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ENCOUNTERING TE WAIMATEMATE

**AN HISTORICAL INVESTIGATION OF ENGAGEMENT WITH A LOCAL
LANDSCAPE**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment
Of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in History at
Massey University

KAREN BEKER
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- *Karen*

Abbreviations

<i>AJHR</i>	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives
ATL	Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington)
DU:HO	Hocken Library (Dunedin)
MS	Manuscript
<i>NZJH</i>	<i>New Zealand Journal of History</i>

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The Old Place

No one comes
by way of the doughy track
through straggly tea tree bush
and gorse, past the hidden spring
and bitter cress.

Under the chill moon's light
no one cares to look upon
the drunken fence-posts
and the gate white with moss.

No one except the wind
saw the old place
make her final curtsy
to the sky and earth:

*And in no protesting sense
did iron and barbed wire
ease to the rust's invasion
nor twang more tautly
to the wind's slap and scream.*

On the cream-lorry
or morning paper van no one comes,
for no one will ever leave
the golden city on the fussy train;
and there will be no more waiting
on the hill beside the quiet tree
where the old place falters
because no one comes any more

No one.



Hone Tuwhare
*(Deep River Talk, Collected Poems
Auckland: Godwit Press, 1993)*

Introduction

In his historiographical work *The Past is a Foreign Country*, David Lowenthal wrote “the past’s traces on the ground and in our minds let us make sense of the present.”¹ To understand these traces, the routes and resting places of life gone before, we travel reflectively. This is the journey undertaken when making history. Human beings need to belong and feel connected with the life around them. We have done this by anchoring ourselves in space and time. The process of making space a place of belonging has been influenced by experiences and perceptions that change over time but that are also woven together by threads of continuity. The refashioning of space into places of belonging constitutes stories about encounters with the land that vary according to personal, cultural and historical contexts. The New Western historian, Patricia Nelson Limerick, has described this as the layering of many stories of discovery and rediscovery and maintains it is an ongoing process.² These layers are interconnected in the ‘big’ narrative about a place. In this context, the land becomes the historical storehouse that holds the memories of encounters with it. The land is the meeting ground that melds past and present together in its material form. The many stories of human encounters are reflected in the landscapes conceptualised and fashioned over time. Landscapes become texts written on to the land from which stories about place can be read.

This thesis investigates aspects of intergenerational constructions of landscapes within a particular area that have served to redefine space as ‘our place’. It explores ways people have ‘sung their own songs’, ‘drawn their own pictures’ and ‘written their own scripts’, in projecting their needs, beliefs, aspirations and fears onto the land in the crafting of their stories. This in no way presumes the land is passive and that the engagement is merely akin to a monologue. As Limerick has suggested, the land was

never “serenely, passively awaiting and accepting discovery but on the contrary it was offensive, [and] actively intruding” on those encountering it.³ Maori have a saying, “Whata ngarongaro he tangata, toitu he whenua” - the people disappear but the land remains. Human beings will always be vulnerable to nature. Philip Temple has referred to our engagement with the land as a “conversation”.⁴ That such a dialogue exists between culture and nature is a ‘given’ in this thesis.

The research investigates the concept of landscape as a symbol that expresses, or at least gives a clue about, the way people viewed their world and their ‘place’ in it. The symbols chosen also mark a process that ‘becomes’ a narrative about belonging. The time frame expands over 150 years from the 1840s to the present day. The space is land tucked in the southern border of the Canterbury Plains in a place now known as Waimate. A wide range of sources has been used in this work. Reading of primary documents relating to the Waimate area have been informed by the work of Maori and Pakeha historians. An historiographical perspective has been influenced by overseas historians interested in concepts of environmental and spatial history such as Simon Schama, Paul Carter, William Cronon and Limerick. Lowenthal’s ideas have provided a philosophical base, and efforts have been made to discern a Maori perspective.

The thesis begins by looking at the landscape as a symbol of ‘relationship’ as experienced by the Maori community living in the territory known as Te Waimatamate just prior to the arrival of the first colonial settlers in 1854. The chapter looks at the engagement of the local hapu with the land and how the concept of relationship was reflected in the indigenous experience of place. Landscape as ‘acquisition’ investigates the story written by the early European explorers, surveyors and missionaries about their journeys of discovery of Te Waimatamate, and how they refashioned this indigenous landscape into a place of acquisition. The next chapter is about reading the landscape as a symbol of ‘progress’ and looks at the transformation of the indigenous landscape from ‘wilderness into garden’ as undertaken by the British colonial immigrants settling in

Waimate in the latter half of the 19th century. For these people to settle into the landscape they had fashioned they needed to write their own stories about it. Landscape as 'settlement' looks at ways the colonial immigrants and their Pakeha descendants went about writing their history of place, their Waimate.

This thesis is a reflective piece of work underpinned by an oral history exercise that questioned present day Pakeha folk living in Waimate in order to learn how they perceived their relationship with the land they viewed as their home place. Each chapter begins with abstracts of replies to some of the questions they were asked.⁵ These abstracts have been used by way of introduction and as signposts to the contemplative structure of this work. The word Pakeha, in the main, refers to New Zealand born descendants of European immigrants. In Waimate the settlers were predominantly of English, Scottish and Irish extraction. The local hapu had links with the iwi of Waitaha, Kati Mamoe and Ngai Tahu.

The Maori experience of belonging was about being at home in a place with others. The Pakeha interpretation appears to have been about making a home in a place that was 'ours' and that was marked out from other places. Belonging, for Pakeha, may be a process over time. This is intimated in the words of an interviewee who was the third generation of Waimate-born descendants of colonial immigrants who came to New Zealand in 1864:

I do have an affinity with the land. I think it is important to have a base, based on the land as opposed to a house. [My childhood home] will always be my roots. I think it is important to have a sense of home ... you'd feel like a lost soul if you didn't have that place you could identify with ... it's your memories isn't it? And the history, it's a safety net, it's a comfort zone, it's where you ... I don't know, you owe it because that's what formed you, ... you've got to honour that place because that's where you became a person.

The spiral as a symbol provides an 'appropriate' representation of this investigation, signifying threads of continuity interwoven into ever changing interpretations of 'place'. The thesis begins by going back to the centre of a spiral and continues, tracing a journey of stories about the discovery and rediscovery of a place. It ends as a reflection on these stories as

interwoven into a narrative about 'our place' of belonging. This story is embodied in the land, where the land remains the only permanent spatial and temporal 'symbol' of belonging.

And so begins the imposition of another 'layer' of discovery and rediscovery in the writing of this 'text'.

Introduction

¹ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 39.

² Patricia Nelson Limerick, 'Disorientation and Reorientation: The American Landscape Discovered from the West', *Journal of American History*, December 1992, pp. 1021-1049.

³ Patricia Nelson Limerick, p. 1040.

⁴ Philip Temple (ed.), *Lake, Mountain, Tree*, Auckland: Godwit Publishing, 1998, p. 10.

⁵ For questionnaire used during interviews refer to Appendix, p. 104.

Landscape as 'Relationship'

"The Pond [on home farm] ... had significance as far as the Maori were concerned. It was a place where they used to pause in their travels for a blessing for the rest of their journey... the creek bed was on top of a rise and in one particular place it wasn't uncommon to work up black and broken stones that had been brought there from quite a distance and used for camp ovens by the Maori people"

"Stuff I've learnt recently is about the old local marae ... the old carved poles were thrown into the swamp ... there's tapu on the area ... They used to come up to Pikes Point [pre-colonial] ... dad used to show us where the Maori ovens were"

"We learnt a lot when we did a book on local history ... some thought the name Kapua meant 'the cloud turn around' .. they thought it was because it seemed to Maori like the cloud had turned around [after becoming disorientated from crossing the gorge so many times] but I don't think any Maori ever got disorientated with the land I'm quite sure they knew exactly where they were going"

(Interviews, Waimate, 1999)

Reflections today on landscape engagements included the acknowledgement of a Maori presence and a questioning of what this was all about. This thesis begins with an investigation of the pre-colonial story of landscape engagement as expressed by the Maori community living in the Waimate area just prior to the arrival of the first British colonial settlers. Information for this has been gleaned from the journals and writings of the earliest observers (explorers, surveyors, missionaries and settlers) visiting and living in Waimate in the latter half of the 19th century. Interpretation of these recordings has been guided by secondary material written, in the main, by Maori. Reference has been made to the work done by Herries Beattie. In the early 20th century Beattie collected and recorded detailed information about southern Maori history using tangata whenua as informants. This includes his research on place names and his anthropological fieldwork about pre-colonial southern Maori. Atholl Anderson's edition of Beattie's manuscripts in *The Lifeways of the Southern Maori* has been an informative source.¹ As a point of reference the chapter features Te Huru Huru, the chief of the local hapu during the pre/post-colonial period when the indigenous landscape underwent a transformation. Focus is on the Maori experience of land as the 'home

place' and the chapter investigates how the indigenous landscape was defined as 'relationship'.

'Relationship' is described as being a "mutual connection", and "a condition based on kinship".² For Maori the land was whenua and it was sacred. It was the source of power known as mana whenua.³ The land provided the nurture for an intimate and integral sense of relationship with place, self and others. This was reflected in the sense of personal and collective identity.⁴ Whenua was also the name for the placenta implying, as Rangimarie Turuki Pere has stated, that the land offered "the same warmth, security, nourishment and sustenance, a feeling of belonging" as a mother pregnant with child.⁵ The land was Papatuanuku, earth mother of the Maori people. The land was also turangawaewae, the place where connections with the past affirmed identity in the present. For Maori the land, in applying European concepts, was 'the school, 'the church', 'the work place', 'the playground', 'the garden', 'the battleground', 'the cemetery', 'the archives' and it was 'home'. The land was the story of this people and embodied their perceptions and experiences of place. How this 'place' was defined, how the landscape symbolised 'relationship', is the subject of this chapter of inquiry. For Maori the story was oral and the relationship with the land was integrative. By writing this discussion it has been necessary to separate and fragment the indigenous experience of place and therefore meaning is lost. In investigating the transformation of space into the home place, the story of the hapu living in Te Waimatamate will be discussed with reference to the mahinga kai (food gathering areas), to naming, to whakapapa (genealogy), and to artistic expressions of encounter. To locate themselves in their home place, in giving of their whakapapa, Maori will refer to their ancestors, to their river and to their mountain. It would assist this discussion by first giving an overview of the location, and it is appropriate that a brief description of the tribal ancestry of the local hapu and of their geographical landscape follow.

According to Tipene O'Regan "Ngai (Kai) Tahu are the people who claim traditional manawhenua over the vast majority of Te Waipounamu, the South Island of New Zealand."⁶ Other writers of southern Maori history

(Anderson, Evison, Mikaere)⁷ would concur that Ngai Tahu comprised “three main streams of descent” that were “historically ordered as Waitaha, Mamoe and Tahu”.⁸ Waitaha people trace their arrival in the ancestral canoe *Uruao* that carried Rakaihautu and his son Rokohuia from the Haiwaikii homeland. These were the tupuna credited with the first naming of southern New Zealand. Kati (Ngati)⁹ Mamoe migrated from the Te Ika a Maui (North Island) in the 16th century and came to dominate Waitaha. Further migrations of North Island (East Coast) hapu occurred in the 17th century and through the linking of tribal ancestry became known as Kai Tahu. Displacing Kati Mamoe after a century of “conflict and conquest, of peacemaking and intermarriage”, Kai Tahu became “the unitary tribe” of Te Waipounamu.¹⁰ Maori living in Te Waimatamate at the time of Pakeha arrival were Kai Tahu and Kati Mamoe with Waitaha in their whakapapa.¹¹ Their chief, Te Huru Huru, had arrived in the vicinity in 1836. That year members of the northern tribe Ngati Tama had raided the west coast of Te Wai Pounamu to “skin the eel from tail to head”.¹² A settlement of people living at the foot of Lake Hawea escaped and relocated themselves at Awamoko pa on the southern side of the Waitaki river.¹³ Included in this group were Te Huru Huru, his mother, sister and two brothers. After a time Te Huru Huru moved to nearby Te Waimatamate where he became the chief.¹⁴ He was a member of Kati Huirapa, which was regarded as a hapu of Kai Tahu. He had Waitaha and Kati Mamoe ancestry in his whakapapa.¹⁵

The topography that became associated with Te Waimatamate¹⁶ was diverse. It was one of hills, undulating downlands, rivers, lagoons, and swampy flatlands that drained into the Pacific Ocean. For the hapu living in this place, Te Waimatamate was the south of Ka Pakihi Whakatekateka a Waitaha (the seedbed of the Waitaha people).¹⁷ Their rivers included Waitaki (waters of lamentation) in the south, Pureora (a purification rite) in the north, and Waihao (water of hao tuna). Waihao drained much of the large basin that was Te Waimatamate as it twisted its way through hills and downland, and across swamp flatland before emptying itself into the coastal estuary that was also Waihao. For Te Huru Huru and his people

this hapua (lake) was Wainono (oozing water). To the east was Te Tau O Mahaanui, the coastal sea that was fed by Te Moana Nui a Kiwa.¹⁸ In the northwest were the hills Te tari a Te Kaumira (the range of Te Kaumira) covered in trees that included totora, ngaio, miro and the native pines matai, mapara and rimu. This forest was Te Kaherehere (the forest). In the distance was Rakipaka (mountain range-reddish/fiery sky). Rakipaka overlooked the inland catchment lakes of the Waitaki river. Takapo (to roll up bundles at night), Pukaki [not known] and Ohou (a tupuna). Towering over this landscape was Aoraki (cloud in the sky). Te Waimatamate was a small river that began in Te tari a Te Kaumira and meandered over the swampy plain below. Interpreted as the place of intermittent waters, it was so named by a visiting chief who had been disgusted with the 'sometimes dead and sometimes alive' nature of its flow. It was by Te Waimatamate on the edge of Te Kaherehere that Te Huru Huru and a small group of Kati Huirapa established a permanent kaika in 1853 from what had been a temporary camp for them and their ancestors during the 'birding' season.

Vegetation included coastal flora, forest, bush, and swamp grasses that provided an environment rich in fish and bird life. The climate was varied and the patterns of seasonal change were distinct. Weather comprised fog, frosts, snow, rain, hot sun, and a variety of winds including the notorious stormy warm 'nor'wester'. Edward Shortland, employed by the Colonial Government as Protector of the Aborigines, visited the Te Waimatamate area in 1844. He recorded that the flatlands were covered with "tutu", "tumatakuru" (wild Irishman/matagouri), "ti" (cabbage tree) and "taramea" (speargrass). In October 1848 Walter Mantell, surveyor for the Colonial Government, also noted the "ti groves" he walked through while crossing "the plain towards the hills" in an effort to avoid the "large swamp" near the coast.¹⁹ A few months later Charles Torlesse, surveyor for the New Zealand Company, described Te Waimatamate as "undulating downlands bearing rich growth of grass", "many small streams leading from the hills", "gullies" and a characteristic coastline embankment of "large stones". Torlesse estimated that "3000 acres" (1214 ha) of forest covered the hills. His records included identification of rivers flowing through the

area and he mentioned the abundance of eels and ducks that were to be found in the lagoons.²⁰ Effie Studholme, wife of the first English settler in Te Waimatamate, described the Waihao river plain as “one waving mass of flax” with “clumps of snow-grass, manuka and cabbage trees [ti]”. The forest included “matipo, konini, ohau, and inini” and hosted “numerous birds”.²¹ The interrelationship of the topography - the land, the flora, the fauna and the weather - was the space that became the indigenous landscape of the Waitaha, Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu people. This landscape was the place that Kati Huirapa of Te Waimatamate regarded as home.

For Maori, land ownership was defined by occupancy and land use was in accordance with community obligations. Hugh Kawharu has stated that “claims to land had to be supported by continuous occupation or labour but neither was of any account without full membership in the land-holding polity, the tribe or sub-tribe.”²² ‘Place’ was symbolised in the burning of the home fires. If the land was abandoned and ‘the fires had gone cold’ then validity of a claim faded. Territorial rights of an iwi or hapu were related to the seasonal rhythm of hunting and collecting food. Food gathering areas, known as mahinga kai,²³ belonged to the wider territory associated with home. Home was, therefore, transportable and possession was collective within a territorial boundary. Up until settlement at Te Kaherehere in 1853 Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu of the Te Waimatamate area had been semi-nomadic. Stories and relics of the “old fighting days” suggested that a large permanent pa, Te kai a te Atua, had once existed in the area but in the period just prior to British settlement Kati Huirapa moved between seasonal camps.²⁴ During this time Chief Te Huru Huru and his hapu were more associated with a kaika at the lower Waitaki known as Te Puna a maru.

The diverse topography was rich in fish, birds and vegetation cover that provided food and supplied materials crafted to support daily life. Camps at the mouth of rivers were visited in the spring to catch the hoka (red cod), kahawai, patiki (flounder), mata (whitebait) and inanga (minnows/parent of whitebait) coming in from the sea to spawn. Beattie

recorded that some of his Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu informants remembered a large kupeka (net) "of seven or eight chains long" being made at Korotuaheka at the Waitaki river mouth (in 1886) and this was believed to be "the last (Maori) net pulled there".²⁵ Of the fresh water fish, tuna (eel) were in great abundance and most sought after. The Waihao provided an invaluable supply of eel and was so named according to the highly prized variety breeding in the river. The hao eel possessed an especially sweet flavour and was caught along the reaches of the Waihao in the late summer. Shortland, Bishop Selwyn and Torlesse recorded the presence of a small fishing camp on the banks of the Waihao that was frequented by Te Huru Huru and other members of the hapu. A small party of Kati Huirapa that included Te Huru Huru, his wife, and son, had offered to escort Shortland across the Waitaki river in late January 1844. Shortland recorded that this party "had intended, when the flood subsided, to remove from their present residence to the river Waihao, a short day's journey to the northward, which they visited at this season of the year, for the purpose of catching eels".²⁶ Bishop Selwyn noted in his diary also in January 1844 that on reaching the Waihao river, "we came to small huts of Te Huruhuru chief of the Waitangi [Waitaki], who was eating eels."²⁷ Torlesse spent two nights camping at this small fishery on the banks of the Waihao in March 1849 and introduced his host as "Huru Huru, the old hunter who hunts the country round for ducks, eels, etc."²⁸ Wainono (lake Waihao) was rich in eel and birdlife. After leaving Te Huru Huru Torlesse dined with a travelling party of neighbouring hapu from Moeraki camping beside the large coastal lagoon. He observed that they had "caught about 50 eels in the Wainono which abound[ed] with them and ducks".²⁹ Fresh water fish included waikokopara (cockabully) and a creek running through Te tari a Te Kaumira was Waikokopura, so named for the prevalence of this sweet-fleshed fish.³⁰ Koura (freshwater crayfish) were also collected from creeks and streams. Rivers provided Kati Huirapa with an important food supply. The hapu defined their territory, their 'place', by access to these marine and freshwater resources.

Their territory also included the sea, bush, forest and swamp from which birds were hunted. Seasonal birding camps were on the fringes of the bush and forest that covered Te tari a Te Kaumira. The hapu stayed at the camp at Te Waimatamate when catching supplies of birds in Te Kaherehere. Effie Studholme mentioned the presence of kaka (parrot), parakeets, (koko) tui, makomako (bellbird), ruru (morepork owl) in her writings about the area.³¹ Her son also noted the importance of kerehu (pigeon) as a food source for the Te Waimatamate hapu.³² The birds were best snared or speared after fattening themselves on the berries growing on vines and trees of Te Kaherehere. Edgar Studholme mentioned another birding camp, "used only on hunting trips", further north in the foothills at Ka punapuna a Kaiwaruru a Mihirau (the springs of Kaiwaruru and Mihirau).³³ Weka (woodhen) were caught in season, rendered down and preserved in their own fat. Beattie noted that coastal Maori "made a habit of going inland after the weka in June and July when the birds were in their prime."³⁴ For Te Waimatamate hapu this annual migration was up the Waitaki river valley.³⁵ In a map drawn by Te Huru Huru of "the interior of the middle island", Shortland observed that places identified included sites "convenient for catching eels or wekas".³⁶ Pukaki (pukeko/swamphen), patake and parera (ducks) were caught at Wainono and along other stretches of Waihao. Putakitaki (paradise ducks) were sometimes caught by driving the young or moulting birds along the coastal estuary where they were cornered into a net. This place was Takiritawa (to jerk or hand out of the water).³⁷ Effie Studholme observed the hapu's food supplies and storage at Te Waimatamate kaika:

From many a bark-built whare; while aloof
 Stood the tall Futtah with its quaint thatched roof,
 And underneath it hung, with odour strong,
 Kits filled with birds and eels in bundles long-³⁸

Seasonal movements to hunt and fish marked the territorial home of Kati Huirapa.

Local flora was inseparable from the hapu's experience of place. Trees, shrubs, scrub and grasses not only provided habitats for fauna but also were consumed and crafted by the people to support their way of life.

They also helped define the territory of Te Waimatamate. Aruhe (fernroot), and kauru (roots and stems of the cabbage trees³⁹) were collected for food. In his time with Te Huru Huru, Shortland observed a group digging supplies of fern root. He recorded how aruhe was prepared for eating. It was roasted on a fire and then bruised using a flat stone and wooden pestle. The long fibres of the root were drawn out and the remainder was pounded till it became the consistency of "tough dough". Shortland's guides had eaten tutu berries and he noted that the juice of tutu was sometimes used to sweeten the aruhe once it was ready for eating.⁴⁰ Berries from the forest such as those found on kahikatea, totara and pirita (supplejack) were also edible.⁴¹ Very little cultivation was undertaken and this accounted for the continued nomadic lifestyle of the Te Waimatamate hapu. Kumara was difficult to grow further south than Arowhenua. Small plots of potatoes were grown at some kaika after European arrival. On his visit to Te Waimatamate in 1848 Mantell noted "two or three cropless cultivations" at Tauhini and found "2 kits of potatoes" at Te Puna a maru.⁴² Speaking on behalf of Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu from Arowhenua, Te Waimatamate and Waitaki at the Native Land Court opened in Christchurch in 1868, Horomona Pohio stated that during "Mr Mantell's time ... our food consisted of potatoes, eels, cabbage tree, mussels and woodhen."⁴³ Forest, swamp and coastal vegetation was important for providing food and these areas were also mahinga kai. Local plant life was intrinsic to the indigenous relationship with place.

The home place was also interpreted from the practice of entertaining and visiting neighbouring hapu and kin. This widened the social and territorial range that contributed to a sense of collective belonging. Te Waimatamate hapu spent time in the south at Kakanui, Waikouaiti and at Moeraki. In the north they visited Waiateruaiti and Arowhenua. Frequent interactions occurred amongst kaika along the Waitaki river valley that included Tamahaerewhenua and Te Hakataramea. Te Huru Huru also returned to visit family at Hawea, a long journey across the centre of the South Island. It was from memories of these journeys into the interior that the chief was able to draw a map for Shortland. While on one of his

surveying assignments Mantell spent some nights at Tauhini and Te Puna a maru waiting to see Te Huru Huru. The kaika were deserted and he was later informed that the people were visiting relatives at Kakanui and Moeraki. Michael Studholme, first Englishman to settle in Te Waimatamate (in 1854), observed that "many visitors used to come from Arowhenua and the South during the fishing and game season" and stay with the hapu at Te Waimatamate.⁴⁴ Pere has said that hospitality was very important with respect to dignity and the preservation of mana for Maori.⁴⁵ Expression of hospitality was linked with the provision of kai and ceremonial hangi gave hapu the opportunity to provide local delicacies. Food was used as koha and included in the exchange of gifts. Kauru (made from roots and stems of ti trees) and hao eel were regarded as delicacies found in Te Waimatamate and taken on visits to kin. Titi (muttonbirds) were also highly prized and probably brought back to Te Waimatamate from visits with family in the south. These birds liked to feed on small sea fish and were caught in season at Moeraki. Shortland observed a party from Moeraki arriving in boats at a beach at Tumaru (Timaru-near Te Waiateruati and Arowhenua). On board was a cargo of preserved titi that "were all designed as presents to relatives at Waiateruati or Bank's Peninsula" where, Shortland added, "in all probability a great number would be sent to the north side of Cook's Straits".⁴⁶ Nourishment from the land provided nourishment for social relationships that connected and protected hapu within the larger iwi territory of Kai Tahu and beyond, to other iwi living in the North Island.

Naming places reflected the relationship of the people with their surroundings. It was in the naming that space became a place of identification. Place names told stories about hunting and collecting food. They were also connected with whakapapa. In defining 'oral maps' Tipene O'Regan has stated, "the names of the landscape were like survey pegs of memory, marking the events that happened in a particular place, recording some aspect or feature of the traditions and history of a tribe."⁴⁷ He has further said that:

The recitation of the genealogies functioned as the oral 'maps' of the people. The names of the tupuna and their deeds were the survey

pegs. Waiata sang of their ancestors' exploits whose names were woven into the history of the land and the people. Hills, trees, stones, waters, each named and with its own story recalled to the tribe their rights to their territory ... as the genealogies were recited and the waiata chanted the oral pegs were hammered into the land. As the pegs were struck the stories were fixed through generations.⁴⁸

Tribal affiliations and kinship connections stretching back to the ancient teachings of the homeland of Hawaiki were integral in the experience of self in place and self in the universe. Knowing genealogical ties (whanaungatanga) gave, according to Pere, "a feeling of belonging, value and security".⁴⁹ For those Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu living around Te Waimatamate just prior to colonial settlement, the stories of their ancestors were interwoven into the landscape connecting them with their past, affirming its presence in the present, and reinforcing this sense of belonging.

Places reflected the pervading ancestral presence found in whakapapa.⁵⁰ The Waihao was believed to be one of the most ancient named rivers in the south island. When the *Uruao* waka, under its ariki Rakaihautu, arrived in the north of the island the party divided. Rakaihautu walked down the centre of the island carving out with his digging stick the string of lakes stretching from Rotoiti and Rotorua to Te Anau and Manapouri while his son Rokohouia sailed the *Uruao* down the east coast erecting eel weirs at the river mouths.⁵¹ Rokohouia and his party were gathering hao (sweet meat tuna/eel) in the lagoon at the mouth of the Waihao river when Rakaihautu, returning north up the coast, met up with them. The hao eel was the food chosen by Rakaihautu and his party as a great delicacy and the Waihao river, thus named, was the only outlet of lake Waihao (Wainono lagoon) that was the natural habitat of this particular eel.⁵² For Waitaha, Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu this river was a visible link with their whakapapa. For those living and moving around Waitaki, Te Puna a maru (the spring of Maru [a sea god]), was a reminder of ancient times. This was the kaika site associated with Te Huru Huru before the permanent move to Te Waimatamate. At the mouth of the Waitaki was a fishing camp on the site of O te heni. This was believed to be named after Te Heni, "said by some to be a leading man on an ill-fated

canoe that came [from the Homeland] over 700 years ago".⁵³ In the naming, these became places connected with an ancient heritage. This provided a sense of continuity that affirmed belonging.

Geographical features memorialised chiefs. The chiefs were often noted for their prowess as warriors and by using their names stories of conquest and defeat were marked upon the landscape. An area near the kaika at Te Waimatamate was named Tutekawa after a chief of 'the old fighting days'.⁵⁴ Te tari a Te Kaumira (the range of Te Kaumira), the forested hills at Te Waimatamate, honoured a chief who lived some centuries earlier. He went up one of the northern heights of this long range and was lost in a snowstorm. Some weeks later a search party found his body in a small cave well up the mountain. He seemed quite life-like being preserved by the intense cold and this part of the range thereafter was Te tahu a Te Kaumira (the roof of Te Kaumira).⁵⁵ A prominent peak of Te tari a Te Kaumira was named Te Tapua a Urihia (the footprint of a tupuna, Urihia).⁵⁶ A creek draining into the Waitaki was "Te ihi a Putete (the 'division' of Putete). Putete was a warrior of the old fighting days of over 300 years ago".⁵⁷ A gorge cutting through forest on Te tari a Te Kaumira was known as Te Wai ki a Te Maiheraki. A chief named Te Maiheraki was said to have visited Te Waimatamate. He was tired of drought conditions and decided to go up a nearby valley to see if he could find permanent water. He did and thus the place was named Te Wai ki a Te Maiheraki (the place of Te Maiheraki's water).⁵⁸ Place names engendered stories about people and events of the past. They aided the transmission of knowledge between communities and generations.

Place names also emphasised distinctive features of an area. This made the environment familiar and helped identify territorial boundaries.⁵⁹ The gorge allowing an access from the Te Waimatamate plain through the hills into the upper Waihao river basin was known as Hurihia kapua, 'the cloud turned around'. The name originated from early parties travelling through the gorge noting the changed positions of clouds as they were observed from each successive corner in the winding ravine. The stream that ran through Hurihia kapua was Waikokupara. This referred to the

mountain trout caught in its waters. A saddle separating two hills of Te tari a Te Kaumira was called O roko te whatu (the place of the listening rocks) because of its echoing quality. The name Te Kara (a type of stone) was given to a local stream. Te Awa kai tutoi was another stream where tutoi (a type of ti tree) was eaten. Puna kawa (bitter spring) was a small swamp and another "old time swamp was known as Kopare pakapaka (The Withered Headband)".⁶⁰ Awamoko (shark river) was the pa where Te Huru Huru lived on first arriving from Hawea. Te Puna a maru kaika was established at the confluence of this river.⁶¹ A kaika well known to those of Te Waimatamate, located on the Waitaki river inland from Te Puna a maru, was Te Hakataramea. This was the place of the dancing (taramea) spear grass. Tauhinu (a kind of shrub) was a small kaika at Waitaki. This site was important as 'he kaika tahito' (an ancient village). In naming, the land became space invested with meaning.

Characteristics of people were associated with, and became part of the indigenous landscape. Te Te Karara, (the lizard), was a tupuna believed to have once resided at Te kai a te Atua, the early pa established at the mouth of Waihao.⁶² Te Karara was remembered in a hill behind the Te Waimatamate kaika named Te tari a Te Karara (the long ridge of Te Karara). His descendents had special rights in the locality and it was a protected hill for them to secure kerehu, kaka and weka.⁶³ A warrior, Mounu (moulting bird), living in the area "centuries ago" had several places named after him including a creek that ran through bush in Te Waimatamate. Kati Huirapa, when cutting in the vicinity, would get their drinking water from Mounu.⁶⁴ On the coastal flat near where the Waihao river drained into Wainono was a pool known as Te Whitau a Tauria (the dressed flax of Tauria). The name of Tauria was remembered as being that of a woman who was very skilful at taking flax from the bush, combing out the fibre and making it into soft pliable garments. A small lagoon nearby, O Te Kaha, remembered a chief, Te Kaha, the strong one. Burial grounds at Te Waimatamate were Te Rae a Titipa (the forehead of Titipa) and Te Kapu a Urihia (the hollow in the hand of Urihia).⁶⁵ Names invested the landscape with stories about characteristics and attributes of people.

Anderson has written that if “whakapapa constituted the trellis of traditions then growing over it was the foliage of incident and narrative, trimmed as each generation, each hapu and many individuals saw fit”.⁶⁶ Stories associated with places could change over time. Names were sometimes changed too, investing a place with new meaning. Beattie retells the story about a hill at the southern end of Te tari a Te Kaumira that was once known as Tane Awoa. The people from Te kai a te Atua pa on the coast had moved to the birding camp at Te Kaherehere. The hill was a favourite place for women to gather the gum of speargrass, te ware o te taramea, used to make a scent known as kakara. The gum was like resin and the custom was to burn grass or dry vegetation allowing it to gather into balls. This burning was done in the evening and next morning, soon after sunrise, the gum was collected. Women staying at Te Waimatamate had risen early one morning to gather gum after burning the previous night. As a trick, men had risen earlier and secretly removed the aromatic resin. Since then Tane Awoa was known as Urutane – ‘gathered by men’.⁶⁷

For Maori the land was interconnected with the spiritual dimension of their lives. Douglas Sinclair has said that this:

close spiritual relationship with the land stemmed from the ... concept of the basic origin of mankind deriving from the loving union of the earthmother, Papa-tu-a-nuku, with the sky-father, Rangi-nui-e-tu-nei. The union was bountiful, and by a series of semi-evolutionary processes, the heavens were filled with their hosts of gods and attendant spirits. Eventually, the terrestrial world was populated by gods and myriads of vassal spirits and animate creatures.⁶⁸

The land became the mediator in a contractual arrangement between the people and their gods. It was this relationship and the responsibilities of the supernatural that were embodied in the concept of tapu. Names of places signified the merging of the sacred within the physical world and associated rituals affirmed this oneness. According to Shortland, on the downland reaches of the Waihao river there was a sacred place (wahi tapu) called Te Umu a te Rakitauneke, Rakitauneke’s oven. It was believed that at this place an esteemed and victorious warrior chief, Te Rakitauneke, had roasted human flesh. Maori Marsden in an article on Maori spirituality explained that the spiritual and political significance of

such an event was that by eating the flesh of a warrior fallen in battle, the conquerors were consuming his mana and ihi and thereby replenishing their own.⁶⁹ Shortland was informed that travellers always stopped here to say a prayer over their feet that 'the earth may not be drawn out lengthways' ensuring they would have stamina for long journeys ahead.⁷⁰ This place marked the intermingling of the honour of conquest and the shame of defeat with the powers of the sacred.

The giving of story to the land enabled identification with a sacred place. Near the old coastal pa site of Te kai a te Atua was a pool flowing into the Waihao river known as Tu Te Rakiwanoa. It was believed to be one of the abodes of the Taniwha Te Rakiwanoa, a place of uncanny happenings, which included the disappearance of a child. Also in the vicinity of the pa were two tapu waterholes that were used for the washing of the dead, a feature of southern pa sites built on dry ground and surrounded by swamps.⁷¹ The ancient pa, Korotuaheka at the mouth of the Waitaki was in a barren place of very stony ground.

According to legend the stones were eggs of Ana Taniwha, a monster who lived in an underground cave in the north (Lyttleton Harbour). Ana Taniwha came down to the plains and every spring laid piles of eggs. As time went by the eggs covered the plains, choking off the grass which was the food of another monster called Maunga Taniwha, who lived among the peaks of the Southern Alps. He called down a great rainstorm to wash the eggs into the sea [explaining their presence at the Waitaki river mouth]. Ana Taniwha was trapped in her cave by the flood, and forced to block up its entranceway.⁷²

The name of an ancient settlement, Te Wai tohi, was near where a tributary drained into the Waitaki river and so named after a purification rite for infants in which water was sprinkled over them.⁷³ The intermingling of the physical and spiritual realms was fundamental to the concept of tapu and evident in the sacred sites of a territory. Marsden has stated that "the cultural milieu [of Maori] was rooted both in the temporal world and the transcendent world, this bring[ing] a person into intimate relationship with the gods and his universe."⁷⁴ The indigenous landscape was a tapestry of physical, emotional and spiritual consciousness.

Relationship with the land was expressed in art, craft, song, dance and play. Creative expression reflected the relatedness with the

mountains, hills, rivers, sea, lakes and trees, with the elements of wind, water, fire and earth and with the animals, fish, insects and birds.⁷⁵ All living things were invested with mauri (energy) and shared in this everyday life dimension of an integrated spiritual and physical realm. Transmission of experiences was oral in the tangihanga (funeral), in the karakia and tauparapara (incantations), karanga (call), poroporoaki (farewell), paki waitara (fairy story), pepeha and whakatauki (proverbs and sayings), in the waiata (song poetry) and haka (dance), in the whakapapa and in korero (narratives).⁷⁶ Prompts to this oral medium included carvings, decorations and personal adornments, crafted patterns of weaving, named and treasured possessions (taonga), and the rhythmic movements of dance. Creative expressions told and retold stories of place and affirmed a sense of belonging in it.

Once permanent settlement was established at the kaika at Te Waimatamate a rununga was built at Tutekawa. Meetings on the marae would have included korero and tangihanga. Three known burial sites (urupa) were at Tutekawa. They were Te Rae a Titipa, Te Kapu a Urihia, and an unnamed third where Te Huru Huru was buried in 1861.⁷⁷ The surrounding land provided materials for building and crafting functional and decorative objects. Whare at Te Waimatamate were constructed of totara slabs and the roofs were made of bark stripped from the same tree. The whare were sheltered by bush and “there was plenty of high flax everywhere”.⁷⁸ Effie Studholme, in referring to this kaika, noted the use of natural “fibre for raiment”. She observed this “silky fibre” used to weave “flexile mats” and baskets and recorded that Te Huru Huru’s whare “was marked by posts of painted wood”.⁷⁹ Beattie was informed that korari (flax sticks), raupo, piritia (supplejack) and toe toe were used in crafting nets, eel pots, spears and snares.⁸⁰ In his time with Te Huru Huru Shortland observed some of the party collecting raupo and flax to build the mokihis (canoelike rafts) that they used to cross the Waitaki river.⁸¹ Te Huru Huru made Shortland “torua”, which were sandals that could be crafted from either flax or ti leaves.⁸² Posts, rocks from umu (ovens), greenstone weapons (patu pounamu) and ornaments have been retrieved from the

Waihao river plain at the place that 'in the early days' was the pa, Te kai a te atua.⁸³ Greenstone was not found in the vicinity and its presence is indicative of the wider movement and exchange of gifts occurring amongst the people.⁸⁴

Creative 'marks' on the people and on the land were expressions of identification with it. Tattooing ink (karehu) was made from the soot of rimu gum mixed with the oil (hinu) of weka, tuna or kereru. Beattie was informed of two moko designs, whakairo (scroll) and tuhi (dots and straight lines). Tuhi was the ancient design of Waitaha and was more common amongst southern Maori.⁸⁵ Te Huru Huru was "deeply tattooed, the whole face being covered".⁸⁶ Edgar Studholme recorded that "the last tattooed Maori that he could remember [in Te Waimatamate, about 1861] was an old man called Kinita Kara Te Hirapuha".⁸⁷ Around Te Waimatamate rock drawings were found in caves and shelters on routes adjacent to rivers. These places provided shelter on fishing and bird hunting expeditions. The drawings, first done in black, were attributed to at least the time of the Waitaha people. It was believed that Kati Mamoe marked their arrival by overlaying these black drawings in red ochre.⁸⁸ The sketches were of birds, lizards, fish, whales, porpoises and suggested ancestral links to early migrations.⁸⁹ People in the area had marked their place and furnished a new landscape with replicas from the place left behind. Drawings inside one shelter were undoubtedly of moa, and in another were sketches of archetypal birdmen.⁹⁰ Canoes, clubs, spears and human figures were also depicted.⁹¹ These ancestors had left marks on their landscape not only as a validation of territorial rights, not only as evidence of their alliance with the natural environment but also as pictorial memories allowing successive generations to re-encounter their past. The indigenous landscape was interwoven into different forms of creative expression that told stories about the relationship of Kati Huirapa with Te Waimatamate.

Weather patterns were part of the indigenous landscape, keenly observed and interpreted by the people. Beyond the daily need to tell the weather and understand the earth's seasons, weather systems were invested with supernatural significance. Weather could indicate good or

bad omens. It could be responding in sympathy with the joys and sorrows of human emotions. Wind was thought to carry messages, rain was sometimes felt to be falling in commiseration with human tears and a rainbow foreshadowed a good outcome when seen on the right side. Southern Maori saw a rainbow as the path that had been taken by Rokoitua when he arrived from Hawaiki in the early times bearing the kumara as a gift for mankind.⁹² Navigation was accomplished by means of observing the stars and moon. Beattie noted that his Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu informants knew about certain stars and the part they had played in guiding ancestors on voyages.

The Wakahuruhurumanu, a spirit canoe, coming to New Zealand met fifty gigantic seas. These were very high and the *Uruao* (with ancestors on board) would have been buried by them. Wakahuruhurumanu smoothed out these seas ... and so prepared the way for *Uruao* and other canoes. Those early voyages saw Kopuparapara (the morning star – Venus) in the morning and in the evening they saw ... Mirimiri, (the evening star-Jupiter).⁹³

The positioning of stars was used to foretell good or bad weather. If Autahi or Puaka rose in the south it was a good sign because it meant that good weather was pressing the bad weather away south where it could do no harm.⁹⁴ For the hapu of Te Waimatamate, it was also known that if fog was hanging on the top of Te Tari a Te Kaumira and came down it was a certain sign of rain in the area.⁹⁵ Besides the stars and fog, wind was used to foretell the weather. Beattie was informed that there were four principal winds on the lower Waitaki plains. Mauru (north-east) and ta (north-west) were hot winds; whakarua (easterly) was sometimes a wet wind and sometimes a dry one; and toka (south/south-west), was the stormiest and sometimes brought rain.⁹⁶ While spending time with Te Huru Huru Shortland observed that the north-west wind “strangely hot, dry and oppressive” had been blowing, melting snow inland and contributing to the flooding of the Waitaki in its lower reaches. Unable to cross the river he was required to wait for four days until Te Huru Huru, who had agreed to escort the party across, was sure the weather was favourable. He noted that the chief was anxious to get on the other side before the wind rose again. Once across Shortland spent another night camping with Te Huru

Huru and was amazed how his guides built their shelter facing the north-east as a fresh breeze was blowing from that quarter so as to fill it with the smoke of their fire. On commenting what he thought was their carelessness, they laughed, pointing to the hills and said that the wind would soon die away only to be followed by one from the opposite quarter. That night he “was unpleasantly convinced of their superior judgement by the chilling wind which blew through the door of his tent”⁹⁷. ‘Kai te taki te wahanui ki te toka;kai te tonono atu ki te toka to taki’, was roughly interpreted as ‘the cry of the north-wester bidding the southerly to blow too’ and local Maori were well aware that when a north-wester blew it was very often followed by a southerly wind.⁹⁸ Weather phenomena were identifiers of a place. Interpretation of the weather was knowledge that marked belonging. Understanding of local climate conditions, the winds, the cycle of the seasons, the presence of sun, moon, and stars were all interconnected with experiences of ‘place’.

Landscape as ‘relationship’ defined place as home for Maori. The intimate connection with the land was a story about physical, emotional and spiritual integration that inferred ‘home’ also existed beyond spatial and temporal boundaries. The land became embodied in whakapapa, it was the territory of mahinga kai, and it was marked with places of meaning. The indigenous landscape was a story about sustenance, kinship, battles, creativity, knowledge, spirituality and belonging. Landscape as ‘relationship’ was a symbol about ‘being home’ in a place. It represented turangawaewae, the place where the past was anchored in the present and identity was affirmed. For Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu of Te Waimatamate landscape as ‘relationship’ was more than “black and broken stones”, “carved poles” and colourful legends. It was an integrative story about experiencing the place of self, with others and with the universe in “kinship” connection with land that was about to be discovered all over again.

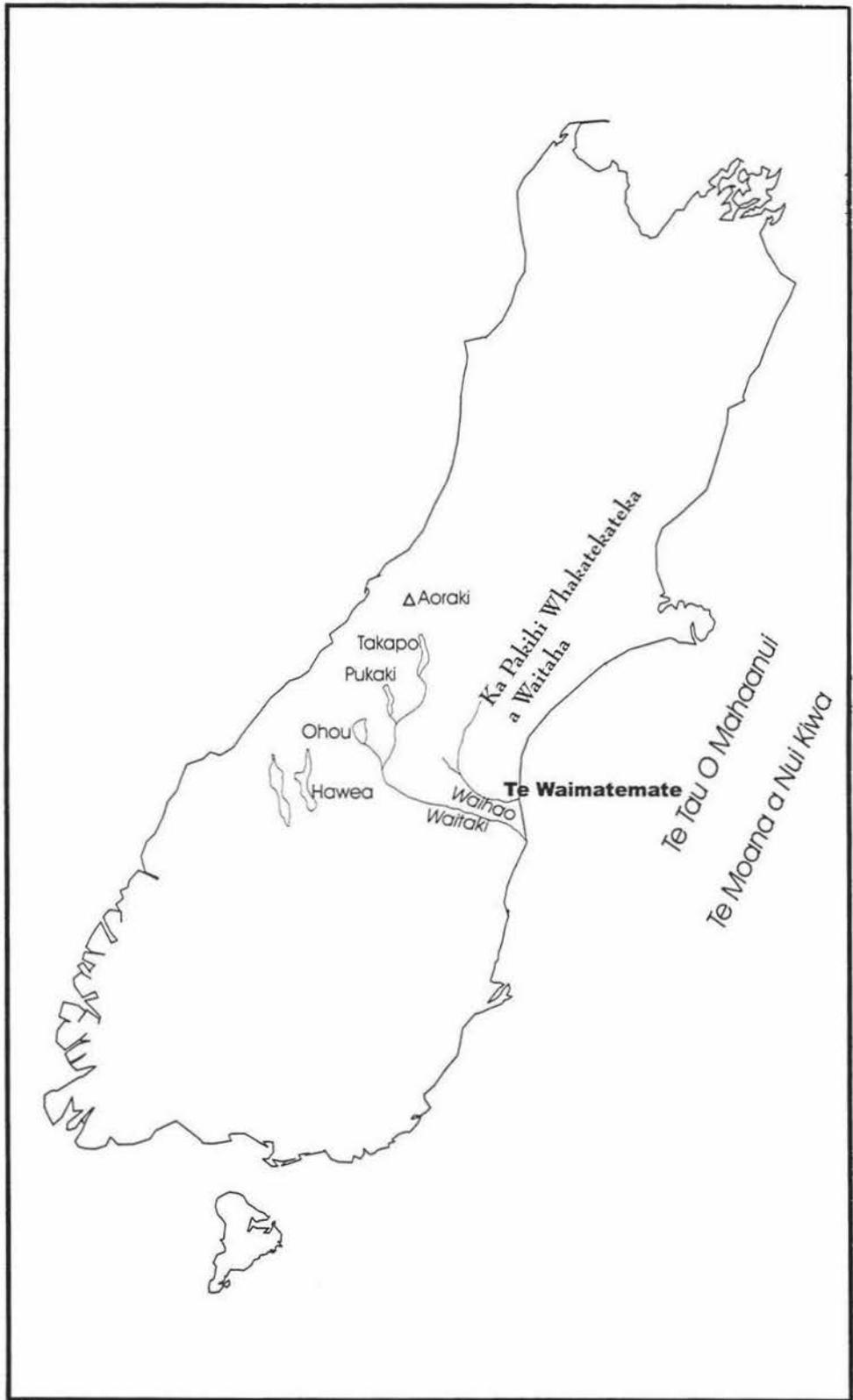


Figure 1.1 Location Map. Te Wai Pounamu. Pre-contact territory of Waitaha, Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu.

Ref. John Wilson, (ed.), *He Korero Purakau Mo Nga Taunahanahatanga A Nga Tupuna, Place Names of the Ancestors, NZ: GP, 1990.* (Printed by Julie Palmer).

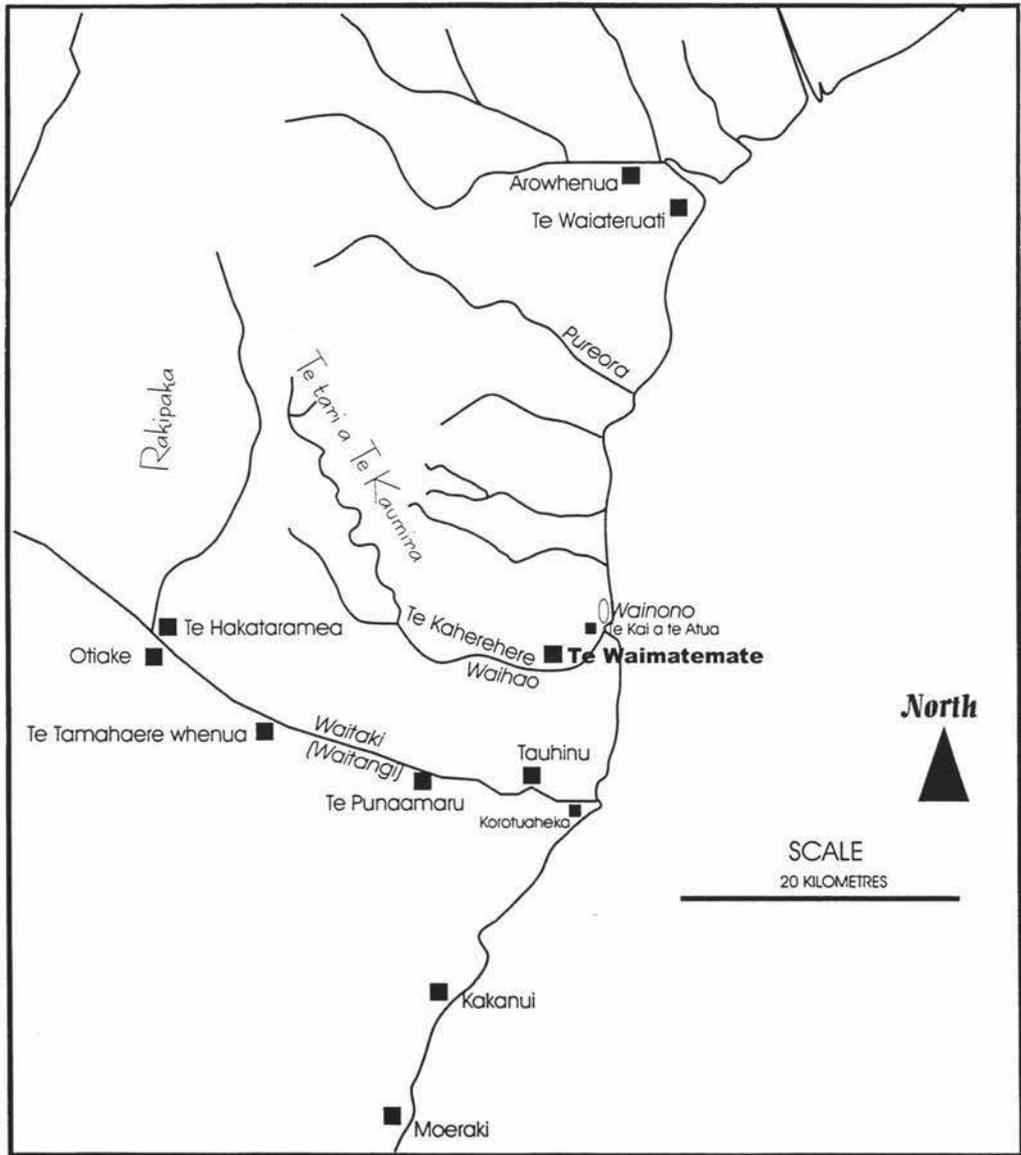


Figure 1.2 Location Map. Territory of Kati Huirapa living in Te Waimateme just prior to British colonisation.

Ref. John Wilson, (ed.), *He Korero Purakau Mo Nga Taunahanahatanga*, and Atholl Anderson, *Welcome of Strangers, An Ethnohistory of Southern Maori AD 1650-1850*, Dunedin: University of Otago, 1999. (Printed by Julie Palmer).



Figure 1.3 Matene Korako Wera. Said to be the last full blooded Kati Mamoe. Died 1896. (Otago Early Settlers Museum).

In Buddy Mikaere, *Te Maiharoa and the Promised Land*, Auckland: Reed, 1988, p. 35.



Figure 1.4 Vegetation of the indigenous landscape –
ti kouka (cabbage tree), toi toi, raupo and
koraki/harakeke (flax).
Drawings by Walter Mantell at Waitaki in 1844.
(Alexander Turnbull Library)

(ATL, Mantell Papers, MS 110,827)

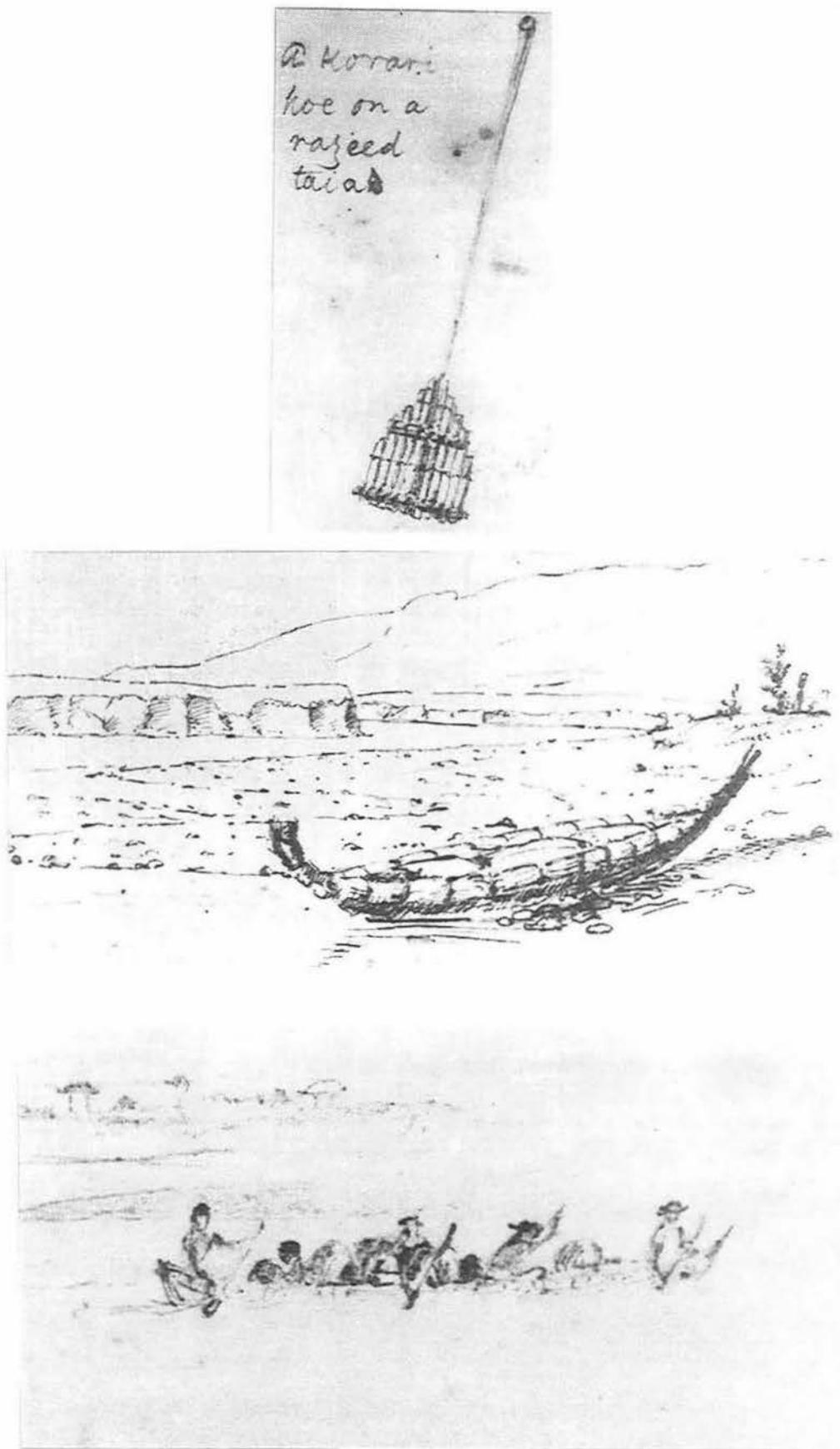


Figure 1.5 Mokihi and paddle, used for river crossings.
Drawings by Walter Mantell at Waitaki in 1848.
(Alexander Turnbull Library)

In Atholl Anderson, *Welcome of Strangers* p.119.(ATL, F- 69685-1/2, F-108594-1/2, F-108593-1/2)

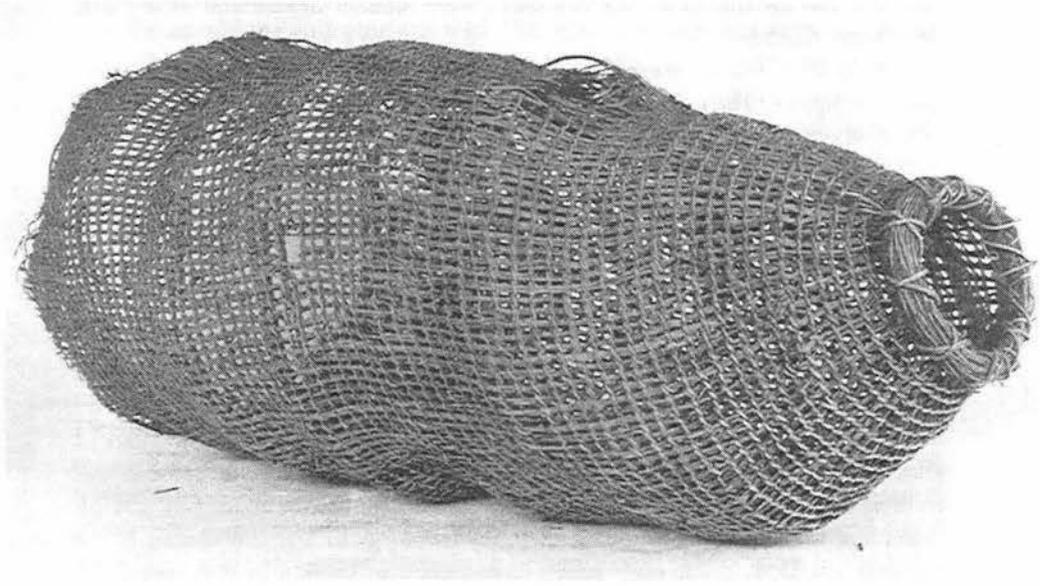


Figure 1.6 Hinaki (eelpot) made from pirita (supplejack) and korari (flax sticks). This pot was made at Temuka near Arowhenua. Beattie noted similar pots used in Waihao river. (Otago Museum collection)

In Atholl Anderson (ed.), *Traditional Lifeways of The Southern Maori*, James Herries Beattie, Dunedin: University of Otago, 1994, p.145.

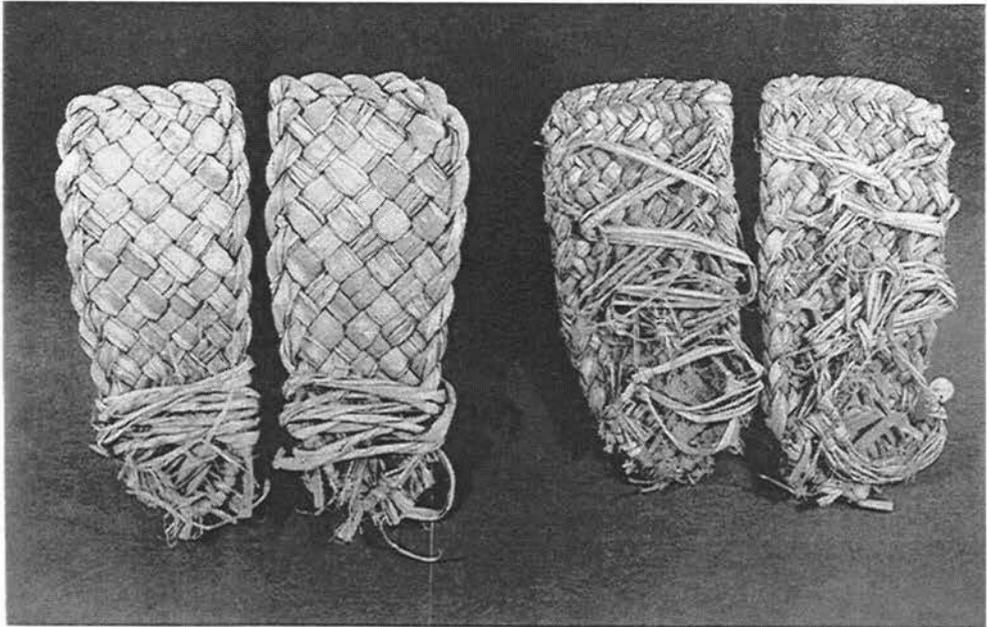


Figure 1.7 Paraerae woven from flax, like those made by Te Huru Huru and given to Edward Shortland on his visit to Te Waimatamate in 1844. (Otago Museum collection).

In Atholl Anderson, *Welcome of Strangers*, p. 124.

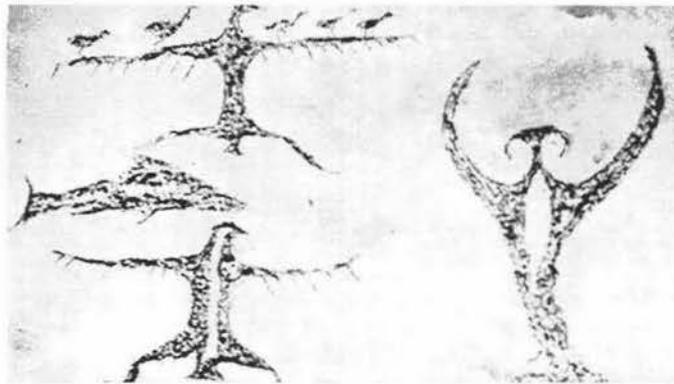
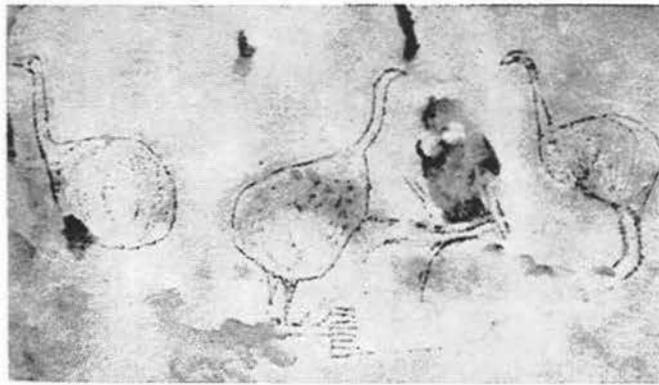


Figure 1.8 Marks on the landscape. Ancestral rock drawings in Te Waimatamate territory. Drawings from limestone shelters at Craigmore (Pareora), at Frenchman's Gully (Gordons Valley) and at Opihi River. (Canterbury Museum)

In Oliver Gillespie, *South Canterbury – A Record of Settlement*, Timaru: South Canterbury Centennial Committee, 1958, facing p.16.

Landscape as 'Relationship'

- ¹ Atholl Anderson, (ed.), *Traditional Lifeways of the Southern Maori*, By James Herries Beattie, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1994.
- ² The Concise *Oxford Dictionary*, 2nd edn, Vol. XII, Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 551.
- ³ Michael P Shirres OP, *Te Tangata, The Human Person*, Auckland: Accent Publications, 1997, p. 18.
- ⁴ John Rangihau, 'Being Maori', in *Te Ao Hurihuri, The World Moves On, Aspects of Maoritanga*, Michael King, (ed.), 3rd edn, Auckland: Longman Paul, 1981, pp. 165-175.
- ⁵ Dr Rangimarie Turuki Pere, *Te Wheke, A Celebration of Infinite Wisdom*, 2nd edn, n.p., NZ: Ao Ako Global Learning NZ Ltd, 1979, p. 22.
- ⁶ Tipene O'Regan, 'Old Myths and New Politics, Some Contemporary Uses of Traditional History', *NZJH*, 26:1, 1992, p. 6.
- ⁷ Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers, An Ethnohistory of Southern Maori AD 1650-1850*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1998.
Harry Evison, *Te Wai Pounanu, The Greenstone Island*, Wellington: Aoraki Press, 1993.
Buddy Mikaere, *Te Maiharoa and the Promised Land*, Auckland: Reed Publishing, 1988.
- ⁸ O'Regan, p. 6.
- ⁹ In Southern Maori dialect 'k' was often interchanged with 'ng'. Many of the primary texts use 'k' instead of 'ng' and so it seems appropriate to do so in this chapter where directed. (The script also lacks macrons).
- ¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 7.
- ¹¹ In a census taken in 1896, 87% of Maori living in Te Waimatamate said they belonged to Kati Mamoe. In 1874 all were recorded as belonging to Kati Huirapa which was a hapu of Kai Tahu. Johannes Andersen in *Jubilee History of South Canterbury*, 1916, pp. 36-37 stated that it seemed a segregation had occurred amongst South Canterbury iwi – Kai Tahu in the north at Arowhenua and Kati Mamoe at Te Waimatamate by 1896.
- ¹² Mikaere, p. 15.
- ¹³ Anderson, p. 88.
- ¹⁴ E. C. (Edgar) Studholme, *Te Waimate, Early Station Life in New Zealand*, 2nd edn, Wellington: Reed, 1954, p. 33.
- ¹⁵ It is difficult to identify the original iwi and hapu of Te Huru Huru. Kati Huirapa is connected with the location at Hawea and has genealogical links with Waitaha and Kati Mamoe. (Anderson, *Welcome of Strangers*, p. 19.)
Some articles about Te Huru Huru and his life in the Waimate district identify him with Kati Taoka (named after an important chief of the Otago feuds of the late 18th c.). As mentioned, Kati (Ngati) Huirapa was the hapu affiliation of Te Waimatamate Maori according to a census of 1874.
- ¹⁶ Te Waimatamate was originally the name of a small river. The name became associated with the birding camp near its banks and later, once permanently residing in the area, the local hapu were identified with it. In this study the hapu are sometimes referred to as the Te Waimatamate hapu and their wider territory is referred to as Te Waimatamate. This is my imposition onto the indigenous landscape. A large percentage of this territory became Waimate Borough and County after colonisation and remains very much as this today.
- ¹⁷ Evison, p. 192, refers to the difficulty in translating 'whakatekateka'. 'Pakihi' is the Plains where 'Waitaha' grew as people and so by taking 'pakihi whakatekateka' to mean 'seedbed of the people', Evison admits, may be a modern poetic interpretation.

- ¹⁸ John Wilson, (ed.), *He Korero Purakau Mo Nga Taunahanahatanga, A Nga Tupuna, Place Names of the Ancestors, A Maori Oral History Atlas*, Wellington: Government Printing Office/NZ Geographic Board, 1990, p. 7.
- ¹⁹ WBD, (Walter) Mantell, 30 September to 24 October, 1848, Journal of Journey through Canterbury 1848, Papers, ATL, MS 1542.
- ²⁰ Peter Bromley Maling, (ed.), *The Torlesse Papers, The Journals and Letters of Charles Obins Torlesse Concerning the Foundation of the Canterbury Settlement in New Zealand 1848-51*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1958, p. 66.
- ²¹ E. M. L. (Effie) Studholme, *Reminiscences of 1860*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1910, p. 37.
- ²² I.H. (Hugh) Kawharu, *Maori Land Tenure, Studies of a Changing Institution*, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1977, p. 41.
- ²³ Anderson, (ed.), p. 124, Herries Beattie stated that informants of South Canterbury named two kinds of reserves – Rauiri tuna (a reserve for eeling for fishing) and Rauiri whenua (a reserve catching birds and gathering other products of the land).
- ²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 542, Beattie refers to informants recalling at least one pa Te kai a te Atua on the coast in the area now known as Willowbridge.
- ²⁵ *ibid.*, p. 135.
- ²⁶ Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand: A Journal with Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines*, London: Longman and others, 1851, p. 199.
- ²⁷ Bishop Selwyn, from Diary, quoted in Rev. L.E. Cartridge & L.D. Kenyon, *The Anglican Church in Waimate, 1844-1972*, Waimate: St Augustine's Centennial Committee, 1972, p. 3.
- ²⁸ Maling, (ed.), p. 67.
- ²⁹ *ibid.*
- ³⁰ Anderson, (ed.), p. 137. Beattie noted that to Pakeha the name sounded like kokobula and hence became the familiar name of cockabully.
- ³¹ Effie Studhome, 'The Answer' in *Reminiscences of 1860*.
- ³² Edgar Studholme, p. 39.
- ³³ *ibid.*, p. 38.
- ³⁴ Anderson, (ed.), p. 175.
- ³⁵ Mikaere, *Te Maiharoa*, refers to a heke in 1877 that followed the old trail up the Waitaki valley where Kati Huirapa once travelled to catch weka.
- ³⁶ Shortland, p. 20. Anderson, *Welcome of Strangers*, p. 161, notes that another lower Waitaki chief, Te Wharekorari, from Hakataratmea drew Mantell a map of the inland lakes of the upper Waitaki river valley (now Mackenzie country). It is highly likely that Te Huru Huru and his party went with Te Wharekorari on seasonal hunting expeditions into the interior.
- ³⁷ Edgar Studhome, p. 39.
- ³⁸ Effie Studhome, 'The Answer' in *Reminiscences of 1860*.
- ³⁹ Mikaere, p. 29, includes a manuscript explanation about kauru (roots and young stems of ti tree) and its importance to Kai Tahu and Kati Mamoe living in South Canterbury.
- ⁴⁰ Shortland, pp. 201-202.
- ⁴¹ Anderson, (ed.), pp. 117-118.
- ⁴² Mantell, Waikawa to Tauhinu, Waitaki, 23-24 October 1848, in Journal.
- ⁴³ William Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate, History of Waimate County and Borough*, Waimate: Waimate Borough and County Councils, 1985, p. 5, includes excerpts from speech given at Native Land Court in 1868 by Horomona (Solomon) Pohio. Pohio became chief after Te Huru Huru died in 1861 and was representative for all of South Canterbury Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu. His birthplace was Wainono.
- ⁴⁴ Edgar Studholme, p. 24.
- ⁴⁵ Pere, p. 48.
- ⁴⁶ Shortland, pp. 223-224.
- ⁴⁷ O'Regan, 'Introduction', in *He Korero*, John Wilson (ed.), p. xiii.
- ⁴⁸ Nola Easedale, *Kairuri, the Measurer of Land, The Life of the 19th Century Surveyor Pictured in His Art and Writings*, Petone: Highgate/Price Milburn, 1988, pp. 14-15.
- ⁴⁹ Pere, p. 26.

- ⁵⁰ Herries Beattie, *Maori Place Names of Canterbury*, Dunedin: Otago Daily Times, 1945, pp. 5-23. The majority of Maori place names and their translations used in this script come from the work of Beattie. Beattie said that "only the unwise attempt to translate a name lacking the evidence of tradition" but stated that wherever possible he consulted Maori friends. Beattie (born 1881, died 1972) was a noted informant on Southern Maori history. "Beattie was assiduously collecting the remnants of information on our past which have become part of the foundation of the re-development of Ngai Tahu culture in our generation." (O'Regan, 1994, in Anderson (ed.), p.7.) Beattie's manuscripts are now stored at the Hocken Library in Dunedin. He resided in Waimate from 1922 until his death.
- ⁵¹ Beattie, p.14.
- ⁵² John Wilson, *Waikakahi, Fulfilling the Promise*, Christchurch: Caxton Press/Waikakahi Centennial 1999 Incorporated Society, 1999, p. 15.
- ⁵³ Beattie, p. 17.
- ⁵⁴ *ibid*, p. 11. Anderson in *Welcome of Strangers*, pp 29, 37,59,60, also refers to Tutekawa in his text as a prominent figure in South Island tribal raids.
- ⁵⁵ Beattie, p. 13.
- ⁵⁶ *ibid*.
- ⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 18.
- ⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 12.
- ⁵⁹ Anderson, p. 16.
- ⁶⁰ Beattie, pp. 16-17.
- ⁶¹ Herries Beattie, *Maori Place Names of Otago*, Oamaru: Otago Daily Times, 1944, p. 20.
- ⁶² Edgar Studholme, p. 38. Butts of stockade posts and greenstone found in the vicinity were believed to be remnants of the fortified pa, Te kai a te Atua, found on the Waihao flat. The pa was said to be home for the chiefs Kaikaiawaro and Te Karara and more than 200 Maori.
- ⁶³ Beattie, *Maori Place Names of Canterbury*, p. 12.
- ⁶⁴ *ibid.*, p. 13.
- ⁶⁵ *ibid.*, pp. 13,16.
- ⁶⁶ Anderson, p. 62.
- ⁶⁷ Anderson, (ed.), p. 542.
- ⁶⁸ Douglas Sinclair, 'Land: Maori View and European Response' in *Te Ao Hurihuri*, King, (ed.), p. 86.
- ⁶⁹ Maori Marsden, 'God, Man and Universe: A Maori View', in *Te Ao Hurihuri*, King, (ed.), p. 154.
- ⁷⁰ Shortland, p. 216.
- ⁷¹ Wilson, p. 18.
- ⁷² Mikaere, pp. 119-120, from story recorded by Beattie.
- ⁷³ Beattie, *Maori Place Names of Canterbury*, p. 11.
- ⁷⁴ Shirres OP, p. 26, quotes Maori Marsden. Marsden also pointed in *Te Ao Hurihuri*, King, (ed.), p. 146, that these orders of reality (physical, spiritual and psychic) gave Maori the power to manipulate the environment within the bounds of several checks and balances.
- ⁷⁵ Pere, p. 9.
- ⁷⁶ Sam Karetu, 'Language and Protocol of the Marae' in *Te Ao Hurihuri*, King, (ed.), p. 31.
- ⁷⁷ Beattie, *Maori Place Names of Canterbury*, p. 11.
- ⁷⁸ Edgar Studholme, p. 36.
- ⁷⁹ *ibid*, pp. 42-43.
- ⁸⁰ Anderson, (ed.), Beattie gives detailed accounts of the uses of the indigenous flora and fauna in Southern Maori culture including specifics of Waitaki/Te Waimatamate people.
- ⁸¹ Like many of the plants, flax had different names for different parts and purposes.
- ⁸² Shortland, pp. 201-204, 209-210.
- ⁸³ Edgar Studholme, pp. 38-40.
- ⁸⁴ The South Island was known as Te Waipounamu - the greenstone island. Originally the west coast of the South Island was where most of the greenstone came from.
- ⁸⁵ Anderson, (ed.), pp. 64-65.

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- ⁸⁶ Effie Studholme, *Reminiscences of 1860*, p. 9.
- ⁸⁷ Edgar Studholme, p. 40.
- ⁸⁸ W.I. (William) Shrimpton, 'The History of Waimate to 1880', MA Thesis, Canterbury University: 1925, pp. 25-26, also Anderson, *Welcome of Strangers*, p. 23.
- ⁸⁹ *ibid.*, p. 26. Supporters of the theory that the paintings were done by Waitaha say that the figures were supposed to represent what the original immigrants saw on their voyage from Hawaiiiki to New Zealand.
- ⁹⁰ Oliver Gillespie, *South Canterbury, a Record of Settlement*, 2nd edn, Timaru: Timaru Herald, 1971, p. 16, refers to sites at Craigmere, Pareora and at Frenchman's Gully. Included are photographs of the rock drawings.
- ⁹¹ Gordon Ogilvie, *Moonshine Country, The Story of Waitohi, South Canterbury*, Christchurch: Caxton Press, 1971, p. 21.
- ⁹² Margaret Orbell, *The Natural World of the Maori*, Auckland: Collins, 1985, p. 78.
- ⁹³ Anderson, (ed.), p. 202.
- ⁹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 201.
- ⁹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 199.
- ⁹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 199.
- ⁹⁷ Shortland pp. 200-218.
- ⁹⁸ Anderson, (ed.), p. 198.

Landscape as 'Acquisition'

"I think it is important just to remember the things that made the country what it is, how it evolved, how it happened. And a lot of it is chronicled and people can go and look at it"

"There's memorials, of someone meeting, some Maori fella meeting some surveyor on the beach. They have no relevance. I have no affinity to them ... it doesn't make sense"

(Interviews, Waimate, 1999)

Explorers, surveyors and missionaries who visited areas to 'prepare' land for different landscape engagements seldom receive 'top billing' in local histories. Interviewees knew little, if anything, about early European visitors to Waimate. That "some Maori fella" mentioned above was in fact the English churchman Bishop Selwyn, trekking south to check out how his huge parish was progressing. Nonetheless his guides and companions on the trek were from Ngai Tahu.¹ However the men such as Shortland and Selwyn marked the land in more than a stone monument. Peter Gibbons, in his work on the history of New Zealand non-fiction, said that, "the land was not felt to be fully a European possession until it had been travelled through and catalogued, and the published accounts allowed readers to traverse, the same territory and thus know it."² Travellers such as Shortland and Selwyn were part of a group of early Europeans involved in reshaping the indigenous landscape of New Zealand according to the perceptions and experiences of their own culture.

This chapter tells a story about the reinterpretation of the land into a landscape of 'acquisition'. It investigates the reconstruction of the indigenous landscape in preparation for the settlement and cultural overlay that was to follow. The chapter looks at how maps, surveys, field books, place names and journals of encounters served to redefine space, the place of the homefires of the Te Waimatamate hapu, as an object of ownership that would become 'our place' for another people. Journals and records of explorers, surveyors and churchmen visiting Te Waimatamate have been used as source material. Secondary sources have included the

work of historians writing about Canterbury. Nola Easedale's research on New Zealand surveyors in *Te Kauriri The Measurer of the Land* has informed the discussion, and Paul Carter's work on spatial history in *The Road to Botany Bay* has guided interpretation.

'Acquisition' has been defined as "the action of obtaining or getting for oneself or by one's own exertion", "to gain ownership", or "to attain".³ The visit of explorers, surveyors and missionaries was directed by the cultural imperative of acquiring land and asserting power. The explorers 'discovered' their landscape, and the surveyors marked out boundaries that commodified these spaces of discovery into conceivable objects of property. Close on the heels of these landscape designers 'preparing the way', were the missionaries stepping onto the land 'the good news' about Christianity and civilisation. Before their arrival the land was perceived by them as being vacant and available for the taking. Harry Evison said that the British annexation policy known as "right of discovery" under the doctrine of "*terra nullius* (a land of nobody)" was recognised in European law as justification "for 'civilized' nations taking possession of lands inhabited by 'savages'".⁴ Without the Treaty of Waitangi British sovereignty over the south island of New Zealand would have been by "right of discovery"⁵. The explorers, surveyors and missionaries came with the idea that the land needed to be claimed for proper use and the Maori needed to be liberated from their 'savagery'. With this conviction it was easier to ignore the indigenous landscape that had already been 'discovered', and framed with territorial boundaries and places of belonging. For these new arrivals the landscape as relationship was a wild space in need of taming. Schools, churches, hospitals, recreational parks, market places, workplaces, and archives in which to store memories were to be constructed onto the land. Te whenua needed to become an acquired possession, 'our place', in order to do this.

The maps of explorers refashioned the indigenous landscape into an object of discovery. Maps enclosed 'vacant spaces' within charted lines. To give shape and direction to the space, maps also located culturally determined geographical reference points. Early explorers indicated

mountains, hills, rivers and plains on their drawings. Paul Carter, in his work on spatial history, has argued that plains provided a point of comparison with surrounding forests and mountains and became distinct points of reference for the early explorers. Open expanses of land bounded by hills and mountains were perceived as readily possessable. They lacked the mysterious 'wildness' of the uncharted bush.⁶ On 20th February 1770 Captain James Cook and his crew were sheltering three miles from the shore on the east coast of Te Wai Pounamu (Tavai-poenammoo as recorded by Cook). Cook, along with Joseph Banks, was on a scientific visit. The British navy was interested in finding materials suitable for shipbuilding such as timber and hemp (for rope), and had commissioned the *Endeavour* on an exploratory voyage to the South Pacific. Indications from charts and journal entries revealed that the ship's location in the late summer of 1770 was just off the coast of Te Waimatamate. Rough winds and lack of visibility had required some careful tacking and the crew of the *Endeavour* chose to remain sheltered close to the Te Waimatamate coastline for three days before clear skies and a light north-east breeze allowed them to continue on their journey south. From close proximity Cook recorded his description of the Te Waimatamate landscape:

We tacked and stood off being about 3 Miles from the shore which lies nearly north & south and is here very low and flat and continues so up to the skirts of the Hills which are at least 4 or 5 Miles in land. The whole face of the country appears barren, nor did we see any signs of inhabitants ... view[ed] a high peaked mountain bearing NW [by] N, and at the same time we saw the land more distincter ... the inland parts of which appear'd to be high and mountainous.⁷

His companion, Joseph Banks, noted in his journal:

the land appeared flat, sandy and very barren near the shore but rising into high hills inland ... no signs of inhabitants ... we can only say that we did not see any fires, other signs of people we could not have seen by reason of our distance ...⁸

Indications from Cook's charts suggested that they were identifying the Waihao river plain and the range of Te Kaumira. Both Cook and Banks interpreted the landscape as vacant. It is unlikely that their presence went unnoticed by local Maori.⁹ Just three days previous Banks had noticed "two

people setting” on “the top of a hill” (when sailing just off Banks Peninsula).¹⁰ Cook noted the appearance of mountains in the distance behind the hills and plain of Te Waimatamate. These explorers gave direction to their observations by locating geographical points of reference. The mountains, hills and plain filled space within the lines of coast Cook drew on his charts. The encounter of Te Waimatamate from on board the *Endeavour* was objectified in Cook’s maps of discovery. These maps reshaped the indigenous landscape into a vacant place invested with geographical forms, distances and a climate. This was according to the scientific precepts of the cartographer’s culture. By mapping, charting and recording their experiences Cook and Banks were culturally reconstructing the indigenous landscape into a place of acquisition.

Maps of discovery drafted by the explorers became signatures of power later used to legitimate sovereignty. Cook’s charts were used to inform British perceptions of the New Zealand landscape. A systematic survey of the New Zealand coastline was not made again until almost a century later. In 1848 Captain J.L. Stokes, on board *H.M.S. Acheron*, began a three-year exercise of charting the coasts of New Zealand. Stokes’ survey revealed that Cook had in fact chartered the eastern coastline of the ‘Middle Island’¹¹ too far westward. British land merchants and speculators had been short-changed as the area, by 1849 known as the Canterbury Plains, was substantially increased after Stokes’ survey. Captain Stokes also highlighted geographical features that gave the land shape and points of direction. While spending time onshore he observed:

one entire plain stretching fully a hundred miles to the southward, and watered by a multitude of streams that like silver threads meandered in their seaward course.... on the east [was] the blue deep sea, and on the west ... a range of mountains of sufficient elevation to have their summits capped with snow.¹²

He observed the contrast of rugged hills and vast plain and noted that “the Great ... [plain] had the best anchorages and the easiest of recognition from its hill features and submarine slopes”.¹³ Tucked in the south of this “Great Southern Plain of New Zealand”, as Stokes called it, was Te Waimatamate. This had been a territory defined by food supplies, ancestry,

the seasons, and the length of time it took to travel between places. Once mapped it also became a place configured in lines and measured distances, and marked by geographical reference points. Stokes systematic charting and mapping of the New Zealand coast was also a journey that culturally transformed perceived space into a place of acquisition.

Journeys of discovery undertaken on foot created more detail in the landscape undergoing construction. In the writing of journals, overland explorers imposed personal and cultural perceptions onto the land that they were encountering. The first European to reinterpret Te Waimatamate in detail was Edward Shortland. Shortland was appointed Assistant Protector of the Aborigines by the Colonial Government and in 1843-44 he was sent to investigate the situation of Ngai Tahu living on "the east coast of the Middle Island – a part of New Zealand to which attention of colonists had been recently directed."¹⁴ European whaling communities were operating along the coast from the mid-1830s. Evangelical Wesleyans had also set up mission stations along the southern east coast. The people of Te Waimatamate were not unfamiliar with ways of Pakeha by the time Shortland visited in January 1844. The motives of his journey were to assess the suitability of the land and "the native population" for colonisation purposes. Shortland spent time with Ngai Tahu hapu, staying at kainga and recording his observations in journals. He was reliant on the local people for information and guidance about his 'places of discovery', already familiar to them. He was also reliant on his journal. His journal contextualised his encounter with the land. The journal gave text to the objective and subjective experiences of his journey.¹⁵ It affirmed his place within the 'spaces' of his travels and contributed to the construction of landscape as a place of acquisition for others.

Shortland's story about his time in Te Waimatamate territory reconstructed the indigenous landscape according to his own cultural perspective. This perspective included knowledge of other 'places' in the world. It also included knowledge about scientific practices such as taxonomy. On January 10th 1844 he arrived at the south bank of the

Waitaki river. He “found it flooded; the effect of a recent north-west wind, which [had caused] the rapid melting of the snow on the mountains in the interior.”¹⁶ Shortland detailed his experience of this “strangely hot, dry, and oppressive” wind. He speculated on its origin and compared it to the sirocco winds of Africa. He arrived at Te Punaamaru where Te Huruhuru and a small party were preparing to move to a seasonal fishing camp on the Waihao river. Shortland observed the preparations of the group and noted details in his journal. For example, after watching Te Huruhuru’s party procure a quantity of carefully selected fern root he described the preparation of the auhure to produce a dough-like substance tasting not unlike “cassada bread”. He also recorded a “chant” he had heard “in praise of this root”. Shortland liked to identify his observations within the knowledge framework of his own culture. He was informed that fernroot provided good sustenance for travellers “on a long march” and in noting this in his journal he added, that “in this respect [fernroot] to the human frame, [was] what oats or beans [were] to the horse.”¹⁷ Shortland recorded and translated the prayer request for vigour said before a long journey at a Te Waimatamate tapu site, Te umu a te Rakitauneke:

kia kua e kumea te whenua kia roa –
that the earth may not be drawn out lengthways.

He identified the prayer with familiar English sentiments noting in his journal:

an idea similar to that expressed by Goldsmith in his lines
‘Where wilds, immeasurably spread,
Seem length’ning as I go.’ – The Hermit¹⁸

Shortland was reliant on local Maori for their environmental knowledge and navigational skills. Te Huruhuru informed Shortland when the weather was suitable and the Waitaki river flow was calm enough to ensure a safe crossing in the “remarkably bouyant” mokihi that were “admirably adapted to the perilous navigation of the immense torrent Waitaki”.¹⁹ He accepted Te Huruhuru’s gift of tough sandals (paraere/torua), “calculated to endure several days’ walk along [the] beach and protective against “the sharp prickles of the small shrubs ... very common on the plains”.²⁰ He learnt that

particular parts of the tutu berry were poisonous. Shortland's observations of the hapu's interaction with the land were translated into anthropological details of his journal text according to his culturally determined perceptions. The imposition of this culturally defined 'universal' knowledge onto the indigenous landscape became an act of acquisition.

Edward Shortland, notwithstanding his interest and admiration of "the natives of New Zealand", was also appraising the landscape for colonial settlement during his travels. He recorded that because of the "inconsiderable amount of native population in the southern districts of New Zealand" ... the area was "suitable to the system of colonisation".²¹ After learning about the interior of the Middle Island from conversations with Te Huruhuru and subsequent sketches drawn by the chief, Shortland affirmed to himself and informed the readers of his journal:

From [Te Huruhuru's] description, it appeared that there were extensive grass plains in the interior of this part of the island, similar to that which we were now traversing, and, no doubt, well adapted to pasture sheep. The lofty ranges of hills, however, separating them from the coast, and the absence of any kind of harbour between Banks's Peninsula and Otakou, must always prove a serious impediment to the profitable export of wool from these otherwise valuable tracts of land. We may, however, carry on the imagination to another century – when this now desert country will no doubt be peopled – when the plains will be grazed on by numerous flocks of sheep, and the streams, now flowing idly through remote valleys, will be compelled to perform their share of labour in manufacturing wool.²²

Shortland was not averse to speculation on the utopia envisioned by the promoters of British colonisation who were also his employers. On his four-month trek through Canterbury as Protector of the Aborigines he had spent a lot of time with hapu of Ngai Tahu. His records of their engagement with the land objectified 'landscape as relationship' and his own encounter with this. Early Europeans such as Shortland were reliant on the presence of Maori in their exploratory journeys. Local hapu provided food, shelter, guidance, and protection against the chaos that the uncivilised 'wild spaces' represented. It was a comfort that 'the wilderness' was already 'possessed' despite European cultural perceptions to the contrary. These perceptions meant that the indigenous landscape was regarded as a wild

space that needed to be 'tamed' into a place of belonging for prospective colonial immigrants. Shortland's journey of discovery became a documentary source that paved the way for such a landscape construction.

In his work on spatial history, Carter has argued that an explorer's perception of space was as a track or a path and it was the surveyor who reconstructed landscape into regions or localities. Explorers' maps provided a point of entry from which surveyors centralised and gave significance to topography with a view to possession and settlement.²³ With compass, triangle, chronometer, theodolite and fieldbook a surveyor marked precise boundaries onto the land in preparation for its ownership and commodification. The landscape became parcels of property that redefined resources according to the cash and ownership constructs of the surveying culture. The surveyor also recorded the information necessary for the impending legalisation of landscape engagements that became embodied in the concept of 'deeds'. The Canterbury plains represented a rich farming and grazing resource. With natural harbours and potential for good road and rail links the area was assessed as most suitable for British colonisation. On 12th June 1848 an agreement was signed between colonial administrators and Ngai Tahu chiefs for the purchase of 'the Canterbury Block'. This became known as Kemp's Deed. Henry Tacy Kemp, supported by the Wakefields' New Zealand Company, had been commissioned by the Colonial Government to purchase a substantial block of Te Wai Pounamu from the iwi. Included in his official instructions was a clause outlining his responsibility:

to reserve to the Natives ample portions for their present and prospective wants, and then, after the boundaries of these reserves [had] been marked, to purchase from the Natives their right to the whole of the remainder of their claims to land in the Middle Island.²⁴

The Deed promised Ngai Tahu all of their mahinga kai and more land besides once surveying had been done. However, British knowledge about iwi and hapu territorial rights and the 'classification' of food gathering areas was clouded by perceptions that regarded Maori as not using the land

properly. The Deed contained numerous clauses and official amendments that negated many of the promises made to the chiefs.²⁵

Once the Deed was signed the task of redefining the landscape experience of Ngai Tahu began with the work of the surveyor. He was Kairuri (measurer of the land) to his Maori guides who helped the surveyors navigate some of the difficult terrain they were required to enclose.²⁶ In October 1848 Walter Mantell visited the Te Waimatamate area on a surveying assignment. He had been appointed to the Government office of Commissioner for Extinguishing Native Titles and was given the task of setting aside reserves for Ngai Tahu within the Canterbury Block recently purchased by Kemp. Mantell recorded his encounter with the land: "this was a laborious task, first struggling through a very rapid river hip deep and then breaking our way through the toi toi and tutu ... then again a river and again toi toi and tutu till we found it impossible to count them."²⁷ For this 'gentleman'²⁸ geologist the plain appeared destitute and barren. It lacked any comforting view of an English village or woodland copse. As he set about trying to civilise this chaos with his survey line the bush was formidable, proving to be so "thick and swampy that [his party would] scarcely emerge ... before sunset."²⁹ On entering Te Waimatamate territory he had to avoid the "string of lagoons and swamps" and his party was "compelled to travel on the loose shingle beach". To bypass the coastal stretches of the Waihao river and Wainono estuary Mantell chose to cross the "plain towards the hills". Once nearing the hills his party continued to walk over undulating country amongst ti groves. Mantell eventually heard "the distant roar of the Waitaki".³⁰ He remained disgruntled with the experience on arriving at the small kainga of Tauhini. Feeling "much exhausted in the evening [he] reached two miserable native huts with a bare wata [whata] ... two or three croppless cultivations and a small burial fence [which] constituted the settlement".³¹ Before leaving, Mantell marked out a small reserve (5ha) around the deserted encampment ensuring the "gardens and huts" were enclosed as instructed. The party then crossed the Waitaki river using mokihi. The next stop was the larger kainga of Te Punaamaru consisting of five whare and

several gardens.³² It was also deserted and Mantell prepared to wait for the return of Te Huruhuru. The chief, unable to return because of illness, sent a representative and Mantell surveyed a 152ha reserve around Te Punaamaru. Mantell's survey pegs and field book notes reinterpreted the hapu's experience of place as an enclosure for homes and cultivations. Much of the expanse of territory that had encompassed their seasonal hunting and food gathering places, the mahinga kai, was excluded. This was designated 'wasteland' and acquired for the colonials. The reserve boundaries imposed a superficial construct onto the land and dictated how it was to be used. In the indigenous experience of place the land and its seasons had determined use. In 'cutting the line', surveyors were reframing the land for other purposes.

Surveyors recreated their landscape in the words and sketches of their fieldbooks. In doing so they made an alien space into a habitable place bounded by the frames of pages in a book. Walter Mantell's records included numerous sketches of his perceptions of the indigenous landscape and his own presence within it. While at Te Punaamaru he pencilled a drawing of the inside of the kainga. A whare, whata and fenced enclosure were depicted in the lee of a faint backdrop of hills. European bric a brac (cauldrons, kettles, boots and boxes) already obtained from Pakeha by the hapu littered the foreground of his sketch. These objects of 'civilisation' would have highlighted the isolation from his home in Sussex. Their inclusion invested 'the scene' with 'Englishness'. Mantell often included himself and other members of the surveying party in his sketches. This affirmed his experience and presence in the place. His drawings were acts of acquisition.

Mantell was also employed to redefine the landscape according to its functional resources. He returned to the Te Waimatamate area again in December 1852. This time he journeyed up the Waitaki valley to Te Hakataramea. Chief Te Wharekarari informed him about coal seams in the region and Mantell devised a plan whereby local Maori were to mine the coal and transport it down the Waitaki river in mokihis. The coal was to be delivered at prospective sheep stations along the way. The Commissioner

of Reserves was predicting that squatters taking up runs would soon occupy the area. Due to transport difficulties the project never eventuated.³³ Mantell marked out a reserve of 60ha at Te Hakataramea and noted that land around the pa was poor and would offer little inducement for settlers. On his journey back down the river valley he recorded that the land and pasture quality was more suitable for farming. On returning to Te Punaamaru Mantell was confronted by Te Huruhuru who was angry about the restrictions of access to the mahinga kai as a result of the reserve boundaries surveyed in 1848. Mantell recorded that the chief, described as being of "singulary pleasing manner and address"³⁴ by Shortland, had wantonly destroyed the neighbouring forests purely to spite the government.³⁵ Mantell was also informed that the hapu were preparing to move to the seasonal camp at Te Kaiherehere where they were going to establish a permanent settlement at Te Waimatamate. Walter Mantell refashioned Te Waimatamate territory in the process of acquiring land for colonisation. Boundaries were put around the landscape engagements of the local hapu in the form of reserves. The vast remainder of land was assessed according to its value for farming and mining purposes. In the hammering in of survey pegs, in marking the survey lines, and in the journal stories and sketches that were his journey, Mantell reconstructed the indigenous landscape. His story of landscape engagement was about the reinterpretation and acquisition of place.

Surveyors were required to translate land into a scientific language that reframed the landscape for future settlement. After defining areas bounded by geographical reference points such as those observed by explorers, surveyors marked and noted 'particulars' within areas. This involved assessment of the geological, botanical and climatic features specific to a designated space. Soil type, depth and fertility were analysed, forest and pasture coverage was estimated, wind directions were observed, and everyday weather conditions were noted. Observations, measurements and sketches were recorded in the surveyor's field book. The surveyors also noted sites of Maori villages and graves. A field book could represent months of work by the surveyor and "the horror of losing it

caused him to keep it carefully wrapped in oiled cloth and often in a tin box ... always at hand"³⁶. The field book was not only important to the surveyor but became documentary evidence of colonial legalisation of the landscape. In her research on early New Zealand surveyors Easedale noted, "the importance of the field book as a legal and not merely an historical document [could] not be overemphasised". These texts became the first 'legal' record of European cultural acquisition of the indigenous landscape. One of the first surveyors to undertake detailed surveys in the Canterbury area was Charles Torlesse. Torlesse visited Te Waimatamate in 1849. He was the nephew of Edward Gibbon Wakefield, and had been employed as surveyor for the Canterbury Association. In a letter to his sister he wrote of his early days in Canterbury: "We may be poor, but we shall be respectable".³⁷ Torlesse recorded his observations and experiences in the field books, journals, diaries and letters about his surveying expeditions. The text of his journeys redefined the landscape making it 'respectable' for British colonisation.

In March 1849 Torlesse was dispatched by the Canterbury Association to survey resources of South Canterbury. His prime objective was to look for coal, as the one drawback to a proposed Canterbury settlement site (Christchurch) was the poor supply of firewood.³⁸ His field books and journals contained detailed descriptions of the topography with a view to the suitability of the area for farm and forest development. He explored the downlands and plains of South Canterbury taking note of forest cover and estimating acreage. He also anticipated accessibility to timber supplies. He recorded that the stands of white and red pine, totara, and black beech on the hills could be easily approached from most parts of the plain.³⁹ On 11th March after "picking his way through [the] thorns" of tutu and taramea that covered much of the coastal swampland of the Waihao river plain Torlesse "got about 6 miles inland". He noted his "delight" with the rolling downlands of Te Waimatamate "upon which there [was] an excellent growth of grass and abundance of bush in patches for sheep and cattle stations". Parts of the Waihao river plain became "a fine tract of ground of 7 or 8 miles deep" and the hills comprised "low bottom,

rich agricultural land".⁴⁰ Torlesse estimated the Te Waimatamate forest to be 3000 acres (1200ha). His appraisal of the area for agricultural and forest production provided information for the New Zealand Association and Colonial Government land merchants wishing to promote settlement in Canterbury.⁴¹

Torlesse recorded dates, times, wind directions, and weather patterns. Measurements of distance, depth and size were also noted in the process of reconstructing the landscape according to the scientific precepts of his culture. On 12 March 1849 a north-west wind was blowing. The day was very fine. After loading 'the cart horse' (his donkey), Torlesse and his guide "Charlie" (Terewiti)⁴² continued on their journey. At 4pm they reached the Waihao and stayed with Te Huruhuru at the eeling camp on the banks of the river. The next day Torlesse walked "some 15 miles up the river" in search of coal. Unsuccessful, except for finding a few half-formed fragments in the river, he returned to the camp. He was informed by "Huru-Huru, the old hunter" that he had been within a mile or so of where the coal seams were located. Torlesse noted that the chief described the coal as being similar to the specimens he had picked up in the river-bed. His journal for the day concluded:

Very much disgusted, but reconciled to the not having found the coal by finding that it must be in an inaccessible place if it exists at all, as at 10 miles from the beach the hills close in to the river and no road could be formed to it.⁴³

Both Te Wharekarari (at Te Hakataramea) and Te Huruhuru knew about locations of coal in the territory and were able to direct Mantell and Torlesse to its whereabouts. Coal did not feature as important in the indigenous landscape experience of the hapu. Its value was redefined in the landscape of acquisition constructed by the surveyors. The forest (Te Kaherehere) was also redefined as a marketable resource as opposed to the hunting and gathering place it had been for the hapu. Torlesse, like other surveyors and explorers, stayed at kainga and was regarded as a guest in the hapu's territory as signified in the sharing of food. In Te Waimatamate Torlesse's menu included ducks and eels caught at Wainono. He was also "glad to feast on fern root, wild cabbage ... and

potatoes" further north at Waiateruati.⁴⁴ Easedale has said, "It was the Maori guides and those working with the surveyors who showed them how to snare birds, catch eels, find edible fern roots, fern trees and berries when the salt beef, biscuit, flour or oatmeal ran out".⁴⁵ The surveyors identified with Maori use of the land for providing food and shelter. Torlesse learnt how to "knock up a warre [whare]" and make an "humu" [umu] for cooking.⁴⁶ He wrote about these practical engagements with the land in his journal but his writings lacked reflection on the indigenous experience of place that Shortland sometimes included. In his text Torlesse objectified the indigenous territory and its functional value making it possible for acquisition, this being the focus of his mission.

Carter has argued that naming a space was an important act in the construction of landscape as 'our place'.⁴⁷ By investing the land with a familiar language, space became a place that could be communicated and a place where communication could occur. Renaming features of the indigenous landscape was part of the process of acquisition undertaken by the explorers and surveyors. Maori place names were changed into English names in redefining the landscape according to European cultural perceptions. The names on maps, in field books, and in journals made land 'knowable', 'possessable' and 'habitable'. Maori place names didn't mean anything to the colonisers. Although many were interpreted and recorded in their charts and books, this in itself was an act of appropriation and acquisition. Edward Shortland was diligent in his recording of Maori place names and elaborated on the meaning of some. Shortland's premise was that in order to teach Maori English it was better for the Englishmen to learn "the New Zealand language" first.⁴⁸ In his discussion with Te Huruhuru as to the geography of the interior of the Middle Island Shortland noted the name of one of the lakes as "Wakatipua", and added that "it [was] celebrated for the 'pounamu' found on its shores, and in the mountain torrents which suppl[ied] it". He surmised, "It is probably the 'Wai-pounamu,' of which the natives spoke in reply to the inquiries of Captain Cook and Mr Banks, who supposed it to be the name of the whole

island.”⁴⁹ For the explorers and surveyors the naming was associated with locating geographical reference points.

Torlesse did choose to use some Maori place names although in the process of translating oral language into written text much of the indigenous meaning was lost. The Waitaki river (recorded on his map as Waitangi according to North Island pronunciation) was used by Torlesse as a geographical reference point. However its meaning, ‘river of sorrows’, and associations for Ngai Tahu did not appear to be of significance to him. While surveying at Te Waimatamate Torlesse renamed Te tari a Te Kaumira as the Cheviot Range after a place in England. The downland country of these hills he called the Aglionby Downs. Mr H. A. Aglionby was director of the New Zealand Company overseeing the Canterbury colonisation project.⁵⁰ Torlesse, often disgruntled with the conditions of his work was held responsible for the naming of two peaks in the Cheviot Range. Mt Horrible and Mt Misery were “so called by a surveyor [Torlesse] having had to spend a wretched night when lost on them.”⁵¹ Captain Stokes named Mt Tuhawaiki, a mountain in the Kirkliston Range (Rakipaka) of the inland hinterland that was Te Waimatamate territory.⁵² Tuhawaiki was a Ngai Tahu chief respected amongst early European explorers such as Shortland and Stokes as a source of information.⁵³ He was regarded as an expert navigator on the seas along the Canterbury coast. Chief Tuhawaiki was also known as ‘Bloody Jack’, so named for his prolific use of whalers’ jargon. He was drowned in a whale-boat wreck off the Canterbury coast in 1844 and this place became known as ‘Bloody Jack’s Point’ also in memory of him.⁵⁴

Features of the landscape were renamed after people and events of significance to the Europeans in the process of acquiring ‘place’ for themselves. The Te Waimatamate hills that were Te tari te Kaumira underwent a further name change. The renaming of The Cheviot Range, given by Torlesse, to The Hunters Hills was also attributed to Captain Stokes. Hunters Hills was the name that appeared on the Acheron map charted on Stokes’ coastal survey between 1849 and 1851. The name was believed to be after Te Huruhuru, who was known as ‘the old hunter’ by the

early Europeans visiting Te Waimatamate.⁵⁵ Explorers and surveyors 'passing through' areas did not have the same need to name specific places as did the first settlers who followed them. These travelling 'pathfinders' were more concerned with such objects of cultural significance as the mountains, rivers and plains that gave their journey direction and defined places with property and resource value. Recording of Maori names and renaming features with English associations was useful in establishing topography as reference points. Naming was also an act of laying claim to place and these 'markings' inscribed by explorers and surveyors functioned to reconstruct the indigenous landscape into a landscape of acquisition.

The encounter of early Christian missionaries included acquiring souls along with the land these 'souls' inhabited. The missionary's intent was to 'teach the landscape to speak English Christianity'. Their focus was on the tangata engaged with the land, and conversion involved reinterpreting this relationship. In 1813 the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society was established in England. Its concern was "for the dark places of the earth [that were] full of the habitations of cruelty"⁵⁶. Wesleyan missionaries arrived in New Zealand in 1822 with the prime objective of converting Maori to Christianity. In 1814 the Anglican Church Missionary Society began the first Christian mission station in New Zealand. Their immediate mission was not so much for conversion of Maori but to teach the ways of European civilisation. Samuel Marsden, (1808):

nothing ... can pave the way for the introduction of the Gospel, but Civilization, and that can only be accomplished amongst the Heathen by the Arts ... Commerce and the Arts having a natural tendency to inculcate industrious habits, open[ing] the way for the introduction of the Gospel.⁵⁷

It was important to the Christian mission that the indigenous landscape was acquired for their purposes. The missionaries, as religious explorers and surveyors, were required to reinterpret this landscape accordingly.

Initial Christian influence on Te Waimatamate came from Reverend James Watkin, a Wesleyan who was posted to the whaling station at Waikouaiti on the south-east coast of Te Wai Pounamu in 1840. His

immediate observation was that Ngai Tahu were “heathen deteriorated by their connection with the wicked whites”.⁵⁸ Although Watkin never visited further north than Moeraki⁵⁹ his preachings were known about by hapu of Te Waimatamate. In June 1843 Watkin baptised Horomona (Solomon) Pohio who became one of the first Wesleyan native teachers. Pohio was born at Wainono and replaced Te Huruhuru as chief of Te Waimatamate in 1861.

Bishop George Selwyn, New Zealand’s first Anglican Bishop, journeyed through Te Waimatamate in 1844. He visited the area as part of an exploration of his vast diocese. The Bishop took an interest in the proposed colonisation of his Canterbury parish. He noted the potential of the vast and vacant plains observed on his journey south: “the great sheep runs of the Canterbury Plains lay quite untenanted, save by a few natives lazily catching eels beside their huts.”⁶⁰ The Bishop was concerned that the land be “accurately mapped” so that purchasers knew exactly what kind of land they would be buying and he undertook some surveying of his own, measuring distances along his journey with his pedometer. In his diary he recorded a summary of each day’s journey together with details of the time taken and distances along each stage.⁶¹ The meeting with Edward Shortland in Te Waimatamate territory on the deserted beach just north of Wainono lagoon was an unexpected encounter for both parties. Selwyn, recorded in his journal, “I espied a small smoke curling up at the distance of about two miles”.⁶² The smoke from Shortland’s driftwood fire signalled a place of companionship for the Bishop.⁶³ As they ate together they exchanged “names and distances of the principal rivers and resting-places”. Te Pihopa (the Bishop) had been recognised by Shortland’s Ngai Tahu guides. Shortland’s party was impressed with the stories recounted by Selwyn’s guides about the Bishop’s “great physical power and energy ... in walking, and in fording rapid and dangerous rivers”. This, “surpassing their own expertise”, they attributed to a “gift of God” bestowed on Te Pihopa for his “especial work”.⁶⁴ The next day Selwyn continued on his journey south. He walked “8 miles” along the “bad beach” and then across the “plain to the Waihao river” which he described as “clear and shallow”.

After recrossing the river several times he “came to [the] small huts of Te Huruhuru ... who was eating eels”. The Bishop “stopped to dine” and was later escorted by Te Huruhuru across the Waitaki river in mokihi used by Shortland two days previous.⁶⁵ Selwyn contributed to the reconstruction of the landscape according to perceptions of ‘Civilisation’ that required land and souls be acquired. The unexpected meeting with Shortland at Te Waimatamate affirmed this mission and his prowess at engaging with the indigenous environment sanctified it in the eyes of some Ngai Tahu who knew of him.

Christianisation of the landscape begun by the early Wesleyans and Anglicans continued to be supported by missionary visits. In 1859 Reverend John Stack visited the kainga at Te Waimatamate where Chief Te Huruhuru now resided with 40 members of the local hapu. By this time early British immigrants were settling in Canterbury and provided accommodation for the travelling clergy. Stack, later to become Superintendent of the Christchurch Diocesan Maori Mission, encountered Te Waimatamate while on travels through Canterbury and Otago with his ecclesiastical superior, Bishop Harper. In his diaries, Stack used humour to lighten frustrations of “riding at walking pace” over a landscape he perceived as “formidable”. He, also, identified geographical reference points to give direction to his journey. Stack described the plains of Canterbury as “dull”, “monotonous”, and “lifeless. He found it difficult to understand how “a low thatched-roofed building standing in the open plain without a tree or shrub or any green thing to relieve the dreariness of its surroundings could be the home of a cultured English gentleman”. The Plains remained “featureless” to Stack until he sighted the forest-covered hills and “snow-capped mountain peaks” of South Canterbury.⁶⁶ A combination of heat and sunlight falling on the plains also relieved some of the “desolate look of things” by creating mirages that Stack claimed “excited the most agreeable sensations”. Stack recorded:

We were riding on a hot, calm morning ... when we came in sight of the silvery waters of a wide stream flowing towards a lake near the coast, to which the cabbage palms growing along its margin gave quite a tropical look. The river kept receding as we approached and proved to be a mirage. We saw the same kind of appearances many

times afterward in different parts of the Plains, but the curious thing was that whenever we reached the place where the mirage first became visible it invariably proved to be an old watercourse of some sort, over which the ghost of the vanished stream seemed to hover.⁶⁷

Stack and Harper did not have Ngai Tahu guides. Instead they were reliant on the notes of previous travellers. By 1859 the journals, diaries and fieldbooks kept by early explorers, surveyors and missionaries had become available as literature. Landscapes constructed as texts were now being disseminated through printing. Stack was grateful for having Bishop Harper as companion. The Bishop was an adept storyteller and “tried to beguile the weary hours spent during the journeyings” by narrating anecdotal stories. Harper impressed Stack with his courage in crossing the Canterbury rivers “through which water poured with tremendous velocity”. Stack noted that after Harper “consulted his notes [to confirm] that he was at the right spot” the Bishop plunged into the river.⁶⁸ These ‘notes’ had replaced the Ngai Tahu guides who had accompanied Harper’s predecessor, Bishop Selwyn, just a decade earlier.

Geographical reference points were not only written into maps, journals and books but were included in topics of conversation. Mutual understanding about ‘place’, as expressed in conversation, became another mark of possession. Knowledge shared in conversation about a place affirmed its acquisition. The condition of the rivers of the Canterbury Plains featured in Stack’s notes about conversations occurring on his journey:

At the beginning of our journey south I had felt rather amused by the extraordinary interest which everyone took in the state of the last river we had crossed. No one ever passed us anywhere without putting the question, ‘How’s the river?’ But I had not proceeded far before I felt the same nervous anxiety about every river we approached, for one experience of fording a large river was quite sufficient to make any person dread a repetition of it. To hear that the river was rising filled one with serious apprehensions for the safety of one’s life; better far to hear that the river was in flood, for then no one would feel obliged to cross it; but best of all when the reply came, ‘Very low’, for that meant perfect safety while crossing.⁶⁹

In exchanging knowledge about the condition of the rivers the travellers were also contributing to the process of reconstructing the landscape as

'ours'. Stack looked forward to the day when bridges would make "river crossing easy and safe". He regarded it fortunate that he did not have to cross the Waitaki river. The Bishop, on reaching the river "which marked the boundary between the northern and southern portions of his diocese" decided to return to Christchurch and "complete his visitation of the southern part of his diocese later on".⁷⁰ On Stack's journey, rivers became geographical reference points that featured in his reconstruction of "*terra nullius*" as a place of acquisition.

Stack and Harper had spent time at the kainga at Te Kaherehere while in Te Waimatamate. Stack found the "picturesque Maori village of five and twenty or thirty huts built along the edge of a totara forest of ... noble trees most refreshing to his eyes wearied with the monotony of ... the plains".⁷¹ This 'scene' as perceived by Stack along with "the warm welcome" by the hapu assured the visitors that the civilising mission of the Church was bearing fruit. The hapu had also promised to build a weatherboard church at the kainga for proposed visits from "their own" South Canterbury Anglican clergyman. As Samuel Marsden had ordained, the preaching of the Gospel was to follow once the indigenous landscape had become civilised. Stack's diary entries reinterpreted the home of the Te Waimatamate hapu according to his cultural desires and perceptions. The 'village', surrounded by 'noble' trees, and soon to have a 'weatherboard church', was now perceived as 'civilised'. It was part of the acquired landscape.

Acquisition was achieved from the objectification of the indigenous experience of the land. From mapping, surveying, naming and recording observations and experiences in field books, journals, diaries, letters, printed literature and in conversation the early European explorers, surveyors, and missionaries reconstructed the landscape in preparation for colonial settlement. The land was regarded as vacant. Ngai Tahu's relationship with it was objectified and reinterpreted in the process of acquisition undertaken by these visitors. In their work, explorers, surveyors and missionaries redesigned 'place' according to their own cultural perceptions and imperatives. 'Landscape as acquisition' symbolised an

encounter that was necessary in the transformation of the indigenous landscape into 'our place' for another group of people. 'Landscape as acquisition' was a story of the land that reframed Te Waimatamate in preparation for another story to be written. Colonial settlers were to be the authors of this new story.

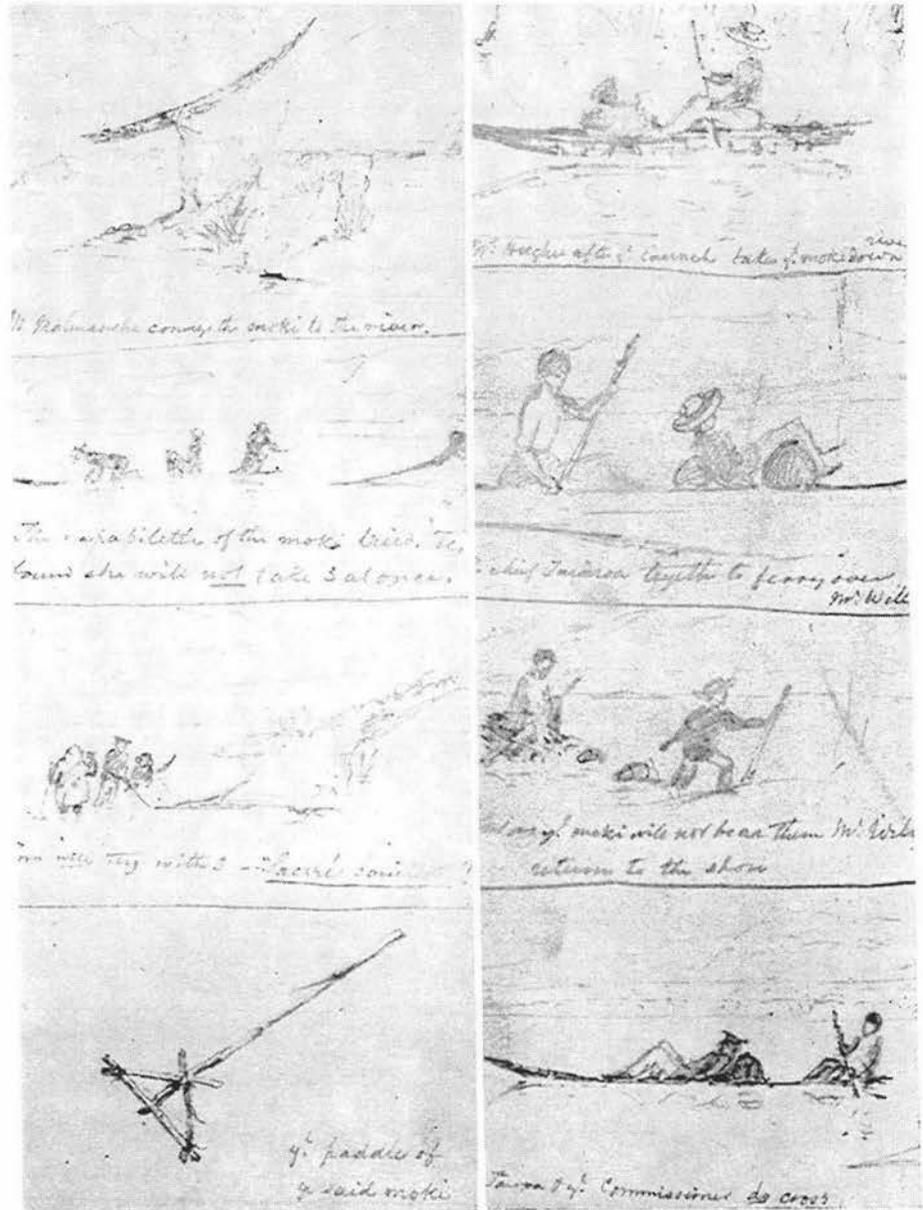
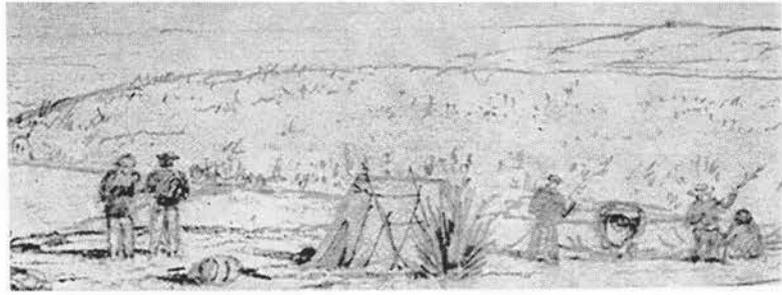


Figure 2.3 Walter Mantell and surveying party crossing the Waitaki river in mokihiki with the help of Ngai Tahu guides. (1848). Mantell locates himself within the scene of his sketches in an act of acquiring 'place'. (Alexander Turnbull Library)



Figure 2.4 Chief Te Huru Huru's kaika of Te Punaamaru near the banks of the Waitaki river. Items of European culture litter the domestic scene sketched by Walter Mantell on his visit in 1848. (Alexander Turnbull Library)



Figure 2.5 Juxtaposition of Pakeha tent and Maori shelter in the landscape sketched by Mantell. Mountains mark the horizon providing a point of reference and giving boundary to the place inhabited by the party. Mantell is camped south of the Waitaki river near Oamaru on his second visit to the area in 1852.
(Alexander Turnbull Library)

(ATL, Mantell Papers, MS 110827)

Truck in the mud. Flok & had a wet walk; but comfortably fasted at fibres & returned to Cav. Bay at 4 pm. Suffered contusions all Wellington. Crickland commenced setting out the road line by low saddle to the landing place. Captain Thomas & commenced laying off the post town by the water at Cavendish Bay. Employed Graham & the other men. Crickland took Fox & 3rd Cavalry. Crickland road line. 23rd Capt Thomas 24th & setting out town of Lyttelton. 25th & plotted the work. The Cavalry 26th arrived from Wellington. Ireland & Davis 27th arrived from Brown & passengers. The Bee also from Wellington, with Goulson, former Resident Magistrate, Customs officer, Postmaster etc. Kello Collier, Mr. Mannie, & Wm Alfred, former Catherine etc. but we had no communication with her & passengers.

July 1849
 25th
 W. Fri.

Laying off the town on Capt Thomas Maute, went over to Paris & set off the Native Reserve. Received letter from England - one via Sydney - 22nd Dec. 1847. Rest of journals up to 24th Long with Capt Thomas about affairs & plans of my starting in April - Crickland to Lyon a check on Bank to pay Lyman & Thomas Moore & paid Joyce off (Lyon) freight 17th Laying off the town & plotting it. The "Bee" which had come round yesterday landed 8.50 sheep for Rhodes. I finished bridge road down to the town. Note to C.M.S. W. Fri. 27th 1849. W. Fri. 28th 1849. W. Fri. 29th 1849.



Figure 2.6 The landscape was reconstructed with sketches, measurements and names in the process of acquisition. Pages from surveyors' Journal and Fieldbook. Torlesse wrote the journal entries. Another surveyor sketched the drawings. Torlesse has made a correction to these renaming a peak 'Mt Torlesse', indicating that this was a peak he had climbed.

In Peter Bromley Maling (ed.), *The Torlesse Papers, The Journals and Letters of Charles Obins Torlesse Concerning the Foundation of the Canterbury Settlement in New Zealand 1848-51*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1958, facing pp. 80, 112.



Figure 2.7 Bishop Selwyn on a mission of 'civilising and Christianising the landscape. The Bishop is at the helm of his yacht, *Undine*. Sketched in New Zealand, December 1849. (British Museum)

Landscape as 'Acquisition'

- 1 The name Ngai Tahu is used from here on to denote the mix of iwi described in the previous chapter, whether of Waitaha, Kati Mamoe or Kai Tahu descent. The standardised use of the phonetic 'ng' also replaces the dialectical use of 'k' where it is most common eg, Kai Tahu – Ngai Tahu, kaika – kainga and Maori names of people and places are run together also where done so in sources.
eg. Te Huru Huru – Te Huruhuru, Te Puna a Maru - Te Punaamaru
- 2 Peter Gibbons, 'Non Fiction', in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature in English*, Terry Sturm (ed.), Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 49.
- 3 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 2nd edn, Vol. I, Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1989, pp.115-116.
- 4 Harry C Evison, *Te Wai Pounamu The Greenstone Island, A History of the Southern Maori During the Colonization of New Zealand*, Christchurch: Aoraki Press, 1993, p. 29. (NB The doctrine of "terra nullius" applied more in Australia though than in NZ.)
- 5 Evison, pp. 111-112.
- 6 Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay, An Essay in Spatial History*, London: Faber & Faber, 1987, pp. 147-148.
- 7 J.C. Beaglehole, (ed.), 20-23 February 1770, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyage of Discovery*, I, *The Voyage of the Endeavour, 1768-1771*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1955, pp. 255-256.
- 8 J.C. Beaglehole, (ed.), 20-24 February 1770, *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768-1771*, Vol. I, Sydney: Angus & Robertson Ltd, 1962, p. 470.
- 9 Cook was anchored not far from the Waitaki river mouth, and Wainono lagoon – food gathering areas of the local hapu. Harry Evison, in *Te Wai Pounamu*, p. 145, footnote 12, notes Banks had recorded in his journal a few days earlier that the Endeavour was observed by two people sitting on a hill at Banks Island [Peninsula].
- 10 Beaglehole, (ed.), *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks*, 17 February 1770, p. 468.
- 11 Early Europeans knew Te Wai Pounamu as the Middle Island. It remained this until 1907 when it became officially known as the South Island.
- 12 Evison, p. 318, (from Stokes to Grey, 1849, MS Papers, ATL).
- 13 Johannes Andersen, *Jubilee History of South Canterbury*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1916, p. 56.
- 14 Edward Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand, A Journal With Passing Notices of the Customs of the Aborigines*, London: Longman and others, 1851, p. v.
- 15 Paul Carter, pp. 69-98, argued that the journal was an autobiography. The world of the explorer's journey was turned into a narrative. The landscape of the journal was created from the writers perceptions of the world ie. totally subjective.
- 16 Shortland, p.197.
- 17 *ibid.*, p. 202.
- 18 *ibid.*, p. 216.
- 19 *ibid.*, p. 204.
- 20 *ibid.*, p. 210.
- 21 *ibid.*, p. vii.
- 22 *ibid.*, p. 207. Captain Stokes was to disagree with Shortland's assumption about the lack of good harbours after the Captain's coastal survey of 1849.
- 23 Carter, p. 112.
- 24 Evison, p. 273, cites evidence of Horomona Pohio, (*AJHR*, 1888, I-8, p. 7ff.).
- 25 Evison, pp. 253-281, contains a detailed account of Kemp's purchase and implications of this Deed.
- 26 Nola Easedale, *Te Kairuri The Measurer of the Land, The Life of the 19th Century Surveyor Pictured in His Art and Writings*, Petone: Highgate/Price Milburn, 1988,

- p. 15. "The word 'ruri' is the Maori transliteration of the English word 'ruler' - a measure. 'Kai' denotes the doing - measurer of the land."
- ²⁷ WBD (Walter), Mantell, 30 September to 24 October 1848, Journal of Journey through Canterbury, Papers, ATL, MS 1542.
- ²⁸ Easedale, p. 11. refers to the recruiting of surveyors from upper and middle class English society.
- ²⁹ Mantell, 11 October 1848.
- ³⁰ *ibid.*, 23 October 1848.
- ³¹ *ibid.*
- ³² Atholl Anderson, *The Welcome of Strangers, An Ethnohistory of Southern Maori AD 1650-1850*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 1998, p. 158.
- ³³ W.I. (William) Shrimpton, 'The History of Waimate to 1880', MA Thesis, Canterbury University, 1925, p. 52.
- ³⁴ Shortland, p. 199.
- ³⁵ William Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate, History of Waimate County and Borough*, Waimate: Waimate County and Borough Councils, 1985, p. 2.
- ³⁶ Easedale, p. 17.
- ³⁷ Peter Bromley Maling (ed.), Copy of a letter from Charles Torlesse to Emily Holland November, 1850, in *The Torlesse Papers, The Journals and Letters of Charles Obins Torlesse Concerning the Foundation of the Canterbury Settlement in New Zealand 1848-51*, Christchurch: Pegasus Press, 1958, p. 175.
- ³⁸ *ibid.*, p. 59.
- ³⁹ Oliver A Gillespie, *South Canterbury, A Record of Settlement*, 2nd edn, Timaru: The Timaru Herald, 1971, p. 112.
- ⁴⁰ Maling (ed.), p. 67.
- ⁴¹ Shrimpton, p. 46. Shrimpton refers to Torlesse's report to the Canterbury Association in June 1851 where the surveyor stressed the suitability of Te Waimatamate for colonisation purposes.
- ⁴² Maling (ed.), p. 61, Torlesse engaged Charlie Davis - Terewiti - at Akaroa as a guide for his trip south.
- ⁴³ *ibid.*, p. 67.
- ⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p. 68-69.
- ⁴⁵ Easedale, pp. 65-66.
- ⁴⁶ Maling (ed.), p. 68.
- ⁴⁷ Carter, pp. 328-330, discusses the renaming of aboriginal places. Carter's work emphasizes the use of language in constructing reality.
- ⁴⁸ Shortland, p. x.
- ⁴⁹ Shortland, p. 205.
- ⁵⁰ Maling (ed.), p. 66.
- ⁵¹ Effie Studholme, *Reminiscences of 1860*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Limited, 1910, p. 20.
- ⁵² Johannes Andersen, p. 56.
- ⁵³ Atholl Anderson, p. 24.
- ⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 97. Also Shrimpton's thesis, pp. 27-28.
- ⁵⁵ Maling, (ed.), footnote, p. 67.
- ⁵⁶ Evison, p. 31.
- ⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p. 44, quotes a copy of a letter Marsden wrote, 7 April 1808.
- ⁵⁸ *ibid.*, p. 151.
- ⁵⁹ Shortland, p. 221.
- ⁶⁰ G. Curteis, *Bishop Selwyn of New Zealand and of Lichfield, A Sketch of His Life and Work*, London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1889, p. 95.
- ⁶¹ Rev. L.E. Cartridge and L.D. Kenyon, *The Anglican Church in Waimate*, Waimate: St Augustine's Centennial Committee, 1972, p. 3.
- ⁶² Bishop George Selwyn, January 16, 1844, extracts from Journals and Letters 1843-1849, in *The Anglican Church*, Cartridge and Kenyon, p. 3.
- ⁶³ Paul Carter, p 261, discusses the flame as a symbol of homecoming... 'La flamme est une verticalite habitee'.
- ⁶⁴ Shortland, pp. 221-222.

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- ⁶⁵ Bishop Selwyn, January 17, 1844, in *The Anglican Church*, Cartridge and Kenyon, p. 3.
- ⁶⁶ Reverend J.W. Stack, *Through Canterbury and Otago with Bishop Harper in 1859-60*, First edited and printed at office of Akaroa Mail, ?1906, Reprint, Christchurch: The Nag's Head Press, 1972. The snow capped mountain peaks noted by Stack were at Mt Peel where Bishop Harper's daughter lived.
- ⁶⁷ Stack, p. 28.
- ⁶⁸ *ibid.*, p. 31.
- ⁶⁹ *ibid.*, p. 53.
- ⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 52.
- ⁷¹ *ibid.*, p. 51-52.

Landscape as 'Progress'

"People in Christchurch said how silly the Studholmes are to buy land in Waimate where it is all scrub and swamp ... but we drained the swamp and fenced it and tracked it... been here 150 years soon"

"Difficulty was getting from here to Waimate ... All this land was swamps ... the whole flat was water, bogs and flax 12 feet high"

"The landmark was the swamp ... which was half under water lots of the time and there was the challenge ... just the weather ...and it brought you back to reality all the time ... if the climate wanted to beat you it would beat you. So I used to love the swamp because you could never beat the weather"

"Those are our trees ... Dad planted those ... to get on top of the gorse ... Douglas fir produce wood eventually ... gum trees and poplars, American redwood ... just to break up the starkness"

"I have had a lot of satisfaction out of being able to improve the land and what the land is producing. I think I have been progressive enough ... to be innovative and to embrace techniques that are going to improve farming"

(Interviews, Waimate, 1999)

The idea of leaving something in a 'better condition than when you first got it' was important in contemporary interpretations of landscape engagement. The concept of 'progress' directed the rapid transformation of the New Zealand landscape after the arrival of the first colonial settlers and has remained a motivating principle of landscape engagement ever since. For generations of folk encountering Te Waimatamate the swampland seemed to epitomise all that was anti-progress. The damp, boggy wetlands that were encumbered with flax, rushes, scrub and cabbage trees were loaded with imagery of the uncivilised and mysterious. The swamps were a challenge to the 'frontier' skills of the first settlers and the remnants remain a 'respected nuisance' of their descendents.

Explorers, surveyors and missionaries had assessed and marked the indigenous landscape to make it habitable for the immigrants. They had acquired space for the intended cultural overlay that was colonisation. The reconstruction of this acquisition into a place for the new arrivals was shaped by a belief in the superiority of European 'Civilisation' as the embodiment of progress. Definitions of 'progress' include "to advance",

"journey forward", "betterment", "natural course" and "move on to a destination".¹ Colonial immigrants came to New Zealand with the hope of "bettering" their own lives. They were encouraged to do so by land merchants and government officials who argued for the advancement of the "natural course" of European Civilisation. Manifestation of this idea of progress was a landscape refashioned by the cultural imperative to 'build something better'. The "journey forward" of Civilisation required the conquering of perceived 'wild spaces'. The 'wilderness' needed to be tamed into Civilised settlements. For colonial immigrants wanting to settle at Te Waimatamate, wanting to remake it into 'our place', downland, forest and swamp needed to be transformed into 'garden'.

In 1906 – 1907 an 'International Exhibition of Arts and Industries' was held in Christchurch. It was modelled on The Great Exhibition held in London in 1851 in celebration of "Britain's industrial supremacy". This supremacy was evident in the "wide ranging economic and social transformations" of the Empire.² Such exhibitions were a celebration of progress and in the case of the Canterbury expose, as described by James Cowan in his official report, the event commemorated the "pilgrimage of human endeavour" that had transformed a "new and wild country [into a place] made fit for civilised man"³. It was also a celebration of the speed with which this transformation had occurred. Cowan went on to explain in his official record how English, Scottish and Irish, "the best of their breed", broke in "the lonely tussock plains [and] immense dark forests" and transformed the landscape into a veritable Eden.⁴ By "clearing away immense jungly forest and filling its place with pastures for sheep and cattle and with homesteads and dairy factories" the landscape became 'progress'.⁵ Cowan also highlighted Canterbury as "surpass[ing] sister provinces in thoroughness and magnitude of its agricultural operations".⁶ The exhibition was a celebration of the colonial success at gardening. This garden was the result of the implantation of European farming culture onto the indigenous landscape. Cowan went on to say that from Christchurch to Canterbury's southern boundary, the Waitaki river, "one passes through a very beautiful country with many wayside pictures of quiet charm". These

included, leafy hedgerows, pleasant tree groves, gardens a mass of glowing colour, orchards rich with bending clusters of fruit, haystacks and corn ricks, homesteads embowered in evergreen shelter trees, fields ripe for harvest or stretching and fallow to the sun, whirring windmills, grain loaded trucks and sometimes church spires.⁷ One would think Cowan was looking at a Constable painting. Thomas Bracken was of a similar mind. In his poem 'Canterbury Pilgrims' composed for the event. He wrote:

Behold their work! Revere their names!
Green pictures set in golden frames
With them a fairer England grew
'Neath speckless skies of sunny blue⁸

Te Waimatamate (by this time known as Waimate) was represented in the South Canterbury Court at the Exhibition. This exhibit was adorned with corn, wheat and oats, grass seeds, maize and peas. The display also contained samples of butter, "hams and bacon, home-made wines and preserves" and "specimens of flax and twine [were there to remind] one that the native *Phormium tenax* [grew] well on the low-lying lands of Canterbury". The exhibit also provided information about mutton, lamb and wool produced in the area.⁹ This Exhibition held in 1906-07 could be seen as a model of colonial landscape engagement. The reconstruction of the indigenous landscape into an agricultural garden was celebrated as a symbol of progress. The creation of this 'garden' of productive runholdings, farms, paddocks, fields, and plots is the subject of this chapter.

The chapter focuses on the reshaping of Te Waimatamate into a landscape of 'progress'. Diaries, autobiographies and biographies of colonial settlers have been used as source material. These have been supplemented by secondary texts written about the early colonial period in Canterbury. Interpretation has been guided by research of New Zealand historians and by ideas of those interested in concepts of spatial history. In order to establish the setting, the chapter begins with a brief account of why the colonial immigrants may have come to New Zealand and looks at the cultural perceptions they brought with them. The structure of land ownership in Te Waimatamate during this period of colonial landscape encounter is also outlined. The chapter then investigates the colonial

settlers' engagement with Te Waimatamate in reconstructing it into a place, a garden, of their own. In order to do this the indigenous experience of place, the landscape of Te Huruwuru and the Te Waimatamate hapu, was negated and local Ngai Tahu seemed to disappear from 'the scene'.

By the mid-1800s Britain was fearing overpopulation. Rapid changes to the rural lifestyle of many people had been initiated by developments in agriculture and industry. Enclosure and subsequent changes in land ownership rights had invalidated the land use rights of many rural dwellers. The result was a disenfranchised population who moved to urban areas in the hope of finding employment. Problems associated with low wages, unemployment, poverty, crime, and poor health meant that Britain was not an attractive place in which to live. The British Government was looking for a solution. In his work on early migration to New Zealand Tony Simpson quoted Thomas Carlyle as saying:

Overpopulation is the grand anomaly which is bringing all other anomalies to a crisis ... And yet, if this small western rim of Europe is overpeopled, does not everywhere else a whole vacant earth, as it were, call to us, come and till me, come and reap me.¹⁰

The solution was believed to lie in the colonies. Edward Wakefield's New Zealand Company and the Colonial Government administrators promoted land settlement in New Zealand as a way to alleviate the stresses of Britain and further advance the imperial vision. Private speculators and land merchants wished to capitalise on the situation. It seemed that land was 'up for grabs' for the young English, Scottish and Irish men who came to New Zealand looking for a new life and the adventure of the 'frontier'. Migrant labourers, disillusioned with 'their lot' in Britain were enticed by colonisation propaganda, and attracted to the possibility of land ownership. Immigrants arrived in New Zealand with hopes for a better life than they had known in the Mother Country. Tom Brooking has suggested that for these prospective settlers land ownership symbolised the "key to wealth accumulation ... upward social mobility and fulfillment of emotional needs".¹¹ Whether as landowner or farm worker, life on the land was believed to be good for one's character. Land ownership was seen as a mark of personal progress. Colonial administrators promoted such a view

and Christianity sanctified the work ethic that went into achieving it. And so the immigrants came and began to 'build their dreams' despite (and because of) hardships and experiences of dislocation they confronted on arrival.¹² They set about refashioning the landscape according to needs, beliefs, and constructs of their culture, and in response to the story of the land they discovered once they got to New Zealand.

Walter Cook, in writing about the Exhibition held in Christchurch in 1906-07 has stated, "our ultimate act in possessing the wilderness is to adopt it as an idea and maintain it as such."¹³ The idea of progress involved constructing and maintaining a 'garden'. In order to 'progress' the 'wilderness' of Te Waimatamate, the indigenous landscape had to be reinterpreted as a commodity that could be bought and sold. It had already been acquired as a 'known' 'place' in the acts of mapping, surveying and naming. Te Waimatamate was initially divided up into parcels of property that reorganised the landscape into a conglomeration of large estates. According to a map published in London in 1856 "shewing Pasturage runs" in the South Canterbury area, 13 large runs had been 'granted by the Crown' in Te Waimatamate.¹⁴ Most of these estates were further subdivided into smaller parcels of property in the late 19th century. Brooking has explained this in his work on the 'breaking-up' of the large settler estates.¹⁵ By the 1880s there was concern in the South Island about monopoly land ownership and the Colonial Government began to rethink the systems of tenure. It had to decide what would work best for the vision of New Zealand's future, which included satisfying desires for wealth and power. Immigrants had come to New Zealand expecting to one day own land. Much of Canterbury belonged to a small number of settlers as freehold land by the 1870s, and leases were for a long term. It was believed that private ownership and long-term leasing provided the security needed to encourage individual investment in improving the land. However this did nothing to alleviate problems associated with monopolistic control nor did it fulfil expectations of many of the immigrants who assumed they had left the practices of land aristocracy back in Britain.

The land had already passed from Maori to the Crown, then into private ownership. In the 1890s the landscape underwent a further reordering. The Liberal Government enacted Land Settlement policies that resulted in the 'breaking-up' of big farming estates to create smaller holdings that were leased or sold to immigrant settlers. Some of the early colonial estates of Te Waimatamate were part of the largest concentration of farmland bought up by the Government.¹⁶ 40 321ha, in total, were acquired in the area at a cost of \$1,573,088 between 1894 and 1914. This was broken up into nineteen settlements.¹⁷ In 1898 the Waikakahi estate on the Waihao river flatlands was purchased from Allan McLean and 19,140ha were subdivided into 142 farms. An official ballot was held to decide who would lease these.¹⁸ This allowed for more settlers to fulfil their expectations of having land. It also reduced problems associated with land ownership monopolies. Some pioneers taking up large blocks of land later found themselves in financial difficulty and were forced to subdivide and sell privately. Te Waimatamate land at Otaio was purchased by Miss Jeannie Collier in 1855. The property was transferred to her three nephews soon after, who increased the runholding to a total of 49,000ha. Economic hardship later forced the brothers to reduce the size of the property and by 1868 they had sold it all.¹⁹ Once settler possession of the wilderness was established, whatever the size of their land holdings, ideas of progress continued to maintain the cultural overlay that was colonisation.

Progress was linked with productivity as defined within the capitalist cultural framework. Productivity became a measurement of progress. This was monitored by a Government which encouraged investment of capital, labour and scientific skill in the overlay process.²⁰ Brooking has argued that the guiding directive for land ownership at this time was that 'if you did not use your land productively you deserved to lose it'.²¹ In the mind of the British colonials the indigenous landscape did not represent progress and the Maori engagement of communal access to mahinga kai was interpreted as not using the land productively. This negated Maori rights of ownership and justified colonial actions of 'taking-up' and 'breaking-up' land. Failure on the part of any early settlers to use their land productively

was also justification for breaking-up land. The task ahead for those colonials fortunate enough to possess land was to make it productive and, in doing so, refashion the landscape into a place they could call 'ours'.

To create a new home, 'our place', in this new place it was necessary for colonial settlers to transpose memories and stories of their old home and familiar landscape on to the new one. To cope with "lonely tussock plains", "immense dark jungly forests" and "the swamp" it was important for the colonials' sense of identity to implant the familiar as quickly as possible. This was accomplished by taming the wilderness into a garden. In Te Waimatamate this meant that swamp, plain, downland and forest identified by such as Cook and Torlesse was transformed into the agricultural paradise celebrated in the writings of James Cowan. Once the land was divided into parcels of property, swamps were drained, plains and downlands cleared, and forest felled for timber in preparation for the implantation of the colonial agricultural garden. Mantell had already surveyed reserves for Ngai Tahu living in the area. Contact with Pakeha and Christianity had begun reconstruction of the indigenous by the time the first colonial settlers arrived. These changes accelerated once the colonials decided to settle.

This began in Te Waimatamate on the arrival of a 21 year-old Englishman in July 1854. Michael Studholme had come to take up land in Te Waimatamate territory. The Studholme brothers came out to New Zealand in 1852 from their home in Carlisle in northern England. They had acquired property from the Canterbury Association that administered Wakefield's Canterbury Settlement but on arrival found their property too small. After working in the Australian goldfields the brothers returned to take up land in Canterbury. Two of the brothers opted for country between the Makikihi and Waihao rivers and on 18th July 1854 Michael Studholme followed "the Maori track" that took him into 'the space' that was to become 'our place' for his family and generations of descendants.²² Studholme's arrival on this day in July 1854 did not go unnoticed. Chief Te Huruhuru, now aged and ill in his lower body, was living at the kainga at Te Kaherehere on the west-bank of Te Waimatamate creek. Te Huruhuru

requested a meeting with the Pakeha pioneer. The chief was aware Studholme had bought land (initially 14,000ha) that later became the hub of the Waimate district. The discussion between the two men involved a “compact that Studholme keep to his boundary and not interfere with the rights of the natives”.²³ The hapu, although cultivating plots within their reserve, was still reliant on their food gathering areas. These included Te Kaherehere (the forest), Wainono (lagoon), Waihao and Waitaki (rivers). Studholme’s land claim was marked by the building of his first home, a totara slab hut, ‘The Cuddy’, and in naming his ‘run’. The name he chose was Te Waimate (the place of dead or slowly moving water). Whether intentional or not, the appropriated name reflected early Pakeha experience of the swamp land that Studholme and fellow immigrant settlers were about to refashion into a landscape of progress. In claiming and marking his holding and in giving the place a new name, the indigenous experience of ‘the place of intermittent waters’, the hapu’s territory, and their ancestral associations with this, were overlaid. A story of the land was buried as another was written. Studholme, along with his neighbours became authors.²⁴

The first task undertaken by the colonial settlers was to clear the land of its previous engagement in preparation for implantation of their own. The flax, fern, scrub, bracken, cabbage trees and coarse tussock grasses of the Waimate downlands did not provide suitable feed for livestock introduced to run on pastoral holdings. To grow pasture grasses the land needed to be cleared and replanted. The introduction of domesticated livestock contributed to the process of preparing the landscape for production. The first animals introduced into Waimate by the settlers were for farming. Wool was marketable and fine-wool merinos were imported from Australia by runholders establishing pastoral estates in the area. Under their ‘Pasturage Licence’ runholders in Canterbury were required to have a specified number of stock. In 1855 Michael Studholme had 2,040 sheep on Te Waimate. This had increased to 36,500 by 1870. More landholdings were purchased in the interim. Establishment of the frozen meat industry in 1882 ensured a market for stock that exceeded any

quota.²⁵ In 1856 Henry Poingdestre was carrying 1,190 sheep on his Otaio run that became Blue Cliffs station. By 1878, Blue Cliffs station was stocked with over 23,000 sheep.²⁶ Sheep were able to graze amongst the scrub and tussock of the Waihao and Waitaki downlands and plains but the boggy river flatlands were unsuitable for feed and the sheep were prone to foot rot on swamp ground.

Cattle were introduced in the early days of colonisation. They were hardier than sheep and were left to roam amongst the hills and downland country until mustering time. Cattle proved to be useful in clearing the swampland of indigenous vegetation. They knocked down rushes and “chewed out the hearts of flax bushes”.²⁷ Effie Studholme, in describing her initial encounter with Waimate as a pioneer bride lamented being “so far from civilisation” in a landscape “all wild and tangled except where the bullocks had trampled it.”²⁸ The swamp could also be dangerous for cattle. On Te Waimate run cattle were left to graze over the river flatlands but “it was necessary to look through the swamps [regularly], otherwise a good many of them could [get bogged and] perish from cold and starvation”.²⁹ Wandering stock sometimes ‘went wild’ amongst the hill country. Edgar Studholme recounted that “in the bush along the Hunters Hills there were hundreds of wild cattle descended from the beasts that had escaped from the Station herds”.³⁰ Hunting wild pigs, (descended from those first introduced by Cook), and cattle became “good sport” for the colonial settlers who were determined to tame anything ‘wild’. Domestic livestock were introduced for economic purposes. They also became agents of colonisation, grazing on the ‘frontier’ and helping to domesticate the ‘wild’. However stock alone could not clear the land of its past.

The most effective form of clearing undertaken by colonials was ‘burning-off’. At Waimate, “some of the early fires were enormous, and burnt for weeks”.³¹ Edgar Studholme, in recounting memories of the early days on their Te Waimate run, stressed how important it was for the farmers to understand local climate conditions. It was advantageous to burn in the early spring when “the heavy dews and frosts at night prevent[ed] the fires from spreading indefinitely”.³² He also noted that some

men appeared to have arsonist tendencies and were “not able to resist the temptation to throw down matches at any season of the year”.³³ Ideas about conquests of ‘the wild’ by brave men were evident in Studholme’s description about burning-off:

the spice of danger attached to burning made it ... a fascinating job ... and there was also the thrill of the roar and hiss of the fire as it rushed up the side of some steep hill, leaving a blackened smoking trail behind ... there was also personal risk.³⁴

Burning-off was an effective way of eradicating the wild and assuming control of landscape construction. Before the land could be fenced and ploughed on the Hayes’ station, Normanvale, at Hakataramea the wild matagouri, speargrass, snowgrass and tussock had to be burnt off. This was done following purchase of the property in 1878.³⁵ Not only was the land cleared of vegetation but fires also loosened rock and soil that had been held in place by the growth. It was important local knowledge “not to stand below a burning hillside” where there was danger of being hit from falling rocks. With the abundant growth of flax, scrub, bracken and grasses that covered Waimate hill and downland country some rocks had probably been held in place “for centuries”. This danger continued to exist until there were “few rocks left to come down”.³⁶ The risk of fires getting out of hand was high and inevitably much more of the indigenous landscape was destroyed than anticipated. Along with it an experience of place ‘went up in flames’ as the ‘home fires’ of another were lit.

The swampland proved more difficult to clear. The problem was not so much the vegetation as the excess water. Once settlement got underway it was not hard to find men to grub out the matagouri, flax, cabbage trees, bracken, tutu and manuka scrub. They were employed on the river flatlands to remove stones, chip out rushes and any heavy tussocks. John Finlay recorded in his diary in 1879: “breaking up and clearing of cabbage trees” on his farm on the Hook and Makikihi river flats at Makikihi.³⁷ He noted in his diary in the spring of 1880, “Cody full time picking and hauling stones off flat”.³⁸ However, draining the expanses of bog proved to be a much more time consuming and costly matter. The settlers regarded the land as useless until this was done. Edgar Studholme

described how people thought his family was “mad” taking-up land that comprised “acres of quaking bog, impassable except in some places where a man could jump from one giant niggerhead [bulrush] to another.”³⁹ Ditches designed to carry excess water to the rivers were dug throughout the swampland. Drain layers were employed to dig the intricate network of “main” and “side” drain lines. Sometimes work was interrupted by the uncovering of large totara trunks that had been buried in the peat for hundreds of years, serving as a reminder of the primeval forests existing before human habitation in New Zealand. If the trunks proved too difficult the drain layer was forced to “make a slight turn in the line and leave the trunk as it lay”.⁴⁰ Once the swampland was drained the unwanted vegetation was cleared by hand or burnt off. Grass was then sown. ‘Draining away’ the indigenous landscape was a veritable “sink for money”⁴¹ for the early settlers. It was also regarded as a sign of progress.

Landholders needed boundaries to mark ‘their’ places of progress. Boundaries and fences separated the wild from the tamed, nature from culture, and ‘ours from theirs’. The early runholders relied on geographical boundaries like rivers, creeks, the snowline and the tops of mountain ranges until fences were erected. Effie Studholme described her first encounter with Te Waimatamate as a young bride:

We came to the boundary of the Waimate run, owned by Studholme brothers. There was nothing to mark it but a creek, but the fact of being on our own run made the ride less dreary.⁴²

After realising that this place was ‘our place’ the sombre journey over the Canterbury plains was forgotten and “the number of cabbage-trees all over the country [became a] wonderful [sight].”⁴³ The Waitaki river was the southern boundary for six of the original 13 runholdings claimed by Waimate’s earliest colonial settlers. Where once Waitaki had been central in the indigenous experience of place, the river became the boundary separating colonial settler landholdings.⁴⁴ Poingdestre’s western inland boundary on Blue Cliffs station was “taken as running along the summit of the Hunters Hills and continuing nor’westerly over the upper reaches of the Otaio river”.⁴⁵ Before fences were built shepherds were sent to “open

places” in the hills to “keep boundary”. This involved preventing livestock from straying onto neighbouring property. Two shepherds working on Te Waimate run in the 1860s:

kept the boundary next to the Hakataramea [run]...[one] lived in a hut at the top of Kaiwarua [hill country] and the other had a hut across the south branch of the Waihao river ... These two men went out and back most days, meeting half way, thus keeping in touch with one another; they saw no other man for weeks on end.⁴⁶

A boundary keeper was also employed during the 1860s to keep the Otaio Station boundary up the Otaio river to Blue Cliffs station. Another “kept the boundary down the river to the sea”.⁴⁷ Shepherds helped define the landscape into places that were ‘ours’ and that were ‘theirs’. Their boundary patrol prevented stock straying off the property and detected the encroachment of anything that did not belong and therefore was ‘unsettling’ in the process of progress. Topographical features became the first boundary marks of property ownership used by the early settlers to define their ‘gardens’.

Eventually men were hired to erect the many miles of fencing that divided up large landholdings into marketable parcels for use and sale. Fencing was a time consuming and expensive undertaking that framed the landscape according to possession and property use. Fences marked off areas of legal ownership and segregated economic activities into productive units. The landscape became like a factory that was divided according to industrial concepts of ‘division of labour’. Fences were an indicative feature of a landscape that was progressing. William Cronon, in his work on ecological history, has suggested that by fencing in property it provided the assurance to landholders that improvements they made belonged to their families and heirs.⁴⁸ Fences were a visual statement that this was ‘our place’. The straight lines and right angles of fenced boundaries equated with progress and provided an assurance of uniformity.⁴⁹ Colonial settlers interwove aspects of the indigenous landscape into their own imported cultural constructs in the process of ‘making progress’. When erecting fences the native timber was cut to make posts. The first fences at Te Waimate were made of split totara posts and

rails procured from the forest that covered the Waimate hills. Totara logs from the primeval forest, still lying over the land, were also used. Once fencing wire was introduced the process was speeded up. Totara was sometimes replaced by matai, kowhai and native broadleaf timber found growing in the local forest. At Blue Cliffs station five thick wires were strung between native broadleaf timber posts acquired from the nearby bush to make fences.⁵⁰ English farming practices of enclosure were incorporated in designing fences for the colonial 'garden' landscape. Sod walls were crafted onto the Waimate flatlands to create paddocks, and shelter for stock. These were made from local soil and tussock, and erected in the winter when the soil was soft. When wire became more plentiful the sod fences were reduced in height, stakes and wire were erected on top, and imported gorse seed was grown on top of the walls.⁵¹ At Blue Cliffs Mrs Meyer grew gorse in her garden and collected "a basket of plants for the fencers to plant out on top of the sod walls they had made".⁵² John Finlay gave some neighbours "2 bottles of gorse seed". The legacy of these colonial gorse fences remained a "curse" on the landscape for generations to come.⁵³ As the landscape was civilised and farming intensified, the network of fences increased to accommodate. Progress was not only measured by quantity but also by quality of the fences. Boundaries, whether determined by local topography or built as fences, were important in the reconstruction of Waimate into a garden. The indigenous landscape that had represented a collective experience of place for Ngai Tahu was transformed according to expectations of individual property ownership valued by the colonising culture. The land was stocked, cleared, drained, and fenced but before the garden could be planted the soil needed to be "turned-over". It needed to be "tilled".

Cronon has suggested that ploughing represented the most complete ecological transformation of a landscape. It enabled colonial settlers to create an entirely new habitat.⁵⁴ Ploughing was perceived as the act of breaking-up, turning-up, working, and cultivating the land.⁵⁵ Under the ploughshares the landscape was stripped of any vestiges of vegetation and became an expanse of furrowed soil ready for the planting of crop

seed. Before the arrival of the colonial settlers the hapu inhabiting Te Waimatamate were cultivating small plots of land around their kainga sites. Horomona Pohio, in his speech on behalf of Kati Mamoe and Ngai Tahu hapu living in South Canterbury at the Native Land Court in 1868 said, "in Mr Mantell's time... we had commenced to cultivate vegetable marrows and corn". Potatoes were also grown.⁵⁶ With the introduction of mechanised agriculture in the form of single and double-furrow ploughs the landscape became a large mosaic of privatised cultivation plots. Bullocks and teams of Clydesdale draught horses were used in Waimate to plough land once it had been cleared. Local terrain influenced the type of plough and number of horses used. Alpheus Hayes' run, Normanvale at Hakataramea included a lot of steep hill country. When contractors were employed to work up this steep ground, they used a single-furrow plough as opposed to the two-furrow ploughs used by teamsters on flat land.⁵⁷ By the early 1880s there were eighteen double-furrow ploughs at work on Studholmes run, Te Waimate. They turned over 100ha a week, breaking-up 8000ha of land in total.⁵⁸ At Makikihi in the autumn of 1880 three teams were working full time to plough up flat land "under the terrace".⁵⁹ By breaking up land through the use of ploughs colonial settlers were also turning over traces of the indigenous to recast the landscape according to the aspirations of the capitalist culture. In her biography about her colonial grandfather Anna Hayes commented on his decision to purchase land at Hakataramea in 1878.

Alpheus [Hayes] gazed at the expanse of land
spread out before him, a land ripe for cultivation
and grazing, a land of rolling downs with mile upon
mile of golden tussock and yellow-green 'taramea' ⁶⁰

The assumption was that with the aid of the plough, this "empty land"⁶¹ of native tussock and 'dancing' speargrass would be transformed into a landscape of productive units of pasture and crop. Evidence of the indigenous was 'turned-over' as the landscape was prepared for the seeds of colonial expectations to be sown.

The introduction of foreign species of vegetation furthered the colonisation of the indigenous landscape. The colonial settlers considered

planting out new grasses, crops and trees as an important activity. The appearance of pasture, cereal crops and stands of (exotic) trees held expectations of cash returns. Such plantings were regarded as marks of progress and reflected desires to feel 'settled' in a land perceived as 'unsettled' before colonisation. Initially it was important to establish good grazing pasture in Waimate for the large runs stocking sheep and cattle. Imported grass seeds replaced the indigenous tussock grasses. Entries in farming diaries of the colonial period mentioned the purchasing and sowing of selected grasses. James Thomson, Jeannie Colliers' nephew from Hunters Hills at Otaio, bought grass seed on a trip to Timaru in the early spring of 1867.⁶² John Finlay planted rye, red and white clover and cow grass on his ploughed paddocks at Makikihi in the spring of 1879.⁶³ At Hakataramea large blocks were fenced in and "then divided into workable paddocks in which [Alpheus Hayes] grew oats, oversown with English grasses, red and white clovers, cocksfoot and rye."⁶⁴ On the downland country at Blue Cliffs, paddocks were designated for old grass, new grass, cocksfoot, rape, turnips, and crops.⁶⁵ Johannes Andersen, in his *Jubilee History of South Canterbury*, said that the "extensive breaking up of the soil" and planting of "one or two varieties of seed" was believed to give better pasture. Some local farmers later considered this to be a mistake. They preferred that a variety of imported seeds be "broadcast sown [amongst] native grasses".⁶⁶ Edgar Studholme referred to this in anecdotal evidence recounted in *Te Waimate*:

Much of the second class tussock country would have provided better grazing if it had been just surface sown and never ploughed, as old Bill Quinn used to say: "Stick to the cockies' foot, lad." He meant, "surface sow the hills with Cocksfoot," which was good advice.⁶⁷

It was a matter of trial and error while learning what responded best to local conditions. The decisions on what to plant were always influenced by economic demands. Extensive pastoral farming on the Canterbury Plains became less popular in the later years of the 19th century with the breaking-up of the large estates and an increasing demand for cereal crops. Land once designated for pasture was ploughed and planted in crops.

The landscape altered in response to these changing demands of agriculture. Land subdivision and use intensified across the Plains and in the summers of the late 19th century Waimate was a 'mosaic' of wheat, oats, barley, maize, and pasture paddocks. Diary entries of the period reflected the preoccupation of Waimate farmers with planting and harvesting crops. Finlay noted, "Wheat looking remarkably well". "Cutting wheat. In town seeing about reaper and binder." "Cutting barley". "Tying and stooking oats".⁶⁸ The farmers were always looking to improve production yields and the agricultural landscape was seen to progress with the aid of science. Seed varieties best adapted to local climatic and soil conditions were selected. Edgar Studholme recounted how one of the "greatest drawbacks for grain growers in Waimate in the early days were the north-west winds ... and the varieties of wheat then commonly grown, such as White Velvet, Hunter's White and Tuscan, were easily shaken by wind."⁶⁹ In later years tougher strains were developed, the impact of the wild nor-westers was reduced and huge crop losses were avoided. Foreign plants were used in the colonisation of the Waimate swamps as well. In 1883 the Studholmes' imported one ton of 'floating poa' (tussock) seed from "Home" (England) which had originated in Holland. This seed was sown in "the big swamp" at Wainono and "in the Kapua lagoon" through the Waimate gorge at Arno where it grew well.⁷⁰ Along with introduced seeds came some unwanted plants. Weeds on the landscape detracted from perceptions of progress and in years to come time and money was spent trying to eradicate these. Scotch thistles came to be associated with "poorly managed areas". Gorse, broom and blackberry introduced for functional purposes became problematic and were later regarded as by-products of "neglected grasslands."⁷¹ Weeds were part of the landscape created by the colonials. They became the landmark of a less adept 'gardener'. The garden consisted of an overlay of pasture and crops chosen according to farming practices introduced by the colonial immigrants. European agriculture commodified the landscape. Utilitarian perceptions of land use justified the changes. Investment of time and money in this transformation reinforced claims that this was 'our place'. A

landscape civilised with fields of grasses and crops also helped 'settle' the colonial immigrants from anything unsettling the indigenous experience of place may have occasioned.

Imported varieties of trees were a feature of the colonised landscape. In comparison with the wild tangle of the indigenous forest, stands of English, American and Australian trees were recognised as visible evidence of progress. They were planted for timber and provided shelter belts and wind breaks for stock and crops. Edgar Studholme inferred in his description about afforestation of Te Waimate that the choice of tree type was determined by its functional value. The Studholme family planted over 121ha of trees for timber once land was cleared on the run. Many of these were blue gum and macrocarpa. Other imported trees planted in the Waimate area during the early colonial period, included pines, willows, firs, larches, wattles, poplars and ash. Pine and Douglas fir were "useful for quick establishment". Macrocarpa made "good posts" and was "very satisfactory for general farm use", black wattle was "a good firewood", and poplar were "useful for shelter and firebreaks."⁷² The Hayes planted shelter belts "from the beginning" when they started farming at Hakataramea.⁷³ By 1878 Blue Cliffs Station had "plantations [that] covered 28ha. The plantations consisted of rectangular blocks, "in 14 different paddocks." Stands were of "chiefly mixed deciduous English trees, American conifers and eucalypts".⁷⁴ Hawthorn hedges surrounded many of these plantations.⁷⁵ In late September 1879 John Finlay "sowed up creek Number 2 section, under the harrow, blue gum, peppermint gum and black wattle". A month earlier Finlay had purchased 50 small pine trees.⁷⁶ Henry Orbell noted in his diary written in 1864 that he had spent "a wet day planting blue gums". A month later he recorded that an acquaintance had "about 162ha, all bush and very thickly covered with trees." He added, "it will cost a little fortune to clear it or turn it to much account".⁷⁷ The colonial settlers didn't regard the indigenous forest as having any long-term value as a commodity. Trees planted as replacements of the indigenous species were usually an imported variety.

However the settlers did find uses for indigenous timber extracted in the process of clearing the land. It was Te Kaherehere at Te Waimatamate that had first attracted many of the early colonial immigrants to the Waimate area. The forest covering the Hunters Hills was rated as a lucrative source of timber for the burgeoning building industry. By 1864 a greater part of the Waimate immigrant community lived on the edge of the Waimate forest in what became known as Bushtown. In 1877 there were five sawmills milling totara, rimu, kahikatea, matai and native broadleaf timber from the forest. Alpheus Hayes, the Canadian entrepreneur first to establish a mill in Waimate, was employing over 100 men. Hayes and partner had bought 12ha of native forest and by 1873 “emigrants from the Old Country [had come] to Waimate to work in the bush”.⁷⁸ It was regarded as unfortunate that in November 1878 a strong nor-wester wind blew through the area and fanned into flame smoldering heaps of sawdust. Tussock fires from burning-off the surrounding pastoral hill country had also got out of hand and a huge bush fire eventuated. Much of the 1214ha of forest estimated by Torlesse in his survey in 1849 was destroyed. The sawmills had gone and the land was later converted into pastoral runs. Alpheus Hayes purchased some of the land and upon the ashes of his sawmilling business he farmed his run ‘Centrewood’. Te Kaherehere, central to the indigenous experience of place, had become inadvertently dispensable amidst the making of the colonial garden.

Another feature of the landscape of progress was the garden (as literally defined) planted around the station or farm homestead. This was important in marking the boundaries of the more intimate space of the place that was ‘ours’ and was associated with colonial ideas of home. Quite often this garden was the domain of the female settlers who were also involved in transforming the landscape according to the culture they brought with them. Gardening alleviated some of the experiences of isolation and homesickness felt being so far away from all that was familiar and it served practical requirements in providing produce for the family table. Imported trees were a reminder of the settlers’ Home Country, and were often planted first of all around homesteads. Carter has suggested

that trees held the prospect of 'home'.⁷⁹ "The image of the tree served to symbolize most profoundly for newcomers the idea of place."⁸⁰ Trees provided the boundary around the everyday living space near the house. They were a comforting reminder of the past and a hopeful sign of a new future. "The earliest and most extensive planting done at Blue Cliffs station was around the homestead."⁸¹ Oaks were planted near the Studholme homestead in the early days of farming Te Waimate as a reminder of the English Homeland.⁸² Mrs Elizabeth Hayes "left her mark on the Normanvale garden [at Hakataramea] by planting lots of trees".⁸³ These trees became boundaries that enclosed the private home place. They provided seclusion from the less cultivated areas undergoing transformation.

Women often undertook the planning and planting of the ornamental, orchard and vegetable plots within the tree enclosures. In doing so they were asserting cultural claim to 'our place' by imposing their own form of domestication. Effie Studholme was relieved on discovering a "cleared piece of ground [with] a small paddock of cabbages" when she first arrived at Te Waimate. "Some fruit trees had been planted but the ground was mainly rough and uncultivated." The area was expanded into a household vegetable garden.⁸⁴ Mrs Kate Thomson from Hunter Hills gathered pears, currants, rhubarb, strawberries and gooseberries from her garden to make jam and preserves. She also planted out flowers that her husband had bought on a trip to Christchurch.⁸⁵ Anna Hayes fashioned a huge garden at Centrewood. She planted English trees, shrubs and flowers, designed herbaceous borders, and created a substantial rose garden. She also had a cherry house and potting house built and supervised the making of an artificial lake that became the habitat of swans. Charles Meyer of Blue Cliffs returned from a visit to England in 1875 with his bride. "Many improvements were made to the homestead" after Ellen Meyer's arrival. A "small garden was enlarged and planted with flowers and shrubs; there was a good vegetable garden and orchard; lawn was laid down and a small conservatory built where flowers were grown for the house; ornamental trees and shelter belts surrounded the homestead."⁸⁶ In early

spring of 1864 Henry Orbell had an employee put in cherries, plums, apples, gooseberries, currants, raspberries and pear trees. "Quite an orchard", Orbell recorded in his diary.⁸⁷ By 1881 they were "watering vegetables in the garden" on the swampland that had become the Finlay farm at Makikihi. The family was also attending local flower shows.⁸⁸ The Finlay's grew cabbages, cauliflowers, onions, marrows and carrots in their kitchen garden. They also planted apple trees.⁸⁹ The colonial settlers had reinterpreted the landscape so that family food gathering areas were individually owned and established in close proximity to 'their' home place, their house or homestead.

Sometimes indigenous plants were incorporated in the formal gardens planted around the homesteads. This served to domesticate the indigenous landscape as native plants became part of the ornamental gardens. Planting native flora also reflected a desire to identify with the new land. In the process of refashioning the landscape the settlers began interweaving features of the indigenous landscape into 'our place'. At Centrewood the "beautiful native and English trees of many varieties add[ed] privacy and beauty to the home and grounds".⁹⁰ Kate Thomson "went into the Bush to gather seed". She spent time "looking for fern trees" and collecting "cabbage tree flowers from Hunters Hills".⁹¹ Native flax cleared from farming land was transplanted into ornamental gardens. Flax was favoured for its attractive variegated leaves and suitability to local climate conditions. However, the colonial settlers were more concerned with growing plants they had known from Home. The homestead garden, whether ornamental, or utilitarian in the form of orchard or vegetable plot, was part of the cultural overlay that defined 'our place'. The gardens around homesteads were further markings of the landscape of progress.

The transformation of Te Waimatamate into the agricultural garden that was known as Waimate affected the lives of the Maori communities that had inhabited the territory for several generations. Their experience of the landscape as one of relationship was overlaid with the cultural expectations of the British immigrants. Chief Te Huruhuru died in 1861 and it was left to Horomona Pohio to represent the hapu in the Pakeha world.

By this time Maori living in Waimate were using colonial methods of agriculture as best they could within the reserves of land that had been marked out for them. However, as Pohio stated, they did not wish to subscribe to inequalities they observed being created by the Pakeha system of land ownership. At the Native Land Court at Christchurch in 1868 Horomona Pohio put forward the claims of Kati Mamoe and Ngai Tahu living in South Canterbury. He requested a further 385ha of land for his people to use for "farm purposes". He spoke:

the reserves made by Mr Mantell did not include all our cultivation. The only thing we understood from Mr Mantell was that we were to have our eel weirs inperpetuity. We are more numerous now than we were in Mr Mantell's time ... We have many saddle, dray, gig, and plough horses, pigs and cattle. Although the land is worn out, we still keep on cultivating. If we had other land, we should use it and leave the worn out land. We have six ploughs of our own, and hire others from white people round about. The land at Waitaki is stony and we do not cultivate it. We desire to make the natives all alike. If the chiefs had all land under their control, they would lease it, and use all the money, giving none to the people. The pakehas' laws are not good, some of them are made great gentlemen and others very small; and there are some of them going about the streets whom the Maoris are feeding. This is a new custom of making everyone equal.⁹²

Hapu living at the Waimate and Waitaki reserves were reallocated 230ha. Included in the allocation were three eel weirs and a forest reserve. The areas given were at Wainono lagoon, Morven (Waihao river coastal flatland) and Waitaki. After 1868 the families living at the kainga at Te Kaherehere one by one shifted to the new reserve lands down on the coast and began small farms. Many supplemented incomes by undertaking seasonal work on settler farms in the district. After the bush fire of 1878 few remained at the old kainga and by 1880 it was practically deserted. Horomona Pohio died in March 1880.⁹³ Maori had also become part of the colonial landscape of progress. Along with their indigenous landscape they were surveyed into parcels of land and expected to garden according to the ways of the colonising culture.

By the 20th century the Waimate landscape reflected colonial perceptions of progress. The Waimate area was able to contribute to the International Exhibition held in Christchurch in celebration of the

achievements of colonisation in transforming the landscape from wilderness into garden. British immigrants had arrived in Te Waimatamate in the 1850s in the hope of beginning a new life free from the problems of their Homeland. To do this they resorted to familiar ways and proceeded to overlay the indigenous landscape, the territorial homeplace of Kati Mamoe and Ngai Tahu, with their own cultural expectations and perceptions of place. Land was regarded as a commodity to be bought, sold and used. It needed to be redesigned accordingly. The indigenous landscape was divided into parcels of individual property and broken-up into productive units that allowed for settlement of the immigrants onto small farms. Te Waimatamate was cleared, drained, fenced, ploughed, and replanted in the process of transforming it into a garden. It was redecorated with imported flora and fauna that also became agents of colonisation. Inherent fears of the seemingly uncivilised and chaotic expanses of indigenous landscape were quickly suppressed as the colonial pioneers worked to tame the land according to their vision of progress. Belief in this vision justified cultural imposition over Maori experiences of place. The colonial immigrants were also a dislocated people and in order to identify with their new home they needed the comfort of the familiar. The land represented security, and in constructing a landscape that was familiar to them they could begin to feel secure. Landscape as 'progress' is another story of discovery and rediscovery of a place. It is a story about disinheriting experiences of this place from one people in the process of affirming perceptions of 'our place' for another. Before the settlers could experience 'our place' they needed to settle into the landscape they had constructed. To settle themselves they started writing their own Waimate narratives.

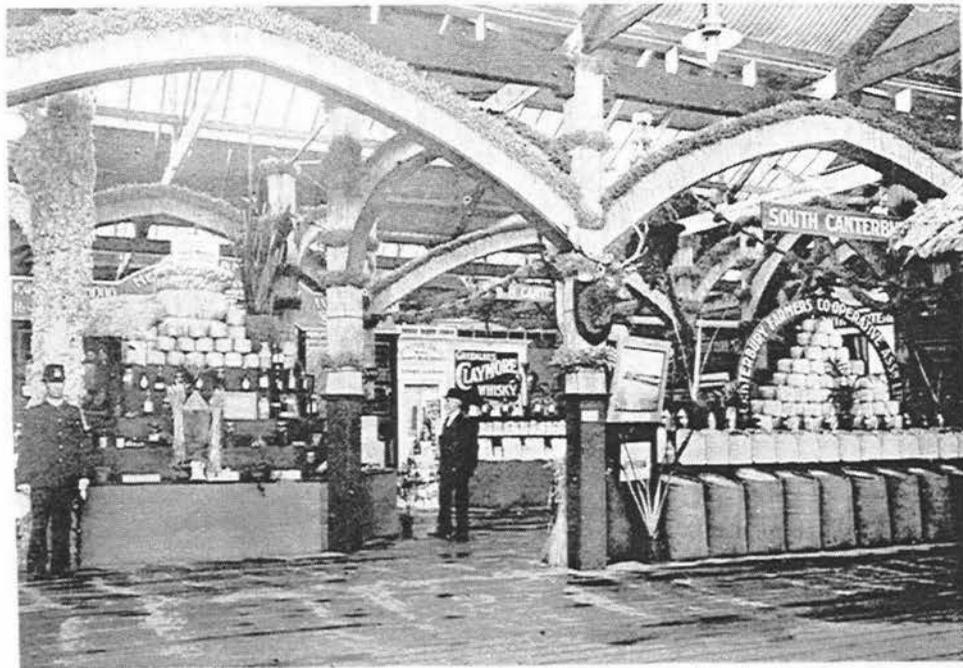


Figure 3.1 Exhibits of 'progress' at the South Canterbury Court in the International Exhibition of Arts and Industries held in Christchurch in 1907-07.

In James Cowan, *Official Record of the New Zealand International Exhibition 1906-07 of Arts and Industries* Wellington, Government Printer, 1910, pp. 206-207.

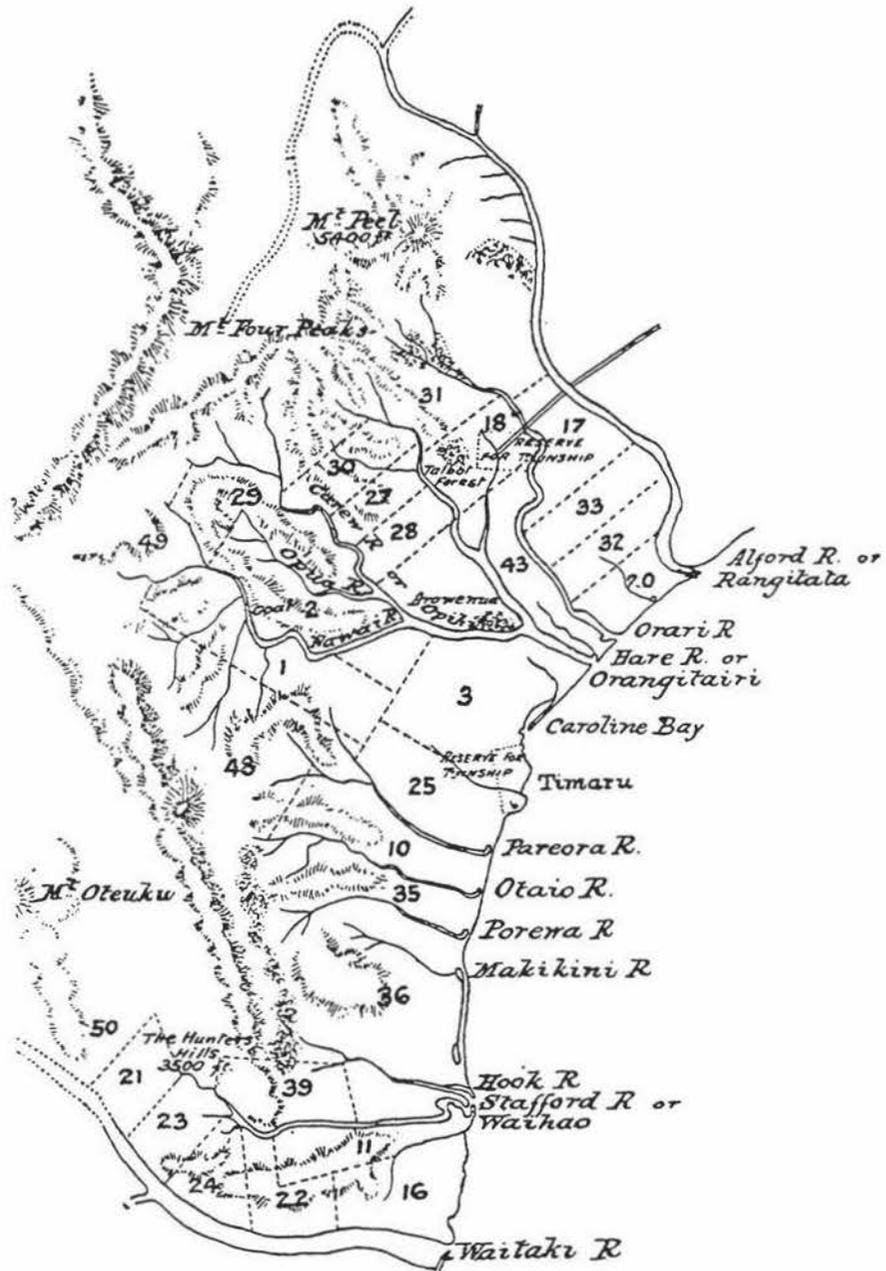


Figure 3.2 Initial colonisation of Te Waimatamate fashioned a landscape of large pastoral runs. This map 'Shewing Pasturage Runs' of South Canterbury was published in London in 1856.

In Johannes Andersen, *Jubilee History of South Canterbury*, p.76.

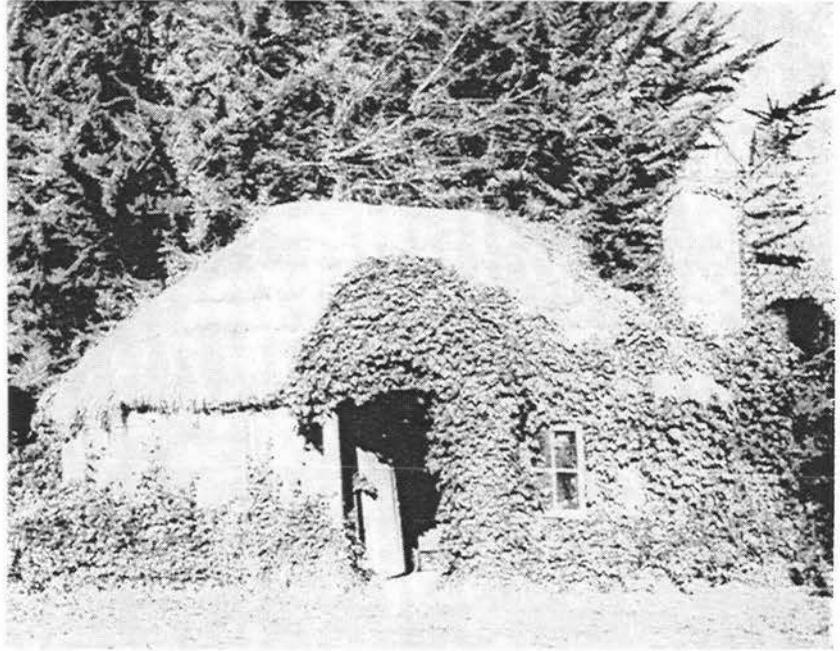


Figure 3.3 The Studholmes first home, 'The Cuddy', marking their 'place' of Te Waimate on arrival in 1854. An English garden, a reminder of the Home Country, was planted and marked the more personal domestic space associated with home.
(Waimate Museum)

In Oliver Gillespie, *South Canterbury – A Record of Settlement*, facing p. 87.
Photograph was taken in 1958.



Figure 3.4 Te Waimate Homestead in 1864. The landscape, as yet, remains uncleared of some indigenous vegetation.
(Waimate Museum)

In William Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate, History of Waimate County and Borough*, Waimate: Waimate County and Borough Councils, 1985, facing p. 16.

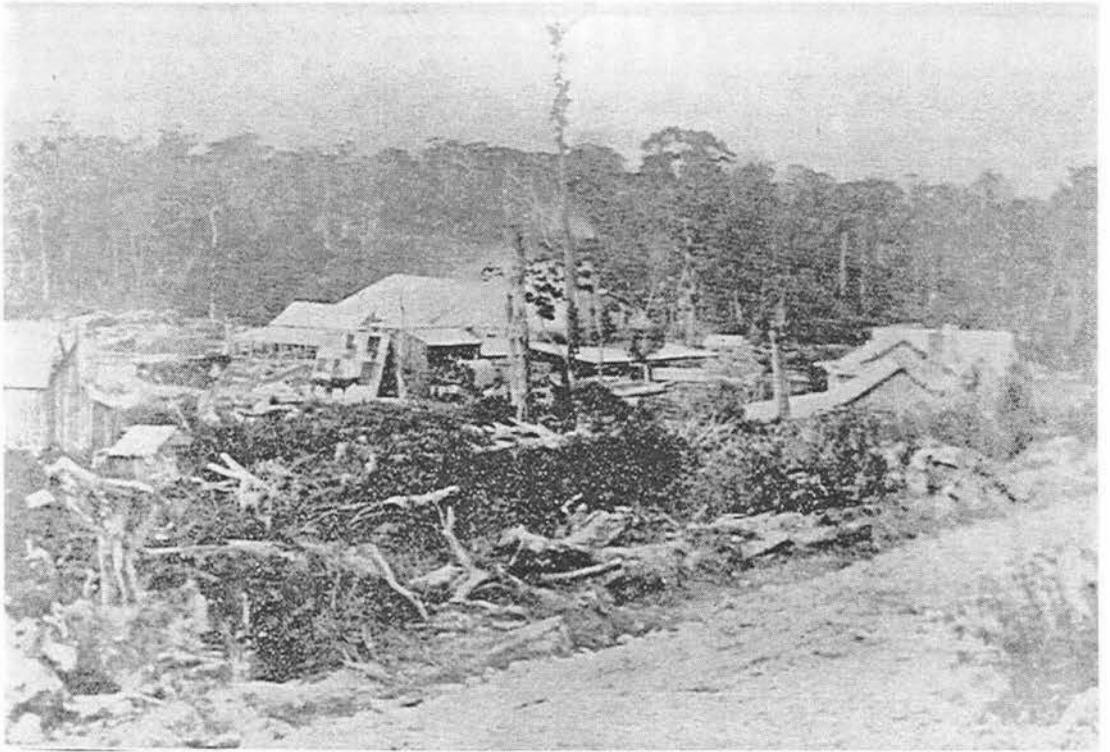


Figure 3.5 Steam sawmill operating in Waimate Bush (Te Kaherehere) in 1866 before the fire of 1878 destroyed most of the forest. (Waimate Museum)



Figure 3.6 Working in the agricultural 'garden'. Cropping was well established on the Waimate flatlands by the early 20th century.
(Waimate Museum)

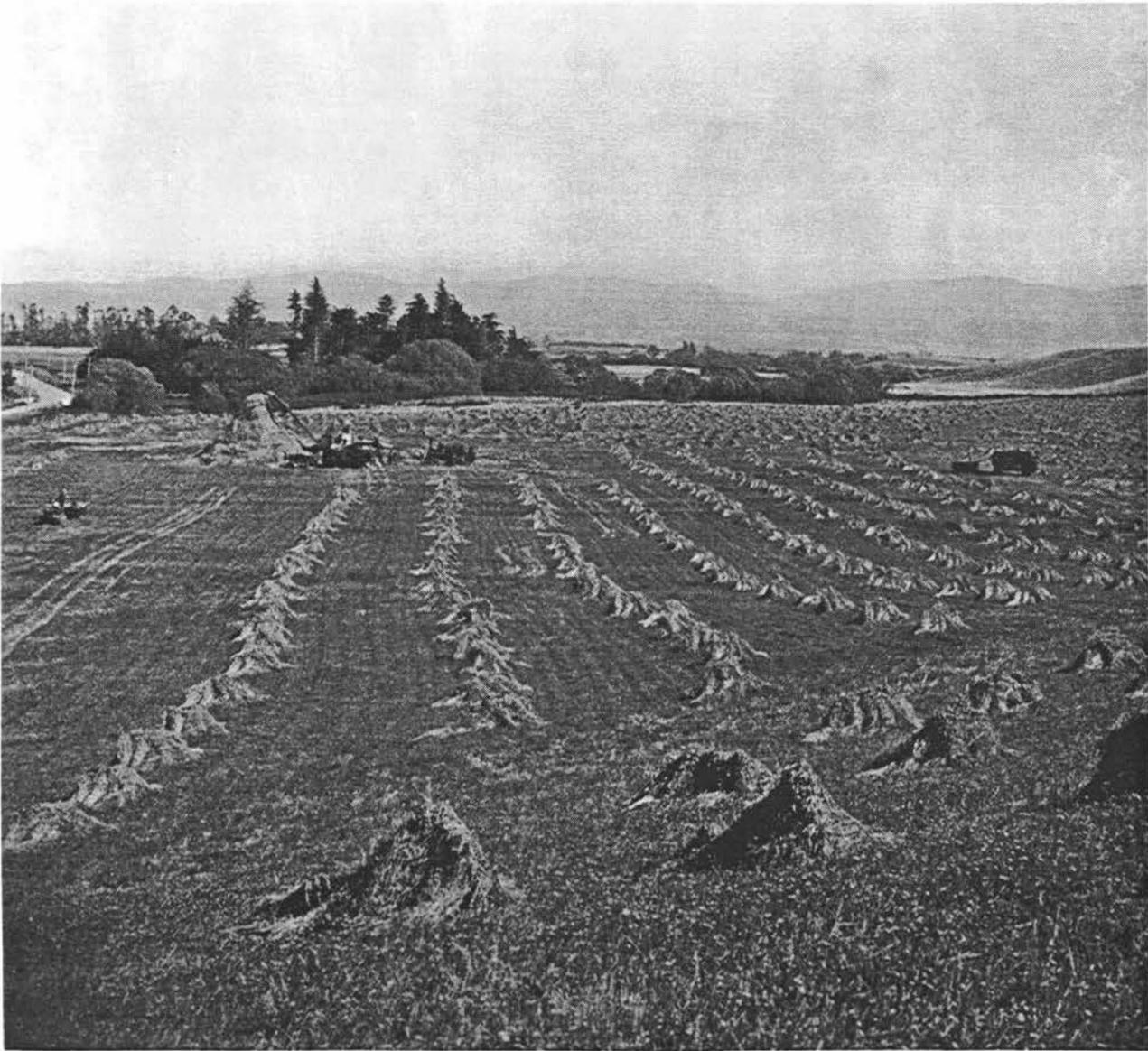


Figure 3.7 Transformation of the Te Waimatamate 'wilderness'.
Crops of wheat, oats and barley replaced the flax, raupo,
cabbage trees and other vegetation characteristic of the
indigenous landscape.
(Waimate Museum)



Figure 3.8 Harvesting potatoes on Waihao river flatlands at Morven, an area with Maori reserve land, in the early 20th century. Members of the hapu found employment on settler farms.
(Ngai Tahu Collection, Alexander Turnbull Library)

In Buddy Mikaere, *Te Maiharoa and the Promised Land*, p. 126.



Figure 3.9 Horomona (Solomon) Pohio who became chief of Te Waimatamate hapu after Te Huru Huru's death in 1861. Pohio represented Kati Mamoe and Ngai Tahu of South Canterbury at the Native Land Court.
(Canterbury Museum)

In Buddy Mikaere, *Te Maihaora and the Promised Land*, p. 87.



Figure 3.10 Transplantation of the familiar. The caption under this photograph read: "English sheep grazing English grasses in the shade of English oaks at Te Waimate", the home of the Studholme family since 1854.

In Andrew Hill Clark, *The Invasion of New Zealand By People, Plants and Animals, The South Island*, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1949, p. 209.

Landscape as 'Progress'

- ¹ *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 2nd edn, Vol. XII, Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 593.
- ² John Mansfield Thomson, (ed.), *Farewell Colonialism, The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-07*, Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1998, p. 11.
- ³ James Cowan, *Official Record of the New Zealand International Exhibition 1906-7 of Arts and Industries*, Wellington, NZ: Government Printer, 1910, p. 2.
- ⁴ *ibid.*, p. 8.
- ⁵ *ibid.*, p. 11.
- ⁶ *ibid.*, p. 18.
- ⁷ *ibid.*
- ⁸ Thomas Bracken, 'Canterbury Pilgrims', in *Official Record*, Cowan, p. 20.
- ⁹ Cowan, p. 208.
- ¹⁰ Tony Simpson, *The Immigrants, The Great Migration From Britain to New Zealand 1830-1890*, Auckland: Godwit Publishing, 1997, p. 38, quotes Thomas Carlyle (*Selected Writings*, London: 1971)
- ¹¹ Tom Brooking, 'Use it or Lose it. Unravelling the Land Debate in Late Nineteenth-Century New Zealand', *NZJH*, 30:2, 1996, p. 141.
- ¹² Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies, The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1989, refers to the experience of atomisation encountered in the early days of colonial settlement in NZ. The experience of the envisioned Arcadian paradise was in fact a harsh, lonely and 'chaotic' encounter.
- ¹³ Walter Cook, 'Gardens at the Exhibition: Garnishing for a Harvest Festival', in *Farewell Colonialism*, Thomson, (ed.), p. 52.
- ¹⁴ Johannes Andersen, *Jubilee History of South Canterbury*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1916, p. 76.
- ¹⁵ Brooking, pp. 141-160.
- ¹⁶ Malcolm Mckinnon (ed.), *Bateman New Zealand Historical Atlas, Ko Papatuanuku e Takoto Nei*, Auckland: David Bateman, 1997, plate 59.
- ¹⁷ William Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate, History of Waimate County and Borough*, Waimate: Waimate County and Borough Councils, 1985, pp. 31-32.
- ¹⁸ *ibid.*, p. 32.
- ¹⁹ Oliver Gillespie, *South Canterbury, A Record of Settlement*, Timaru: The Timaru Herald, 1985, pp. 101-103.
- ²⁰ Report of Operations Under the Land for Settlements Acts, *AJHR*, 1905, C-5. The District Ranger reported that the Waikakahi Settlement had made "very good progress during the year" and the "prospects" also looked "very good".
- ²¹ Brooking, p. 141.
- ²² E.C. (Edgar) Studholme, *Te Waimate, Early Station Life in New Zealand*, 2nd edn, Wellington: A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1940, p. 24. Fourth generation descendants of Michael Studholme remain on this land today.
- ²³ E.M.L. (Effie) Studholme, 'The Answer' in *Reminiscences of 1860*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1910.
- ²⁴ From here on Te Waimatamate will now be referred to as Waimate the abbreviation given to the area at a Provincial Council meeting held in Christchurch in 1861 and the name that has remained ever since.
- ²⁵ Edgar Studholme, p. 110.
- ²⁶ A.E. Woodhouse, *Blue Cliffs, the Biography of a South Canterbury Sheep Station, 1865-1970* Christchurch: AH & AW Reed Ltd, 1982, pp. 6, 29. Poingdestre purchased land from Jeannie Collier. In 1878 Charles Meyer farmed the station.
- ²⁷ Edgar Studholme, p. 142.
- ²⁸ Effie Studholme, p. 28.
- ²⁹ Edgar Studholme, p. 143.
- ³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 144.
- ³¹ *ibid.*, p. 96.

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- 32 *ibid.*
- 33 *ibid.*
- 34 *ibid.*, p. 98.
- 35 Anna Hayes, *From The Toss of a Coin, The Story of Alpheus Hayes and Normanvale, South Canterbury*, Christchurch: Pegasus, 1978, p. 57.
- 36 Edgar Studholme, p. 98.
- 37 John Finlay, Diary, 16 October 1879, Diaries of Makikihi Farm 1879-1881, Waimate: Waimate Historical Society Archives.
- 38 *ibid.*, 23 September 1880.
- 39 Edgar Studholme, p. 100.
- 40 *ibid.*, p. 101.
- 41 *ibid.*, p. 102.
- 42 Effie Studholme, p. 21.
- 43 *ibid.*,
- 44 Andersen, p. 76. Map of Pasturage Runs 1856.
- 45 Woodhouse, p. 3.
- 46 Edgar Studholme, p. 103.
- 47 Woodhouse, p. 8.
- 48 William Cronon, *Changes in the Land, Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England*, Canada: Harper Collins, 1983, p. 75.
- 49 Paul Carter, *The Road to Botany Bay, An Essay in Spatial History*, London: Faber & Faber, 1987, p. 210.
- 50 Woodhouse, p. 23.
- 51 Edgar Studholme, p. 105.
- 52 Woodhouse, p. 23.
- 53 Studholme, p. 105.
- 54 Cronon, p. 147.
- 55 *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 2nd edn, Vol. XI, Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 1059.
- 56 Horomona (Solomon) Pohio, excerpts from speech given to Native Land Court held on May 5 1868, as quoted in *Te Waimatamate*, Greenwood, pp. 4-5.
- 57 Hayes, pp. 56-57.
- 58 Edgar Studholme, p. 174.
- 59 Finlay, 27 April 1880.
- 60 Hayes, p. 23.
- 61 Hayes, p. 56.
- 62 Mrs Kate Thomson, Diary, 6 October 1867, the Diary Books of Mrs James Thomson (nee Kate Sheath), April 1863 – June 1868, Waimate: Waimate Historical Society Archives.
- 63 Finlay, 16 October 1879.
- 64 Hayes, pp. 73-74.
- 65 Woodhouse, p. 28.
- 66 Andersen, p. 147.
- 67 Edgar Studholme, p. 178.
- 68 Finlay, 24 January, 5, 29 December 1879, 25 January 1881.
- 69 Edgar Studholme, p. 170.
- 70 *ibid.*, p. 172.
- 71 Andrew Hill Clark, *The Invasion of New Zealand by People, Plants and Animals, The South Island*, New Brunswick, USA: Rutgers University Press, 1949, p. 349.
- 72 Edgar Studholme, pp. 270-271.
- 73 Hayes, p. 146.
- 74 Woodhouse, p. 29.
- 75 Woodhouse, p. 23.
- 76 Finlay, 29 September, 14 August, 1879.
- 77 Henry Orbell, Diary, 25 October 1864. Diary 1864, Waimate: Waimate Historical Society Archives. It is unclear where Orbell was farming at this stage and some indications are that he could have been south of the Waitaki river in North Otago. However he obviously had connections with Waimate. His Obituary was in the

Waimate Advertiser on 18 March 1914 and his Diary is stored in the local Waimate Archives.

⁷⁸ Hayes, p. 16.

⁷⁹ Carter, p. 265.

⁸⁰ Carter, p. 264.

⁸¹ Woodhouse, p. 29.

⁸² Edgar Studholme, p. 271.

⁸³ Hayes, p. 69.

⁸⁴ Effie Studholme, p. 52.

⁸⁵ Thomson, 26 January –27 May 1864, 6 June 1866.

⁸⁶ Woodhouse, pp. 19-23.

⁸⁷ Orbell, 23 August 1864.

⁸⁸ Finlay, 3 October, December 26, 1881.

⁸⁹ Finlay, 14 August, and 16, 27 October, 28 November, 1 December, 1879.

⁹⁰ Hayes, p. 36.

⁹¹ Thomson, 27 May, 3 January, 1864, 11 December 1865.

⁹² Horomona (Solomon) Pohio, excerpts from speech given to Native Land Court held on May 5, 1868, as quoted in *Te Waimatamate*, Greenwood, pp. 4-5.

⁹³ Greenwood, pp. 4-5.

Landscape as 'Settlement'

"I think it was important to celebrate ... and important for my father's generation because they have a memory of that and a tie to people ... I can't see that the next jubilee, the 150th is going to be of significance because the people who own the land won't have a memory of the original people involved. It will be a concept that they are celebrating as opposed to the land itself"

"I used to think that our farm was pretty important because it had The Plough [memorial] and it was Pikes Point and it was the very last hill on the row of hills and for the Maori people [the place] also used to be a landmark"

"The White Horse ... we got this memorial to the Clydesdales which broke in heaps of this country"

"The churches remind us that our early settlers provided even though they had very little, first of all for their families, they acknowledged God and they built school and hospitals"

"they told yarns about where they worked and who they worked for and who the old farmers were ... these fellas also told stories about people on the threshing mills, people who worked digging spuds, old shearers, they were stories about real people"

(Interviews, Waimate, 1999)

Interviewees valued memories as affirmations of connection with a place of settlement. Knowledge of the past was important in their experiences of 'our place'. A sense of history was directly linked with ideas of belonging. By the turn of the 20th century the frenetic pace of landscape transformation that occurred in New Zealand after the arrival of the colonial immigrants began to slow. The Canterbury landscape was 'speaking progress' (in English) and settler families had more time to 'settle down' into the landscape they had created. The process of 'settling into' this landscape became important for first and second local born generations of Pakeha New Zealanders. Their encounter with the land included making the space their parents and grandparents claimed as 'our place' into a place they could settle into as 'home'. In Paul Carter's phraseology, it was now time "to teach the landscape to smile".¹ The language of the smile was still imbued with cultural influences of the British Homeland and New Zealand connections with the Empire remained strong. However, time and

distance had allowed for local born generations to begin looking at the shifting their affiliations with the Home Country to identify with the New Zealand landscape their colonial parents and grandparents had constructed. They also began to revisit aspects of the indigenous experience of landscape, now able to do so from the safety of the cultural space their forbears had fashioned.

The Oxford English Dictionary defines the word 'settle' as "to adjust one's position with the intention of remaining", "to have completed one's arrangements for residing", "to come to rest", "to ensure stability or permanence". The word 'settling' is defined as "to take settle" and "to be at ease". 'Settlement' describes a group of people "coming to rest" and "lodging in a definitive place". It is a community that has "ceased annoyance" and "has come to an end of a series of changes or fluctuations and is assuming a definite form or condition".² A settlement is a perception of place where people can identify a collective sense of belonging.

This chapter looks at a story about landscape as settlement. It investigates ways first and second local born generations of Pakeha New Zealanders went about settling into Waimate. By creating a history of place, about 'our place', people were able to identify with it and foster a sense of belonging to it. David Lowenthal has said: "the most essential and pervasive benefit of the surviving past is to render the present familiar."³ A history of place also validated claims of possession. The chapter investigates ways, individually and collectively, Pakeha folk of Waimate 'settled' into their landscape by commemorating engagements with it. Focus is on how local folk 'wrote themselves into their landscape' by creating commemorative symbols. The symbols described in this chapter are in the form of memorial structures and poetry. The chapter also inquires as to the part the presence of Maori played in this layering of a culture over the land and how the local hapu featured in the process of Pakeha settlement in Waimate.

Primary source material includes Jubilee publications, newspaper articles, scrapbooks, photographs and poetry found in books and diaries. Secondary material used to inform interpretations has come from David

Lowenthal's writings about commemorations, Jock Phillips' research on New Zealand memorials and Peter Gibbons' discussions on the history of New Zealand literature. Gibbons and Phillips have been referred to in interpreting the role the indigenous experience of landscape had to play in this process of settling.

For those settling into 'our place' the recording of memories and making of a history provided connecting threads that gave meaning and reassurance in the process of belonging. The writing of a history onto the landscape could be divided into two categories, official and unofficial. Both were culturally determined and in turn served to reinforce perceptions and experiences of the culture. Central, provincial and local government bodies, whose form of administration was modelled on Britain, directed the creation of an official 'public' history of landscape engagements. In the early 20th century the histories of William Pember Reeves and James Cowan, for example, supported the vision of imperialism and affirmed the landscape transformation that had occurred under British colonialism. William Pember Reeves, in describing the early days of colonisation wrote, "the history of New Zealand as a portion of the British Empire now begins".⁴ James Cowan reiterated, "This country has a history, in its first century as a British land".⁵ New Zealanders were informed that their history was British history. Reeves also wrote of New Zealand, "It is my country".⁶ Patriotism and feelings of national pride in the progress made since early days of colonisation were cultivated in the writing of these histories. Cowan also encouraged New Zealanders to not always "look over the seas to the lands of [their] forefathers for leadership [but instead] to cultivate the spirit of nationhood for [themselves]".⁷ Never mind that the idea of a "spirit of nationhood" was an import of European culture anyway. Regional and local government bodies supported these perspectives of patriotism, nationhood, and pride in progress. One way they did this was in organising civic occasions and commemorative ceremonies that celebrated historical ties with Britain and encouraged a separate sense of nationhood. Pride in the progress that had been made within regions and localities was also promulgated. Reports in the newspapers publicised these occasions and

reinforced official perspectives about the history of 'our place'. In Waimate mechanisms of provincial and local governance had been administering public affairs since the formation of the Waimate Road Board in 1864. After the abolition of the Provinces in 1876 the Waimate County Council managed local affairs. The Waimate Borough Council was inaugurated in 1879. These local bodies were influential in the 'writing' of a Waimate history.

On the 26 September 1907 the first Dominion Day celebration was held in New Zealand. Britain had awarded its stamp of approval by conferring rights of self-governance. Pioneering days of colonisation were seen as having successfully transformed much of the landscape from 'wilderness into garden' according to the cultural precepts of the British immigrants. The land had been 'conquered' and 'progress' was evident in the transformation of the landscape. This acknowledgement of independence did nothing to sever ties with the Mother Country but it did give cause for commemorating achievements specific to New Zealand. The major achievement was, of course, the reconstruction of a 'Little Britain' in the south seas. Records had this to say about the public function held on 26 September 1907 outside the Waimate District High School:

Here the children were gathered round the flagpole from which flew the New Zealand flag. The school cadets turned out in uniform under Captain Goldstone and their other officers, and were drawn in line. Captain Barclay, of the Waimate Rifles, who was in uniform, and a number of Borough Councillors and members of the school committee were present. The mayor ... read the proclamation he had received from the Premier ... the mayor then read an announcement that a medal would be struck for each boy and girl in the colony as a memento of Dominion Day. The cadets and children saluted the flag, the National Anthem was sung, and the school was given a holiday for the remainder of the day.⁸

The National Anthem was "God Save The King". The local Member of Parliament was present at the occasion. Mr William Steward MP for Waitaki expressed his sentiments about the Day in verse:

And the Mother of Nations thus this day to her youngest daughter saith,
 "I know that thou lovest me, daughter, with a love that is strong as Death
 Thy people are free as mine are free, their hearts as the hearts of mine,
 For, brave and true as my people are, as brave and as true as thine:

Flesh of my flesh, blood of my blood, bone of my bone art thou,
 “And my hand with a mother’s blessing I place on thy fearless brow...”⁹

New Zealand’s history was British history and Waimate folk were reminded of this on such occasions. This patriotism provided a sense of continuity with their ancestral Homeland. It helped explain why at a public meeting held in Waimate on the outbreak of war in 1914 “patriotic outbursts occurred” and people started singing “Land of Hope and Glory”, “Sons of the Seas”, and “God Save the King”.¹⁰ Official commemorations of ties with Britain contributed to the process of colonisation. They affirmed claims of sovereignty and helped local born generations settle into the landscape that had been constructed.

Commemorative events were also about celebrating the European cultural overlay that transformed the indigenous landscape into a ‘productive garden’. Celebration and memorialisation of early colonial engagement with the landscape was fundamental to the process of history making. It contributed to fashioning a ‘home-grown’ history that affirmed identification with immediate surroundings. Commemorative occasions celebrated the achievements of colonisation and honoured the ‘frontier’ qualities that made it all possible. One way pioneering encounters became mythologised was in memorial structures. Commemorative monuments gave material embodiment to pioneering myths. They became part of the story written onto the landscape and contributed to the making of an official history. They also localised history by marking stories of landscape engagement in a specific place. Memorials represented a collective identification with place and encouraged feelings of settlement. They were visible reminders of a shared past and in this respect fostered a sense of belonging.

Memorials turned people and events into artefacts and relics. Lowenthal has stated that, “when other relics have perished, commemorative creations survive as ... physical reminders of the past”.¹¹ In Waimate monuments, plaques, headstones, foundation stones, buildings and trees were used as symbolic reminders that helped reinforce identification with place. The unveiling of a memorial was an occasion of

public commemoration. In 1934 a public ceremony was held in Waimate in memory of the 'birth' of its colonial history. A tall stone monument had been built to commemorate the meeting of Michael Studholme and Chief Te Huruhuru. The chief, in a culturally specific act, was immortalised in stone along with the 'founding father' of the colonised landscape. The inscription read:

Waimate July 1854.
 Chief Te Huruhuru
 Welcomes First Settler
 Michael Studholme
 80th year Memorial.
 J.T. Huruhuru. Grandson
 E.C. Studholme. Son.
 Laid Foundation Stones 1934¹²

The layering of memories of discovery and rediscovery of place was culturally reconstructed in the 'laying' of stone monuments. Waimate folk chose to memorialise the arrival of explorers and Christian missionaries. The 'Lower Hook Beach Memorial' is a small stone 'cairn' located near the shingle beach on Hook Swamp Road. It marks the place of the unexpected meeting of Edward Shortland and Bishop Selwyn as they were journeying through Te Waimatamate in 1844. It reads: "Hereabouts Bishop Selwyn and Edward Shortland met 16th January 1844."¹³ A story about Shortland's and Selwyn's encounter with Te Waimatamate became set in stone. This memorial helped 'settle' claims of acquisition to 'our place'. A memorial headstone was placed above the grave of Miss Jeanie Collier who took up the Otaio run on the Hunters Hills in 1855. It was ceremonially unveiled at her burial site on the homestead block almost a century later in honour "of the only woman landseeker in South Canterbury" who established a home in the "wilderness of tussock, flax and fern."¹⁴

The theme symbolised in the commemorative relics supported the interpretation of British colonisation as 'progress'. The inscription on 'The Plough' memorial located on the old Waikakahi Estate reads, "To honour the pioneer settlers, the men, and women whose vision, faith and toil fashioned our heritage."¹⁵ Another monumental tribute to the pioneers and identified by many as a 'landmark' of the district is 'The White Horse'. The likeness of a horse was outlined in white paving stones on Mt John in the

Hunters Hills. It overlooks the Waimate township, across the farmed checkerboard landscape, and beyond to the horizon of the Pacific Ocean. The monument memorialised the work of the Clydesdale draught horses that ‘broke up the land’ in the process of converting Waimate from ‘wilderness to garden’. A plaque on the cairn above the concrete horse reads, “To commemorate the many draught horses which did so much for the development and prosperity of New Zealand. Our thoughts visualise their achievement by this view.”¹⁶ Horses appear to be symbolic of conquest. In one of his scrapbooks, Waimate’s mayor from 1925 to 1953 had a photograph and newspaper clipping about a memorial horse found on the slope of a hill in Westbury in England. The ‘white horse’ had been shaped from the chalk downs of the Salisbury Plains. It was made to commemorate the victory of Alfred the Great over the Danes in AD878. In this case a British memorial concept was appropriated, adapted and interwoven into the story of the colonial conquest of the Waimate landscape.¹⁷

Public buildings were constructed ‘marks’ of culture in the landscape. Formal civic functions often involved dedicating buildings and other public structures to the memory of some person or event. These structures became symbols of connection with Britain. They were used to commemorate local achievements in fashioning a progressive landscape and they were valued, as signs of cultural progress in their own right. In May 1910 it was decided that Seddon Square, (the community common/meeting ground named in memory of the recently deceased Prime Minister) was to have a band rotunda erected upon it in memory of “King Edward the Peacemaker” who had just died.¹⁸ The local newspaper reported the official opening of the rotunda in commemoration of the king:

The object of the memorial was to leave a lasting memento to his services as a wise and beneficent ruler ... [it was hoped] that the rotunda would show future generations that, in common with communities in other parts of the Empire, they desired to perpetuate the memory of one of the best kings England ever had.

The newspaper report included the local mayor’s references to “Edward

the Peacemaker”:

Without his assistance, where possibly would New Zealand’s prosperity be today? These days of rapid changes necessitated building a permanent memorial for future generations to learn the importance of those nine years of his reign.¹⁹

The inscription that the “Waimate public had insisted be put on a permanent base on the rotunda read, ‘Memorial built by the people of the Waimate district to commemorate the reign of King Edward VII., the Peacemaker: 1901-1910’.”²⁰ The King Edward Memorial Committee who organised the building of this monument was also involved in arrangements for building “The King George Coronation Gates” at the entrance to Seddon Square.²¹ Connections with Britain were affirmed and transformation of the landscape was commemorated. Continuity was maintained amidst the changes. This helped people feel ‘settled’.

Public buildings were important in the establishment of settlements. They became memorials to past connections and symbols of progress. They also reflected ideas about settling into a community. Settlers on the Waihao coastal flatlands at Studholme Junction wanted to build ‘their own’ public hall. In order to acquire funds it was decided to build the hall in commemoration of connections with Britain. At the meeting the chairman explained that “the Government subsidy on Coronation memorials was procurable for certain things, and a public hall was a suitable Coronation memorial”.²² The community “Library Hall” that was later built at Hannaton also symbolised the progress made in settling into the local landscape. Headline for an article in *The Waimate Advertiser* on August 17 1908 was, “A Progressive Little Community – Successful Collective Management”. The article praised the commitment and industriousness of the Morven community in building their public hall, public library and Presbyterian church.

In a few months the hall will be absolutely free of debt. Then, like Alexander the Great weeping because he had no more worlds to conquer, the Morven Public Hall Company will be in a quandary what to do with its surplus energies. Why not come into Waimate [township] and build a hall? ... The Presbyterians of Morven are also like Alexander the Great, in danger of giving way to weeping. What is

the secret of this excellence in a community ... [it] is simply the pursuit of pleasure has been directed into a co-operative channel ... May the instinct for warm social contact be long and strongly preserved amongst the Morven Folk!²³

The choice of language in this piece, 'progressive', 'conquer', 'co-operative', 'excellence', and the parallel with Alexander the Great were celebrated qualities akin to the ethos of colonisation. The community involvement with this building project also contributed to the process of settling. Buildings were visible constructions of cultural ownership upon the land. Ceremonial openings were self-congratulatory rituals about achieving this ownership. When Parliamentary Minister Hon. Mr David Buddo opened the Waimate Post Office in 1911 he regretted that a local official, Mr John Manchester, was not there "to see the fruition of the matter" he had vigorously petitioned for. "But [MP Buddo said], the old order changed, and I propose to give [Waimate] some history." Mr Buddo proceeded to describe local colonial history in paying tribute to "the transformation effected by a small community of settlers and workers within fifty years ... [that was] indeed marvellous".²⁴ Crafting memories into memorials was part of the history-making process. Commemorating past achievements helped settle claims to cultural possession and "put at ease" those refashioning Waimate into 'our place'.

Christianisation of Waimate had resulted in a number of ceremonies revolving around the laying or unveiling of 'foundation stones' to commemorate the opening of new churches. Christian colonisation was part of the history of the area and churches in the landscape were perceived as symbols of progress. Whereas the 'foundation stones' detailed particulars of an historical event (ie the laying), the churches were continual reminders of the triumph of Christian culture. Churches were symbols of continuity and provided stability for those 'settling in' to a place. They represented links with Britain. They nurtured collective associations with religious denominational cultures that were familiar. Churches were also a mark of landscape settlement making a statement about cultural possession of place. In 1909 a new Catholic church was opened in

Waimate. A newspaper article of the event inferred the church was a memorial as well:

a noble edifice, an ornament to the town and country ...
It was indeed a great day – a red-letter day for
Waimate and the surrounding districts... the southernmost
parish of the diocese of Christchurch, had grown up under
one of the greatest of blessings that the Almighty could
bestow upon a district.²⁵

Three years later Catholic parishioners were raising funds for the church tower which would “raise the cross forty-five feet”. An article in the local paper went on to say, “this handsome building will not only show progress in religion, but also will become a landmark, worthy of the prosperity of Waimate and surrounding districts.”²⁶ In August 1872 the ‘foundation stone’ was laid for the Waimate St Augustine’s Anglican Church. In 1874 the Presbyterians celebrated the laying of their ‘foundation stone’ for the Knox Presbyterian Church.²⁷ Just as churches were built around these foundation stones, it was anticipated that communities would build upon the foundations of Christianity the churches signified. Local born generations revisited the foundation stones during anniversary celebrations. These stone plaques were a memorial of the community spirit of particular people and the churches were continual visible reminders of the spiritual conquest by a Christian landscape.

Trees and recreational gardens were invested with commemorative value in the process of writing a local history. At the opening of the Waimate Anglican church Michael Studholme had donated oak trees for the church grounds.²⁸ In June 1911 oak trees were planted at a public ceremony to commemorate the coronation of the new King of England.²⁹ The oak trees of King George Avenue became marks of cultural settlement on the Waimate landscape. An article in *The Waimate Advertiser* in 1925 entitled ‘Memorial Tree Planting’ quoted the Mayor, George Dash, as saying: “we suggest the proposed street tree planting should be planned to meet the desire for memorials and that trees be planted in many streets and named as suggested.”³⁰ William Greenwood wrote in his council history (1985), “In many parts of Waimate, English trees, and in particular oaks, are features of the area, several being among the “notable” trees in

the district.”³¹ Even trees that had been planted on less auspicious occasions were regarded by members of the local community as emblems of a nostalgic past. In 1916 readers of *The Waimate Advertiser* were informed how important “stately *Macrocarpa* hedges” were in the Waimate landscape and that the local council would be making “unsightly breaches” in “cutting them back to the building line”. The article read:

Good-Bye *Macrocarpa*!
The Doom of Waimate’s Hedges
A By-Law “Honoured in the Breach”

Visitors from the West Coast and the North Island used to “rave” over the *macrocarpa* hedges of Canterbury and Otago towns. Here was something to remind one of the village walks of Old England. If the “Medes and Persians” on the Borough Council in their passion for consistency, are allowed to have their way, Waimate’s once glorious hedges will become a reproach and a by-word.³²

Imported trees were reminders of historical connections with Britain. They also symbolised links with the colonial settlers who had planted them in the process of colonising the indigenous landscape. Trees were important marks of settlement signalling and affirming conceptions of ‘our place’.

In the process of transforming the landscape into a garden, pockets of imported and indigenous flora and fauna were fenced into parcels that became parks and reserves. The reserve land was often gifted to communities by settler landholders and administered by local council boards for public use. It was not uncommon for parks and reserves to be named and dedicated in memory of the British Homeland or to local settlers and their achievements in refashioning the indigenous landscape. Michael and John Studholme presented 33.59 ha of the Te Waimate run to the people of Waimate in 1874. The reserve, Knottingley Park, was named after the hometown of John Studholme’s wife, Knottingley in West Yorkshire. Ellen Studholme (nee Moorhouse) also happened to be the sister of William Sefton Moorhouse, an influential colonial administrator as Superintendent of Canterbury from 1857 to 1863 and from 1866 to 1868. The land was fenced and plantations were laid out under the supervision of a local commission set up to “control Knottingley Park”.³³ The Studholme

brothers also gifted another 7.2 ha of land in 1881. This was set aside as a public recreational reserve. It was named Victoria Park in honour of Queen Victoria's jubilee of 1887. Trees were planted and the area became a track and field sporting venue. Victoria Park underwent a "major reorganisation and improvement" in the 1930s with the aid of subsidised labour available to the local council during the Depression. "Trees were cut down and extensive paths, lawns, rose and flower beds established, many ornamental trees [were] planted... lily ponds [made], and the whole was tastefully planted with shrubs".³⁴ George Dash, mayor at the time, was remembered for "an outstanding feature" in his career, his "transformation of Victoria Park into a [ornamental] garden".³⁵ George Dash was also credited with the idea to establish a reserve in the Hunters Hills. However lack of funding averted the plan until land was donated to council in 1965 by the descendents of Alpheus Hayes still farming Centrewood. The reserve became Centrewood Park. At a council meeting in April 1912 members of the council proposed that another reserve on the Hunters Hills be called 'The Norton Francis Park' in "recognition of the amount of energy and foresight displayed by the ex-mayor (Norton Francis Esq.) in securing the area". Reports in the local paper supported the decision and encouraged the idea that the park be protected as a sanctuary for "native birds and trees".³⁶ By 1918 Norton Francis had fallen out of favour and the reserve reverted to its earlier colonial name of Kelcey's Bush in memory of two brothers who had worked the bush for the Studholmes of Te Waimate.³⁷ Centrewood and Kelcey's (Norton Francis) reserves were once what was Te Kaherehere. The construction and naming of parks and reserves was part of the colonial cultural overlay of the area. Memorialisation of these parcels of native and 'exotic' garden contributed to the making of a Waimate history.

Included in the history-making process was another partial recognition of the pre-colonial landscape. First and second born Pakeha generations settling into their landscape revisited Maori engagement with the land. Jock Phillips has stated:

there was considerable appropriation of Maori culture to serve Pakeha needs for a distinctive identity... for Pakeha

the Maori presence and symbolism ... provided both a picturesque exoticism designed to appeal to tourists and also an instant mythology of a romantic past which gave Pakeha a sense of history in this 'new' land.³⁸

Local born Pakeha began appropriating "safe" expressions of 'old-time' Maori culture that were perceived as suitable within their own British-Pakeha cultural context. Aspects of the indigenous relationship with their landscape were appropriated and included in the historical accounts of Pakeha settlement. Maori experiences of the land were reinterpreted according to Pakeha perceptions and incorporated into a British-Pakeha history of place. This was another act of colonisation. As Phillips pointed out, this phenomenon satisfied a need for a homegrown 'mythological' past. Remnants of the indigenous landscape had been fashioned into parks and reserves and were valued for recreational and scenic use. Likewise expressions of Maori engagement with their landscape came to be of value for entertainment and display purposes. Facets of Maori culture provided colour and novelty for the Pakeha desiring to create their own history of place.

In 1934 the place believed to be Chief Te Huruhuru's burial site in the grounds of the old Te Waimatamate kainga was acquired by the Borough Council. Members of the local hapu had never returned to live in the area once moving down to the reserve lands nearer the coast and permission was given for the council to care for this plot. What was tapu land for Maori was seen as being in need of some 'orderliness' to accommodate the inherited European perception of a burial place. The place became known as 'The Maori Cemetery' and a monumental headstone was made in memory of the Chief and other members of his family. A civic ceremony was held to commemorate the unveiling of this memorial. The entranceway to the burial place was painted with the words 'sacred ground' and decorated in Maori designs. Also in 1934 Te Huruhuru's grandson, Charles Thomas Huruhuru was invited to lay the Waimate Borough Council Jubilee Memorial Stone that marked the beginnings of Waimate's (settler) history.³⁹ Indigenous art was appropriated to adorn various buildings in the community. A concrete arch entranceway to the local rugby grounds was

imprinted with Maori design. Carvings were crafted into wooden beams around shelters at local parks and public reserves. 'The Maori house shelter' was built at Seddon Square in 1929 to celebrate the town's 50th jubilee.⁴⁰ Members of the local hapu did not do these carvings. Carvers of the Arawa tribe of Rotorua (the hub of indigenous appropriation) had done the work.⁴¹ Chief Te Huruhuru was memorialised in the fashioning of a Pakeha history of place. His mana was 'settled' into Waimate's history and the cultural experiences of his people were appropriated into Pakeha symbols of landscape settlement.

Another way of settling into the landscape was to write about it. Affirmation of connections with the British Homeland and appropriation of the indigenous landscape became the subject of culturally prescribed texts written by colonial immigrants and local born Pakeha. This was part of the history making process that helped justify claims to 'our place'. Writing was an act of cultural colonisation. Peter Gibbons has stated that, "indigenous people [became] imprisoned within the [Pakeha] texts and their own traditions [were] distorted by being reduced from oral performance to print".⁴² Bernard Kernot, in an article on 'Maoriland Metaphors', suggested that the interest of local born generations in the pre-colonial landscape also reflected a desire to return to some Utopian state before the arrival of the corrupting influence of European civilisation.⁴³ Writing about such a past provided for Pakeha needs of an "instant mythology" and "picturesque exoticism".⁴⁴ By interweaving British cultural experiences with perceptions of the indigenous landscape into their literature, local born Pakeha affirmed their claims of settlement.

Waimate writers celebrated the colonial transformation of the landscape and also mourned the loss a picturesque pre-colonial existence. A Waimate promotional publication (1926) makes no apology for the destruction of the indigenous landscape despite its lyricism. "In the onward march of agriculture [most of] the bush had to go, along with the picturesque swamps covered with flax and graceful toi toi"⁴⁵. Poetic writings were couched in culturally prescribed Romantic styles that had little to do with the realities of the colonial and indigenous experiences of

the landscape. Effie Studholme wrote about the mystery of the indigenous landscape, mourned its 'passing' but also celebrated the inevitability of its transformation in her poem 'The Old Order Changeth':

A steep and shingly beach, whereon the waves
From wide Pacific break in snow-white foam- ...
Raupo and toi, ti-tree, waving grass-
And through and round, deep, narrow, well-worn tracks,
Trodden by Maori feet that pass

Above, around, the virgin bush lies spread,
Mantling both hill and dale in richest green,
Impenetrable, dense, no foot may tread
Its innermost recesses, yet unseen...
Such is the virgin bush-as yet unknown,
Past is the century and changed the scene,
On terraced flat the golden corn now waves-
And left to mark where bush and pa have been
Only a few lone trees-some nameless graves...
An iron way now stretches, straight and clear.
By hill and plain, all roads lead to the town,
And glittering roofs shine out the green hills near,
While church bells peal where lonely bittern cried...
What of the Maori and his hardy kin?
Have they all vanished with the bush and pa?
Not so. Contented, merged one nation in, ...
Oh, noble destiny! Thus Britain rules
Her dark-skinned children of the South Seas...
All are alike content-Britain will guide,
Protect, uplift. So shall the islands fair
Own glad allegiance to the King of Kings.⁴⁶

George Henry Graham, remembered for his leadership in community organisations and Mayor of Waimate in 1891-92, had a book of poetry published in 1912. He mourned the loss of some Romantic Utopia embodied in perceptions of pre-colonial Waimate:

A gentle tribe of Maoris lived
On outskirts of the wood, ...
A simple woodland life they led,.
And roamed their wide domain
From where Waitaki's rapid streams
Flow murmuring to the main
To Pareora's filtering bed,
The land was all their own,
They're now as vanished birds that have
From ruined forest flown.⁴⁷

In this poem, 'Waimate Bush', George Graham continued to overlay what remained of the indigenous landscape with Arcadian imagery: "no fairy tryst ... No sylvan scene where Dryads haunt" could compare with the tree fern glades at Kelcey's Bush. Graham placed himself in this imaginary scene. He lamented at the destruction of much of the native forest but was reconciled by its 'noble' use in the development of the town:

Oft seated on a fallen tree
 In deep recess of shade,
 The simple airs of native land
 In flutal notes I played
 And while I played, the evening breeze...
 Gone are those scenes and sounds that might
 A poet's heart inspire ...
 But, like the blessed dead whose works
 Do follow them for years,
 The vanished Bush in useful works
 For leagues around appears...
 In homes where happy children play
 And loving hearts abide
 The sheltering walls and roof once formed
 Part of the forest pride...
 Waimate Bush supplied the logs
 That warmed the social hearth.⁴⁸

Stuart Murray, in his work on New Zealand literary nationalism would say that these writings were confined within a prescribed "non-indigenous vocabulary"⁴⁹. They imposed an imported literary culture into the landscape and contributed to the process of history making that was directly linked with purposes of British colonisation.

Poetry written later by local born Pakeha remained non-indigenous in style. However it did lack the overt Imperial and Arcadian sentimentality of the earlier attempts as writers tried to identify more with their local surroundings. Poetic celebration of the indigenous landscape was part of the process of settling. It was used in claiming 'citizenship' in 'our place'. *Waimate Verse* was published in 1936. The editor, was the Waimate Mayor from 1925 to 1941. The following piece was entitled 'Waimate Home' and was later set to music:

Where the leafy Ngaio's deep
 Flecked with shade the Waihao deep
 And Wainono's waters lay

Kissed by ocean's flying spray;
 Where the Hunter Hills look down
 On tree-bowered Waimate town,
 There-whenever I may roam,
 Te Waimate; there is home.
 Where bush-circled tree ferns share
 Space with dainty maidenhair, ...
 Where Waituna's fruit lands ridge
 High o'er famous Willowbridge,⁵⁰

Identification by local born generations endowed Waimate with the status of 'home', as opposed to pioneer attachment to the British 'Home-country'. The indigenous landscape and the British cultural overlay became interwoven. Integrating the past into the present included the acknowledgement of dead settlers 'sleeping' in the land. This gave permanence to the concept of 'home', as family and community memories were buried along with the dead in the local landscape.

Where the early settlers sleep
 While the hills their long watch keep⁵¹

Chief Te Huru hūru was not only remembered in the making of monuments but he, too, became the subject of local poetry. His memory provided continuity 'through all changes'. An appropriation of such ideas contributed to the formation of a Pakeha history of place. Evident in some writings was an intermingling of cultural landscapes. Native birds sang requiems and anthems. Totara towered above the agricultural garden and all the while Te Huru hūru slept under the hills that he had known as Te tari a Te Kaumira:

Under the Ranges
 Chief Huru hūru
 Sleep through all changes ...
 Bell-birds their clever
 Requiems ring you
 Tuis for ever
 Praise anthems sing you
 Matipo flowers
 O'er you are blowing
 Totara towers
 Up from our sowing⁵²

Local born generations recreated a history of the indigenous landscape in the process of 'decolonising' themselves from Britain and settling into New Zealand. A poem accompanying the above piece of verse was written by a

descendent of the chief. The poem, about Te Huruhuru, appears in print in English and Maori in a 1936 promotional publication of Waimate verse. This inclusion signifies an acknowledgement and, yet again, an appropriation of Maoritanga. However, it is indigenous in its cultural content, reflecting the 'quiet colonising' of the Maori presence in the community that became important in transferring identification with Britain to something homegrown:

E moe mai ra, Huruhuru	Sleep on, Huruhuru,
I roto i Waimate!	Upon Waimate
Kei reira ra koe, e koro	There lie you, old father
Te aroha-tia hei e!	While we sorrow here
Haere ra, Huruhuru,	Farewell Huruhuru
Ki runa I Pamamao	Speed to the distant home
Kei reira ra koe, e koro	There lie you, old father
Te aroha-tia hei e!	While we sorrow here ⁵³

Attempts by local born generations of Waimate writers to settle into 'our place' involved distancing connections with Britain.⁵⁴ This meant acknowledging the community's uniqueness. By positioning the Waimate landscape within a 'global' context it was easier for one poet to affirm a sense of self within his own locality. The local Hunters Hills provided an intimate security as opposed to the famous features of other countries:

Egypt of Pyramids is proud,
Niagara in pride roars loud
Far India boasts her Everest,
Killarney claims her lakes are best,
Switzerland gloats her mountains higher,
And the Japs acclaim their hill of fire.

...Thy hills, Waimate, are holding me.⁵⁵

Some efforts at establishing connection with place still required investing the landscape with culturally prescribed expressions of grandiose and lyrical emotions. In 'Waimate and her Lovers' the landscape was feminised and blessed by gifts of the gods:

Waimate, radiant one,
I think the understanding sun
Let fall its brightest gold to earth,
When you were given birth;
Rare Beauty's favoured you with fond caress
And Virtue's loyal friendship you possess

While loving souls on you their gifts bestow
 To make you thrive and grow,
 And lead you on to fame;

For those leaving the district, the poet personified nurturing aspects of the landscape by asking 'Waimate' to continue to watch over them:

Waimate, this we know-
 While gaining many a lover new
 As old ones pass to rest,
 ... , in mem'ry hold them,
 And like the soft enfolding night,
 With touch so tender and so light,
 Enfold them.⁵⁶

A woman writer, 'Mrs H. Arthur' did not image the landscape with such feminine idealisation but did resort to Romanticism in expressing her encounter with Waimate:

Through the blue skies of dawning day
 Laced silver clouds float on their way
 Over the green clad hills that lay
 Around thy heart Waimate ...⁵⁷

Soldiers leaving to fight overseas were farewelled in song that exhorted them to gain strength from their attachment to Waimate. The hills were likened to guards:

Eastward lies the blue of ocean,
 Guards thy west the Hunter Range,
 O'er whose slopes in constant motion
 Ever light and shadow change.
 Memory will keep a near me
 Pictures of your garden gay,
 Their bright beauty ever cheer me
 While in strange far lands I stray.⁵⁸

Although emphasis on British connections had retreated from the subject matter of these poems the style of writing still reflected non-indigenous literary concepts.

Not all poems that were written celebrating the locality and its history were so Romantic in style. Ballads that retold tales about the landscape encounters of local characters, about fetes of endurance and apparent good fortune were more connected with colonial experiences of New Zealand life, if not somewhat elevated to legendary status and embellished

like a ubiquitous local 'yarn'.⁵⁹ They told stories of place that Pakeha folk were able to identify with and helped justify their presence within a locality:

Hats off the old Pioneers
 Who paved the way for us.
 They felled the bush and tilled the ground
 And never made a fuss...
 Mother saw that all were fed
 With mutton, porridge, potatoes,
 And slices of home-made bread...
 They washed and scrubbed and cooked and darned,
 Yet never did they moan...
 On Sundays they all went to Church...
 This is the life my parents lived,
 Some ninety years ago,
 It was not a bed of roses,
 As I myself well know
 So let us face the future now,
 With neither dreads nor fears,
 For we follow in the footsteps
 Of these brave old pioneers.⁶⁰

The landscape had done a colonising work of its own. Similar verse reflected the realisation of a continual need for colonial pioneers to adapt to local surroundings. The style and subject matter of such writings indicated that the New Zealand environment was not the romantic Arcadian metaphor culturally imposed in the writings of an earlier elite. This history was more connected with the local landscape and commemorated the cultural reconstruction of 'wilderness to garden' as a result of hard work and determination to 'conquer' the harsh realities of a 'frontier'. Phillips has said: "Faced with the extreme nature of his environment, the colonial male held intellectual skills and book learning in low regard."⁶¹ The average working man was dependent on practical physical skills to generate a livelihood from his engagement with the landscape. Rather than nymphs and fairies, shearers, bullockys, and swaggermen became the subject of writings:

Many days went by and the sheep we shore
 Were dotted about the hill,
 And we daily tried for a few sheep more,
 An managed to 'foot the bill.'⁶²

They draft the mob in evening's cool,
 By twilight fill the shed,
 Have supper while they yarn and fool,
 Feed dogs-and so to bed.⁶³

Edgar Studhome wrote about the cattle musters on their Te Waimate run:

The cattle mustering from the run
 Was counted quite the best of fun.
 Skirting round the bush with owls still calling
 We tried to catch the cattle as they lay,
 For once they broke their camp in early morning,
 The wild ones took to cover for the day.
 Down the slopes we rushed them hell for leather,
 Toward the open country and the yard,
 Doing our best to keep the mob together,
 Horsemen and dogs all going mighty hard.⁶⁴

Studholme also wrote verse about the habits of 'The Hungry Shearer':

The Shearer is a hungry man,
 Who swallows food when'er he can
 At early morn there's tea and cake
 Whilst yet he is but half awake.
 Then breakfast comes at seven o'clock,
 Made up of tea and mutton chop
 'Smoke Oh' is on, fifteen to ten...⁶⁵

A swagger became the subject of a locally written and produced play performed by the Waimate Temperance Union in 1904. The play was set in a local farm kitchen where "Mrs Smith, a farmer's wife," was disgruntled with her "sixteen hours' work a day":

I used to hear a lot of gush about the glorious country life of farming, the bonny farmer's wife, the rosy-cheeked children, the merry haymakers, and all that sort of thing, before we took up this land two years ago; but, as far as I've seen, it is hard work for very long hours⁶⁶

'Mrs Smith', a "firm believer in whisky as a family cure-all", was chastised by members of the Christian Temperance Union for giving a drink to "a weary swagger" as a "pick-me-up". The swagger, "not brought up to country life", arrived "fairly knocked-up" by the heat of the day.⁶⁷ Such settings and subject matter in local literature were depicting a Pakeha 'homegrown' encounter of place.

Writing themselves into the landscape also included recognition of the landscape as 'progress'. Promotional literature used poetic devices such

as the 'picturesque' and 'romantic' to commemorate economically driven relationships of landscape engagement. Agricultural and scenic features of a place were promoted on the printed page. As part of the Canterbury hinterland Waimate was included in glowing idealisations of an agricultural paradise:

Gardens a mass of glowing colour, orchards rich with bending clusters of fruit, haystacks and cornricks; homesteads embowered in ever-green shelter-trees; fields ripe for harvest or stretching far and fallow to the sun; now and again the whirring windmills of artesian wells; trucks upon trucks loaded with wheat at the station-sidings in transit to the hold of some great London-bound tramp. Everywhere there are evidences that the land is a fertile, kindly one—a grand home for the agriculturalist and the flockowner.⁶⁸

(Christchurch Exhibition 1906)

The transformation of the landscape into a scene of such abundance was attributed to the "energy and determination" of the founding colonial farmers. According to promotional literature, the 347,822ha county of Waimate had been refashioned from "a barren land" of swamp grasses and bush into "wonderful vistas of green fields, and waving wheat, pleasant roads, tree fringed, fertile acres that must delight the eye of the visitor".⁶⁹ The qualities that had changed this apparent wasteland into such a fertile landscape were the same qualities of "foresight, pluck and endurance" that would ensure the continuation of 'progress' into an industrial future.⁷⁰ In the 1920s Waimate was being portrayed as a successful and prosperous community. This was due to the progress that had been made in transforming the landscape into a garden. Poetry was a vehicle used to express these sentiments:

WELCOME-to our Marts of Commerce
 Busy with the yields prolific
 Of fertile lands surrounding,
 Mile on Mile, our prosp'rous centre.

From warm hearts of all our people
 From the sunny peace and beauty
 Of our fortunate location
 Take a WELCOME to WAIMATE⁷¹

Such promotional propaganda became part of the local history. It helped define cultural expectations and justified claims to 'our place'. Such writings were affirming to the settlement process.

'Settle' has been described as "to adjust one's position with the intention of remaining". By creating a local history the Pakeha folk of Waimate were able to adjust their connections with Britain and reposition themselves within their New Zealand landscape. They were able to 'settle'. A sense of history provided a permanence and stability that affirmed perceptions of 'our place'. People and events of the past were crafted into a story that validated being there. Now, as Limerick would say, that "the conquest was secure sentiment became a luxury more people could afford".⁷² Waimate folk wrote themselves into their landscape with commemorative symbols. Official ceremonies were held, monuments were built, and 'poetry' was written as memorial texts to landscape engagement. Aspects of the Maori experience of place, their relationship with Te Waimatamate, were appropriated and interwoven into Pakeha expressions of place. The colonial landscape of progress became 'settled' in the writing of this story. This history became a collective experience of the place of settlement and a testimony of belonging. In memorialising engagements with the land folk were investing their landscape with meaning and establishing connections that affirmed their presence within it. They were able "to be at ease" in the knowledge that their signatures of entitlement were now scrawled over 'our place'. The challenge now was to belong.

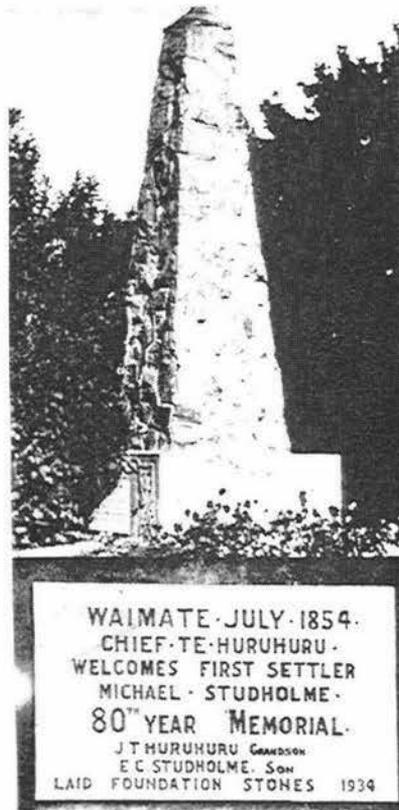
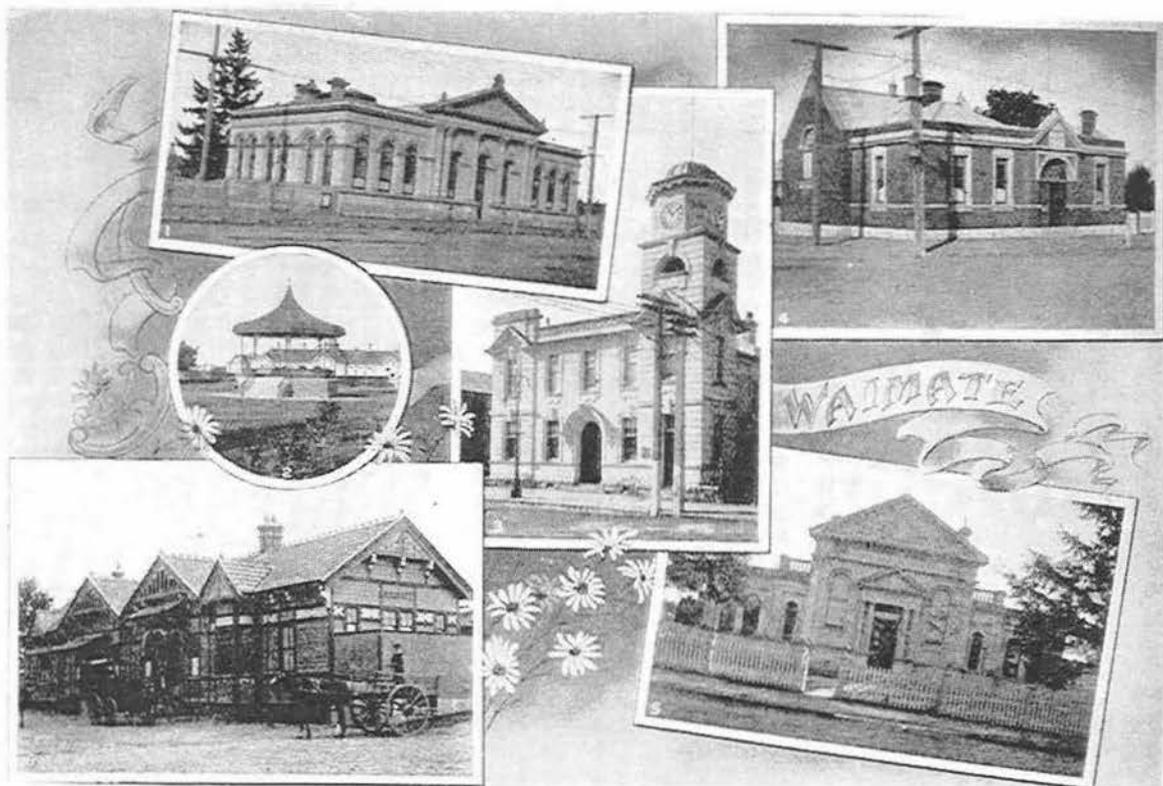


Figure 4.1 Landscapes of 'acquisition' and 'progress' commemorated in stone. The Lower Hook Beach Memorial commemorating the meeting of Bishop Selwyn and Edward Shortland on January 16, 1844. A monument built to commemorate the beginnings of a Waimate history with the meeting of Michael Studholme and Chief Te Huru Huru in 1854.

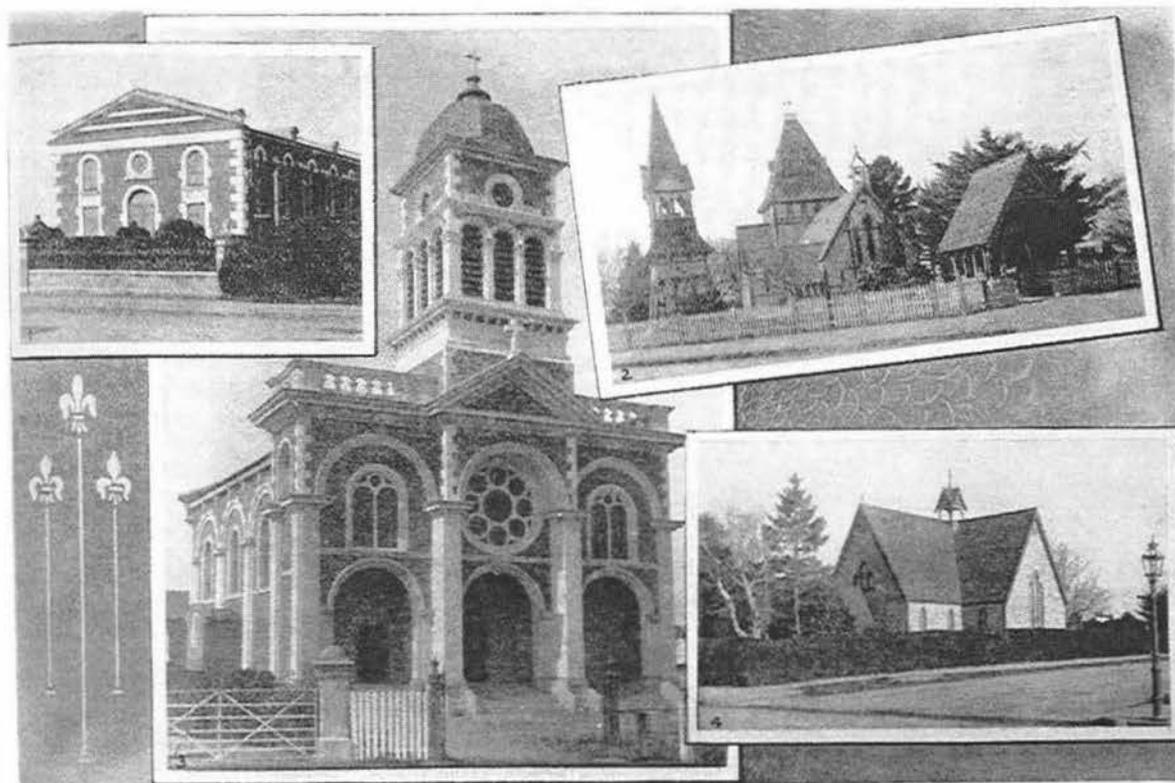
In William Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate, History of Waimate County and Borough*, Waimate: Waimate County and Borough Councils, 1985, facing p. 192, and in introductory dedication.



1. County Council Chambers
2. Seddon Square Band Rotunda

3. Borough Council
5. Court House

6. Railway Station



1. St Pauls :Wesleyan Church

3. St Patrick's: Roman Catholic Church

2. St Augustine's: Anglican Church

4. Primitive Methodist Church

Figure 4.2 Memorial marks of the landscape of 'settlement'.
Waimate public buildings and churches.

In Johannes Andersen, *Jubilee History of South Canterbury*,
Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1916, pp. 640-641.



Figure 4.3 Commemorative oak trees of what was once King George Avenue in Waimate. The street is now known as Queen Street.
(Waimate Museum)

In William Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate, History of Waimate County and Borough*, Waimate: Waimate County and Borough Councils, 1985, facing p. 320.

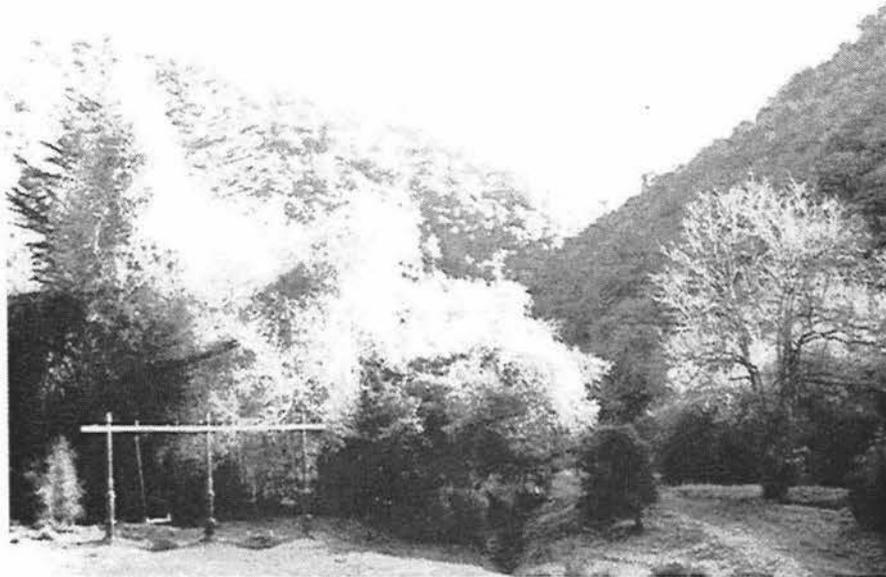


Figure 4.4 Naming a history.
Kelcey's Bush memorial recreational reserve. Was Te Kaherehere, became Kelcey's Bush (after brothers working on Te Waimate run), then for a brief time was named Francis Norton Park (after a Waimate mayor) before reverting back to being known as 'Kelceys'.

In William Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate*, facing p. 257.

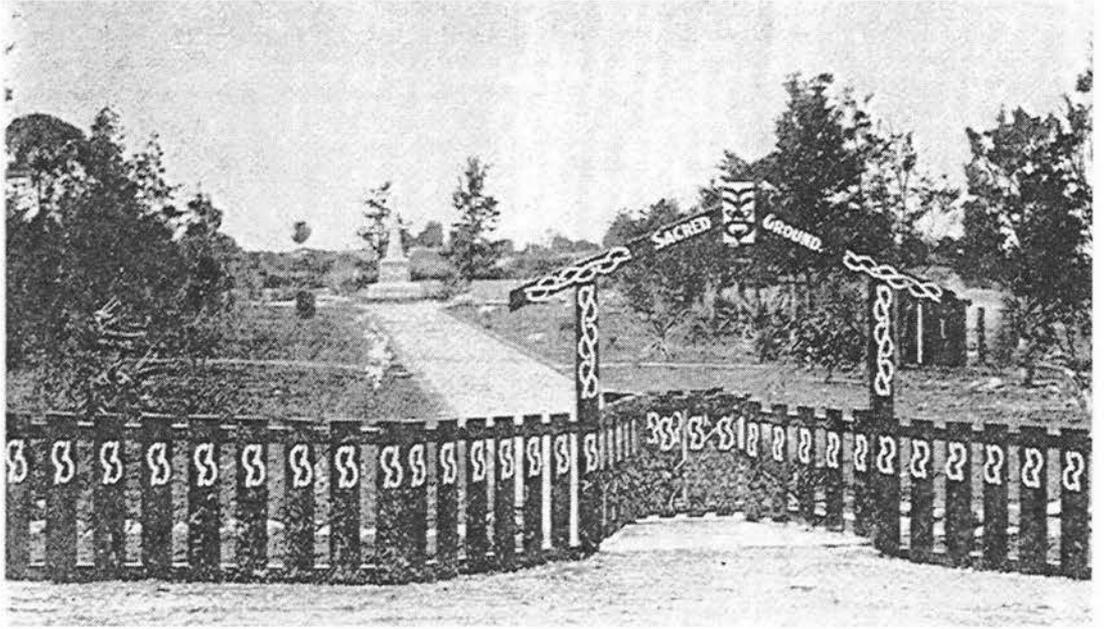


Figure 4.5 “Sacred Ground” appropriated in the making of a Waimate history. The Maori Cemetery where Chief Te Huru Huru’s grave was memorialised in a stone monument when the cemetery was taken over by the local council in 1934. Other members of the Chief’s family are also buried there. The site is near where the Te Waimatamate kaika was situated. The second photograph shows that today the place is left very much alone- as tapu land. (Waimate Museum)

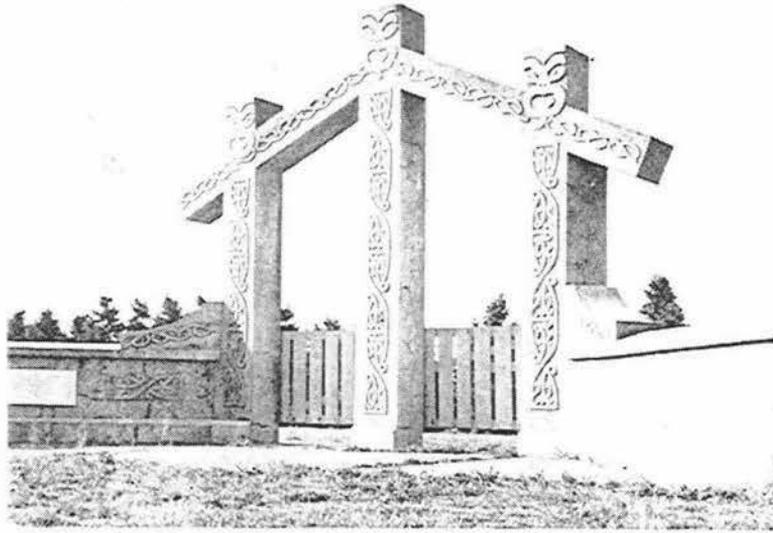


Figure 4.6 Cultural appropriation in the process of 'settling'.
Maori design is engraved on stone entranceway to
Manchester Park Rugby Grounds, Waimate.
(*Waimate Archives*)

In George Dash, *The George Dash Scrapbooks, 1925-1953*.
Waimate: Waimate Historical Society Archives, MS B56.

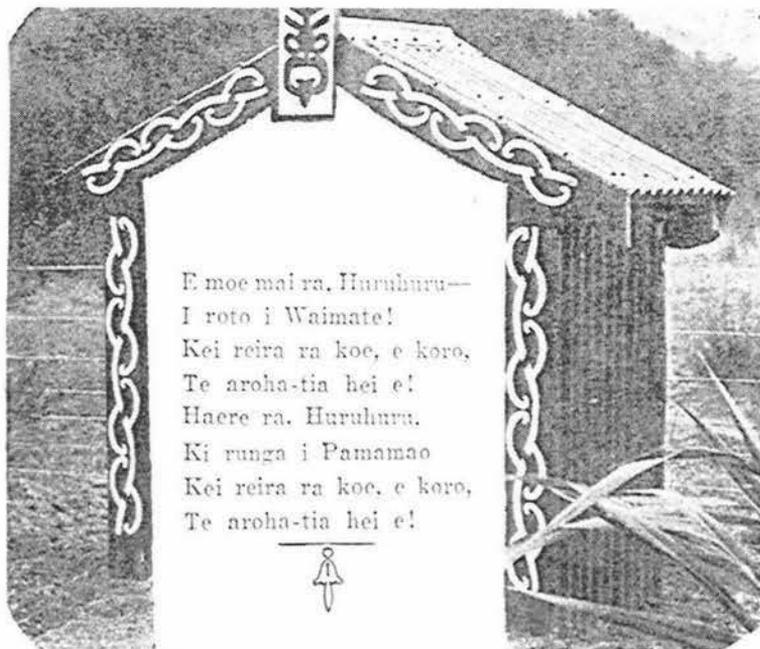


Figure 4.7 Another example of appropriation in the making of a
Waimate history. This cultural 'blending' was designed for
a cover page in *Waimate Verse* published in 1936. A
corrugated iron shed is superimposed with indigenous
design and the 'written' verse is in Maori.

In George Dash, (ed.), *Waimate Verse*, Waimate:
Waimate Publishing Company, 1936.



Figure 4.8 'Waimate Bush'. The subject of Romantic 'settlement' poetry. A gentleman (possibly George Dash) at Kelcey's Bush.
(*Waimate Archives*)

In George Dash, *The George Dash Scrapbooks*, 1925-1953. MS B56.

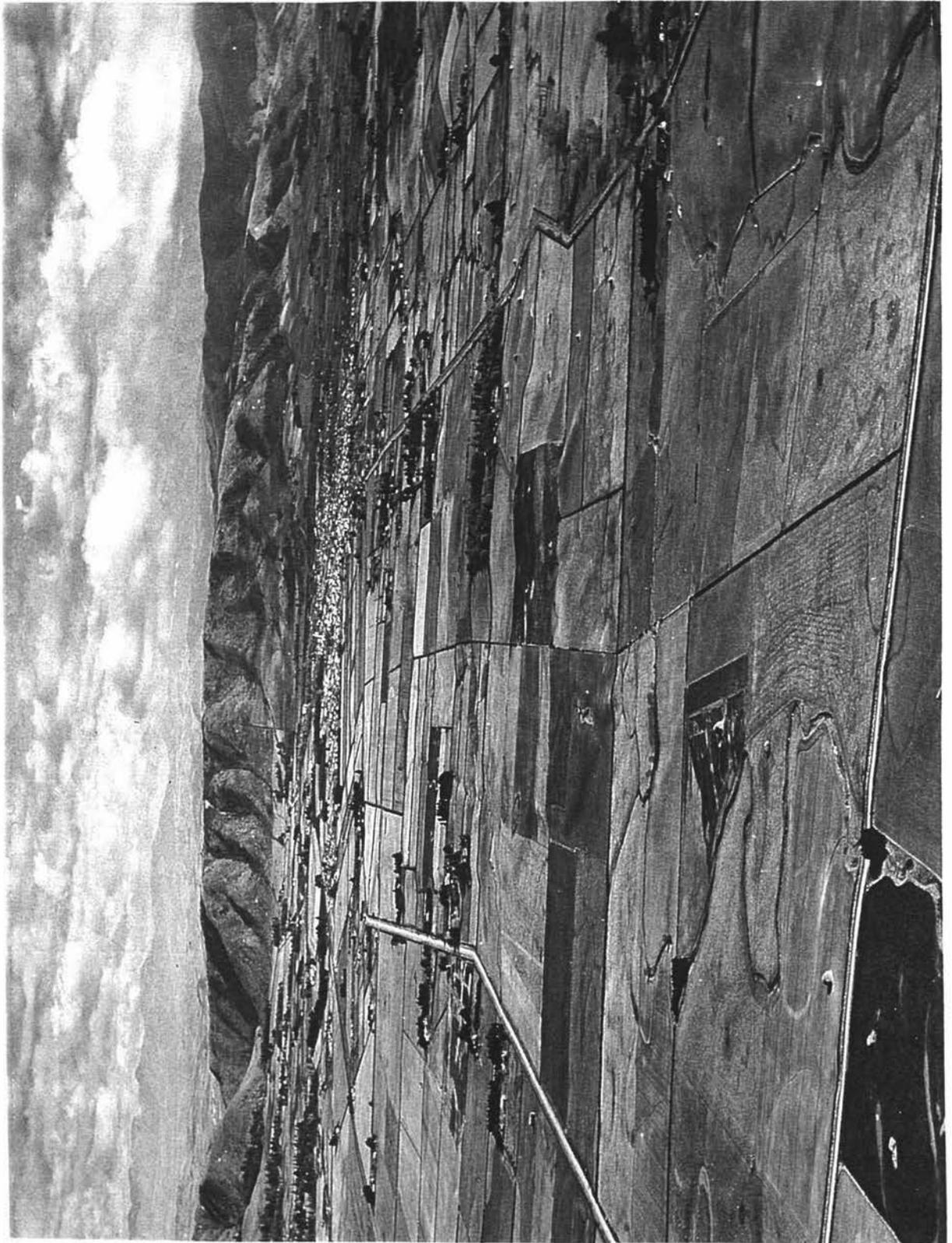


Figure 4.9 Waimate, Landscape of 'Progress'.
(*Photograph by V.C. Browne*)

In N.H. Whatman, 'The Waimate Run, South Canterbury: An Account of its Settlement and Development from 1854: A Study in Historical Geography', M.A. Thesis, Canterbury University, 1948.

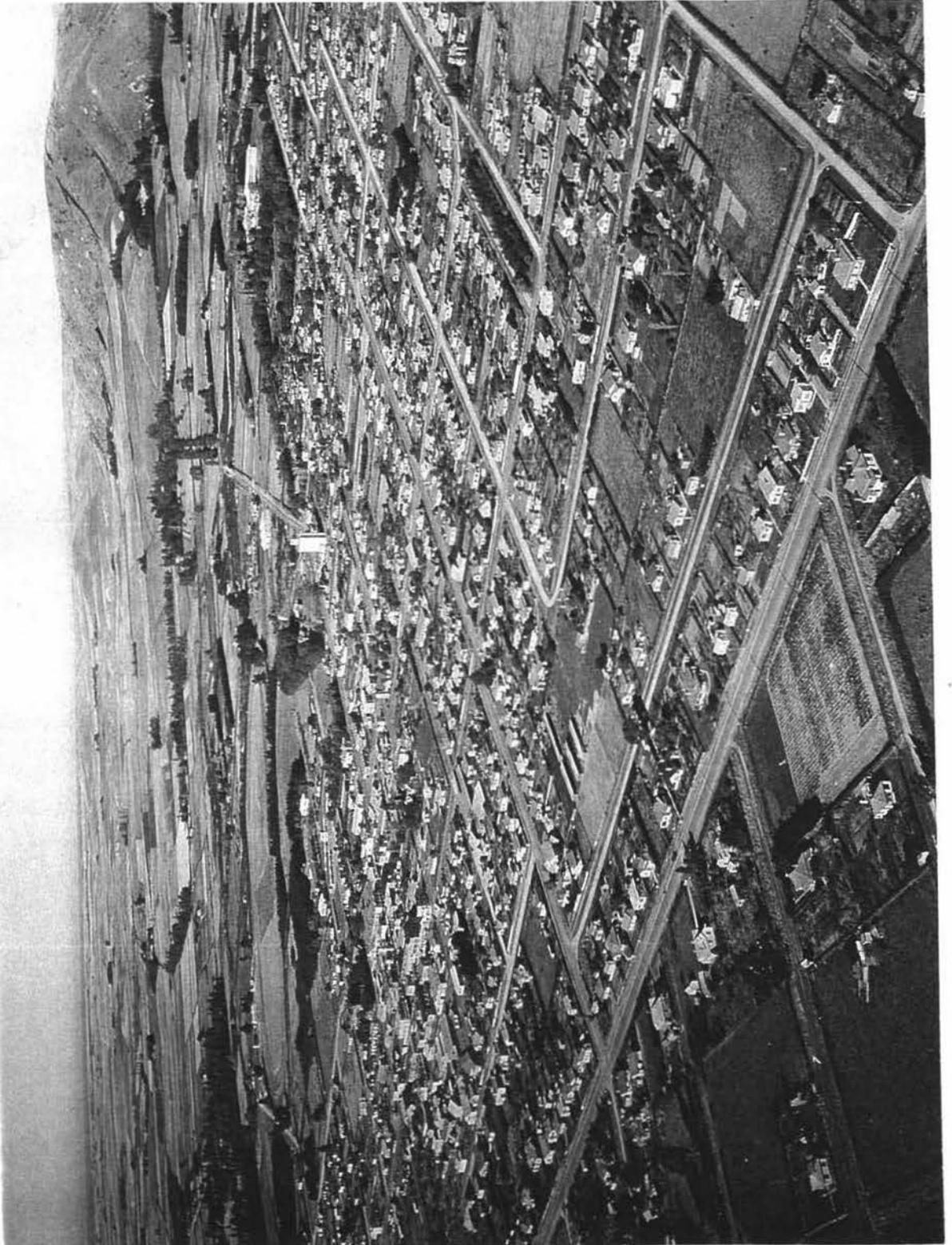


Figure 4.10 Waimate: Landscape of 'Settlement'
(*Photograph by NZ Aerial Mapping*)

In N.H. Whatman, 'The Waimate Run, South Canterbury: An Account of its Settlement and Development from 1854: A Study in Historical Geography', M.A. Thesis, Canterbury University, 1948.

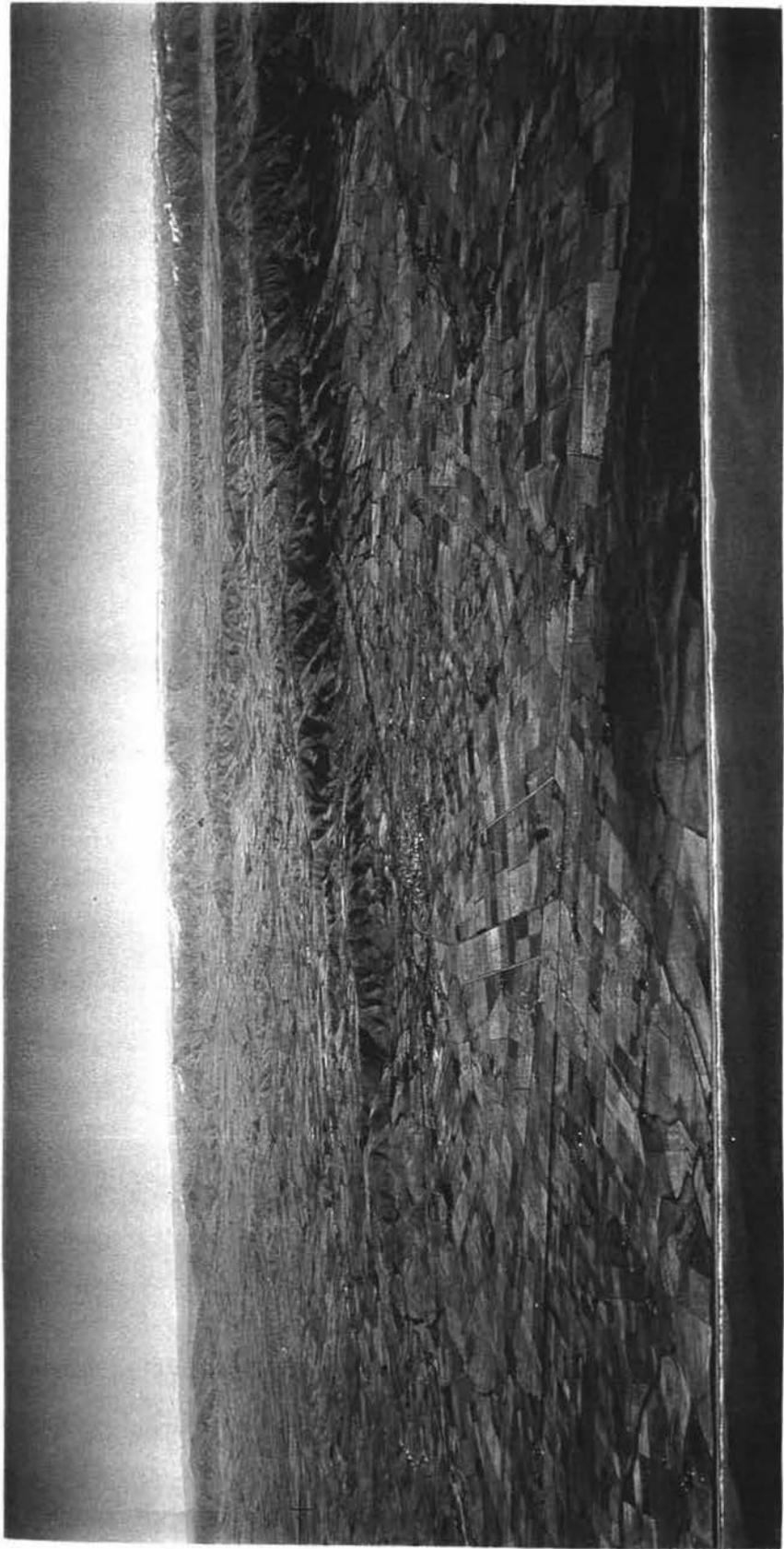


Figure 4.11 Te Waimatamate / Waimate: A Landscape of 'Belonging'.
(*Photograph by White's Aviation*)

In N.H. Whatman, 'The Waimate Run, South Canterbury: An Account of its Settlement and Development from 1854: A Study in Historical Geography', M.A. Thesis, Canterbury University, 1948.

Landscape as 'Settlement'

- ¹ Paul Carter, *The Road To Botany Bay, An Essay in Spatial History*, London: Faber & Faber, 1987, p. 253.
- ² *The Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 2nd edn, Vol. XV, Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 87.
- ³ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 39.
- ⁴ William Pember Reeves, *The Long White Cloud, Ao Tea Roa*, Rev. edn, Auckland: Golden Press (Whitcombe and Tombs), 1950, p. 143.
- ⁵ Peter Gibbons, 'Non Fiction', quotes James Cowan in *The Oxford History of New Zealand Literature*, Terry Sturm (ed.), Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 61.
- ⁶ *ibid.*, quotes William Pember Reeves, p. 51.
- ⁷ *ibid.*, quotes James Cowan, p. 61.
- ⁸ William Greenwood, *Te Waimatamate, History of Waimate County and Borough*, Waimate: Waimate County and Borough Councils, 1985, p. 318.
- ⁹ William J. Steward, 26 September 1907, A poem written to commemorate Dominion Day, in *Te Waimatamate*, Greenwood, p. 318.
- ¹⁰ *Waimate Advertiser*, 29 July 1914.
- ¹¹ Lowenthal, p. 324.
- ¹² Sighted personally, also photographs in numerous Waimate publications. In *Te Waimatamate*, Greenwood has a photograph included in his 'dedication'. He dedicated this commissioned work to "Chief Te Huruhuru, Michael Studholme and early settlers".
- ¹³ Greenwood, p. 333.
- ¹⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 17, 265.
- ¹⁵ Sighted personally, dated 1899-1959. In *Te Waimatamate*, Greenwood, writes, "The two furrowed plough is mounted at the intersection of Pike's Point Road and Old Ferry Road in honour of the pioneer settlers, the men and women who by their vision, faith and work, fashioned our heritage, 1899-1959. Actually it is in honour of the first occupiers of the farmlands of Waikakahi and also the teamsters and farmhands who made the developments of this part of the country possible." p. 48.
- ¹⁶ Sighted personally, Centrewood Park, Hunters Hills. In *Te Waimatamate* Greenwood said the monument was made over a period of time and official unveiling of the plaque did not occur until October 1968, p. 265.
- ¹⁷ George Dash, Scrapbook 1, 27 March 1925 – 9 February 1926, The George Dash Scrapbooks 1925-1953, Waimate: Waimate Historical Society Archives, MS B58.
- ¹⁸ *Waimate Advertiser*, 23 May 1910.
- ¹⁹ *ibid.*, 24 June 1911.
- ²⁰ *ibid.*
- ²¹ *ibid.*, 24 May 1911.
- ²² *ibid.*, 3 July 1911.
- ²³ *ibid.*, 17 August 1908.
- ²⁴ *ibid.*, 7 April 1911.
- ²⁵ *ibid.*, 25 October 1909.
- ²⁶ *ibid.*, 7 February 1912.
- ²⁷ *Waimate Centennial 1854-1954*, Waimate: Waimate Daily Advertiser, 1954, pp. 33-39.
- ²⁸ Rev. L.E. Cartridge and L.D. Kenyon, *The Anglican Church in Waimate 1844-1874*, Waimate: St Augustines Centennial Committee, 1972, p. 7.
- ²⁹ *Waimate Advertiser*, 26 June 1911.
- ³⁰ George Dash, *Waimate Advertiser*, 11 August 1925.
- ³¹ Greenwood, p. 262.
- ³² *Waimate Advertiser*, 18 July 1916.
- ³³ Greenwood, pp. 260-261.
- ³⁴ *ibid.*, pp. 261-262.

- ³⁵ *ibid.*, p. 300.
- ³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 268, also *Waimate Advertiser*, 13 September 1912.
- ³⁷ E.C. (Edgar) Studholme, *Te Waimate, Early station Life in New Zealand*, 2nd edn, Wellington: AH & AW Reed, 1954, p. 244.
- ³⁸ Jock Phillips, 'Exhibiting Ourselves: The Exhibition and National Identity' in *Farewell Colonialism, The New Zealand International Exhibition Christchurch, 1906-7*, John Mansfield (ed.), Palmerston North: Dunmore Press, 1998, p. 23.
- ³⁹ Greenwood, p. 3.
- ⁴⁰ *ibid.*, p. 262.
- ⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 3.
- ⁴² Gibbons, 'Non Fiction', in *The Oxford History of*, Terry Sturm, (ed.), p. 59.
- ⁴³ Bernard Kernot, 'Maoriland Metaphors and the Model Pa', in *Farewell Colonialism*, Mansfield (ed.), p. 74, cites Martin Blythe, *Naming the Other... Images of Maori in New Zealand Film and Television*, (Metuchen, N.J., 1994).
- ⁴⁴ Phillips, 'Exhibiting Ourselves', in *Farewell Colonialism*, Mansfield, (ed.), p. 23.
- ⁴⁵ Richard Wedderspoon, *Pictorial South Canterbury New Zealand*, Christchurch: Simpson and Williams, 1924, p. 159.
- ⁴⁶ Effie Studholme, 'The Old Order Changeth', in *Te Waimate*, Edgar Studholme, pp. 42-44.
- ⁴⁷ George Henry Graham, 'Waimate Bush', in *Zealandia: Being Selections in Prose and Verse From the Writings of the Late George Henry Graham*, Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs, 1912, p. 19. Printed for private circulation. Copy in Waimate Historical Society Archives.
- ⁴⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 15-20.
- ⁴⁹ Stuart Murray, *Never A Soul At Home, New Zealand Literary Nationalism and the 1930s*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1998, pp. 13-14.
- ⁵⁰ George Dash, 'Waimate Home', in *Waimate Verse*, George Dash, (ed.), 2nd edn, Waimate: Waimate Publishing Company, 1936.
- ⁵¹ *ibid.*
- ⁵² Dash, 'Waimate Maori Cemetery', in *Waimate Verse*, Dash (ed.).
- ⁵³ Ripeka Mei Heath, in *Waimate Verse*, Dash (ed.).
- ⁵⁴ Murray, p. 15, describes the process of trying to distance the cultural connection with Europe as 'a process of cultural decolonisation'.
- ⁵⁵ R Finn, 'Waimate Hills are Holding Me', in *Waimate Verse*, Dash (ed.).
- ⁵⁶ F.H. Woods, 'Waimate and her Lovers', in *Waimate Verse*, Dash (ed.).
- ⁵⁷ Mrs H. Arthur, 'Thy Hills, Waimate', in *Waimate Verse*, Dash (ed.).
- ⁵⁸ George Dash, 'The Soldier's Farewell to Waimate', (a song with music by Thomas Rive), Dunedin: 1939- ? Songsheet published around the time of WWII. Viewed from private collection. The cover of the musical score has a photograph overlooking the Waimate plain and is framed with cabbage trees.
- ⁵⁹ Jock Phillips, 'The Pioneer Man' in *A Man's Country? The Image of the Pakeha Male-A History*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 1987, said that myths and stereotypes of Pakeha manhood grew out of the colonial pioneering experiences.
- ⁶⁰ Arthur John Kirby, 'The Pioneers', ('In appreciation of my parents and all other immigrants who courageously pioneered South Canterbury in the 1870s'). Private copy printed for circulation, (n.d.).
- ⁶¹ Phillips, *A Man's Country*, p. 25.
- ⁶² Geo. E. Dewar, 'First Shed', (1938), in *New Zealand Farm and Station Verse*, A.E. Woodhouse, (coll.), Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs Limited, 1950, p. 145. Mr Dewar spent much of his life working on the land, a number of them in Waimate.
- ⁶³ L.L.D. Kenyon, 'The Shearing Muster', in *New Zealand Farm*, Woodhouse, (coll.), p. 175. Mr Kenyon emigrated from Shropshire to New Zealand in 1929. He spent some years working and mustering on farms in the Waimate district.
- ⁶⁴ Edgar Studholme, 'Cattle Mustering', in *New Zealand Farm*, Woodhouse, (coll.), p. 68.
- ⁶⁵ Edgar Studholme, 'The Hungry Shearer', in *New Zealand Farm*, Woodhouse, (coll.), pp. 68-72.
- ⁶⁶ George Dash, 'Safer Medicines', in *Te pono Temperance Dialogues in Prose and Rhyme Written Expressly for Bands of Hope*, Waimate: Te Pono Press, 1904, pp. 1-2.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 1-10.

⁶⁸ James Cowan, *Official Record of the New Zealand International Exhibition 1906-07 of Arts and Industries*, Wellington: Government Printer, 1910, p. 108.

⁶⁹ Wedderspoon, p. 158.

⁷⁰ *ibid.*, p. 208.

⁷¹ Dash, 'Welcome to Waimate', in Scrapbook 1, 27 March 1925 – 9 February 1926.

⁷² Patricia Nelson Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest, The Unbroken Past of the American West*, New York: Norton & Company Inc., 1987, p. 215.

Conclusion

Lowenthal has argued that the past is an integral part of our sense of identity. "The sureness of 'I was' is a necessary component of the sureness of 'I am'".¹ The stories about different landscapes of discovery and rediscovery are interwoven into present encounters with our places of belonging. To revisit these landscapes reflectively provides for some understanding about the lives of the people involved in fashioning them. As Limerick has said, we can "share the same region and its history but we wait to be introduced."² To revisit landscapes reflectively also gives insight into our own present human state of being with its "layer upon layer of previous life"³. As we quarry the layers of landscapes we discover stories about "experiences, perceptions, anticipations, anxieties, arrivals and departures."⁴ Landscapes become symbols of meaning.

This thesis has investigated landscapes as symbols representing the meaning of 'our place'. It has looked at how the land has been perceived and experienced according to ideas about what 'our place' has meant for different generations of people inhabiting a particular space. Memories of these engagements are embedded in the land and together tell a 'big' story about a place. For this thesis the place existed as space tucked in the southern boundary of what is now the Canterbury Plains until it became Te Waimatamate and then Waimate.

Landscape as 'relationship' tells a story about Maori experience of belonging. This is a story about how a hapu of Kati Mamoe and Kai Tahu, under the chieftainship of Te Huruhuru, related to the place where their home fires were burning. Landscapes as 'acquisition', 'progress', and 'settlement' tell a story about a Pakeha process of belonging. This process began with the encounters of such as Shortland, Mantell, Torlesse, Selwyn and Stack, who reinterpreted Te Waimatamate with their maps and journals. It continued with the refashioning of 'our place' into a landscape of 'progress' as the colonial immigrants worked to transform such as Te

Waimate, Blue Cliffs, Centrewood, Normanvale, and Waikakahi from wilderness into garden. In Landscape as 'settlement' local born generations crafted their stories of entitlement onto 'our place' as they began to settle into it.

Belonging is the result of a reflective encounter with these layers of discovery and rediscovery that are interwoven into a 'big' story about being in a place. This reflective encounter is about returning to the centre of a spiral and journeying outwards, and connecting with the layers of memories excavated along the way. It is about going to the land and listening to its stories and integrating these into experiences of self in place, self with others, and self in the universe. As the interviewee quoted in the Introduction of this script said, "you'd feel like a lost soul if you didn't have that place you could identify with ... it's your memories ... that's where you became a person". Reflecting on the story of the land and its layering of landscape encounters is about understanding why Te Waimatamate - Waimate is a symbol of belonging.

Conclusion

¹ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, Cambridge, USA: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 41.

² Patricia Nelson Limerick, *Legacy of Conquest, The Unbroken Past of the American West*, New York: Norton and Company, 1987, p. 349.

³ David Lowenthal, p. 61.

⁴ Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Disorientation and Reorientation: the American Landscape Discovered from the West", in *The Journal of American History*, December 1992, p. 1048.

Oral History Project

**Encountering Te Waimatamate
An Historical Investigation of Engagement with a Local Landscape****Questionnaire**

To set the scene, could you please give a brief description of your history in this area? How long have you or your families been in the district?

If you were here during your childhood, what memories do you have of time spent on the land?

Are there any stories, legends, anecdotes that you can recount that are associated with the local landscape?

What particular landmarks have significance for you? (ie in the Waimate district)

What has been your response to the local landscape in terms of its relevance in your life/livelihood?

How has the climate and the seasons affected your life on the land?

What recreational value does the local landscape hold for you?

Does a history of connection with a piece of land mean anything to you? How important is it to you that the farm remains in the family in following generations?

Do you see it as important to memorialize or celebrate this? How?

You will have seen changes to the local landscape. How do you view these changes? How have they impacted upon you? How do you see the future in respect to people/land interdependence?

How do you view the notion of relationship with the land? What does this mean to you?

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