</td>
<td>Thomas Dick</td>
<td>West Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1863 - [1864?] (B)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Black Bull Hotel</td>
<td>George William Payne</td>
<td>West Taieri Ferry, Outram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1863 - September 1864 (B)</td>
<td></td>
<td>Niagara Hotel, or Niagara Falls Hotel later Ocean View Hotel</td>
<td>David Adam, Robert Rennie</td>
<td>Saddle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1863 - September 1864 (Bottle)</td>
<td></td>
<td>West Taieri Bridge Hotel</td>
<td>Daniel Fisher</td>
<td>Outram</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>License dates</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Name(s)</td>
<td>Proprietor(s)</td>
<td>Site</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1863 - 1871 (B)</td>
<td>Junction Hotel</td>
<td>William Steadman</td>
<td>Saddle Hill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 1863 - [1864?] (Bottle)</td>
<td>House</td>
<td>Dick</td>
<td>West Taieri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1863 - [1864?] (B)</td>
<td>Prince of Wales Hotel</td>
<td>George Whymark</td>
<td>Whare Creek West Taieri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1863 - [1864?] (Wholesale)</td>
<td>House</td>
<td>William Cullen Whitehead</td>
<td>Clarendon</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1864 - [November 1864?] (Wholesale)</td>
<td>House</td>
<td>James Daly</td>
<td>Waihola</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1864 - 1871 (B)</td>
<td>Outram Hotel</td>
<td>Michael Tynan</td>
<td>Outram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1864 - [1865?] (Bottle)</td>
<td>House</td>
<td>John Smith</td>
<td>Outram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868 - 1871</td>
<td>Kent Hotel</td>
<td>T. Hollands</td>
<td>Greytown</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1868 - 1871</td>
<td>Mosgiel Hotel</td>
<td>R. Donnelly G. Frier</td>
<td>Mosgiel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1864 - 1871 (B)</td>
<td>West Taieri Hotel</td>
<td>J.V.Glasson M. Tynan J. Starbuck J. Patterson</td>
<td>Outram</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>White House Hotel</td>
<td>Amos McKegg</td>
<td>Otakia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>House</td>
<td>J. Purvis</td>
<td>Junction, Saddle Hill</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Additional

February 1863 - [1864?] | Mac's Hotel | Donald McKay | West Taieri Road North Taieri |

1864 | Accommodation House : Black Horse Inn | Joseph Culling |

N.B. expressions in parentheses refer to the types of licences issued, e.g. B - Bush. For the purposes of this thesis, 1871 was arbitrarily chosen as an end-date for listing licenses.

References: Otago Provincial Government Gazettes Nos. 197 (June 1862) - 333 (November 1864)

Mackay's Almanacs 1864 - 1871

J.Fulton Letterbook MS O.E.S.A.

Taieri Agricultural Society Minute Book (HOCKEN)
APPENDIX H

Chronological List of Vessels which plied the Dunedin-Taieri run in the 1860s and 1860s

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Vessel</th>
<th>Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td>1854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spec</td>
<td>16 February 1856 - 22 November 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pioneer</td>
<td>12 November 1859 - 11 August 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>19 November 1859 - 28 September 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Napi</td>
<td>18 February 1860 - 4 August 1860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agnes</td>
<td>1860 - 1864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canterbury</td>
<td>14 December 1861 - once only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rainbow</td>
<td>4 January 1862 - 3 May 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lyttleton</td>
<td>1 February 1862 - 22 February 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Nelson</td>
<td>8 March 1862 - once only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planet</td>
<td>19 April 1862 - 27 December 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarendon</td>
<td>October 1862 - 10 January 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anne</td>
<td>8 November 1862 - 27 December 1862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pryde</td>
<td>20 December 1862 - once only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lady of the Lake</td>
<td>1 January 1863 - 8 August 1863</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruby</td>
<td>30 May 1863 - once only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merrimac</td>
<td>4 July 1863 - once only</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bluebell</td>
<td>July - December 1863</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

extracted from an unpublished list of shipping at Dunedin, 1850 - 1870 held in Dunedin Public Library.
# APPENDIX I

## Taieri Bankruptcies

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Name and Occupation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17 August 1863</td>
<td>John Barr, Publican, North Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 September 1863</td>
<td>Peter McLachlan, Publican, Saddle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 November 1863</td>
<td>James Smith, Settler, Saddle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 July 1864</td>
<td>Ewen McColl, Hotelkeeper, Saddle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 July 1864</td>
<td>Charles Todd, Storekeeper, East Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 September 1864</td>
<td>David Christie, Farmer, West Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27 September 1864</td>
<td>John Collie, Farmer, West Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 January 1865</td>
<td>John Platt, Farmer, Saddle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 February 1865</td>
<td>Frederick Watts, Settler, West Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 May 1865</td>
<td>Ewen McColl, Hotelkeeper, Saddle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23 May 1865</td>
<td>Thomas Dick, Storekeeper, West Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19 July 1865</td>
<td>Alfred Ferguson, Settler, Taieri Beach</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 August 1865</td>
<td>Dugald Blue, Miller, North Taieri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 October 1865</td>
<td>Frederick John Wilson, Storekeeper, Otokia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 December 1865</td>
<td>John Kae, Carpenter, Saddle Hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1866</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July 1867</td>
<td>Alexander Grant, Farmer, Lake Waipori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 November 1867</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 1868</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1868</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 July 1868</td>
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