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NEW ZEALAND CENTENNIAL SURVEYS

III. THE EXPLORATION OF NEW ZEALAND
THE EXPLORATION OF NEW ZEALAND

by

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IN NEW ZEALAND, as elsewhere, the desire to save souls and the desire to gain wealth have drawn men into unexplored regions; some minor Marco Polo would tell his tale and inspire the soul-savers and the gold-getters to follow in his footsteps. In the published accounts of their expeditions mention was not always made of the men who 'went there first', and I have therefore been inclined to emphasise the work of some comparatively unknown men. I do this, knowing that the problems of explorers and mountaineers seem less formidable when someone else is known to have gone that way. So, without neglecting the official explorer, I have, where reliable information is available, mentioned traders, whalers, and gold-miners.

The number of chapters may seem to be in inverse ratio to the limited number of words.
This is due to the spasmodic and sectional character of New Zealand exploration. The mountains and the rivers of this small country confined settlement to isolated colonies. Thus there were several independent bases from which explorers entered the interior. And as these settlements developed and required more stock, the risks of transport by sea encouraged the discovery of overland routes from one to another. These factors also explain why the number of expeditions is out of proportion to the area of the country. I could have selected the romantic but not always important efforts and described them in great detail, but this is a Centennial publication and I have endeavoured to cover, so far as space will permit, every important region in both islands. For the use of readers who wish for detailed accounts I have added notes on the more accessible sources. Those interested in New Zealand Company history may wish to know more about the Acheron survey, but I regret to say that I found the most useful facts in the Public Record Office, London.

If it may appear that I have neglected the North Island, I hope that readers will remember that the South Island is much larger, that its explorers had
less assistance from the Maoris, and that its mountain ranges are more massive and its rivers more swift. The main features were mapped by 1895 but since then there have been many expeditions by surveyors, bushmen, and mountaineers. For accounts of their activities readers are advised to search the Survey reports and the Journals of the New Zealand Alpine Club and of the Canterbury Mountaineering Club.

The last pleasure in the production of this survey is that of having the opportunity to thank those who have assisted me: the staffs of the Hocken, Alexander Turnbull, and Parliamentary libraries; Messrs R. I. M. Burnett, O. S. Meads, J. D. Pascoe, and E. H. McCormick of the National Historical Committee staff; Dr B. Howard, Dr J. R. Elder, and Messrs J. A. Sim and G. C. N. Johnston.

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‘Exploring is delightful to look forward to and back upon, but it is not comfortable at the time, unless it be of such an easy nature as not to deserve the name.’

SAMUEL BUTLER
THE EXPLORATION OF NEW ZEALAND
CHAPTER I

The Pre-Missionary Era

SINCE ABEL TASMAN did not land in New Zealand, European exploration began on 9 October 1769 when Captain Cook, with the scientists Banks and Solander, landed in Poverty Bay and went about one mile up the right bank of the Waikanae river. The party was well suited for exploration because Cook had an almost unique appreciation of topography and Banks and Solander, as scientists, were able to describe phenomena unnoticed by him. The party did not have a particularly successful day, but they began the exploration of New Zealand and took the first step in the study of its flora. They were more fortunate elsewhere and from their diaries we obtain a good account of three days in Anaura Bay and of eight days in Tolaga Bay, where the botanists enjoyed themselves collecting over 160 species of plants. At Mercury Bay, where they spent eleven days, they did not venture far from the coast, otherwise they would have noted the beautiful kauri trees then clothing the surrounding hills. But
from the Firth of Thames a much more definite advance was made into the interior. In the ship’s boat Cook, Banks, and Solander went about twelve or fourteen miles up the Thames river to land on the western bank and study the forest of white pine trees. They made no other survey of the interior until they had circumnavigated the North Island and were in the sheltered waters of Queen Charlotte Sound. The ship was careened and the naturalists were free to explore the coastal fringe and to collect specimens of over 220 plants. They were well chosen and accurately described, as one would expect from ‘two of the most illustrious botanists of their Age.’ From here Cook sailed down the east coast of the South Island, not landing but commenting on any prominent features of the coast. Banks Peninsula was charted as an island; Foveaux Strait was not charted at all, although some of the ship’s company suggested its existence. When off the west coast, Cook, respecting the prevailing west winds, kept well off shore and took no unnecessary risks. But he did notice the entrance to Dusky Sound and the peaks of the Southern Alps. They were of ‘prodigious height, the mountains and some of the valleys being wholly covered with snow.’ This is an interesting comment, for what he calls valleys of snow were the great glaciers—the Franz Josef, the Fritz, and the Fox. That he did not call
them glaciers is natural because at that time English literature on the subject was very limited.

On his second expedition he gave more attention to the west coast. In 1773 Dusky Sound was surveyed, and the botanists, J. R. and J. G. A. Forster, collected a few specimens. They seem to have been somewhat inactive and did not study the rich mountain flora for which the region is famous. The only specimens of this type were collected by some of the ship's officers who are said to have struggled to the top of one of the mountains. This virtually ended interior exploration for some years, and it was not until Vancouver visited Dusky Sound in 1791 that any further information was obtained. The harbour survey was extended and Dr Menzies, the botanist, made several pleasant excursions from the different inlets. Botanists credit him with the discovery of the cryptogamic riches of New Zealand—in other words he collected mosses and Hepaticae (liverworts) when they were not usually thought worthy of attention. His account of a shooting expedition to Goose Cove could have been written to-day, for he slept on a fern bed, was plagued by sandflies and delighted to find that smoke would reduce the attack. It is not quite so modern when he mentions the warbling cadence of the birds lulling him to sleep and in the morning entertaining him with their 'wild heterogeneous concert.'

The next scene of interest was the Bay of Islands
from which Lieutenant Hanson of the Daedalus in 1793 took two Maori chiefs to Norfolk Island. The Lieutenant-Governor, Captain King, hoped that they would show the convicts how to dress flax, but this being women's work the chiefs could not be very informative. But one of them, Too-gee (Tuke) drew on the floor of a room a map of New Zealand. The North Island was sufficiently accurate to be recognised from Cook's chart, so the chief was persuaded to place the map on paper, and, during his stay on the island, to add corrections and additions. To what represented the South Island the name 'Poenammo' was given, and in the interior was drawn a lake (Wakatipu) from which stones for hatchets were obtained. Thus with the greenstone trade some knowledge of the southern interior had filtered through to the north. The North Island could be recognised, although the draughtsman gave undue prominence to the localities with which he was familiar. To anthropologists the most interesting feature must be the 'spirits' road' zig-zagging through the peninsula to the North Cape and plunging into the darkness of Te Po (the underworld).

Of more material interest were the sealing grounds of south-west Otago. In 1792-3 Captain Raven's sealing party in Dusky Sound obtained 4,500 skins, built a boat, and experienced a mild earthquake. The sound was the recognised haven on that forbidding coast; Bass, the Australian navigator, planned
the foundation of a fishery in those parts, and it is thought that his proposals attracted to south-west Otago the Bass Strait sealers who had exhausted their own region. It is known that they visited Otago in 1803 and that American vessels were in the vicinity in 1804. From some unknown vessel O. F. Smith, in a whale-boat, made a most important discovery—the strait ‘between the Southern and Southernmost Islands of New Zealand.’ He prepared a map* full of interesting detail but somewhat distorted in its main features. The discovery was kept secret for reasons of trade and because of official hostility towards American interlopers. No mention was made of the new sealing ground until 1809 when the Governor Bligh and the Pegasus returned to Sydney from a successful voyage in the course of which they had visited a newly discovered strait ‘which is called Foveaux Strait.’ Later in the year the Pegasus paid another visit during which William Stewart charted the coast of the island now called after him, and Captain Chase discovered that Banks ‘Island’ was a peninsula.

During this period between 1790 and 1810 the other centre of European interest was the Bay of Islands, where traders bartered for flax and timber and whalers obtained water, pork, and potatoes.

* The author discovered the map in the Alexander Turnbull Library in May 1938 and immediately informed Dr Howard, the authority on the history of Stewart Island and Foveaux Strait. The subject will be dealt with more fully in Rakitura (Stewart Island) which will be published as a Centennial memorial for Stewart Island.
In 1805 a convict ship visited the bay and John Savage, the ship’s surgeon, wrote a short account of all he saw. His book was published in 1807 and, although there is no description of the interior, it is important because it was the first work dealing exclusively with New Zealand. The south, on the other hand, had no historian and we are inclined to forget that the harbours of Foveaux Strait were just as well known as those along the east coast of the Auckland peninsula. Although sealing was the great attraction, Foveaux Strait was often visited by whalers and flax-traders. In 1813 a certain amount of exploration was conducted by Robert Williams of Sydney. Convinced that he could improve the method of dressing flax, he persuaded some Sydney financiers to send him to Stewart Island in the brig *Perseverance*. In the ship’s boat Williams and others went over to Bluff harbour which they named Port Macquarie. Soundings were taken, and the harbour, hitherto supposed to be barred by sand-banks, was found to be navigable for large boats. Williams wandered about the interior in search of flax and covered a considerable expanse of country. He would have accomplished much more if Jones, as agent for the financiers, had not obstructed him. The story is quite pathetic. Jones had wanted to return before sighting New Zealand, Jones said there was no flax, Jones refused to go inland from the Bluff, and over-ruled the suggestion of bringing the
Perseverance over. However, Williams did the best he could, and the map illustrating his wanderings about the Bluff is probably the first to show a European’s movements on the mainland of New Zealand. But there was no immediate result of the expedition and it was years before the determined Williams persuaded the New South Wales authorities to send over another expedition to inspect the flax resources of Southland.
CHAPTER II

Missionaries, Sealers, and Traders 1814-30

The vessels which visited the harbours of north Auckland occasionally brought Maoris to Sydney. Some, such as Te Pahi and Ruatara, were influential chiefs from the Bay of Islands and they aroused the interest of Samuel Marsden, the senior chaplain of New South Wales. He was confident that missionaries would be safe among them although many thought the race to be 'more barbarous than any other savage nation.' Therefore he visited England, won the support of the Church Missionary Society, and returned in 1810 with two missionaries—Hall and King.

To his dismay he heard of the massacre of the Boyd in Whangaroa harbour and of the counter-attack by the whalers then off the coast. The intelligent Te Pahi had been killed; and he was the rock upon which Marsden had hoped to found his church. The missionaries remained in New South Wales for three years simply because to New Zealand 'no master of a vessel would venture for fear of his ship
and crew falling a sacrifice to the natives.’ Eventually Marsden purchased the brig *Active* and asked for permission to visit New Zealand. Governor Macquarie refused, but promised to have no objections if he sent the ship and she returned safely. Marsden, therefore, reminded the now pleasantly established missionaries of their duty and sent over Hall and Kendall to report on conditions at the Bay of Islands.

The *Active* arrived at the bay on 10 June 1814. The missionaries visited Ruatara, went fourteen miles inland, and slept a night among the Maoris. Altogether they spent six weeks in the district before returning with five natives. Among them were Hongi and Ruatara and it was under their protection that the mission was to be founded. Hall and Kendall had done their work well.

Marsden was now given permission to leave New South Wales. The *Active* left in November 1814 and after touching at various points on the coast reached the Bay of Islands where Marsden preached the first Christian sermon on Christmas Day. But he had to do more than found a mission station; Governor Macquarie had instructed him to explore as much of the coast and the interior as time would permit. Therefore he accepted Hongi’s invitation to visit his pa which was about thirty-five miles inland. Nicholas, the chronicler of the voyage, volunteered to accompany him, and the party left early in 1815, going by canoe and then overland to
Waimate and the Okuratope pa. From here they visited Omapere lake and heard of a river flowing west into a fine harbour (Hokianga), which had a narrow entrance barred by heavy seas. Marsden, however, had to return to the ship. He had not crossed the peninsula, but he had made the longest inland journey yet undertaken by any European.

Within the next six weeks he visited the north-west of the Firth of Thames and called at different harbours between there and the Bay of Islands. He met Moehanga, the young man whom Savage had taken to England, and along the 200 miles of coast he made the chiefs conversant with the aims of the mission at the Bay of Islands. Small overland expeditions were made from the Bay of Islands, and for twelve axes he bought 200 acres of land at Rangihoua for the Church Missionary Society. In February 1815 Marsden left for Sydney and in due time a report appeared in the Church Missionary Society's Register. Quite apart from matters concerning the mission station, it contained a mass of information invaluable to anthropologists. Everything he saw or heard was of interest to him: the kauri forests seen on the way to Waimate, Hongi's secret sniping post and the excellent potatoes—'I have never seen finer potatoes under the best culture.'

The missionaries left behind gave little attention to exploration. They had to provide for their own existence, and, having frequent evidence of native
ferocity, did not venture far from the Bay of Islands. Consequently it was not until June 1819 that Kendall and King crossed to Hokianga to see whether it was fit for European settlement. They were impressed by the commodious harbour, the kauri trees, and the first-class land. The great disadvantage was, and still is, the bar at the harbour mouth.

A fortnight later Marsden arrived again at the Bay of Islands to settle some trouble between the missionaries. There were at Te Puna, as trophies of visitors, the heads of eleven chiefs. Hongi had had them cured and Marsden thought the countenances ‘very natural excepting lips and teeth which had all a ghastly grin as if they had been freed by the last agonies of death.’ They did not unsettle Marsden and with the Rev. John Butler and Messrs Hall and Puckey he visited Hokianga where Puckey took soundings of the bar. Apart from collecting more information about Maori history and customs, Marsden had time for no further exploration. He left in November, regretting that he could not visit the Waikato, from which he was told a river flowed to the west coast. According to some chiefs it was very long and drained a densely populated plain.

In 1820 two Admiralty ships—the Dromedary and the Coromandel—went to New Zealand for spars. To prevent trouble with the Maoris, Marsden sailed in the Dromedary, and, when suitable timber could not be obtained at the Bay of Islands, he suggested
Hokianga. He went over with a party of inspection and was no doubt pleased when it was decided to send the Dromedary to the harbour. When it did get there the bar was too shallow and back it was sailed to the bay. Marsden meanwhile spent some time going to places such as Taiamai and Whangaroa. At the latter he discussed kauri spars and the ship was sent there to collect a supply.

The Coromandel arrived in June 1820 and Marsden, having prepared the way at Whangaroa, went south with her to the Firth of Thames. While the ship’s company searched for timber he went up the Thames river to its junction with the Ohinemuri. He planned a trip to the promised land—the Waikato—and messengers were sent ahead to herald his approach. Flooded rivers, however, prevented the trip and heavy storms kept him to the east of the Firth when he wanted to cross and go overland to Kaipara. Therefore he went east with Te Morenga, up the Ohinemuri river and over the hills to Tauranga. From the crest he had seen White Island miles away ‘sending up immense columns of smoke.’ Te Morenga gave a detailed account of his successful raid on Tauranga in January and February of that very same year, and Marsden managed to persuade him to make a peace with Te Waru which lasted until 1831.

Marsden then returned to the Coromandel, and when a party left in the ship’s whale-boat to obtain spars from the Waitemata, he went too, hoping to
visit Kaipara. With Te K Kawau and a Mr Ewels he went up the Kumeu river and overland to the sandhills on the west side of the peninsula. Kaipara was not far away but they had to turn back because they knew that the whale-boat would soon be returning to the ship.

However, when he reached the Coromandel, he found that if he was to get back to the Bay of Islands he would have to make his own arrangements. Therefore he planned to go by canoe from Mokoia to the bay, and when bad weather made the Maoris suggest a month's postponement, he decided to walk. Thus, without planning it beforehand, he began one of the long journeys which gave him a place among the greater men of New Zealand exploration.

Preparations were made immediately. Marsden could not swim, so it was arranged that he should be carried across dangerous rivers in a hammock 'as they carried the wounded from the field of battle.' Food was collected for the party—700 lb. of potatoes and 300 lb. of pork. Then they went up the Waitemata river to the Kaipara to reach Te Kawau, four miles from the harbour mouth, on 22 August. The bar was sounded for the benefit of future navigators and then Marsden was guided up the Wairoa river and across the peninsula to Whangarei harbour. He went on to the Bay of Islands by canoe and on 4 September was aboard the whaler Catherine finding civil life 'much sweeter than at any former time.'
Such a remark about conditions on a whaler is unusual for a missionary, but Marsden, farmer and magistrate as well as clergyman, was more a man of the world than the average missionary. Another reason why he would appreciate such simple conveniences was the extreme discomfort of native life. After one journey 'his clothes were in rags, covered with mud and red ochre, from his near contact with the natives, who were then constantly smeared with it and shark's oil; and with an old dirty nightcap on his head, he made his appearance before the astonished missionaries.'

While at the bay he learned that he could sail to Sydney in the Prince Regent which was then at Whangaroa. He walked overland and left with some trepidation, for the decks of the timber-laden ship were not five inches above the water-line. The weather became exceptionally rough, Marsden was violently sea-sick, and glad when the vessel returned to the Bay of Islands. He disembarked and, although he was long since due in Sydney, he decided to wait six weeks for the Dromedary to sail from Whangaroa.

This time could well be spent exploring the northern peninsula. With Butler, Puckey, and Shepherd he went by whale-boat to the Hauraki Gulf and on 3 November reached Mokoia, on the site of the present Panmure. This was his fourth visit, but the first in which he had any time to make a close study of the district. The local chief Te Hinaki
took Butler to the summit of Mount Wellington
and he thought that the view was 'grand and nobly
pleasing. I observed twenty villages in the valley
below, and with a single glance beheld the largest
portion of cultivated land I had met with in one
place in New Zealand.'

After Marsden paid a visit to the Coromandel, the
party set out to visit Manukau harbour which they
reached at 5 p.m. on 9 September by way of Epsom
and Onehunga. Marsden took a canoe to the heads
and regretted that he could not examine the bar.
However, being a practical man, he noticed the
abundance of fine kauris awaiting any seaman who
would venture into the harbour. Butler, more
single-minded, thought only of a mission station—
'No European had ever been there before and
everyone, young and old, was eager, if possible, to
touch the hem of our garments. The natives were
numerous, the soil good, the timber fine, and the
little naked children ran about like rabbits in a
warren.'

The next business was to visit Kaipara and return
to the whale-boat at Mokoia. To use a water route
where possible they walked back to Waitemata,
going over Mount Albert and viewing the country
from Manukau in the west to the Hauraki Gulf in
the east. A Sunday was spent at a village, hitherto
unvisited by Europeans, on the Waitemata harbour.
The younger of both sexes were full of wonder and
astonishment especially when Butler pulled off his hairy cap which they had thought was part of his head.

The following days saw them going up the Waitemata river, overland to the Muriwai river, and down to the Rangatira beach. Along it they had a twenty-mile trudge on a boiling hot day with no water and in clouds of swirling sand. At night they sought shelter in the scrub adjoining the beach. Marsden was very weary, Butler was almost too tired to rest and Puckey, suffering from rheumatism, had, the next day, to be carried by the natives. However they reached Kaipara and met Te Tinana the local chief, 'an aged man, but of an amazing size and full of flesh; his head was extraordinarily large, which gave him a lion like appearance. Mr Marsden said he would give twenty guineas for his likeness . . . . ' With his assistance Marsden explored the district and Puckey was able to sound the bar and chart the harbour.

This seems to have been the main object of the visit, for Marsden then considered how he would return to civilisation. The plans were changed. Butler and Puckey returned to Mokoia for the whale-boat, while Marsden with Shepherd went overland to the Bay of Islands. The latter had the more wearisome route but it meant a more punctual arrival at their destination. So, with one of Te Tinana's sons and two 'cookeys' (slaves) they went
along the coast to Hokiang, crossing the Maunganui bluff on their hands and knees with the sea booming below and the precipice making 'every nerve tremble.' At Hokiang they met the local chiefs who had been absent when Marsden was there eight months before. They had been away with Te Rauparaha ravaging the tribes of Taranaki and Wellington. Marsden must have listened to a wonderful story.

The missionaries now separated, Shepherd going to Kerikeri, Marsden to Whangaroa, where he embarked on the Dromedary. On this second journey he had spent five weeks and one day covering 600 miles across an unmapped country of undrained swamps and unbridged rivers. In his journeys between February and October 1820 he had gone overland from the Thames to Tauranga, he had discovered Manukau harbour, he had twice gone overland from Waitemata to Kaipara and the Bay of Islands. The essential features of the northern peninsula were, in due time, described to the world in reports far more interesting than those of any other missionary.

Soon after Marsden's return to Sydney, conditions in New Zealand changed for the worse. Hongi on his way back from England called in at Sydney and took to New Zealand a store of muskets and powder. In 1821 the populous country around Mokoia and Te Totara was raided and hundreds of captives were
taken back to the Bay of Islands. The missionaries, Kemp and Hall, saw cannibalism at its worst. Human heads were thrown up to view as the canoes approached the shore, the widowed women of the victors beat four of the captives to death, and nine prisoners were eaten that evening. Next morning Kemp was offered some human flesh which had been freshly roasted. The missionaries observed a human head being rolled down the hillside and the natives playfully dashing it to pieces with large stones. Cooking was done at the back of Kemp’s house; on a board was to be seen the tattooed skin of a man’s thigh being dried to cover a cartridge box.

Such incidents were to occur again and again. In 1822 Hongi and over 3,000 men dragged canoes from the Waitemata to the Manukau and raided the Waikato natives who had assisted the inhabitants of Mokoia and Te Totara. This lovely country, which Marsden had often wished to visit, was laid waste for years to come. Two thousand of its inhabitants had been killed, some were taken into slavery, and others had fled into more remote districts. The following year, to punish the Arawa tribe for assisting the Waikato natives, Hongi took fire and death to the country about Lake Rotorua.

While Hongi was absent on this expedition Marsden paid his fourth visit to the Bay of Islands. He brought with him the Rev. Henry Williams, he arranged for a new station at Paihia, and he
dismissed Kendall for immoral conduct and for trading muskets and powder. This unpleasant task was inevitable but regrettable, for Kendall was the only one of the resident missionaries interested in the Maori language and customs. Marsden then embarked for Sydney only to be wrecked between Moturoa and the Waitangi river. While he was waiting for another ship, Hongi came back from Rotorua.

They met on 4 October 1823, and Marsden obtained a first-hand account of the expedition. He heard how the war canoes were dragged to the lake, he learned of the slaughter of those natives who had imagined themselves safe upon the island of Mokoia. Hongi described how his wounded lay all night in the hot springs with the temperature regulated by water flowing from the cold pools. They were sulphurous and excellent for the cure of skin diseases. The whole story confirmed what Marsden had just heard from some other widely travelled natives. There were ‘high lands covered with snow, and internal lakes, and hot springs situated to the southwards, and a great population. All their fine mats and carvings were made at the southward which as yet remains unknown to Europeans.’

However, with conditions so barbarous, the missionaries could not dare to venture into the unknown interior. They maintained their position and waited for a lull in the storm of tribal warfare. Henry Williams, now the driving force of the
mission, had scrapped Marsden’s plan of settlement and self-support by agriculture. If the natives were to be converted, there had to be a church before a farm, arduous travel instead of laborious agriculture. The Herald was built and Williams, an ex-naval officer, traded with Sydney and visited the Bay of Plenty. In 1826-27 he reported to the Church Missionary Society that the natives were becoming more sympathetic to the mission. Yet in 1827 a straggling section of Hongi’s northern war party destroyed the Wesleyan mission station at Whangaroa. Marsden, hearing of the disaster, came over in H.M.S. Rainbow (Captain Rous) but left almost immediately when he saw that the mission as a whole was not threatened.

In the following year, 1828, Williams was able to save the lives of several Rotorua natives whom he took back to the Bay of Plenty when he went as far as Whakatane and Opotiki seeking for a possible mission station. At Tauranga they saw the usual signs of war and massacre—dead dogs and pigs, burnt houses, and human remains. However, the missionaries were not molested and Williams thought that conditions had improved. He may have qualified his statement when next month the Herald was wrecked on Hokianga bar and plundered by natives as thorough as Cornish wreckers.

While the north, between 1821 and 1827, had been the scene of constant warfare with an inverse pro-
portion of European initiative, the south was being steadly explored. Sealers and flax-traders were acquiring an intimate knowledge of its coastline, and this was given to the world by Jules de Blossecville of the Coquille, a French expeditionary ship, which called at Sydney in 1824. He wrote two fine articles for the Annales des Voyages in 1826 from material given by sealing captains in general and Captain Edwardson of the Snapper in particular. Edwardson, in 1822-3, had been sent by the New South Wales government to report upon the flax on the east coast of the South Island. In search of it he had attempted to go inland from Chalky Inlet; he had rescued American sealers abandoned by their captain; and he had taken back to Sydney one, James Caddell, who had been leading some very successful Maori attacks on visiting sealers and whalers. The Foveaux Strait natives were intelligently observed and the description of their manners and customs was a valuable contribution to New Zealand ethnology.

The country was well described. Facts were given about sounds and bays which were not shown on any official map until well after 1840. Milford Sound had been ‘recently discovered’ by the sealers and the west coast to the north of it was ‘one long solitude, with a forbidding sky, frequent tempests, and impenetrable forests.’ In the interior of the South Island was Lake Wakatipu—a source of greenstone—
and, on the map of the North Island, Lake Rotorua was shown with Mokoia island snugly placed in its centre. Altogether the visit of the sloop Snapper is one of the very important events in Foveaux Strait history.

Shortly afterwards, in 1826, Captain Stewart established his timber and shipbuilding yards at Port Pegasus, the first organised settlement south of the Bay of Islands. In the same year Captain Herd called at Port Pegasus and corrected Stewart’s charts. He admired the man who could be so accurate with only a quadrant and a boat compass. Herd then mapped part of Otago harbour, called at Port Underwood, charted Port Nicholson, entered Hokianga, but left without founding the settlement which the first New Zealand Company had sent him out to establish.

A far greater navigator, Dumont d’Urville, arrived in 1827 with the Astrolabe to chart the north-west of the South Island and to explore the shores of Cook Strait. He sailed north and entered Waitemata harbour from which some of his men went up the Tamaki to Otahuhu and overland to Manukau harbour. The records of the expedition were so magnificently published and widely read that the French are often credited with its discovery. The botanical section will always be remembered because it contained the first attempt to describe New Zealand flora as a whole.
This fact reminds us that the wealth of literature relating to the missionaries has led many students to under-estimate the work of scientists and traders. In 1825 Charles Fitzroy of the Sydney botanical gardens had spent a day at the Bay of Islands collecting plants some of which were the first introduced into European gardens. Then in 1826 Allan Cunningham, the famous botanist and explorer, came over from Sydney and spent four months in north Auckland. Augustus Earle, a clever artist with a taste for travel, visited Hokianga and the Bay of Islands in 1827-28. The result was an interesting and informative book published in 1832.
CHAPTER III

Missionaries, Whalers, and Traders 1830-40

By 1830 the missionaries were beginning to move boldly about the country. If the Maoris did not come to them, then they had to go to the scattered Maori settlements—and this was virtually indirect exploration. Apparently the natives were no longer hostile to Europeans. Some said this was the result of missionary endeavour; cynics believed that the Maoris desired better relations in order to obtain more muskets. They needed them because in 1830 there began another long period of tribal warfare with the outbreak of the ‘girls’ war’—so called because the original quarrel was one between the favourites of a whaling captain.

Through the mediation of Marsden and Williams there was a temporary peace in 1830-31 during which Williams was invited to visit the grateful natives of Rotorua. It was a great opportunity, and with T. Chapman he sailed to Maketu, the port of the Rotorua natives. There they enjoyed the hospitality of Tapsell, a noted trader and pakeha-Maori. Rotorua
was reached on 27 October 1831, and the missionaries enjoyed a hot bath regulated by fresh water from the lake. Williams had ‘a good deal of conversation with the natives on the impropriety of men, women and children bathing together.’ Ohinemutu and Mokoia were visited in due course. Yet for a well-educated man paying one of the first European visits to this remarkable region, Williams said very little and most students must wish that Samuel Marsden had gone there instead.

This period of calm—1830-31—saw the regular traders more permanently establishing themselves. Tapsell had settled at Maketu and had no doubt visited Rotorua before Williams and Chapman. It is thought that his European flax buyers had even gone from there to Matamata in the Thames district. On the east coast Harris established himself at Poverty Bay in 1831; in the same year, 1831, Captain Kent settled at Ngaruawahia on the Waikato. They, with several others, left little record of their activities, and few missionaries deigned to note their existence. One trader was J. S. Polack, who wrote an account of his experiences during 1831-37. He told of his journeys from Hokianga to Kaipara and of his visit to the east coast. There he saw moa bones and heard legends of the bird which he termed ‘a species of struthio.’ This was the earliest reference to the moa made by any European. Although he
did not venture very far inland he gave a fair description of the North Island. He knew of the thermal regions of Rotorua and Taupo, he could describe Manukau and the Waikato. To the existing South Island map he added really interesting details—the Buller river was the Rapid river, Otago harbour was Port Oxley, Foveaux Strait was, he thought, discovered by some sealers (the only contemporary reference to its discovery by O. F. Smith in 1804), and 'also by Captain Stewart.'

There had also been an increase of resident flax-traders in the southern districts. The trader no longer wasted time bartering from harbour to harbour. He landed collectors at the different settlements and expected them to search the countryside for flax which could be loaded when the ship returned. In 1831 Price and Williams of the *Victoria* went overland from Port Cooper to Kaiapoi to get flax and pigs in exchange for muskets and tobacco. They lost their way on the Canterbury plains when making for the mouth of the Waimakariri. A still greater change came about 1829 with the development of shore whaling. In Cook Strait and along the east coast of the South Island there sprang up those little communities of reckless Europeans, who took more interest in the interior than some historians would have us believe. From the Port hills whalers saw the Canterbury plains, from Dunedin whalers went overland to the Taieri plain and canoed down
the Taieri river to the station at its mouth. And up
the great Molyneux, Palmer and other whalers
went fifty miles in a whale-boat.

In the north, as an indirect result of the ‘girls’ war’
tribal warfare began again in 1831. Henry Williams
spent his time trying to arrange a peace, and his
associates gave their attention to less disturbed
regions. Such a one lay to the north of the Bay of
Islands. In November 1832 William Williams and
four other missionaries went north to Kaitaia, where
they decided to found a mission station. In fact,
conditions continued to be most encouraging every-
where except in the Rotorua—Bay of Plenty section
of the Island and in 1833-34, for the first time since
Hongi began his raids, the missionaries began
systematically to explore the country.

Henry Williams, Brown, Fairburn, and Morgan
opened the campaign by venturing up the Thames
valley in October and November 1833. They were
not the first Europeans in this district; on the way to
Matamata, the residence of the chief Te Waharoa,
they met four traders whom Williams admits were
very civil. The parties camped beside each other and
the missionary natives sang hymns while the traders
from a nearby whare sang ‘Old King Cole’. The
track through the swamps was rather heavy going
and Williams was carried on two poles by natives
who often sank up to their chests in mud. Still,
they reached Matamata and were hospitably received.
After discussing affairs with Te Waharoa they returned and selected Puriri as a mission site. It was established by December 1833 and the rather bold expedition had been justified.

The East Cape was the next scene of action. In January 1834 William Williams returned some captive natives to Hicks Bay and saw for the first time the region in which he was afterwards to work. The refugees were welcomed by relatives and friends because they brought back muskets and powder in direct contradiction to missionary instructions. Williams had never seen ‘so wild looking a set’ of natives, but he boldly went up the Waiapu valley to Whakawhitira, where he preached a sermon. The Rev. W. Yate who was in the party describes the men in the audience. ‘Some had their beards plastered with red ochre and oil; others, with blue clay, and a deep mark of red ochre over each eye; which together with the tattooing gave them the most ferocious aspect that can be conceived; strongly resembling some of the pictures of Apollyon, in the older editions of Bunyan’s Pilgrim’s Progress.’ However the reception had been very encouraging and Williams thought that the Waiapu valley was an ideal spot for another station. He finished off the trip by sailing south to Table Cape, the northern extremity of Hawke’s Bay.

But no action was taken for some years, for the Waikato was found to be a more attractive field.
This discovery was the result of one of the finest journeys in the history of the mission. The explorers were the Rev. A. N. Brown and James Hamlin who, in February 1834, went from the Bay of Islands to Kaipara harbour where they vainly sought for natives bold enough to guide them into the Waikato. This region, as far as Ngaruawahia, was practically unoccupied because Hongi’s raids had drawn his allies to the north and driven his enemies far away to the south. Consequently there were no canoes in which to cross the intervening rivers and no hospitable natives to offer them provisions. Marsden’s journeys were pleasure trips in comparison with the one before Brown and Hamlin.

The obvious route was up the Kaipara river, but to avoid days of laborious paddling against the current they decided to go overland. So south-east they went, taking compass bearings through broken and trackless country or else following neglected paths and narrow pig tracks. Sometimes they fought their way through dense fern or else plodded along the muddy edges of the river-beds. The natives began to complain of feet injured by the ferns, and the Europeans worried about the diminishing food supply. To save what flour they had, they were living on fern root, the stems of palm trees, and tawa berries. It was 19 March when they saw the Waikato river; next day they reached it fifteen miles from the heads. To cross they constructed ten *moki*
or rafts, and for a day the place had 'all the bustle and activity of a dockyard.' The craft were so satisfactory that the party paddled down the river, not knowing that they were leaving Ngaruawahia behind them. Some caution was necessary because it was quite likely that their Bay of Island natives would be attacked by any revengeful Waikatos whom they should happen to meet.

Eventually the two Maoris in the first moki did meet a canoe being paddled up the river. They had to explain hurriedly that some missionaries were coming down behind them or else they would have been fired upon. Fortunately the travellers were led by a brother of Te Wherowhero, the Waikato chief, and by a European going up to the Waipa river. They took the missionaries back up the river to Captain Kent’s station at Ngaruawahia. Here they were well received and advised to take the native track from Whatawhata to Whaingaroa (Raglan), whence they could follow the coast to Kawhia.

This was done and, after discussing affairs with the Ngatimaniapoto natives at Kawhia, they were free to go due east to the hills overlooking the headwaters of the Waipa river. They ascended Kakepuku and saw Mount Tongariro in the distance. Away to the SSE. was Ruapehu covered with snow and looking like 'a brilliant bank of fleecy clouds cradled in the rays of the setting sun.' Then on 11 April they went down to the Waipa river and thence
by canoe to Ngaruawahia. From here they went down the Waikato to its junction with the Mararua. By going well up this river and then overland to the north-east they reached Whakatiwai on the shores of the Firth of Thames. They crossed to the western shore and went up the Thames river to the mission at Puriri.

The journey had taken nearly five months and they had discovered a rich and fertile country. It was thinly populated, but the natives were so anxious for a mission station to be established that in August 1834 Brown and William Williams were sent to select a site. From the Firth of Thames they followed the track by which Brown and Hamlin had returned from the Waikato. It took them from Whakatiwai to the headwaters of the Mararua river, thence by canoe to the Waikato river, and upstream to Ngaruawahia where Captain Kent received them with great civility. Well up the Waipa river they chose Manga-pouri as the site, and on 28 August planted some fruit trees. Then they went east across country to Maungatautari where they were met by Morgan. The latter had come up the Piako river from the Thames, had crossed to Horotiu near Ngaruawahia, and had continued his journey by canoe up the Waikato. From Maungatautari they went on to Matamata and finally to Tauranga, where another station was about to be established.

Farther north there was corresponding activity.
In December 1834 Puckey from the new station at Kaitaia, went overland to Spirits Bay near North Cape. It was dreary and barren, with screaming sea-gulls and the sea roaring against black rocks. From here the spirits of the dead left for the Maori underworld. Puckey went down to the cliffs and saw Te Reinga, the ladder by which they descended to the beach. It was 'a tree projecting out of the rock, inclining downwards, with part of it broken off by the violence of the wind; but said to have been broken off by a number of spirits which went down by the aka (branch of the tree) to the Reinga some years ago, when numbers were killed in a fight.' This was, no doubt, the result of Hongi’s campaigns. The guide also pointed out some large lumps of seaweed washing to and fro in the swell; this was the door which closed on the spirits after they had reached the beach by the Reinga and had gone out by the rocks to the sea. Fish caught near by were always red from the red ochre on the painted garments of the deceased.

When the party made its way back there was some criticism, several Maoris fearing that Puckey had cut away the aka. The guide, who was a Christian, had to defend his new faith and incidentally his own property. The comment by one old man was, 'Leave us our old road to the Reinga; and let us have something to hold on by as we descend, or we shall break our necks over the precipices.' Altogether
it was an interesting expedition, not because of the area of new country, but because Puckey had visited one of the most famous spots in Maori legend. And he saw fit to be more communicative than missionaries usually were when they saw for the first time some new feature of Maori life and custom.

Thus by December 1834 the wave of missionary endeavour had broken the barriers and advanced to the more remote parts of the North Island. Space does not permit any account of the many other journeys by Henry and William Williams, Morgan, Brown, Stack, and Wilson in the valleys of the Waikato and the Thames. Morgan illustrates it best by saying, in October 1835, that within the last thirteen months he had slept in his tent ‘more than a hundred times and travelled at least fifteen hundred miles, sometimes on foot and at other times in native canoes.’ Similar claims could no doubt have been made by other men, for those thirteen months more or less covered the period of exploration for the future mission sites. By the end of 1835 Hamlin and Stack were at Mangapouri, Brown was at Matamata, Wilson was at Tauranga, and Chapman at Rotorua was planting his pear, apple, apricot, and cherry trees.

At this stage it must not be forgotten that since their arrival in New Zealand in 1822 the Wesleyan missionaries had also made long journeys and established new stations. As early as January 1825 William
White penetrated to the Waikato from the Firth of Thames. Only the breaking up of their station at Whangaroa prevented the Wesleyans occupying the new field at this time. Like the Anglicans, they saw that conditions in 1834 were now more favourable for expansion, and the local committee decided to send White to the Thames and overland to Waikato, and John Whiteley along the coast to Kaipara.

Whiteley reached Kaipara on 24 February and, apparently not knowing of Marsden’s visits, thought that he was the first missionary to go there. His conferee, White, made his way successfully from the Thames to Waikato. The anxiety of his native guide to return upset his plan to visit Kawhia, Mokau, and Taupo. However, he left two native teachers to supervise the building of a house at Ngaraawahia. Early in May he returned to the attack, although Brown and Hamlin of the Church Missionary Society had by now made their tour of the Waikato. This time he approached from the west coast. For what seems a high price—£10—he obtained a passage by schooner to the mouth of the Waikato. With him went Simon Peter, a Maori convert, who had once accompanied a war party to the same region. They did not return until late in June and, perhaps because of Simon Peter’s past career, there were rumours of their being killed. But they were not molested and White urged the foundation of three
mission stations. He had heard that the Anglicans planned to open stations in the same region.

There was no suggestion of rivalry. The missionaries—Anglican and Wesleyan—were very tolerant before Bishop Selwyn fanned the flames of sectarian strife. Until separate spheres of influence were agreed to in London, the Wesleyans were satisfied with coastal stations as far south as Kawhia. From here in 1835 Whiteley made an expedition to the Mokau river. The *Harriet* had been wrecked on the Taranaki coast and a seaman named Anderson had set out to walk to some European settlement. He had reached the Mokau river and, having lost the use of his feet owing to frost-bite, could go no farther. The Wesleyans heard of him and Whiteley secured his release from the Maoris.

Thus both missions, by 1835, had advanced far to the south and were calling a halt in order to consolidate their positions before the explorers and pioneers could again be sent forward. But at Rotorua on Christmas Day a relative of Te Waharoa was murdered. This crime started a period of tribal warfare which lasted until 1840 and stopped any further advance to the south. Chapman did his best; he obtained the victim’s head and handed it to the relatives. But such a warrior as Te Waharoa must have his revenge. The Tauranga natives supported him; those at Maketu supported Rotorua.

A detailed description of the fighting is quite
outside our subject, but some references are worth quoting because they show the character of the people among whom the missionaries worked. Some slight realisation of their barbarity should prevent any tendency to belittle the early missionaries and should convince most people that, had the missionaries not prepared the way, organised settlement in 1840 would have been impossible.

Te Waharoa began by raiding Maketu. Tapsell, the flax-trader, lost all he had, the natives even unearthing the body of his child to seek treasure in the coffin. Brown and Maunsell who went to Tauranga saw the raiders return. ‘The sight was harrowing—a heart stuck on a pointed stick—a head secured to a short pole—baskets of human flesh, with bones, hands etc. protruding from the tops and sides—and what more deeply affected me than any other object, one of the infant children of our school dandling on his knees and making faces at the head of some Rotorua chief . . . .’ Some quartered in Wilson’s garden and used the vegetable leaves as dampers for the ovens. The missionaries returned with the war party to Matamata and reported that the baskets of flesh ‘tainted the atmosphere.’ There Brown refused some human flesh and Te Waharoa said ‘If you are angry I will eat you and all the missionaries.’ Little children at the mission school were withdrawn to enjoy the feast and Morgan knew of ‘sixty bodies being cooked in one day . . . .’
The Rotorua natives retaliated and Te Waharaoa promptly sacked the pa and mission station at Ohinemutu. Messrs Knight and Pilley were roughly handled and witnessed some savage actions. Knight, describing preparations for a meal, said 'his breast was opened and his heart etc. steaming with warmth, was pulled out and carried off.' In the face of such conditions the advanced stations were evacuated, some missionaries going to Puriri and others back to the Bay of Islands.

To balance these disasters there was news of the gospel being preached in the Waiapu valley by the natives William Williams had taken back in 1834. Therefore, in January 1838, William Williams, Stack, Matthews, and Colenso, the mission printer at Paihia, landed at Hicks Bay and went up the valley to Whakawhitira. Thence some went overland to Tokomaru and on by canoe to Tolaga Bay. The sea trip was rather exciting and Colenso, who gives the best account of it, remarked upon the Maoris' wonderful seamanship. They went on to Poverty Bay and were welcomed by those on the boat who never expected to see them again.

Later in the year Colenso thought of going on foot from the Bay of Islands to Hawke's Bay and of returning over the Ruahines to Rotorua. 'By strict application to my work now, I shall get my Brethren here to grant me an holiday in the summer; and no schoolboy ever rejoiced more to get one, than I
shall to get out once more among these poor children of the wilds.' Apparently he was not given permission, but this is not evidence of any decline in missionary interest. William Williams visited Waiapu in November 1838, in April 1839, and finally, in January 1840, he founded a station at Poverty Bay.

The Cook Strait natives, including relatives of Te Rauparaha, were also taking an interest in Christianity. Therefore Henry Williams decided to go there himself and establish the Rev. Octavius Hadfield at a mission station. They entered Port Nicholson just after Colonel Wakefield of the New Zealand Company had been purchasing the surrounding country. Hadfield was left at Otaki and on 3 December 1839 Williams set off for Tauranga.

This meant a journey of 300 miles through the heart of the North Island across country not yet explored by Europeans.* The first section was a coastal traverse from Otaki to the Rangitikei which he followed for a few miles before going on to the Wanganui river. Real exploration began when he went up the river to the volcanic plateau near Taupo and Rotorua. The journey had its exciting moments: on one occasion Williams took off his shoes and stockings to prevent his slipping over precipices;

* There is reliable evidence to show that a Scandinavian, Andrew Powers, went from Wanganui to the Bay of Plenty in 1831—under compulsion. He and others from Kapiti island were at Wanganui trading in Maori heads when they were captured by some natives from Lake Taupo. Powers was taken to Taupo, Rotorua, and Maketu. Here Tapsell redeemed him for 25 lb of tobacco.
on Christmas Day, 'one of our fellow-travellers, the largest of our pigs, fell down the precipice, and broke nearly every bone.' Two days later on approaching the plateau, 'The volcano Tongariro rose before us, the summit covered with snow, a splendid sight,' and late that evening they camped at the foot of Ruapehu. On 30 December they saw the beaches and buildings of Lake Taupo, and from there it was a wearisome trudge to Lake Rotorua and the mission station on Mokoia island. The last stage was to Tauranga, where by chance he met his brother William Williams en route to found the station at Poverty Bay.

There had been another curious coincidence on this trip. When Henry Williams had been on the east side of Lake Taupo, the Rev. James Buller of the Wesleyan mission had reached the north side. He was also traversing the Island, being on his way from Kaipara to Port Nicholson where some land, bought by the missionaries Bumby and Hobbs, was being claimed by the hungry New Zealand Company. He began at Kaipara and went overland to Manukau and down the coast to Kawhia. Crossing to the Waipa river, he followed a native track to Lake Taupo, a route which B. Y. Ashwell of the Church Missionary Society had traversed earlier in the same year. On New Year's Day 1840 he was encamped on the northern shore. The following day he crossed to the east side and found that Henry
Williams had been there on the previous day. That night he could see the fires of Williams’s camp. From Lake Taupo Buller covered much the same country as Henry Williams, reaching Pipiriki and going by canoe to the mouth of the Wanganui river, and so to Port Nicholson.

This must have been one of the longest journeys in missionary history, yet Wallis, a Wesleyan missionary, followed the same route on another occasion. One who went that way said: ‘To make such a journey once was a sin of ignorance, and might be forgiven. To attempt it a second time was a sin of presumption, for which there is no forgiveness.’ Altogether, in the history of missionary exploration the Wesleyans must not be overlooked.

These expeditions by Henry Williams and Buller took place while the New Zealand Company’s agents were buying Maori land and are therefore a fitting conclusion to the history of early missionary exploration. The largest area not yet traversed by Europeans was that east of the mountain chain which runs north-east from Wellington to the East Cape. It includes the present Wairarapa, Hawke’s Bay, and Poverty Bay, and its exploration was shared by the missionary Colenso and different servants of the Company. The difficult country from the upper Wanganui west to the Mokau river was left well alone for many years—as it had been for the most part by the Maoris.
Similarly, it is fitting that between the missionary and Company eras there should be one independent explorer. He was J. C. Bidwill who, rather than be idle in Sydney, came to the Bay of Islands in 1839 and decided that it contained 'a greater number of rogues than any other spot of equal size in the universe.' Wishing to visit the mountains described in the handbooks of the New Zealand Company, he went to Tauranga. Here he saw the ovens and entrails left after some Rotorua natives had raided the place. He could have seen a head half eaten by the village dogs, but he thought he had seen enough for the day. Naturally enough, the local natives were not eager to guide him to unfriendly Rotorua, but through the kindness of Stack, the missionary, he obtained a party and set off on 17 February 1839.

The route was not a new one for Europeans, but Bidwill was the first botanist to use it. Apart from his botanical observations, it is interesting that he, like Bishop Selwyn, favoured the new waterproof coat designed by Mr Macintosh. At Rotorua he was welcomed by Chapman, the missionary, who had just returned from his pioneer journey to Lake Taupo. (Except for the captive Powers, Chapman was the first European to visit the lake.) Bidwill went on across the pumice country to the lake, collecting plants and rocks to the wonderment of the natives who could only understand the necessity of carrying potatoes or a tent. From Taupo he went
to Lake Roto Aira, and on 3 March 1839 he ascended Ngauruhoe from the Mangatepopo valley on its north-west side.

There was snow on the mountain but the cone was clear; the natives said that it had been ‘making a noise in the night . . . .’ The ascent of the cone itself was undertaken by Bidwill alone, and he said that the smoke spread above him ‘like a mushroom’ and that the noise was ‘not unlike the safety valve of a steam-engine.’ After looking down into the ‘terrific abyss’ of the crater, he returned to his tent and eventually to Lake Taupo. Here he had an animated reception, for the mountain was tapu and Bidwill, in the absence of the chief Te Heu Heu, had committed a crime. Some tobacco calmed the chief, but he continued to say that he would never have permitted the ascent and that he hoped Bidwill would not tell any other pakehas of the climb. Other visitors—Dieffenbach and Sir George Grey—learned how sacred the mountain was to Te Heu Heu, and one is inclined to think that Bidwill was lucky to escape unharmed.
CHAPTER IV

The Company and its Settlements

The ship Tory brought Colonel Wakefield to Cook Strait in 1839. Knowing that hundreds of settlers were arriving in a very short time, he bought millions of acres with such haste that the history of the Cook Strait area is notable for the absence of exploration before settlement. This meant delayed surveys and much inconvenience to the settlers. The only work suggestive of exploration was Dr Dieffenbach’s ascent of Mount Egmont. He had come out in the Tory in 1839 and had landed with Dicky Barrett at New Plymouth. While Barrett prepared the way for the purchase of Taranaki, Dieffenbach made his ascent of Egmont. He was not given much native assistance because the mountain was tapu. Crocodiles and moas existed on the slopes. However, he left Nga-Motu on 3 December 1839 with an old tohunga and Barrett’s negro cook and went inland by Fitzroy and Puketotara and the banks of the Waiwakaiho. The weather was very bad and on the 12th
they turned back, having had enough of the wet bush with its slippery logs and sodden ground.

Dieffenbach returned to the attack on the 19th. This time he had with him a local chief and Heberley, a whaler. The route, which he does not describe, was not exactly the same until his previous halting place was reached. After that they followed the icy waters of the Waikakaiho and took to a ridge on its left bank. On 22 December they reached the snow-line and the two remaining natives ‘squatted down, took out their books and began to pray’ while the Europeans cut steps in the frozen snow, reached the summit, and surveyed the fertile country of Taranaki.

The following month—January 1840—the Cuba arrived at Wellington and ship followed ship until by the end of April there were over 1,000 settlers. Yet it was not until July that the chief surveyor, Captain Mein Smith, was proposing to exhibit the plan of Wellington. This delay was serious but more disturbing was the knowledge that the surrounding country was too broken for settlement. The stretch of country on the west coast from Porirua to Taranaki seemed more attractive and had already been visited by Europeans, other than traders and whalers. In February Octavius Hadfield had walked from Otaki to Cape Egmont and in March E. J. Wakefield had gone overland from Wanganui to Patea.

The latter’s report had been very favourable, so in August Colonel Wakefield sent Messrs Park,
Stokes, and Heaphy to explore this region. They had to find areas for settlement and to make an accurate survey of the coast from Porirua to Taranaki. Accompanied by W. Deans, with six labourers to carry instruments and provisions, they covered 650 miles in 7-8 weeks, averaging 20 miles a day and carrying packs of 30-60 lb. Apparently Park had led the party in fine style, always choosing the most suitable route and always humouring the natives whom they met. The report was most encouraging. The route across the hills to Porirua was not difficult, the land in the Manawatu was excellent, and Wellington was its only available port.

Meanwhile the complicated country round Wellington itself was being explored by small parties, all looking for agricultural land. W. Deans went as far afield as anyone when, late in 1840, he accompanied Te Puni, the local chief, along the coast to Palliser Bay and the south edge of the Wairarapa. In his letter to his father he says, ‘Would you believe it, no colonist but myself has been there . . . .’ But in 1841 Europeans did make longer journeys. Richard Matthews, the catechist reader at the Wanganui mission station, made an amazing trip with his family up the river and its tributary, the Ohura. At its head he went by Maori track to the Mokau river which he followed until he could cross the watershed to the Waipa river, the Waikato, and eventually Auckland. So far as difficulty was concerned it is more worthy of
mention than Buller's trip from Kawhia to Port Nicholson, or Henry Williams’s from Wanganui to Taupo and the Bay of Plenty. Meanwhile Dieffenbach made a scientific survey of north Auckland, Lake Taupo, and Lake Rotorua. Although his route from Kawhia to Taupo had been followed by both Ashwell and Buller in 1839, the expedition is important because Dieffenbach was the first scientist to describe the phenomena of the thermal regions.

The other explorers of 1841 had not such a free hand as this scientist. They had to find land for the proposed settlement of Nelson—and had to find it quickly. In June Captain Daniell and G. Duppa, with W. Deans, were sent to explore the land about Banks Peninsula. From the Port hills Duppa saw 'an immense plain containing millions of acres of the richest soil.' It was approached from Sumner, north of Banks Peninsula, and entered by river for about eight miles. The country between the peninsula and the Kaikouras attracted them, especially after a French whaler had told them of a huge inland plain entered from near the Lookers-On. Consequently their report was favourable and had Captain Hobson not objected, the Nelson settlers would have gone to the present Canterbury. As it was, they were landed in a region unexplored and disappointingly mountainous. Exploration was an absolute necessity and bulks so large in the early history of Nelson that it must be dealt with in a separate chapter.
Even in November 1841 Wellington itself still needed habitable land and Mein Smith, the chief surveyor, directed R. Stokes and a few men to go from Petone to the Wairarapa. Late in the month they were on the crest of the Rimutakas and in sight of Lake Wairarapa. They followed a small stream to the lake and explored the surrounding country. Stokes obtained a good knowledge of all the main features, and in his report he adds interesting little facts such as those about the frequent flooding of the lake. According to the natives, it usually burst its way out ‘at intervals of eight moons and three moons.’ They also told him that it would be possible to ride to Hawke’s Bay and that there was a route through the hills to the Manawatu. The return journey was through the country between the lake and the Rimutakas until they reached Palliser Bay and could go by the coast to Wellington. The report was heartening, but the Company had no title to the land and had, therefore, to explore most thoroughly that which it did have.

Fertile country in the immediate vicinity of Wellington was not found, so the Wairarapa was investigated once more. This time it was approached from the Manawatu, which the Company had bought and partially surveyed. The natives had made frequent use of the track through the Manawatu gorge and the early traders in their journeys up the rivers had heard of the open country beyond the mountains.
Thus it was natural for the survey parties to hear of the route and for the Company to send them to explore it.

The leader, Charles Kettle, and his associate, Alfred Wills, were both very young men and to assist them they had five Europeans and seven Maoris. Their first trouble came when they had to bargain for canoes with the Maoris up the river. At Rewa-Rewa, to supply a demand for ten shirts and two pairs of trousers, Kettle and Wills had to give up the very shirts they were wearing. The gorge was entered on 3 August 1842 and on the 19th they reached a large pa between Ruamahanga river and its tributary, the Waipoua. From here they went south, skirting the eastern slopes of the Tararuas and looking down upon the thousands of acres of almost uninhabited land. No doubt the sight was encouraging, but the travelling conditions were bad. The men were always cold and always wet. Twice they went up side streams from the Rimutakas, in the hope of connecting with some tributaries of the Hutt river. Each time they had to turn back, so before making a third attempt, they killed some wild pigs and went well supplied with pork. This time they succeeded, and on 7 June they reached the house of the most remote settler. They were miserable and bedraggled, having slept every night on damp ground and lived on wild cabbage and pork ever since they left the Wairarapa. The trip had taken
thirty-two days and Kettle had done well to bring through his unwieldy party. In the future, particularly in the survey of Otago, he was to do more important work, but he was never again to rise to such heights as an explorer.

His reports agreed with that of Stokes. There were few natives and the fertile country was timbered 'like an English park.' The Manawatu gorge was suitable for road construction and a way had been discovered across the Rimutakas. The next problem was to be the construction of a road so that the plain could be linked to Wellington. Early in February 1843 S. C. Brees with eight Europeans and five natives went up the Hutt valley and crossed the Rimutakas to Lake Wairarapa. They were back in Wellington in eight days and Brees was convinced that a road was practicable. It was needed, although the land was not purchased for many years. Enterprising settlers went over, made arrangements with the natives, and developed the first big sheep runs in New Zealand.

The other unpurchased region attracting attention in 1842 was the east coast of the South Island. Traders and whalers, always the advance guard, talked of huge plains and of a diminishing Maori population. Therefore Captain Mein Smith went down the coast in September and November 1842 to report on the harbours with a view to settlement. Akaroa was his first choice; Otago harbour had its faults; the Bluff
and the Oreti river were examined rather cursorily. However, he made a good report and would have written a much better one if he had not lost his notes and sketches when his cutter on its return capsized in Akaroa harbour.

In the North Island other surveyors were venturing into regions unpurchased by the Company. In 1843 R. Harrison and Robinson, wishing to see the country, went up the Wanganui river to Taupo and thence to the upper Mokau river, and so to Kawhia. Unlike scientists and missionaries, they carried their own packs and did without guides. Consequently the Maoris thought them very low caste whites and treated them as such. In April 1844 Harrison crossed from the Manawatu and descended the Mataikona river to the east coast; later in the year he went with J. Thomas from Wellington to Lake Wairarapa and across the hills to the east coast. They then trudged from whaling station to whaling station and did not turn back until they reached Table Cape, 300 miles from Wellington. In the early spring of the same year J. Grindell (‘Maori Jim’), Stururgeon, and Smith went up the Tokomaru and over the Tararuas to the Wairarapa.

On the west coast of the Island the Wesleyan missionaries had covered the strip from Kawhia to New Plymouth and gone far up the Mokau river in the direction of Taupo. The Anglicans were just as active, their explorer being the Rev. Richard
Taylor of Wanganui. In 1844 he went to New Plymouth and returned by the Maori track which went up the Waitara river to Purangi and across forty miles of broken country to above Pipiriki on the Wanganui river. He was ‘the first European who ever trod this road.’ In 1845 he entered even more interesting country at the head of the Rangitikei river. Visitors were rare, and when his party approached the remote village of inland Patea,* they were met by an anxious Maori with a great horse-pistol in his hand. When his fears were allayed, the party went down ladders and poles to a stream bed, 600 ft. above which was the village. The view from there was panoramic, range after range appearing in succession with Tongariro towering over all. The climate was severe but the natives were inured to it. They told him that in winter the snow was as high as his tent and that for weeks they had no water but that from melted snow. Nothing could be done ‘but blow their finger ends.’ After baptising some children, Taylor went west to the Wanganui, across another block of unexplored country.

Such long journeys by Maori tracks were becoming quite frequent. In 1844 Donald Maclean received a post under the Chief Protector of Aborigines and took up residence in New Plymouth. In April 1845 he made a long journey in order to visit those parts of his district which he had not yet seen. He went

* Not to be confused with Patea in Taranaki.
north to Kawhia and, turning into the interior, passed through ‘a wild marshy forest country’ to Taupo. He returned to the coast by the Wanganui river. Later in the year he made an even longer and more strenuous journey. The whole of the North Island was in a state of great excitement at the time. At Wanganui both settlers and Maoris feared an attack from the interior and appealed to Maclean. Arriving in Wanganui in November, he was joined by Richard Taylor and then commenced an ‘ambassadorial’ tour. Leading Maori chiefs were visited at Taupo, Rotorua, and the Waikato. After descending the Mokau river in canoes, they followed the coast to New Plymouth. In 1849 Sir George Grey went from Taupo to Kawhia and south to Taranaki. This trip received much publicity but J. J. Symonds who went with him and returned to Auckland in 1850 by the Mokau and Waipa rivers said ‘The Governor fancies himself a great bushman but fails most miserably in his New Zealand bush ideas.’ Yet the fact that Grey could so move about in the North Island shows that by 1850 Europeans had used Maori experience and had mastered the main features of the topography of the North Island.
CHAPTER V

North Island: the East Coast

The exploration of the east coast of the North Island is notable for the discovery of moa bones. Polack, the trader, heard of a 'species of struthio' in 1835, and J. W. Harris, the whaler, obtained a fragment of bone in 1837. This specimen was given to Dr Rule of New South Wales who offered it to the Royal College of Surgeons for £10. Professor Owen thought it 'one of the most remarkable acquisitions to zoology which the present century has produced', and read a paper on the subject to the Royal College of Surgeons. The missionaries may or may not have read the paper*, but they certainly did collect information about the bird when they visited the Maoris in the Waiapu valley. In November 1841 Colenso obtained a specimen of bone from this district when on his way to Poverty Bay. He was convinced that he had made a great discovery and when he went overland to the

* T. Lindsay Buick in his books on the moa decided that they had not. Having seen an abstract of Owen's paper in the New Zealand Journal of 1840, the author dares to think that they read it and immediately collected specimens.
bay he scanned with his pocket telescope the hill-slopes upon which the moa was said to exist. When he arrived he found that William Williams had obtained the tibia of a moa. Colenso offered rewards for more specimens and eventually the bones of over thirty birds were collected. They were sent to Professor Owen who was delighted to discover that his theories had been correct.

Meanwhile Colenso had returned overland to the Bay of Islands, traversing the Urewera country and visiting Waikaremoana. By a curious coincidence, a Roman Catholic, Father Baty, was visiting the lake at the very same time. He had been left by Bishop Pompallier to conduct a brief mission at Mahia peninsula, and owing to a mission tragedy in the Pacific had to remain for nearly twelve months. On 17 December 1841 he went overland with eighteen Maoris to the Wairoa river and took the native route up the Waikare-Taheke to Waikaremoana. Colenso arrived on the scene one day later, having gone across country from Poverty Bay. On Christmas Eve the Europeans met, and relations between them could have been very much better. Baty crossed the lake on 26 December, Colenso on the 29th. Both explored Tuhoe Land and to their mutual annoyance, no doubt, met again on 3 January. Baty went back to Hawke’s Bay; Colenso went over the ranges to Lake Tarawera, arriving so tired that he did not bother to visit a nearby hot spring. He
LAKE WAIKAREMOANA
said, 'I have often been surprised at the great carelessness I have exhibited towards rare natural productions when either over-fatigued or ravenously hungry; at such times, botanical, geographical and other specimens, which I have eagerly and with much pleasure collected and carefully carried for many a weary mile, have become quite a burden, and have been one by one abandoned; to be, however, invariably regretted afterwards.'

The rest of his journey to the Bay of Islands was across country explored by other missionaries, but it was inordinately long for a man who had just made the first traverse of the ranges separating the east coast from the interior of the North Island. He visited Rotorua, the Thames valley and the Waikato, he went to Auckland, Kaipara, Whangarei, and the Bay of Islands. The result, quite apart from the missionary work, was 1,000 botanical specimens for Sir W. J. Hooker and material for a paper on the moa bones which appeared in the *Tasmanian Journal of Science* of 1843.

Before Colenso set out again Bishop Selwyn and Chief Justice Martin made an arduous and extensive journey on the east coast of the Island. In November 1842 they went up the Manawatu river with a large company of natives. There were six canoes, each with eight polemen, and the Europeans were free to admire the scenery or read the latest English newspapers. After they went through the gorge they saw the
Wairarapa, 'a noble plain, stretching as far as the eye could reach.' Their first destination was Ahuriri on the shores of Hawke's Bay and to reach it they crossed most pleasant country 'on which wild pigs were ranging without fear of molestation.' From Ahuriri they went to Wairoa, 'a very pretty station with a beautiful river winding through an extensive plain.' From here they went overland to Poverty Bay, then by the coast to Tokomaru Bay, and overland to the Waiapu valley and the populous pa of Rangitukia.

The next problem was to find the shortest route to the mission station at Tauranga; no ship was available and the overland journey very tedious. However, some old men remembered an overgrown war track and the party, accompanied by the Rev. J. W. Stack, went up the Waiapu valley to Whakawhitira and over the Raukumara range to the shores of the Bay of Plenty. Tauranga was reached on 13 December and Selwyn was able to meet Acting-Governor Shortland at the house of Brown, the missionary. Together they were very important company indeed, but Mrs Brown 'pursued the even tenor of her domestic duties.'

The rest of Selwyn's journey to Auckland did not open up any new country, but by the time he had reached Tauranga he had done enough to win the respect of any critic. His party had made the first recorded journey from the Manawatu to Hawke's
Bay and the route over the Raukumara range has been used only twice since then. For such toil in a worthy cause Charles Kingsley dedicated *Westward Ho* to Rajah Brooke and Bishop Selwyn who, he thought, had exhibited English virtue ‘in a form even purer and more heroic’ than that in which it was exhibited by the worthies of the Elizabethan age.

In 1843–4 Colenso made another journey covering much the same ground as in his previous expedition. He was landing at Hicks Bay in October 1843 when a storm arose, his boat was swamped by the breakers, and the ship sailed away without him. This minor disaster forced him to go overland post-haste to Poverty Bay to deliver to William Williams some letters from Bishop Selwyn. Then together they sailed for Wellington, only to suffer fifteen days cooped up in a tiny cabin. They therefore landed at Castle Point and waited for some baggage to be brought overland from Wellington. While they waited, Colenso made arrangements for the mission he afterwards established at Farndon, near the present Napier.

Eventually they went north, Williams going to Poverty Bay and Colenso up the Wairoa river to Waikaremoana. When he reached it, the surface was like a raging sea, and when he held a service the next day—21 December—his voice could hardly be heard above the roaring of the wind. He was able to cross on the 27th and carry out an intensive study of
the Urewera country. Bishop Selwyn wanted figures for a census of the inland Maoris, so Colenso’s movements from pa to pa are decidedly intricate and involved. Eventually he reached the Whakatane river, followed it to the Bay of Plenty, and walked overland to the Waikato and the Bay of Islands.

In the year 1844 he was admitted to deacon’s orders and sent to establish a mission station at Waitangi, near Farndon. His parish was a huge one—from Waikaremoana to Wellington, from Taupo to Hawke Bay. Therefore he had to spend seven months each year visiting villages more than fifty miles from the station. The most inaccessible were those south of Taupo and across the Ruahine ranges. Bishop Selwyn, if it were he who decided the boundaries of the parish, had shown little respect for the topography of the country. The missionary at Rotorua could have gone south of Taupo with only a fraction of the trouble and danger.

He made his first attempt to cross the Ruahines in February 1845 when the snow had gone from the tops. As a guide he had a native who had been a captive in the interior and had returned across the mountains. The route was up the Waipawa river then up the Makaroro river and by mud, boulders, logs, and shingle the mountain-side was reached. On Sunday 9 February two natives were sent over the mountains to get assistance from a small village near Patea. On Monday the rest followed in their
tracks along narrow ledges and above deep gorges until they reached the watershed. Here 'the lovely appearance of so many varied, beautiful and novel wild plants and flowers richly repaid me the toil of the journey and the ascent, for never did I behold at one time in New Zealand such a profusion of Flora's stores.' He had no bag and no flax to make one. Therefore he pulled off his jacket and used it; and then as the specimens accumulated he made his shirt into a bag and even stored them in his hat.

Meanwhile there was no sign of the advance party, and Colenso, not knowing the route of descent, had to go back to his camp. Late that night the two forerunners returned feeling very sorry for themselves. There was no one in the village and they had had no food except cabbage-tree tops for the last two days. There was nothing for it but to go back home. Food was short, the natives without boots or trousers were tormented by the speargrass, and Colenso was sickening for a two months' bout of sciatica, brought on by his privations; by tying knots in a piece of string he recorded 108 crossings of one icy-cold mountain stream.

Later in the year he made journeys to such places as Poverty Bay, Lake Wairarapa, and Wellington. In 1846 he went to Wellington by the coast as usual and returned by the Manawatu gorge. From here he went through the area between the Manawatu river and the Ruamahanga, that is, through the 'Seventy
Mile Bush.' No European scientist had visited it before and Colenso thought it the most primeval forest he had visited in New Zealand. There were few birds and consequently a death-like stillness.

He still wanted to visit that most remote spot, Patea, and finding no natives willing to cross the Ruahines he decided to get at it from Taupo. On 4 February 1847 he left the mission station and followed roughly the modern route from Napier to Taupo, except that once over the watershed he swung south-west and skirted the eastern shores of the lake. At Lake Roto Aira he obtained a guide who knew the route across the upper Waikato and over the volcanic plateau.

By 19 February the weather was bad and the guide had lost the way. Colenso's tent had to be pitched on a level spot hacked out from mud of the hill-slope. They could not go back because the route was probably covered with snow; they went on and took good care that the Taupo guide did not slip away. Colenso lived on rice and scraps of bacon fat and was at length reduced to one raw potato, while the native had a meal of roasted cabbage-tree leaves. Then to urge them on, they found the bleached bones of a Patea native who had been caught in a snow-storm. It was 23 February before they were feasting royally at Patea.*

This place was worthy of some close study. The

* It had already been visited by the Rev. Richard Taylor. See Chapter iv.
view extended over miles of bush to Mounts Egmont and Ruapehu, to the Ruahines and the East Cape ranges. There were several inches of snow on the ground but the natives seemed quite insensible to the cold. For Maoris that was quite unusual. Colenso wished to stay but he had to leave the next day—24 February—promising to return next summer.

The route was difficult and Colenso was carried across dangerous sections by the more sure-footed natives. On such occasions he invariably shut his eyes. They crossed the upper Rangitikei and ascended the Ruahines to the spot reached in 1844. To repeat the experience of the inward journey, they had seen, suspended in the coprosma bushes, the skeleton of a young Maori who was caught by the snow when bird catching. The route to Waipukura was familiar, and Colenso got there by 1 April. The next day he kept a promise and married nine couples.

With the route now explored, Colenso went several times to this remote spot, Patea. He always went in summer to avoid snow, wind, and loose rain-soaked soil. Even then he once slipped and to save himself had to use a spear as if it were an alpenstock. On another occasion a Maori slipped and was rescued by the whole party linking hands and using tent poles to get him from a position in which he was afraid to move.

On all these journeys Colenso collected with great care and skill hundreds of specimens of mountain
flora. Sir J. D. Hooker, who laid the foundation of New Zealand botany, thought that Colenso discovered 'more new and interesting plants . . . than any botanist since Banks and Solander. In every respect Mr Colenso is the foremost New Zealand botanical explorer and the one to whom I am most indebted for specimens and information.'
CHAPTER VI

Nelson and the West Coast

NELSON like Wellington, had a colony thrust upon it. The New Zealand Company, having been refused permission to occupy Canterbury, looked about for suitable land on the shores of Cook Strait. Good country was said to exist on the shores of Blind or Tasman Bay, so, in October 1841, the ships Whitby, Will Watch, and Arrow were anchored in the Astrolabe Roads to the north-west of the present Nelson. Land had to be found immediately and Captain Wakefield, the Company’s agent, was inclined to be easily satisfied. With Frederick Tuckett, the chief surveyor, he examined the country west of the Moutere river and decided that the town should be at Kai-teri-teri. Tuckett, who was more cool-headed, thought that there was not enough good land and wished to explore Massacre Bay (now Golden Bay), where European visitors had already discovered coal.

But Captain Wakefield had other ideas. He sent Tuckett and William Budge to explore the Moutere
river and this led to their going across country to discover the Waimea plain. Tuckett, being cautious, thought that only a paltry 6,000 acres were worth occupying. However, two other exploring parties came back with better reports. Charles Heaphy and a man named Brown had gone up the Motueka river and had followed the Riwaka river. According to Heaphy, there were 600,000 acres awaiting settlement. Wakefield was even more convinced that Kai-teriteri should be surveyed.

Before much work had been done, Nelson harbour was discovered by Messrs Moore, Cross, and Brown. In spite of Tuckett’s pleadings for further exploration, Captain Wakefield accepted the district as the site for the new settlement. The survey began immediately and for some months everyone was satisfied. The Nelson Examiner thought that the harbour was superior to those of Genoa and Marseilles and ‘not equalled by the ports of Charleston and Baltimore.’ The surveyors gave glowing reports of the Waimea plains but it is significant that in March 1842 Tuckett went west round the coast to Massacre Bay and overland from there to West Wanganui. That pessimist wanted more land. By November 1842 when there was no doubt about a shortage, Captain Wakefield sent S. J. Cotterell, Mr Cullen, Richard Paynter, and an old French whaler to explore some fine plains said to exist near the Kaikouras. The public interest was naturally very great, ‘so much
respecting the locality of a great portion of the rural sections depending on his report,' as the *Examiner* expressed it.

Cotterell went up the east branch of the Wai-iti river, over a pass into the Wairau valley, and so down to the sea. He followed the coast past the White Bluffs to the Awatere river and beyond it on to a beautiful undulating plain. Going south of Lake Grassmere, he crossed the ridges inland from Cape Campbell and followed the coast to the Clarence river. It could not be crossed so he returned to the Wairau and thence went by whale-boat to Nelson. His report pleased the Company's agents, for Wairau was 'particularly rich land' and approachable from Nelson. They saw in this attractive country a home for the impatient settlers who were clamouring for country sections. The future seemed more hopeful now that Cotterell had tested the vague tales of the Maoris and the whalers.

But he had not reached the Kaikouras and found that plain which the French whaling captain had described to Daniell and Duppa in 1841. Therefore he went up the Motueka river to Tophouse and looked down the Wairau valley. Instead of going south-east to the imaginary plain, he went south-west and discovered Lake Rotoiti in January 1843. Seeing no sign of any route to the deserted plain, he climbed a peak to the south-east of the lake. It was
very high—snow and high pinnacles surrounding him on every side—but he still saw no plain.

The Wairau, however, was some satisfaction. Private parties added their efforts to those of the Company’s explorers, and endeavoured to find a route which would bring it within easy reach of Nelson. They were not very successful, but the land-hungry Company, in spite of native protests, began to survey the plains. The result was the Wairau massacre and the despatch of an expedition to find fertile plains in the uninhabited south-west.

After exploring the course of the Motueka from its mouth in August 1843, Thomas Brunner of the survey staff arrived in Nelson with ‘intelligence from the natives of an immense plain in the interior, boundless to the eye, where there were birds larger than geese which killed their dogs, and to which the former inhabitants had escaped from the attack of Raupero’ (Te Rauparaha). He was sent back with the promise that, if discovered, the plain should be named after him. Bad weather hampered him and he returned without success. Doubt as to the existence of the plain was now entertained. Heaphy, however, believed that both Cotterell and Brunner had fallen into the error of keeping too much of a southerly course, thus leaving the great extent of country to the south-west unexplored. Accompanied by J. W. Spooner and four men, he set out in November to explore the country to the west of Lake Rotoiti.
They reached the lake on 15 November and set off down the Buller river. The following day they met J. C. Boys and two other men who had been sent by Tuckett to explore in the same direction. They had come through the bush by compass from the Motueka. Joining company the two parties went through the gorge which they called the ‘Devil’s Grip’, saw no flat country to the west, and returned to Nelson.

At the same time land hunger seems to have removed any fear of re-entering the Wairau. Two parties went overland to Pelorus Sound and in January 1844 Messrs Bishop, Drake, and Watts with a local native went to Pelorus Sound, up the Kaituna river, and so to the Wairau. This improved the route but it did not increase the area of available land. The only hope was the apparently impassable country to the west.

Consequently in March 1845 Heaphy and C. Christie set out to reach the level country which sealers said existed south of Cape Foulwind. They went to Rotoiti and then were rather unlucky. The Buller river was in flood and birds which were to be their food supply were very scarce. They turned back and investigated the Rotoiti river which entered the south end of the lake. From a peak to the east near the one Cotterell had ascended in 1843 they studied the country and decided to go over the range and down the Rainbow river to the upper
Wairau. From here they climbed a spur and saw the east coast. They went back to Nelson by Top-house and met a large party which had come up the valley from Queen Charlotte Sound. They lamented that the Nelson settlement had not been made in the Wairau (Marlborough) and remarked upon the inexpediency of choosing colonies and town sites without preliminary exploration. Apparently the Company was still worried by settlers clamouring for land. Some of them had been waiting five years. F. Dillon Bell, on behalf of the Company, spoke to agents and landowners on 15 January 1846 and admitted that Nelson had not enough land for accommodation sections, let alone for grazing purposes. The cautious Tuckett who had left Nelson by this time would have been amused to learn this.

Shortly after this unpleasant meeting, two parties intending to explore west of Rotoiti combined, and left Nelson on 2 February. The members were Brunner, Fox, Heaphy, and E Kehu, an experienced Maori. Each carried 75 lb of gear and the smallest looked like 'a peripatetic mushroom.' Food was cached at Rotoiti and the party, guided by E Kehu, went up the Howard river and over the ranges to Lake Rotoroa. They were probably the first Europeans to see this lake so, in addition to catching eels and shooting pigeons, they sketched the countryside and looked for signs of a route to Canterbury. But their chief interest was to the west, so they went
THE MATAKITAKI VALLEY
across country to the source of the Mangles river. They followed it to the Buller river and were, they thought, within twenty miles of the coast when shortage of food forced them back to Nelson.

In some ways it had been a pleasant journey. There had been in the party ‘a good plain cook, a first rate tailor, two glee singers and a dispensing physician.’ ‘E Kehu had been a first rate bushman. Not only had he a wonderful sense of direction but he was also a good shot . . . a capital manager of a canoe, a sure snarer of wild fowl, and a superb fellow at a ford . . . . He is worth his weight in tobacco.’

Yet Brunner and Heaphy were not satisfied. They wanted to see the mouth of the Buller river and the adjoining country which the natives thought was comparable with that of Taranaki. The only European who had been there was Toms, a sealer, who had just obtained 150 skins near the Three Steeples and seen fine land and a large river (the Buller). He also said that he had seen footprints on the sand and some writing directing a person to follow the writer to Cape Farewell. This Robinson Crusoe story showed that there was a route along the coast. Hitherto Europeans had thought that the West Coast was reached either by crossing the passes on the mountains or by going round in a ship. Heaphy and Brunner promptly made inquiries and found that the natives of the greenstone country had
been known to go up the coast as far as West Wanganui.

Consequently Brunner and Heaphy dropped the idea of following the Buller to its mouth. In March 1846 with E Kehu they went past Golden Bay and overland to West Wanganui where they obtained the services of a slave belonging to the local chief. Their packs were reduced to about 60 lb. Even so they were a burden and the cause of much worry when the route lay over steep sea bluffs and necessitated climbing with both hands and feet. Food was not plentiful and they lived on mutton fish (paua shellfish), sea urchins, and sea anemones. The last named were most recherché and were eaten with one’s eyes shut. Eventually they reached the Buller river and went south to the Grey. This was the most difficult section which they had to cover. The bluffs were so steep that they had to use the rotten flax ropes of old war parties. However, on 19 May they were at the Grey and eating potatoes, whitebait, and dogfish.

Still not satisfied with their work, they went on to the Taramakau river. Here the greenstone industry was still flourishing. The inmates of each house were preparing weapons, tools, and ornaments, and the presence of European axes and pots was proof of a regular trade across the Alps to Canterbury. In fact some of the younger men had been over to Canterbury the previous summer. The route was up the
Grey river, thence to a lake (Brunner), and over the hills to the upper Taramakau, which could then be followed to a pass clear of snow in summer. The cattle station of the Deans in Canterbury was then only two to three days away. The explorers, naturally enough, wished to cross, but no native was willing to go up the rivers then flooded by winter rains.

So they returned to Nelson by the way they had come. It was heavy going—each with 60 lb of potatoes and 12 lb of dried whitebait. When that supply was consumed it was shellfish, palm tree stems, and an occasional woodhen, described by Heaphy as the 'queen of wildfowl ... tender as chicken, gamey as pheasant, gelatinous as rooster.' Even fish long cast up on the beach were unanimously declared fresh.

Nelson was reached in August and a report was prepared by Heaphy. It is full of interesting information about the route to Port Cooper, the greenstone industry, the visits of sealers, the wrecks along the beach, and the massacre of the survivors. The coastline was accurately recorded, for Heaphy was a surveyor, and when the Acheron charted the coast of New Zealand much of his map was used.

Even then Brunner was not satisfied. In December 1846 he left again for the coast with E Kehu, Epikiwati, and their respective wives. The newspapers of the time said he was going to look for a route to Port Cooper from Lake Rotoroa. If he failed to
find one he was going to follow the Buller river to the coast and come back over the Alps to Port Cooper. From there he might explore the east coast rivers, even the Molyneux. He might take five months; he might be back next spring. He was going to live on the country and it was thought that the expedition was as difficult as any that could well be conceived.

He began by looking for the route south of Rotoroa and, failing to find any, went down the Buller to the sea. For three days they were without food and Brunner had to eat his favourite dog, which in better country would have been an invaluable hunter of birds. For this desperate act the Maoris named him Kai Kuri (dog-eater). Even when he reached the mouth of the Buller he had to worry about food. A sealing party had visited the place and the potato gardens were empty. However, he reached the Grey and the Taramakau and waited for the natives to finish work in their gardens. Then he was taken south to the Arahura, to the Hokitika, and to the Wanganui. It was October 1847 by then and he could use flax sandals, walk barefoot, and live on fern roots. He went on to Okarito and had a surfeit of eels. To-day the view from here is unsurpassed in New Zealand and Brunner thought so too. The rata gave a touch of flaming red to the dark bush and above it were the great peaks of the Alps, rose-red
in the morning sun, glistening white at mid-day, red again at sunset, cold and hard at night.

He still went on, crossing the Waiho at some risk, and yet not mentioning the Franz Josef glacier which flows down into the bush. Brunner, like Captain Cook, had probably not heard of glaciers. At Tititira Point he twisted his ankle on the boulders of the beach and at last turned back to avoid spending another winter on the coast. Besides he wanted to go up the Taramakau and over to the Deans at Riccarton to whom he carried a letter of introduction. When he did get to the Taramakau, no natives would take him over the mountains.

Thus to return by a new route he had to go up the Grey river in January 1848. He named it after the Governor and found a seam of excellent coal. The party, living mostly on eels and whitebait, went up the Mawhera-iti to an easy pass leading into the Inangahua. From the watershed he climbed a peak of the Victoria range and thought he saw in the distance the Canterbury plains. This was impossible and fortunately for him the hungry Maoris refused to return that way. They preferred the Inangahua which led them to the Buller and to food. But even there game was scarce. The weather was bad and Brunner, constantly wet, lost the use of one side of his body. E Kehu and his wife were most loyal but the other couple left and went ahead eating up the game. Brunner was in agony most of the way, and to fill
his cup of sorrow, his sketches, specimens, and curios were burnt. At last on 15 June 1848 he reached the sheep station in the Motueka which he had left 560 days before. In all that time he had not heard one word of English save 'the broken gibberish of E Kehu and the echo of my own voice.'

Thus ended the greatest piece of exploration in the history of New Zealand. Brunner had explored a great part of Westland, found coal, and traced the course of the Grey river. The cost was £33 9s 4d. He did not think that further exploration would be worth the expense, and did not encourage anyone to complete the unknown section between Tiritara Point and Milford Sound. The Royal Geographical Society gave him a small monetary award and the Nelson provincial council eventually made him its chief surveyor. But his health had been broken by his privations and he died at a comparatively early age.
CHAPTER VII

South Island: the East Coast

The few Europeans who lived in the South Island before 1839 were usually interested in whaling and were disinclined to make unnecessary journeys inland. The Maori population along the coast had almost as little interest in the interior. The introduction of potatoes had reduced the number of expeditions to catch eels and wekas. At the whaling stations they learnt the value of mobile and seaworthy whale-boats, which unlike tribal canoes could be owned and operated by a few individuals. They became the chief means of Maori transport; the inland tracks were neglected and known only to a few of the older generation.

But in 1839-40 land began to have a value, for it was obvious that Britain was going to colonise New Zealand. At Waikouaiti the shrewd John Jones became a farmer as well as a whaler; at Port Molyneux the agents of several Sydney firms endeavoured to found a settlement; at Riccarton a Sydney firm employed Heriot and others to grow wheat. By
1843 the Deans brothers were at Riccarton, the Hays and the Sinclairs were on Banks Peninsula, and the New Zealand Company had sent two expeditions* to report upon the country.

At the moment the land, by the terms of the Treaty of Waitangi, belonged to the natives, and any sales made to whalers, traders, and speculators were being investigated. The land commissioner for the South Island was Colonel Godfrey, who went on tour in 1843 with his interpreter Edward Shortland, Protector of Aborigines. After they had settled claims at Otago heads in September and October, Shortland was free to study the state of the southern Maoris. He went to Waikouaiti and when approaching the house of John Jones he heard the sounds of a piano and met a graduate of Cambridge complete with riding whip and black cutaway coat. It is too often forgotten that there were signs of civilisation in Otago before the arrival of the ‘Early Settlers’. Shortland was hoping to go north to Akaroa, but the weather was bad and he decided to stay and collect facts about native life and the whaling stations.

He began by visiting Purakanui and Moeraki. Accompanying him to the latter place was Mr Earle, a collector of birds and specimens valuable to naturalists. When they returned to Waikouaiti† they were shown some moa bones collected from the beach

* See Chapter iv. Duppa and Daniell 1841; Mein Smith in 1842.
† The whaling station was at Karitane, not at the modern Waikouaiti.
by a whaler. Seeing they were saleable in Sydney and Wellington, the whalers had dug them up with pickaxes, and Earle went post-haste to find some more. Shortland went south with Jones to study native life at Ruapuke and to see corn and potato patches at Riverton.

After he returned to Waikouaiti, he wished to explore the huge block of country between Otago harbour and Foveaux Strait. The two avenues into its interior were the Taiieri river and the Molyneux river and to reach the former he went with Earle to the head of Otago harbour, across by the present St. Kilda to the beach, and so by the coast to Taiieri mouth. From here they went upstream to a native village and ate eels, turnip tops, and fern roots. From the chief, Te Raki Raki, Shortland learnt that the old tracks to the Molyneux river were obliterated and that no natives would guide him there. He had to change his plans and return by a short route to Otago harbour. The party was taken upstream to Scrooggs Creek, which they followed to the hills overlooking the Taiieri plain. They skirted the hill slopes between it and Saddle Hill and went on to the present Dunedin suburb of Mornington and so back to the whale-boats and to Waikouaiti.

Shortland decided to return overland to Banks Peninsula. To get a guide he had to offer a blanket before anyone would think of walking 200 weary miles. He left early in 1844 when the beach was
inches deep in dead whale feed, a sign of a good season's whaling; Earle remained adding to his collection, which was afterwards sold to British and Continental museums. At the Waitaki river Shortland met a chief, Huru Huru, who took him over in a moki. The chief gave him quite an accurate description of the interior and illustrated it with most interesting pencil drawings. He knew the lake sources of the Waitaki, the route over the Lindis pass from the Waitaki basin to Lake Hawea, and all the stages of the route from Lake Wanaka over the Haast pass to the West Coast. Shortland reproduced the map in his *Southern Districts* (1851), and for many years the official map of Otago and Canterbury showed in the interior the great lakes as drawn by Huru Huru. Shortland then followed the coast and just south of Timaru he met Bishop Selwyn on his way to Moeraki from Banks Peninsula. They exchanged notes of the country each was to traverse, and went on to their respective destinations.

Later in the year 1844 Frederick Tuckett of Nelson, accompanied by Dr Monro, R. Nicholson, and J. W. Barnicoat, went exploring in search of suitable land for the New Edinburgh settlement. The promoter, George Rennie, being sensible, wanted the area for settlement to be well chosen, well explored, and well surveyed before the settlers even arrived in New Zealand. Tuckett pointed out that no one had been in the interior of either Canterbury
or Southland and proposed to traverse them both. Canterbury was the popular choice, but Tuckett had leanings towards Otago having heard of it from some unknown person before he left England in 1841.

By April he was visiting the Deans brothers at Riccarton, arriving wet to the skin after an unpleasant night out on the plain. He went north to the Waimakariri which he thought ‘an angry and ugly river’. The country pleased him; the absence of timber and the presence of hills between the plain and its port did not. His plan to traverse Canterbury was abandoned because no natives were available. Therefore he sailed to Moeraki and went overland to Waikouaiti and thence to Otago harbour. His insistence on overland routes amused the natives.

From the head of the harbour he went over the hills to north Taieri, across the plain, down the Taieri river to its mouth, to begin a long journey by the coast to the Molyneux river. He saw nothing of importance along the rocky coast until coal was discovered near the river mouth. He then planned to go overland to Foveaux Strait and engaged Maoris to guide him to the inland settlement at Tuturau, near the Mataura falls. Unfortunately the weather drove the ship out to sea and south to Foveaux Strait. This misfortune cost Tuckett the honour of being the first European to traverse Southland, and it is quite possible that the continued bad weather prevented Southland being the site of the New
Edinburgh settlement. The interior is just the type of country Tuckett wanted, but the wind and rain blowing in from Foveaux Strait discouraged him.

On his way back he landed at the Molyneux river, took a whale-boat past the present town of Kaitangata, and then walked overland. This took him over the Tokomairiro plain, and past Lake Waihola to the Taieri river. He again canoed to the mouth and returned to Otago harbour by the coast. The weather had been very cold—shoes were frozen, the grass was brittle with hoar frost, and marsh fog hung over the plains. But after such frosts Otago weather can be glorious, with a bright sun and blue sky. Tuckett was convinced that Otago had all the features necessary for the settlement—good land if drained, a good climate, and a good harbour.

Little time was wasted. The authorities came south from Wellington and on 31 July 1844 the Otago block was sold by the Maoris to the New Zealand Company. Tuckett had not gone far inland, so it was a very small portion of Otago, from the Otago harbour to Port Molyneux and inland to the level of west Taieri. But members of his party collected from the Maoris some information about central Otago. The Foveaux Strait natives talked of Lake Te Anau and of ferocious Maoris entirely hairy except on their foreheads; Te Raki Raki of Taieri mouth drew a good map of the lakes; at Wanaka there
were animals which made floating houses and murmuring noises.

Settlement should have taken place almost immediately but the Company was in financial difficulties. The surveys were hurriedly postponed and only William Davison remained to guard the Company’s property at Port Chalmers. He amused himself charting the harbour and visiting Foveaux Strait.

Another person who did not sail to Wellington was W. Heaphy.* In November 1844 he started to walk from Otago to Nelson. Tuckett gave him a map, a compass, and introductions to the Deans at Riccarton and to Dr Monro in Nelson. Nothing more was heard of him until February 1845 when W. Deans wrote to Monro telling him that Heaphy had arrived safely and had trudged forward into north Canterbury. There he had found rugged hills barring his way to Nelson and had been injured after a dangerous fall. This forced him to construct a moki and float down the Waiau river. After it was overturned he went on foot, living on wild cabbage and cowthistle until he collapsed and thought he was going to die. After dozing for a few hours he recovered enough strength to crawl to the whaling station at Motunau island. He had failed, but he accomplished a good deal. He had been the first European to explore Canterbury north of Kaiapoi,

* Not to be confused with Charles Heaphy, the artist and explorer.
and he had learned that the best route from the plain to Nelson was along the coast.

No other exploration was done until 1846 when Charles Kettle arrived to direct the survey of the Otago block. He had little chance of going outside its boundaries but in 1847 he did ascend Maungatua, a hill separating the Taieri plain from central Otago, to see 'an immense extent of country stretching away into the interior of the island . . . 700,000 acres of low undulating grassy downs . . . offering every inducement for the depasturing of sheep and cattle. I believe that few have any conception of the extent to which this part of New Zealand is adapted for grazing purposes.' This was quite true, for he saw the eastern edge of central Otago running away to the Strath-Taieri plain. For the first time a European had seen and described a portion of central Otago.

The following year, 1848, the first settlers were arriving in Otago and giving all their attention to the land within the block. The only exploration in the South Island was conducted north of Otago. The Canterbury Association proposed to found a settlement, and the present Canterbury being a likely spot, Tacy Kemp arrived to buy that huge area of country between Nelson and the Molyneux river. For £2,000 he bought twenty million acres and left undecided the boundaries of the native reserves.

W. B. D. Mantell was sent to settle this question in
August. He visited Kaiapoi and discussed the route across the mountains to the West Coast with Tainui who often went over. From Kaiapoi he went overland to Dunedin, breaking his journey at the Waitaki to go much farther inland than any other European. Apart from this, there would have been nothing original in the trip had Mantell not been a first-class scientist. He was excited by the limestone caves at Otatara, and collected sharks’ teeth resembling those he collected when a boy in England. They were ‘old familiar faces greeting me from the rocks of the antipodes.’ He studied the Moeraki boulders and remarked that the whalers called them ‘Ninepins’ and the spot itself Vulcan’s Foundry. At Waikouaiti he naturally collected moa bones and sent them to his father, Gideon Mantell, the noted geologist.

He returned from Dunedin to Akaroa and there completed the land purchase. His instructions were severe and Mantell, following them to the letter, was, for so generous a man, extremely hard on the Maoris. At the moment no European worried about such minor details; the main point was that the South Island must be available for the Canterbury settlement. In fact, before Mantell returned from Dunedin, Captain Thomas and William Fox of the New Zealand Company were wandering inland from Port Cooper, inspecting the strip between the coast and the foothills. Several parties went out, and the map showing their respective routes across the plain
is quite complicated. The advantages of the plain seemed to be so great that Captain Thomas did not bother to inspect other parts of New Zealand. He left early in 1849 to obtain the consent of Sir George Grey to the selection of this site and left C. O. Torlesse to enter south Canterbury. This was an interesting expedition of no great difficulty, but it was one which went well inland. Meanwhile Thomas and Fox were in Auckland approaching Sir George Grey. He waited until Bishop Selwyn gave his rather reserved consent and until a report came from Captain Stokes of the H.M.S. Acheron. The latter with J. W. Hamilton had been exploring north of the Waimakariri*, and his favourable opinion decided the matter.

* See Chapter viii.
CHAPTER VIII

The Acheron Survey

IN ANSWER to many complaints the Admiralty, in 1847, appointed Captain Stokes of H.M.S. Acheron to survey the coast and harbours of New Zealand. This led an eminent geologist, Dr Fitten, to suggest that an experienced naturalist should be attached to the expedition. The New Zealand Company went further and arranged for scientific investigation of the interior in order to assist the directors in their scheme of colonisation. The assistant surgeon was Forbes, a capable geologist, and the chief surgeon was Lyall, a botanist who had accompanied Sir J. D. Hooker when he went to Antarctica with Sir James Clark Ross of the Erebus and the Terror. At its own expense the Company was permitted to have J. W. Hamilton added to the staff of draughtsmen. He had been secretary to Governor FitzRoy and could speak Maori, an accomplishment likely to be of value when expeditions were made into the interior. In New Zealand he was to assist in the examination of its geological structure and to
ascertain the most eligible sites for settlement. In other words he was to be an explorer.

The *Acheron* reached Auckland in 1848 and went to Akaroa in February 1849. The nautical survey of Banks Peninsula was begun and Stokes and Hamilton attended the land sale then being completed by Mantell. That completed, they went on a sixteen days’ trip inland to inspect the country just chosen by Captain Thomas for the Canterbury Association. At Riccarton they were joined by Strange, one of the ship’s company who had been for a few days up the Waimakariri. The party then went across the river and north-west to Mount Grey. From the summit Stokes saw the great plain stretching 100 miles to the south and ‘watered by a multitude of streams . . . .’ He sent a very enthusiastic report to Sir George Grey, Captain Thomas’s choice was confirmed, and the news was sent forthwith to London.

The *Acheron* then went south to chart the east coast of Otago and the question was whether Hamilton should explore its interior. It was decided that the approaching winter would prevent his going far inland and that he could be better employed exploring the attractive country north of Mount Grey and perhaps attempting to cross to the West Coast.

Therefore on 2 April Hamilton, two Maori porters, and an officer of the *Acheron* left Riccarton for Kaiapoi. From there they were guided by an aged Maori named Te Hua, ‘the egg’. He described the
route to the West Coast but insisted that anyone attempting to cross the mountains so late in the season would have his ‘toes broken off like bits of grass by the cold and snow.’ They came on this well defined West Coast track on 5 April but Hamilton did not follow it any distance. The natives had heavy packs and were rather vague about the time required to traverse north Canterbury. He preferred to go north to the Waiau, follow it to the Green-wood’s station at Motunau and then return by the coast until he could strike inland to Kaiapoi. There they recounted their adventures and explained that the fossils they had collected were signs of Noah’s flood. In due time he sent the directors a report of the fine grazing country he had traversed. Apparently it had not been expected, as from the sea the line of coastal hills had given a false impression of the interior. He thought it a place worthy of settlement, preferably by squatters like the Deans until enough knowledge was acquired for organised settlement.

Soon after, the Acheron returned to chart the coasts of Cook Strait, and Hamilton was employed on board. In August, however, the ship was taken to Sydney to refit and to load coal, and during its absence he was free to explore. He wished to find the Maori path from the Wairau to north Canterbury and William Fox, principal agent of the New Zealand Company, wished him to cross the mountains from Canterbury to the West Coast.
To solve the first problem Hamilton was joined by E. J. Eyre, Lieutenant-Governor of New Munster, which included the South Island. With some Wellington Maoris they went to the Wairau and then to the Awatere river and on 12 November 1849 were camped on the main spur of Tapuaenuku, the highest peak of the Kaikouras. The following day Hamilton remained at the snow line, 6,000 feet; he argued that he needed spiked shoes and mountain gear, that a survey was useless without a theodolite, and that the summit was not sufficiently high above its neighbours to show the route into Canterbury. Eyre and four Maoris went on to attempt the first ascent—if men worried about such matters in those days. Eyre, who had traversed West Australian deserts, was quite eager to ascend the snow slopes. For thirteen hours the party plodded through the snow and were within fifteen minutes of the summit when failing light forced them to turn back. Now in the late afternoon the soft snow was freezing again and becoming very dangerous to the amateur mountaineers. So, when Eyre was leading the party down 'a steep face of the hill little less than perpendicular', he heard a cry and saw one of the Maoris, Wiremu Hoeta, sliding down the ice slope. The Maori bumped and rolled over projecting rocks and when past the snow-line ricocheted from ledge to ledge until he crashed to death in an inaccessible ravine 1,500 feet below. Later Eyre himself slipped,
but managed to recover his balance by using his iron-shod pole. Then another native slipped and after falling about fifteen feet clutched a rock and saved himself. After these incidents the party stopped 700 feet below the summit and spent a cold night amidst the snow before completing the descent of the mountain next morning.

The natives were now rather disconsolate and would not assist Eyre when he proposed to continue his way to north Canterbury. Hamilton then accepted a passage to Banks Peninsula in a whale-boat and en route carefully charted the coast from Flaxbourne to Port Cooper with special emphasis on the boat harbours and the paths across the coastal hills to the interior. When he reached the peninsula he found that every able-bodied Maori was determined to wait in Akaroa until the land commissioner distributed some money. The best he could do was to move about Kaiapoi and re-ascent Mount Grey. To make the situation more annoying, some West Coast Maoris came over the pass from the Taramakau to the Hurunui. They had much to say about the route and Hamilton wished that he could go over to add more details to the map prepared by Brunner.

By the time the natives were free to assist him, the *Acheron* returned from Sydney and Hamilton was taken south to Foveaux Strait. The marine survey lasted from March until June 1850 and Hamilton was occasionally free to report upon the mainland.
In April he visited the Bluff which he thought would be the port-town of the district; later he went with Stokes in a six-oar whaler some thirty miles up the Oreti river. Hamilton thought that 'a more desirable tract of country . . . could hardly be found.' Soon after, with Lieutenant Spencer, he went for several days up the east bank of the Aparima river, back to the Bluff, then overland to Dunedin.

They left the Bluff early in May with some local natives who carried about 70 lb of food and gear to the Europeans’ 30 lb. On 9 May they were at Tuturau, near Mataura. Hamilton was impressed with the country and noted that potatoes measured nine inches in length. From here they followed the Maori track east to the Molyneux river and spent some days at Omaru shooting pigs with some settlers named Chalmers. They then went on to Dunedin where they rejoined the Acheron.

The report which Hamilton prepared was probably the most important he ever sent to the directors of the Company. The map, based on the Acheron survey, was really accurate, the route of the party was clearly shown, and his description of the interior exceedingly informative. The more remote lakes and rivers were shown although the natives were not very familiar with them. Only four old men of Foveaux Strait had ever been inland to the lakes. There were only 500 natives in the south and Hamilton suggested that the block be bought for £2,000.
Some of this information was embodied in a report which Stokes prepared for the lieutenant-governor. It was read to the Royal Geographical Society in 1851 and among those present was Tuckett who, in 1844, had not been impressed with Southland. He still maintained that the country south of the Mataura was not good; he was an obstinate man, well-meaning but cantankerous.

The inhabitants of Dunedin were not extraordinarily excited by the report on Southland. Few were interested in farming and few had any capital. Since it could not be a Presbyterian colony, Captain Cargill wrote post-haste to the London agent of the Lay Association suggesting that the report be sent to zealous and leading laymen of the Independent and Wesleyan denominations. He thought that they might find another church colony and described those of Otago and Canterbury. Nothing seems to have resulted, probably because the New Zealand Company was about to cease operations. E. G. Wakefield would certainly have favoured the idea; Sir George Grey would have detested another church settlement.

The *Acheron*, meanwhile, had been refitted at Wellington and had charted part of the coast of Nelson. It returned to Foveaux Strait towards the end of 1850 and Stokes chartered the *Otago* to carry stores and engaged some of the whaling fraternity to pilot his ship to the south-west sounds. Such
assistance was necessary because with the exception of Dusky and Doubtful Sounds, no charts existed of this remarkable region. Sealers and whalers were, however, familiar with almost every coastal indentation from Foveaux Strait to Cape Foulwind.

The two ships with several parties in whaleboats surveyed the sounds and then went up the West Coast. In March 1851 they sighted Mount Cook—‘a stupendous mountain’ which had hitherto remained undiscovered; Stokes very appropriately named it after his illustrious predecessor. Curiously enough no mention was made of the great glaciers which are so notable a feature when the Alps are seen from aboard ship.

By the end of March the ship was back in Wellington with information of some value. Milford Sound, used only by whalers, was said to be one of the grandest sights in the southern hemisphere. The scientists had made several important discoveries: Lyall had made a wonderful collection of the lower botanical orders including the finest buttercup in the world—the *Ranunculus lyallii* (Mount Cook lily); he had obtained several kakapos (ground parrots) and was preparing a description for the Zoological Society. Forbes had increased his knowledge of New Zealand geology and Evans, the master, had been adding to the list of New Zealand shells.

Apart from a brief survey in Queen Charlotte Sound this was the last work of the *Acheron* survey.
The crew returned to England and the once fine paddle steamer was replaced by the *Pandora* (Commander Byron Drury). Several members of the *Acheron* expedition were later to achieve eminence: G. H. Richards, the Commander, and Evans were afterwards successive Hydrographers Royal; Lyall went botanising in Vancouver; Forbes wrote the first paper on New Zealand geology; Hamilton remained in New Zealand and died in 1883 after having been a proprietor of the *Lyttelton Times*, a member of the Canterbury provincial council and of the governing bodies of Christ’s College and Canterbury College.
CHAPTER IX

Nelson to Canterbury

THE NEED for a route to Nelson arose as soon as it was decided to establish the Canterbury settlement on the plains inland from Banks Peninsula. F. Dillon Bell, the Company's agent in Nelson, reported that the high prices which stock of all description realised on the first formation of a settlement would induce the station owners, whose flocks and herds were fast increasing, to send a portion overland if a route were discovered behind the Kaikouras. They would be able to undersell the Australian dealers and get rid of surplus male stock which limited the pasture for breeding stock. He also remarked that both he at Wairau and Tinline at Motueka had obtained from aged Maoris a detailed account of the route from the upper Wairau to the Awatere river and across the range to north Canterbury. Even if the route were not obvious, he was sure that the want of additional runs would drive the stock owners to find a track within twelve months. Once the settlement was founded, the
Canterbury runholders were also interested because they wished to avoid the risks of sea transport. Variable winds could prolong a voyage, sheep could die, and the settler be ruined before he stocked his run. But the problem was not easy to solve because several parallel ranges, two of them 8,000 feet high, separated the settlements.

The river valleys between these ranges were the natural highways, and enterprising Europeans had already begun to explore them. Frederick Weld, who with Charles Clifford stocked a run in the Wairau in August 1847, went up the Awatere river soon after his arrival and decided that a route could be found to the south. Hamilton and Eyre in 1849, combining exploration with mountaineering, had failed,* and the search was carried on by some Nelson settlers and two Indian Army officers.

The idea was that Lieutenant Impey of the Bengal Engineers and Captain Mitchell of the 4th Regiment together with Messrs Dashwood and Tinline should leave together. But Tinline, being sheriff of Nelson, was detained during the sitting of the assizes, so in April 1850 Mitchell, Dashwood, and a whaler named Harris went up the Waihopai, a tributary of the Wairau, and over a saddle to the Awatere river. They followed the valley and climbed south over a saddle to the Acheron river which they followed to the Clarence. Down its valley they went for several

* See Chapter viii.
miles before they saw a possible track over the last range of mountains which separated them from the plains of north Canterbury. It was certainly no stock route but they managed to get their mule and their horses over and to reach, late in May, Caverhill’s sheep station at Motunau. From there they set off for Kaiapoi and after some miserable days in the swamps, fireless and soaked by a snow-storm, they were found by the Maoris. Their condition was not much better when they reached the surveyors’ camp at Riccarton, but Thomas and Jollie thought that they spoke ‘like gentlemen’ and gave them each a glass of grog and some dry clothes. In due course the trip was described in various publications, for it was a fine piece of work well worthy of the publicity given to it by the Canterbury Association and the New Zealand Company.

The other party—Impey, with McRae, a runholder, Jordan, an old whaler, and two Maoris—had followed soon after and while the first party were up the Waihopai had preceded them up the Awatere. They had every trouble imaginable. Impey and one Maori, Eopi had dysentery, heavy rain fell, and Ewi, other Maori, was so unwell that he ‘wanted to become acquainted with his forefathers.’ After it snowed and McRae was nearly lost, they returned and left the search to Mitchell and Dashwood.

In December of the same year, 1850, Weld, who had visited Lyttelton with Godley, went home to the
Wairau by the coast. On the way he and his companion C. Wilkinson met several Maoris and heard vague reports of a pass from north Canterbury to the Awatere river. This was encouraging, so with a companion, Lovegrove, he went up that river over Barefell pass to the junction of the Guide and the Acheron. From here he looked towards the valley of the Clarence and thought that he saw the plains of North Canterbury. So, early in 1851 he and Clifford sent drovers along the route with 700 wethers. They reached the Clarence, found another range between them and Canterbury, and abandoned the stock. In May Clifford said, 'Weld has made a great mistake in supposing he had found a practicable route—he was misled by mirage or something else because it is impossible he could have been within 30 miles as far south as he supposed himself to be—I believe my sheep are safe but believe they will have to come back to Flaxbourne.' They did not come back and for several years men were looking for the lost sheep as well as for a stock route to the plains.

At the end of 1851 E. J. Lee travelling alone improved upon the route discovered by Dashwood and Mitchell. He went from the Awatere to the Acheron by Weld's Barefell pass and forced his way down the river to its junction with the Clarence. On several occasions he found traces of Clifford who had been looking for the lost sheep, and even when he sought a route over the hills to the plain he found
evidence of other travellers—probably the drovers who had been forced to desert the flock. Having only himself and his horse to worry about, he found a route over and created quite a stir when he appeared in Christchurch. The press decided that men had hitherto been ‘inordinately frightened’ by the supposed dangers of the route. Clifford and Weld, however, thought the last range too difficult and in March 1852 preferred to send 1,500 ewes by the coastline from Wairau to Canterbury.

Lee preferred the more direct route, and in March and April 1852 he and Edward Jollie took 1,800 sheep from Nelson to the Wairau, up the Awatere, and over Barefell pass to the Acheron. Lee did not think that the flock could be taken through the scrub and the ‘wild Irishman’, so the party followed the range to the west of the Acheron. From a high hill, Jollie saw in the distance a wide gap through the final range and beyond it ‘the yellow grassy hills beyond the Hanmer Plain.’ He took a compass bearing of its position and the party followed the range to the Clarence. Jollie and Perceval then went to ‘the great gap in the mountains’ (Jollie’s pass) and down through scrub and birch forest to the edge of the Hanmer plain. Using ‘a lucifer match’ they set fire to the scrub and after several days were able to take the sheep over the pass and so stock the runs they had taken up in the Cheviot country. Their success soon had results. In February 1853 several parties went to Canterbury
with 5,000 sheep and 400 cattle; in 1854 flocks of 4,000 sheep were following Lee’s route. The importation of Australian stock had been reduced by the Victorian gold rushes so the market was good and the Nelson Examiner could say, ‘To Mr Lee . . . we are under the deepest obligation.’

Actually it was a very long route, for the sheep were taken from Nelson to Tophouse, down the Wairau, and then back up the Awatere to Barefell pass which was, as the crow flies, not very far from Tophouse. As Weld had been exploring the upper Clarence in 1853, the Nelson provincial government asked him, in 1855, to find a more direct route. He arranged to send stores up the Awatere to the Acheron and then went up the Wairau. This led him to the tarns of the present Tarndale, from one of which the Acheron flows. He went on to his stores and then well up the Clarence. Turning east from here he gazed down upon what he erroneously took to be the source of the Wairau; it was, in fact, a tributary of that river. He went back down the Clarence and on to Stonyhurst in Canterbury by the Waiau.

The Nelson government was satisfied. Stock could be taken to Tophouse and by Tarndale to the Acheron and the Clarence. The trip down the Wairau and up the Awatere was cut out; travellers could now go from Nelson to Christchurch in six days. It was not a first-class route but it was an important factor in stocking the Canterbury runs.
CHAPTER X

The Interior of Canterbury: Sheepfarmers and Scientists

ALTHOUGH the Canterbury block was very attractive, the Wakefield system of high priced land encouraged sheepfarmers with limited capital to settle outside its boundaries. Some of these men were Australians, so, rather than lose their capital and experience, J. R. Godley had the moral courage to lease sections of the block itself. Thus the two systems allowed the would-be squatters to select any part of the Canterbury plain from the Hurunui south to the Waitaki. Some went well inland and were minor explorers; M. P. Stoddart and others went up the Rakaia in 1851 and explored the country near Lake Coleridge. The system was so successful that by 1855 any man who wanted new sheep country had to explore the unknown country behind the ‘snowy’ mountains.

The first there was Mackenzie, a sheep stealer, who in March 1855 took 1,000 sheep over the hills from Cave to the Mackenzie country. Surprisingly little is known about his movements, so that
reliable facts are in inverse proportion to the extensive literature on the subject. He may have had accomplices and he may have previously explored the inland route from south Canterbury to Otago. The fact that he was once in Southland makes it possible for him to have heard of Nathaniel Chalmers going from Mataura to Lake Hawea in 1853 and to have heard Reko of Tuturau describe his inland journey from Kaiapoi to Southland. *

The best and most reliable account of Mackenzie’s exploits was given by J. H. C. Sidebottom who recovered the sheep and attempted to capture Mackenzie. He was at Cave paring sheep’s feet when a Maori named Seventeen came in saying that a Scotsman had stolen part of the flock. Sidebottom took two Maoris and followed up the track of a man, a dog, and 1,000 sheep. Two days later he thought he saw ‘the track of a bullock and another man for certain and a third man’s track doubtful.’ At last just before sundown they came to a pass ‘to the West Coast through the Snowy Mountains’ and saw below them Mackenzie and the sheep. They caught Mackenzie, tied his hands, and took away his boots. He was very tall, with red hair and piercing ferrety eyes.

Late that evening suspicious calls were heard, the dogs barked, the sheep broke, and Mackenzie began whistling and cooing. It was moonlight and

* See Chapter xi.
Sidebottom decided to leave there and then. Seventeen, armed with a stick, walked beside Mackenzie, while Sidebottom drove the sheep. Fog enveloped them as they crossed the pass and Mackenzie broke away. Sidebottom carried on all night and the next day until he had the sheep, the bullock, and Mackenzie’s dog safely at Cave. He then wrote an account of the affair to his employers, R. and G. Rhodes, and mentioned that the tracks suggested the theft of another mob of sheep. He also said that there was ‘a fine plain just at the back of the Snowy Range and a first rate pass through the mountains to it.’

Soon afterwards Mackenzie was captured at Lyttelton and given five years’ imprisonment. After he made three attempts to escape, Governor Gore Browne pardoned him on condition that he left New Zealand. Mackenzie must have been no ordinary drover; it was a feat to move 1,000 sheep across unknown and still unburned country with only one dog, and Samuel Butler thought that ‘his fame would be lasting.’ In fact his skill and boldness so impressed the sheepfarming community that his liberation caused no adverse comment.

Meanwhile the Mackenzie country had been traversed by G. Rhodes who followed sheep tracks across the pass to the Tekapo river. He was certain that Mackenzie had accomplices and that other sheep were missing. The Lyttelton Times advertised a reward for information about 500 ewes stolen in
May-June 1854. Nothing came of it. Later Rhodes and Sidebottom explored the plain; the former took a block of land in the vicinity of Lake Ohau, the latter applied for 75,000 acres of the plain.

Meanwhile J. B. A. Acland and C. G. Tripp were exploring the upper Rangitata. In September 1855 they went inland to Forest Creek, some twenty-five miles above Peel forest, set fire to the grass, and returned to Christchurch. They obtained leasehold rights and returned in 1856. They then explored up the Ashburton river and by going west past Lakes Acland and Tripp, came to the Rangitata again. By May 1856 they were too busy establishing sheep stations to do any further exploration.

West and north of Christchurch there had been less active exploration, and in 1855 it was suggested that the provincial council should vote £100 for the exploration of the country between Lake Coleridge and the West Coast. Nothing was done, probably because the settlers were capable of doing their own exploration. In September 1857 E. Dobson, the provincial engineer, and Messrs Taylor and Mason went up the Hurunui river, following the route used by the Maoris and mentioned so often to earlier explorers. They cut tracks for their horses and above the gorge came on flat land watered by six lakes, the largest of which was named Lake Sumner. They carried on over the pass (Harper’s) to the Taramakau until they were held up by four days’ rain. On their
return all available land was taken up for sheep runs, for, according to Dobson, it was good country justifying exploration even if the West Coast was useless. So little country was left for new settlers that the Lyttelton Times hoped that private enterprise would complete Dobson's route to the coast. Messrs Yonge and Wilson soon afterwards went to, at least, the crest of the pass and in November Messrs Harper and Locke extended Dobson's route from the upper Taramakau to the Maori village at its mouth.*

Soon after, really original work on the Canterbury side of the Alps was done farther south by men searching for sheep country. The most notable was Samuel Butler, who arrived in 1860 and found that if he wanted a sheep run he would have to discover unoccupied country. He systematically explored the great river valleys. First he went up the Rakaia and its tributary the Harper until he saw the glacial source of the Avoca river. Then he went up the Waimakariri hoping to find 'some little run which had been overlooked.' The scenery was wonderful but he missed the inns of the Swiss valleys with their vin ordinaire. He went up the Bealey river and saw a low saddle to the West Coast. This was Arthur's pass, and if he could have left his horse 'Doctor' he would have gone up to it.

From here he went south to the upper Rangitata

* See Chapter xv.
and saw Mount Cook 'towering in a massy parallelogram, disclosed from top to bottom in the cloudless sky, far above all others.' His Mesopotamia sheep run was in this region but he returned to Christchurch and went up the Hurunui and from the pass saw the waters of the Taramakau flowing to the West Coast. Then he spent the winter at Mesopotamia making sure that sheep farming was possible. He was very single-minded in his efforts to make a fortune which would give him the time and money to devote himself to art and literature.

While Butler was exploring almost every great valley of Canterbury, a young surveyor named J. H. Baker was exploring the Rakaia and the Waimakariri so that he could lease any unclaimed areas and then sell his rights to less venturesome men. Even in Butler's own Rangitata district Acland, Tripp, and C. Harper had been exploring the headwaters of the river in the vain hope of discovering a large plain which the Maoris said existed there.

When the winter was over Butler and Baker combined forces. Just how they had met is not known, but Butler, bent on making his desired competence, probably saw that Baker would be an ideal companion when exploring for new sheep country. Late in December 1860 they followed up the headwaters of the Rangitata—first the Havelock, then the Clyde, and finally the Lawrence. Here they left their horses at the limit of pasture, went forward on
foot, and ascended the Jollie range. They expected to see below them the West Coast and were rather surprised to see the headwaters of the Rakaia. But they did see in the distant Main Divide a pass to the coast.

They retraced their steps to Mesopotamia and went up the Rakaia to this pass. From there a stream flowed to the West Coast and they followed it until the boulders were too dangerous and the current too swift. The adjoining bush was very dense and they turned back, certain that no grazing country lay to the west of the Divide. The pass was their most notable discovery and Acland persuaded Butler to forward a description to the survey office. Shortly after, a surveyor named Whitcombe went over by this route and was drowned when crossing the Taramakau.* Since then the pass has been named after him.

Butler did no more exploring and when he had doubled his capital he returned to Britain. There he completed his satire Erewhon, in the opening chapters of which he described most accurately the upper Rangitata and the general atmosphere of east coast river valleys. One side could be ‘blue with evening shadow’ and the other still ‘brilliant with sunset gold’; through the river flats there flowed ‘the wide and wasteful river with its ceaseless rushing; and at night there was the moonlight bright upon the mountains, the rattle of falling stones and the boom of far off avalanches.’  

* See Chapter xv.
Baker, Butler’s companion, continued the search for sheep country. In 1861 with E. Owen he visited the head of Lake Tekapo, the Hopkins and Dobson rivers at the head of Lake Ohau, and the Ahuriri branch of the Waitaki. Not satisfied, and having heard of a low pass (the Haast) to the West Coast at the head of Lake Wanaka, they went over the Lindis pass to the newly established sheep stations at the south end of the lake. Being given the use of a boat, they went to the head, taking seven days owing to the adverse winds. There they followed the Wanaka river (Makarora) to the crest of the pass. Baker says he climbed a high tree and ‘obtained a good view of the country beyond.’ It was all bush, so they made their way back to the sheep stations and then tried west Wanaka, going up the Matukituki and its southern tributary the Mototapu.* Once again they found no pass and no sheep country; in fact no new country could be found on the Canterbury side of the Southern Alps.

The only regions unvisited by Europeans were the glacial sources of the great lakes and rivers. Their exploration was begun by Dr Julius von Haast when he went up the Rangitata in February 1861 to continue his geological survey of the Canterbury province. His companion was Dr A. Sinclair, a noted botanist and once Colonial Secretary. Their host at Mesopotamia was Samuel Butler. In March, after they had

* They were not the first explorers. See Chapter xii.
systematically explored the Havelock and the Lawrence, tributaries of the Rangitata, Dr Sinclair returned for stores and when crossing the river was washed off his horse and drowned. His body was taken to Mesopotamia and buried ‘near the bank of the river, just where it emerges from the Alps, with perpetual snowfields glistening in the sun, amidst Veronicas and Senecios and covered with Celmisias and Gentians . . . .’ After news was sent to Christchurch, Haast went up the Clyde and in April left Mesopotamia to explore the Ashburton river to its glacial source.

The following year, 1862, there was another reason for the geological survey. Gold had been found in Otago and Haast was naturally called on to report upon the mineral resources of Canterbury. Since the most likely area was the upper Waitaki, he went there in February with A. D. Dobson to search for gold and make a geological survey. Dobson had to extend the topographical survey begun by Edward Jollie.

They began from Tekapo, trudging the interminable miles up the shingle flats of the Godley valley. At its head Haast named the Classen and Godley glaciers and attempted to follow the latter to a pass (the Sealy) which obviously led to Westland. The snow was too deep and the party returned to Tekapo and went across country to Pukaki, following its eastern side and reaching the shingle flat below the
terminal face of the great Tasman glacier. Shepherds had probably reached it because they told Dobson that the valley ended in a wall of rock. This was the face of the terminal moraine and Haast’s party stumbled over its miles of loose rock to the clear ice which they followed to a point opposite the present Ball Hut. The incomparable cone of ice to the north of Mount Cook was appropriately named Mount Tasman and the 3,000 feet of icefalls draining the plateau between them was named the Hochstetter. They then returned by the western edge of the glacier past Blue Lake to the flats below Mount Sefton.

Here the surroundings were infinitely more beautiful than those of the Godley. There were clumps of beech trees, senecios and veronicas, innumerable mountain daisies, and Mount Cook lilies. Keas, kakas, and wekas abounded and every night the camp was worried by hosts of grey Norwegian rats. Haast investigated the two great glaciers which meet below Mount Sefton and named them the Hooker and the Mueller. With Dobson he ascended the spurs of the Mount Cook range and saw, far off to the north-east, the icefields of the Murchison glacier. It is the second largest in New Zealand and is noted for an evil moraine and for the fact that few people have ever visited it.

The Lake Ohau region was the next to be explored. The Dobson river was partially surveyed and the Hopkins, running parallel to it, was followed to its
glacial source. The weather was bad but they could still appreciate the wide river flats through which the Hopkins was winding and rippling to Lake Ohau.

From here they returned to Christchurch and Haast presented his report to the provincial council. To their sorrow, he stated that the gold resources of the province were confined to the West Coast. But when certain papers by Haast appeared in the journals of European societies there was quite a stir in scientific circles. An academic storm had been raging as to the degree of past glacial activity. Those who were revolutionary and thought that it had once been extensive had been limited to observations in the northern hemisphere. To support them Haast was able to produce evidence of intense glaciation in New Zealand during the Pleistocene Age. He, therefore, brought to himself and New Zealand a great deal of merited attention.

Meanwhile Canterbury still wanted a goldfield and before the end of the year 1862 Haast returned to Ohau and completed his geological survey. When he was certain that this was not gold-bearing country, he went to the Wanaka-Hawea area to be joined by Young, a surveyor, and to cross the Haast pass to the West Coast.* By then he had explored the glacial sources of every Canterbury river from the Rangitata south to the boundary of Otago and had

* See Chapter xiii.
collected thousands of specimens—geological, zoological, and botanical. Sir J. D. Hooker wondered how a geologist had found time to contribute 'more new species to the Flora of the islands than any collector since Mr Colenso.'
CHAPTER XI

Otago and Southland: Sheep Country

THE EARLY settlers of Otago did not take any great interest in the country outside the original block. The majority of them were artisans and tradespeople who willingly accepted Captain Cargill’s policy of ‘concentration and contiguity’ which was intended to make Dunedin a market town and to prevent settlers from becoming barbarous through isolation. The few practical farmers, not having the capital to establish sheep runs, occupied small holdings on the plains between Dunedin and Balclutha; the rest of the population settled about Otago harbour. Thus the colony, like a tadpole, was all head and no tail, and continued to be so until sheep-farmers came to explore and then settle the rugged interior of the province. In 1856, eight years after the foundation of the settlement, J. T. Thomson, the chief surveyor, had heard of only one party which had been more than thirty miles into the interior. If he meant the district west of Dunedin he was quite correct in his statement. The party had been led
by Charles Kettle in February 1851 from Waikouaiti, across the ridges, to the Strath-Taieri plain. The meandering Taieri river was followed for some miles before the party struck north-east across the hills until they could see, in the distance, the Maniototo plains. Then it was east again by the Shag valley to the coast. To the best of our knowledge, this was the first entry by a European into central Otago. In March Kettle and W. H. Valpy went from the latter’s station near Lake Waihola, over the hills to Waitahuna, seeing Lake Waipori and going on past the source of the Tuapeka river. In the distance they saw the valley of the Molyneux river and beyond that the Blue Mountains, the highest point of which, until gold-mining times, was known as Mount Valpy. The route back was almost due south to the Tokomairiro plain only then being settled by small farmers such as Martin, Duthie, Chrystall, and Salmond.

These two journeys were not even reported in the Otago newspaper. The editor promised to publish a report but unfortunately Kettle became involved in a quarrel with Captain Cargill and had other matters to concern him. This was unfortunate because he kept no complete diary of these pioneer expeditions. Two other facts are worth noting: Kettle followed the directions of Te Raki Raki of Taieri mouth, and Valpy was a sheepfarmer, son of Otago’s only man of wealth, and interested in new country.
The same year, 1851, W. B. D. Mantell, now land commissioner, made the first overland journey from Dunedin to the Bluff with the intention of buying Southland from the Maoris, making a boat journey to the West Coast, and collecting scientific specimens. With him went several Maoris, a Mr Stephen, and Findlater, the local policeman. After Balclutha an old Ngatimamoe acted as guide. When they reached Waiwera, the Maori had lost his way and the party divided, Mantell and Stephen going by compass to the Maori village of Tuturau, while Findlater took a course of his own which apparently led him back to Dunedin. Reko, the local Maori, then guided the party across the plain to Oue, on the estuary of the Oreti river near Invercargill. Here Mantell spent Christmas Day before going on to Riverton.

On New Year’s Day 1852 Messrs C. J. Nairn and Pharazyn arrived from the Oreti river, having apparently come overland along Mantell’s tracks. So while Mantell visited the Maori settlements as far as the Waiau river, Nairn and Stephen went inland to Lake Te Anau, guided by George Wera Rauru te Aroha, a native of Te Anau and ‘the only one’ who knew the way. The route was up the Aparima and north-west by the Otautau river to the Waiau, where the natives went eeling and built moki to use on their return. From the hills to the east they saw Lake Te Anau and, since Nairn shows it on his map, they probably saw or heard of Lake
Monowai. On 26 January they reached Te Anau and the next day went five miles up its eastern shores, noting the heavy waves breaking on the beach and the distant peaks and pinnacles which rose above the western bush.

They returned by much the same route, flatly refusing to go down the Waiau in the moki. At Oue they joined Mantell and went back with him to Dunedin. Nairn’s diary was copied and with an explanatory map was sent by Mantell to the Native Department. On this interesting map, recently discovered in the Alexander Turnbull Library, the southern lakes are correctly named by a Maori scholar who had them from a Te Anau native. Thus Lake Poteriteri is Potiritiri, Hauroko is Hauroka, Monowai is Manakiwai, Manapouri is Moturau, the Mavora lakes are Hikuraki and Manawapora.

Between Mantell’s two visits to Tuturau there had been several other European callers. One of them was Nathaniel Chalmers of the Clutha district who, at the cost of a three legged pot, persuaded Reko to guide him through Otago to Canterbury by an inland route. Early in September 1853 he went to Tuturau complete with gun, salt, blanket, flint and steel—and the pot for Reko. With another aged Maori they set off up the Mataura, up the Nokomai, and over the hills to the Nevis and the Kawarau. They crossed by the Natural Bridge and went down the river to the flats above Cromwell. They then
followed the Clutha valley to Wanaka, living on eels and ducks and wearing sandals made from flax or cabbage-tree leaves. *Moki* were then made and the Wanaka river crossed so that they could go on to Lake Hawea.

When there, Chalmers, who was exhausted could go no farther, although Reko quite truthfully said that two more days’ walking would take them over the Lindis pass to the Waitaki. The Maoris prepared a large *moki*, made paddles from the drift-wood on the lake shore, and then at great speed they swept down the river to its junction with the Wanaka, carrying on through the gorge past Cromwell to approximately the site of the present town of Clyde. Here, at a place called Te Houka, they landed and went to Popotunoa and their respective homes. This remarkable expedition was not recorded until 1909, but it probably had considerable influence on future exploration. Chalmers, a prominent runholder, could hardly have kept it secret, and Reko was always being consulted by Europeans seeking new sheep country.

The first signs of increased interest appeared in 1853-4. Mantell went south to complete the purchase of the Murihiku block, and with him went a group of men with capital to invest in sheep runs. Canterbury was almost completely occupied, and the choice was the more rugged south or the back country which was being explored by Tripp and
Acland, Butler and Baker. Thus in 1854 Messrs Freeman and Jackson went to Lake Te Anau, and in 1855 W. H. Pearson, J. Saunders, and P. Napier went up the Shag valley to the Maniototo plains. These expeditions were encouraging, although the pastoralists hesitated before occupying the more remote country. There were no roads, wild dogs were destructive, and many shepherds had to be employed since wire fencing was as yet unknown.

However, by 1855–6 the provincial council was at last realising that the Wakefield system should be dropped and the province opened up for the benefit of pastoralists as well as for agriculturists. In their enthusiasm Macandrew and the aged Captain Cargill accepted the credentials of a Dr Schmidt and supported his proposal to explore Otago for the benefit of science, the extension of settlement, and the discovery of a route to the West Coast. He talked of going inland from the sounds and then along the ranges to Canterbury; the council, who ought to have known how impossible this was, foolishly voted £100 to cover expenses. Schmidt went to Stewart Island and then returned to Waikawa, whence he attempted to traverse the dense bush of the Catlins district, to reach some stores he had left at Port Molyneux. The country was extremely difficult, his natives left him, and in some unknown spot he died of exhaustion. A search was made for him and the natives were questioned, but the subject
has always been somewhat of a mystery. Dr Hocken thought that he was an impostor, but the diaries of some cultured settlers do not support this conclusion.

A much more sensible step was to attract sheep-farmers to the province and leave exploration to them. W. H. Reynolds as an honorary emigration agent directed to Otago several Victorians with capital and experience. The council drafted some encouraging land regulations and the result was a series of expeditions by prospective runholders. In 1856 John Chubbin, M. McFarlane, and J. and C. Morrison, following directions from Reko, went up the Mataura and in three days forced their way through the forty miles of speargrass and matagouri which barred the way to Lake Wakatipu. There a lighted match set fire to the accumulated vegetation of centuries. The explorers had to wade into water up to their necks, drag the horses in after them, and stay there for several hours. The native quail perished in hundreds. Chubbin gave a description of the south end of Wakatipu to J. T. Thomson, the newly appointed chief surveyor.

This gifted surveyor had been trained in the Indian Survey Department and, coming to Auckland for health reasons, had been persuaded to settle in Otago. From the date of his arrival in 1856 the scientific survey of Otago can be said to have begun. He had been assured that his duties would be confined to the survey office but he found that the country
west of Dunedin was almost unknown. To strangers the townspeople would 'shrug their shoulders and point to the snowy mountains as an index of what was beyond.' The settlement was stagnant; the settlers were dissatisfied with ill success and poverty; discontent had made the people the most fractious in New Zealand. Thomson actually doubted if he would stay, but he decided that the country had better be explored and surveyed well enough to encourage more active settlement.

After he had mastered the office details he went south to survey the township of Invercargill. At Tuturau, Reko described the interior and gave details of the route he had once taken from Kaiapoi to the Mackenzie country and over the Lindis pass to Lake Hawea and on to the Mataura. Thomson confined his attention to Southland, and in 1856-7, leading a sort of gipsy life that was good for his Indian liver, he inspected the country which the sheepfarmers had been occupying between the Aparima and Mataura rivers. His encouraging descriptions in the local press and in the journal of the Royal Geographical Society brought about a 'rush' from the pastoral districts of New Zealand and Australia. Within the next twelve months from three to four million acres had been applied for.

Thomson was then free to explore central Otago by the natural highways formed by the Shag and Waitaki rivers. In November 1857 he went over the
Horse range from north Otago to the Shag valley which he followed over the Pigroot to the Maniototo plain, to the Ida valley and the Manuherikia. This fine country was ideal for sheep grazing and, although the weather was bad, Thomson spent several weeks in the district.

In December he went up the Waitaki to the plains around Omarama and, using the information given him by Reko and other Maoris, followed the Ahuriri to Longslip Creek which led him to the pass over the hills to the upper Lindis. From the summit of Grandview he saw, 3,000 feet below him, 'the Hawea Lake, deep blue and narrow, surrounded by extensive forests reaching from the snow line to the white gravelly shores; and about five miles westward lay the Wanaka Lake, more open but broken into by promontories and islets, and having the peculiarity, marked on all Maori sketches, of a long narrow eastern arm.' To the south-west was a high mountain with a huge leaning rock on its summit which justified its being named Mount Pisa, to the north-west was a glorious pyramid of ice and snow which he named Mount Aspiring.

After reaching the Clutha river, the party returned to the Waitaki and visited Lake Ohau. From there, on 28 December, Thomson went to the west side of Pukaki, reaching a point four miles beyond its head from which he had a commanding view of the valley with the milky blue lake, the miles of swamps
and the ‘desert of sand’ leading to the base of the Mount Cook range. Thomson thought he was entitled to name some of the prominent features. The main stream feeding the lake he called the Upper Waitaki, the shingle flats were the ‘Valley of Sand’ and the great peak west of Mount Cook was ‘Mount Stokes’. These names appeared on several maps until Haast explored the valley in 1862. Thomson in 1873 said, ‘Dr Haast, following me some years afterwards, has, no doubt inadvertently, altered these names to Tasman, and the great mountain . . . which I . . . named Mt. Stokes, he has altered to Sefton.’

The report of this extended exploration was widely read and in eighteen months the whole of the explored area was taken by sheepfarmers. Even while he was making the expedition, several sheepfarmers had been exploring on their own account. The most successful were Alexander and Watson Shennan who, early in December 1857, left the Tokomairiro plain and went across some rather rough country to the upper Tuapeka. They camped in Gabriel’s Gully and went on to Evans Flat where they did a little unsuccessful prospecting. They reached the hills overlooking the Clutha river and, to avoid the scrub, followed the crest of the Knobbys rather than the valley itself. Eventually they came to the Manuherikia river flowing through ‘a land of promise’ to join the Clutha, where the town of
Alexandra stands to-day. They crossed and followed the Clutha to the present town of Clyde, and then retraced their steps to follow the Manuherikia and cross the Raggedy range into the Ida valley. They returned along Rough Ridge, descending to the Dismal Swamp, and then back along the Lammerlaws to civilisation. At the survey office all central Otago could have been leased—if they had been able to stock it. But this was more difficult than exploration, and they were satisfied with what were afterwards the famous stations of Galloway and Moutere.

This settlement had preceded the survey, so Thomson, who detested future boundary complications, sent A. Garvie in February 1858 to make a reconnaissance survey of the country the Shennans had leased. His route was from west Taieri across the ridges to Sutton, and thence directly across country to the present Alexandra. One of the party was James Buchanan and he found small specks of gold in the Manuherikia, and at Cromwell 'fine scale gold pretty plentiful—a handful of gravel washed in a pint pannikin producing several specks.' In March Garvie led the party from Waipori across country to Waitahuna and the mouth of the Tuapeka. Buchanan, when prospecting 'found scale gold similar to that found in the upper Clutha, and plenty even on the surface . . . . a quantity of about two handfuls from the very top produced eleven specks.' Traces of the metal were found near Waitahuna and
while they linked their survey to Thomson’s triangulations in Southland, more was found. These returns were so good that Thomson reported the matter to the provincial council who apparently thought no more about it. Private prospectors worked on, and sheepfarmers were undisturbed until 1861 when Gabriel Read discovered a workable goldfield.
CHAPTER XII

The Lake Country

The main feature of Otago exploration in 1859-60 was that the squatters preceded the surveyors and that their tracks all converged on Lake Wakatipu. The usual route* was up the Mataura to the south end of Wakatipu, and in February 1859 W. Saunders and N. Bates led the rush. Saunders thought the country to the east would carry sheep and hastened back to the survey office to lease the block. He thus preceded D. A. and W. Cameron and A. A. Macdonald who, captivated by the glittering waters and the wild landscape, lost time exploring the south-east side of the lake. They did not learn that the great lake extended beyond the present Queenstown, but they collected much information used by J. T. Thomson. The local press learnt nothing from them—squatters like gold-miners were reticent about their discoveries—but years after, Thomson, who was a firm believer in the rights of explorers, saw

*It is said that in the summer of 1857-8 D. McKellar went up the Oreti, over the watershed, and down the Von to Mount Nicholas. From there he saw the central section of Lake Wakatipu.
to it that the maps showed the names they gave: Ben Nevis, Nevis river, Lochy river, Roy river, and the Devil’s Staircase.

Later in the year D. A. Cameron brought stock from Australia and took to the lake D. Hay, an Australian sheepfarmer. The country attracted Hay, so he went to the Bluff for gear with which to carry out a more extensive survey. On his return he found that some unknown adventurer from the North Island had constructed a *moki* and never enjoyed suitable weather to use it. It was a prize too valuable to waste, so Hay increased its size, added forked sticks for rowlocks, and made some oars. Then he boldly rowed across to the east side and past the Devil’s Staircase to the Kawarau falls. At night he would camp on the shore with blazing fires of driftwood to defeat the cold of a central Otago July. From here he paddled across to the west shore and moved on to the north until late one evening he was caught by one of those sudden storms which change the lake from a mill-pond into an angry ocean. He was driven on to the shore at Beach Bay near Walter Peak, but managed to draw up the waterlogged *moki*. Then leaving it to dry, he ascended the hills to the snow-line and followed the beaches until he was held up by the Von river. He had gone far enough to learn that the lake had a great north arm about which no European had ever heard.

Still not satisfied, he rowed back to Queenstown
and went on foot some distance past Hay's Lake.* The weather changed again and he had to shelter in a cave until a snow-storm blew over. Then in haste he crossed the lake in the moonlight, steering with Walter Peak or Mount Nicholas as his guide. Fifty years later he could still remember the sodden moki, the water ankle-deep in the bottom, his benumbed limbs, and the fire he lit after he crawled up from the beach. From here he skirted the shore and left the moki where he had found it. When he applied for land he found that 'someone in the office' had leased the block as a speculation. Hay, not being able to come to terms, left for Australia, a disappointed man.

Soon after, the lake was seen by the surveyors Jollie and Young when they were plotting the boundary between Otago and Canterbury. They visited Lake Hawea in 1858 and Wanaka in 1859. On the latter expedition they went up the west side of the lake and followed the Matukituki hoping that it would lead to the West Coast. They went up the west branch but preferred to return and explore a southern tributary called the Motatapu. From the top of Mount Motatapu they saw Wakatipu, which had been described to them by their Maori guide. As it was a hot day, Jollie called the peak Mount Perspiring to balance the peak which Thomson had just named Aspiring. The name remained on the

* Now misspelt since Bully Hayes was a local resident.
map for many years, and had it not been replaced, these early explorers might be remembered more often than they are.

The head of Wanaka, which they had not been able to visit, since they had no boat, was first explored by H. S. Thomson and G. M. Hassing who went twenty miles up the Makarora river. It was a wilderness of flax, fern, and cabbage trees which, when set on fire, burned furiously, exposing the ruins of a Maori village destroyed by Te Puoho’s raiding party in 1836. There was afterwards a good growth of grass and a clear passage for the explorers who wished to discover the much talked-of pass to the coast.

At the moment sheepfarmers were more interested in the country to the east of the Divide. No one had ever approached Wakatipu from the direction of Wanaka, so there was the large block between them still unoccupied. This called for investigation and W. G. Rees, N. von Tunzelmann, Low, Hopkinson, and two others left Oamaru towards the end of 1859. They had a cook, fifteen horses and a mule, and reached Wanaka with only one accident—Low’s mare being drowned in the Hawea stream, though the biscuit and sugar bags were salvaged. At Wilkin’s sheep station they heard of Jollie’s failure to find a pass up the Matukituki and chose to follow the Cardrona. Day after day was spent trying to get out of the scrub to any point from which
they could see what lay to the west. At last they returned to the station and all except Rees and von Tunzelmann went home. They made a second attempt and reached the crest of what Rees called the Crown range. A glorious panorama was spread out before them. Below were small hills and terraces, then the Frankton arm of Wakatipu, and beyond that the lake itself. The lands office had passed on what information other explorers had obtained, and so Rees knew roughly where they were. By following a leading spur, they broke through the speargrass and matagouri and reached the Arrow river with their trousers 'from the thighs downwards . . . filled with blood.' They found a ford near Arrowtown and carried on to the Shotover river, the Kawarau falls, and Queenstown Bay.

From here, on a raft made of driftwood held together by tether ropes, they paddled up the lakeside. The weather was warm and they did not suffer from being immersed all day from the hips down. They landed near a spur leading to Moke lake and struggled through the scrub until, late one afternoon, they were past the last promontory. Before them were another twenty-five miles of lake, then the flats of Kinloch and Glenorchy, and beyond them Mount Earnslaw and the peaks feeding the Dart and the Rees.

On their return they set fire to the vegetation and had to hurry to get the Shotover between them and
the flames. At Wilkin's station they relieved their hunger and von Tunzelmann had acute indigestion from a surfeit of food. Rees gave him opium and applied hot poultices. In due time Rees gave a map of the lake to the lands office and obtained a license for the east side of the lake, von Tunzelmann getting the west side which he approached from Southland by the Oreti and Von rivers.

Another section of mountainous country was that between Wakatipu and Te Anau. D. McKellar and G. Gunn explored it early in 1861, going up the Mararoa river, striking the ridge of the Livingstone range and following it to Lakes McKellar and Howden. The latter, they thought, ran into Bligh Sound, for they had seen the sea from some nearby mountain top. They returned by a rather zig-zag route, going south-west so that they could see the Eglinton valley and Lakes Gunn, Fergus, and Lochie, back to the Greenstone river flowing into Wakatipu, and then back again to Lake Mavora and McKellar's sheep run at Longridge.

Thus by 1861 enterprising sheepfarmers had explored all the grazing country to the east of the great mountain ranges, and anyone who wished for new land had to find a pass to the West Coast. For this reason J. H. Baker* ascended the crest of the Haast pass in 1861, saw the miles of timber-clad hills, and turned back. Before any other attempt was

* See Chapter x.
made, gold was found in Otago and the miners moving west from Gabriel’s Gully became the explorers of the country across the mountains.

In the lull between the sheep rush and the gold rush, James McKerrow began a systematic survey of the country known only to the squatters. The blank map had been divided into squares and oblongs and the country they contained had been granted to runholders in order of application. Consequently, lakes, mountains, and snow-fields were leased; Te Anau was still a dot on the map; Wakatipu had been described in so many different ways that the survey office wondered if there was not one but two lakes. And above all, as Thomson had foretold, there were disputes over boundary lines because the settlers had preceded the surveyors.

To complete the map, McKerrow had to survey three to four million acres and six huge lakes. His first expedition was in 1861-2 to Wanaka, thence to the lonely sheep station of Rees at Queenstown, across the lake to von Tunzelmann’s, and on into Southland. In 1862 he went to Wakatipu and then to Wanaka, continuing up the Matukituki the survey begun by Jollie and Young in 1859. ‘We were further up the river and further inland in this direction than ever man was known to be.’ No attempt was made to cross to the West Coast because McKerrow had two weeks’ work to do surveying Wanaka from a whale-boat. The necessity of doing the same on
Lake Hawea prevented him from attempting to cross the Haast pass about which he had collected much information from the Maoris.

The final expedition was in 1863 with Invercargill as a base. A Maori at Riverton drew his attention to the lakes—Hauroko and Monowai—which lie to the west of the Waiau river. They were correctly surveyed and incorrectly named, McKerrow not being a Maori scholar and not having access to Mantell’s map with its correct place names.* Lakes Te Anau and Manapouri were then surveyed from a small boat. It was built for one man but rowlocks were added and McKerrow and a companion spent eight days on Manapouri. Te Anau was an even more dangerous stretch of water but the only precaution the surveyors could take was to remove their boots. The South Fiord was first dealt with, and on New Year’s Day 1864 they were in the Middle Fiord. Since Thomson wanted one of his surveyors to cross the Island, they landed and spent days struggling through the wet bush of the Doon valley. Eventually they climbed above the bush line and ascended Mount Pisgah from which they saw Caswell Sound shining in the distance.

The survey was then extended to the head of Wakatipu, where gold-miners were working in the Rees and Dart rivers, and then east to the Arrow and Shotover rivers. This completed the survey of over

* See Chapter xi.
500 square miles of country, extending from Lake Hawea to Foveaux Strait and including great lakes and range after range of high mountains.

Otago was fortunate in its choice of surveyors, and McKerrow no less than Thomson was a man of marked ability. He had assisted Thomson to triangulate the province, succeeded him as Surveyor-General, and then in other and later official positions showed the same administrative skill.
CHAPTER XIII

The Otago Gold Rushes

THE SHEEPFARMERS who explored central Otago had barely time to stock their runs before wave after wave of gold-miners followed in their wake. There was the rush to Gabriel’s Gully in 1861 and the great rush to the upper Clutha in 1862. Every creek and every river-flat was prospected until, by the end of 1862, miners, packhorses, and pack bullocks were crossing the ranges to the Arrow, the Shotover, and Lake Wakatipu. The conditions were exceptionally severe, for the country was almost devoid of timber and the miners had to work thigh deep shovelling gravel from the icy turbulent waters. Boats were often capsizing on the wild capricious lake; men and huts were swept away when the Shotover rose in flood; others died of exposure when caught in snow-storms on the exposed ridges.

But this did not hold up the advance into the mountains. From the canvas town (Queenstown) around Rees’s once isolated sheep station, men skirted the eastern shores of Wakatipu until they
reached its head and entered the mountain valleys of the Rees and the Dart. Peaks 8,000 ft. high now barred the way and passes had to be found to tap the riches of the unknown and to connect the Lake district with harbours on the West Coast. This would bring Queenstown only a few days from Melbourne and revolutionise the transport to the goldfields. No longer would the miner curse the muddy road to Dunedin, and no longer would the 'Old Identities' control the business of central Otago.

To solve the problem Charles Cameron, J. H. McGregor, and F. Foot went up the Dart in October 1862, branching up the Routeburn and reaching the watershed of its north branch. The last few hundred feet were difficult and ropes had to be used to reduce the danger of falling over rocks and into crevasses. They built cairns and left their names and the date engraved on powder flasks. Cameron then returned to Dunedin and offered to show the route for £1,000. J. T. Thomson objected and the superintendent of the province said that an expedition was being organised to explore and survey south-west Otago. Cameron returned to the head of the lake and made an amazing journey east across the ranges to Lake Lochnagar, from which the Shotover rises. His description is most exact and the name, if he gave it, is most appropriate because it does resemble the original tarn in Scotland. From here the party, by some unknown route, reached Wanaka almost
exhausted from lack of food and from continuous walking in the snow water. Meanwhile Symms and Sutcliffe had found a route from Wakatipu to the West Coast. They disclosed absolutely nothing and offered the pass to the province for £1,000. When their offer was refused, they chartered a boat and approached from the sea the point they had reached from the head of the lake.*

The next explorer, P. Q. Caples, did much more than Cameron. In January 1863 he went up the Dart river, following the south branch of the Routeburn to the snow and ice around Lake Harris. He cut steps with a shovel and followed channels in the ice until he could cross the saddle and descend to the river which he named the Hollyford. He went downstream for some miles coming to the Hidden Falls creek up which he went to reach the headwaters of the north branch of the Routeburn, and return by Cameron’s track. With fresh stores he returned to Lake Harris, climbed a nearby peak and, having better weather, saw to the west a large lake and beyond it smoke issuing from the bush which fringed the seashore. Not having enough food, he chose to go up the Hollyford river until he came to the low saddle separating it from the source of the Greenstone river. Here were the two lakes—Howden and McKellar—which Gunn and McKellar had just discovered. To get back to Lake Wakatipu he crossed the Ailsa

* See Chapter xiv.
mountains to the Caples river, following ice couloirs, cutting steps with sharp stones, and dodging rock avalanches. The valley was then followed to the lake so that he could tramp up its west bank to the Dart settlement. McKerrow, the surveyor, was there and very interested to hear of an unknown river flowing into a lake which drained into the Tasman Sea. He could not accept Caples’s invitation to go over with him, but he gave him a compass and tracings of the latest map of Otago.

Caples then went to the Greenstone river, following it to Lake Howden and crossing the watershed to the Hollyford. Keeping above the bush line on the north bank, he explored until he was within a few miles of the ocean and could see, near the beach, a rudely constructed hut. Afraid that he would meet hostile Maoris (stories of wild Maoris in the mountain fastnesses were common), he camped that night without lighting a fire. As he said, ‘It is easy for a person to find courage when he has law and assistance at his back, but let him be alone and beyond any assistance, near the camp of savages, he will find how fleeting courage is.’ After secretly examining Martin’s Bay and ‘washing his hands in the salt waters of the ocean’, he went back up the river, ravenously hungry, to eat every rat he could catch. From Lake McKellar he made an astonishing journey, probably with the aid of McKerrow’s map, along the ridges to Nokomai. So ended three months of first-class
exploration. Other miners followed him, but none of them covered such an area of country or gave such accurate descriptions.

Meanwhile the provincial government had been organising an expedition to explore the West Coast from the sea. J. T. Thomson was to be the leader and Dr Hector the official scientist. Since nothing whatever was known about the interior of the West Coast, Hector, in October 1862, went to Wanaka and up the Matukituki to the summit of Black Peak, hoping to see some portion of the country before they approached it from the sea. All he saw was a gap in the range south of Mount Aspiring, but it was so encouraging that he decided to explore it as soon as he heard the expedition had been postponed until a suitable steamer had been purchased.

In February 1863 Hector, Sullivan, and Rayer went to the head of the west branch of the Matukituki and crossed Hector col (Matukituki saddle). The western side was so steep and loose that they felt 'like flies on a wall.' They slept that night on the rock face and descended next morning to negotiate a glacier. Hector produced 80 feet of light rope and with its moral support he cut steps across crevasses, hauled the swags over, and generally assisted his companions. At the terminal moraine of the glacier they cached some flour and a tin of sardines before following the Waipara river, which it fed. Deep gorges held them up, and had they not ascended
a hill and seen the far off ocean, they would have turned back. But by struggling on they reached the Arawata river and plodded on to within eight miles of Jackson’s Bay.

Here they turned back. Rain had been falling heavily, the river was rising, the bush was devoid of bird life, and not one eel would bite. From 23 February until they reached a cache of flour and pemmican on the 26th, the three men fed on one pigeon and one kaka. Another food shortage occurred when they found that the rats had broken into the stores at the glacier and eaten everything except the tin of sardines. They made soup from toi-toi roots and six square inches of sheep skin, and from it and the sardines obtained enough energy to ascend the glacier and cross the pass to a store of food hanging safely from a tree. After a huge meal and a long rest they returned to the lake and Sullivan sent a report to the Otago Daily Times. The main features concern the great rivers and the difficult pass (Hector col) but there are interesting references to new birds, to the first prospectors, and to the bushmen cutting down the beech trees near the lake.

There was similar activity at the head of the lake in the valley of the Makarora. Timber was being cut down and explorers were leaving there to seek passes to the West Coast. In January 1863 the ubiquitous Charles Cameron went up the Fish river and on to the Haast pass. Of his later movements no clear
account can be found. He briefly stated that he reached the coast ‘just south of the Awarua River’ (Haast river) and then returned to Makarora. Here he passed Haast and his party making their way to the coast. Cameron apparently boasted of his exploit, because Häring, one of Haast’s party, told him ‘to spin such yarns to marines and Gaelic Brethren, but blue-jackets wouldn’t believe him.’ Cameron returned to civilisation and on 11 February wrote a letter to the *Weekly Colonist*, the Dunedin correspondent of the paper vouching for its authenticity.

Meanwhile Haast was studying geological features and searching for the Maori pass to the West Coast. He had acquired a description of the route from a Maori living at Waimate; it was slightly confused, but they reached the pass and Haast went on to ascend Mount Brewster. The next two weeks were made miserable by howling north-west storms. The bush was wet, the creeks were flooded, and in that time the party covered only the eleven miles to the confluence of the Burke and the Haast. They chose to follow the north side of the Haast, a bad mistake because the country was very rough and the Clarke river flowed in from the north-east. It had to be crossed Maori fashion with a heavy pole pointed upstream and all five stumbling abreast so that the man farthest upstream broke the force of the current. The Haast was still heavily in flood and instead of following the easy shingle flats they had to push
through the bush which fringed the northern bank. It was heavy going and the coast was not reached until 20 February. They had taken four weeks; the Maoris had said that it took less than that number of days. The return was made in better time and Haast was able to correspond with Hector who was just back from his expedition. After a rest Young and Haast went some distance up the Wilkin river and up the Young and Hunter rivers, thus thoroughly surveying the upper Wanaka region. News of the pass created a sensation and miners promptly went over, to meet with little success.

Some months later the Haast-Cameron subject was heatedly discussed in the press. Häring and Holmes could not believe that Cameron had moved so fast; he must have gone ‘like the Flying Dutchman’. This was a weak argument because the Maoris never varied in their estimate of two to three days. Haast with bad weather and a bad route had taken a month, but that was no reason to doubt Cameron’s speed in good weather. However, the most important fact was that Cameron said the coast was rugged, which immediately south of the Haast it definitely is not. From this it would seem most improbable that Cameron ever reached the coast. In fact, opinion at the time was inclined to question whether he ever reached the pass. That point was settled in 1881 when T. N. Brodrick discovered Cameron’s powder flask at the top of a high snow-covered peak (Mount
Cameron) to the west of the pass. Brodrick wrote, 'I can almost conclusively prove that Charles Cameron's statement that he discovered Haast Pass in January 1863 is correct . . . . whoever put it [the powder flask] there could not have failed to see the Pass as he could not have ascended from any other direction. It was a very unfrequented place—in fact until I discovered it I was under the impression that I was the first man who had ever visited it. The flask is half of one of the old powder tins and has the inscription scratched on it, "Charles Cameron, January 1863."' This evidence together with Cameron's confusing description suggests that he crossed the pass and went down the Haast river to its junction with the Clarke. He certainly attempted to market his discovery, for he offered it to the Canterbury government—at a price. When his offer was not accepted, he worked his claim at Sandy Point and eventually recruited, in Otago and Southland, 100 men to serve in the Maori wars. The Hawke's Bay Herald said he was an old settler and explorer, a tough customer who had already suffered much from the Maoris. What happened to him after this date is not known.
CHAPTER XIV

Lake Wakatipu and the West Coast

EARLY IN 1863, while P. Q. Caples was exploring the overland route from Wakatipu to Martin's Bay, at least four expeditions went by Foveaux Strait to the West Coast. The ketch Courier with Messrs Symms and Sutcliffe and party arrived in April and prospected the creeks flowing into Thompson's Sound, Charles Sound, and Bligh Sound. The weather was frightful; the horizon was obscured by fog and rain; terrific thunder storms boomed down the gullies and reverberated back from ridge to ridge. Flashes of lightning burst through the gloom and as Sutcliffe said, 'rendered the scene particularly uninviting and materially assisted us in coming to the conclusion that we had chosen the wrong season for exploring the Western side of the Island.' Symms and Sutcliffe, who had hoped to find inland the country they claimed to have reached overland from Wakatipu, returned with three others to Port Chalmers. Six prospectors remained with a 22 foot whale-boat and ten months' food at a depot
in Bligh Sound. They prospected there for five months, spent several days in Milford Sound, and then sailed to Jackson’s Bay. Here they met Bain, the Canterbury surveyor,* and were employed by him until one of the party was drowned when trying to cross the Arawata river on a raft. Having had enough of danger and hardship, they returned to Invercargill in February 1864.

Long before this the cutter Aquila had reached Milford Sound and sailed north to the Awarua river. The party landed, each man with powder and shot, 10 lb of biscuits, 1½ lb of sugar, and a little tea; the Aquila was taken to safe anchorage in Milford Sound. One group prospected the Awarua and the rest—Duncan, Crawford, Captain Alabaster, and others—went down the coast to Martin’s Bay and the Hollyford river. The former appeared on the map, but the latter, just discovered by Caples, was quite unknown and justified more examination. The prospectors used a leaking canoe belonging to the local Maoris to paddle up the river and discover Lake McKerrow. Expecting the Aquila to return with stores, they went back to the bay where they were joined by the Awarua party. The Aquila did not arrive, and food became scarce, for the Maoris were living a hand to mouth existence. Therefore five men, with an allowance of ¾ lb of biscuits each, went overland to Milford. The trip across some

* See Chapter xv.
fearful country took four days, but they found the _Aquila_ and hurried the captain to Martin’s Bay. The little ship was taken in over the bar and up the river to Lake McKerrow.

Using one of the ship’s boats, a party went up the Hollyford, some hauling the boat, some cutting tracks and others prospecting. On 14 June several of them, including Captain Alabaster, ascended a mountain near Lake Howden and saw the rivers flowing east to Wakatipu. Alabaster and Duncan were master mariners and they plotted their position fairly accurately. Then, to please those who complained about the absence of gold, they went back to Lake McKerrow and rowed up the Pyke river to discover Lake Alabaster before returning to Foveaux Strait.

Contemporary with this expedition was that of Andy Williamson and others in the cutter _Nugget_. They entered Bligh Sound late in April and, after going up a river flowing into it, decided that ‘nothing without wings could go inland from that place.’ At Milford Sound the precipices turned them back so they went on to Jackson’s Bay where they laboriously cut out a dock for their little craft. Then they went up the Arawata dragging the ship’s boat against the current, walking up to the waist in water, tortured by myriads of sandflies and mosquitoes. Finding little gold, they went back leaving the _Nugget_ at the Waiatoto river and walking overland
THE HOLLYFORD VALLEY
to the Haast. Canoes were cut out, and up the river they went encouraged by Haast's report that at the confluence of the Burke gold had been found. One group went up the Clarke and Landsborough. The other followed the Haast and its tributaries, the Burke and the Wills. They found a tin dish, a bird-cage and some old flour-bags, and wondered if they were the mining tools Haast said he had left. There was little sign of gold and still less in the Thomas which Haast had thought a likely spot. They returned to the ship and, using it as a base, prospected the country from the Waiatoto to the Cascade. The results were poor and they returned to Invercargill in November, having been away for eight months.

The last ship to reach the coast was the Matilda Hayes, chartered by the Otago provincial council for Hector, who wished to begin a geological survey before the steamship St Kilda arrived to convey the official expedition under T. J. Thomson. Being an explorer as well as a scientist, Hector hoped to find a route from the coast to Wakatipu. For this reason, before the ship sailed, he made a short trip to the lake and inspected the Greenstone river. Bad weather held him up, but he saw enough to suggest that it might saddle with some West Coast stream. Curiously enough, he did not meet Caples who had just returned to Queenstown and he did not read the local papers which reported the discovery of the Hollyford river. When the full report of Caples's adventures
was published in the *Otago Daily Times*, Hector was at Riverton, and although he did not leave for eleven days, no copy of the paper reached him.

The survey, for the first few weeks, was in the extreme south, and exploration into the interior did not commence until Milford Sound was reached. He went up the Cleddau river until he was faced by the great rock walls which rise abruptly thousands of feet above the river-bed. There was obviously no pass to Wakatipu. Hector decided to go up the coast in a whale-boat and, when passing Martin’s Bay, saw the smoke of Maori fires. His pilot, Henry Parramatta, told him about the Hollyford river which the *Acheron* survey had not placed on the charts. This was news indeed, so Hector landed and met Tutoko and his family. The *Matilda Hayes* was brought in to Lake McKerrow and Hector, noting signs of the miners who preceded him, went up the Hollyford river. At the point where it turns sharply south, Parramatta advised them to follow up a creek. They did so and found that it drained Lake Howden; nearby was Lake McKellar and the Greenstone flowing into Wakatipu. Hector now knew where he was and carried on to Queenstown.

The miners received him with great enthusiasm. ‘The streets and bars were thronged by eager and breathless crowds, anxiously canvassing the probable results of the discovery to the township.’ The Dunedin newspapers thought the ‘mystery of the West Coast
was solved’ and believed that there would be a trade route from Melbourne to Martin’s Bay and overland to Queenstown and Dunedin. This justified celebrations in honour of the intrepid explorer and a public dinner, arranged by prominent citizens, was held in the Shamrock Hotel. Many fine speeches were made and Hector, when replying to his toast said that he had had no knowledge of the work done by Caples, Cameron, Alabaster, and Sutcliffe. He praised the zeal and perseverance of Caples and remarked that it was difficult to find any portion of the province that was not known to prospectors. He was not confident that a new goldfield would be discovered, but he was certain that a road could be constructed to Martin’s Bay and that a passable harbour could be created. A report was given to the council and Hector went back overland to his ship in Martin’s Bay.

The degree of publicity given to Hector aroused protests from other explorers. Cameron reminded the public that he had once offered a route to the provincial council; Symms revealed the fact that he and Sutcliffe had once valued a pass at £1,000. In reply J. T. Thomson complained that they had ‘concealed their discoveries and demanded public money to reveal the same.’ On the other hand, he was quite willing to defend Caples and Alabaster when the press, in its ignorance, asserted that they ‘had failed to find the easy valley route discovered
by Hector.' In fact, quite rightly, he removed Hector's place names from the map and substituted those of Caples.

The future history of the Greenstone-Hollyford route is one of sudden disappointment. The miners who went over by it found no gold and the surveyors who began work in 1864 reported that a road was impossible. The provincial government, now as pessimistic as it had previously been hopeful, dropped the idea of developing the West Coast. The survey expedition was abandoned and Thomson had to be satisfied with the hasty observations of Caples, Alabaster, and Hector.

The mining element refused to be beaten. A. J. Barrington began the exploration of the complicated country between the Hollyford and the Haast. To get there he first tried going up the Dart and then in December 1863, with E. Dunmore and W. Bayliss, he branched up its tributary, the Wild Dog creek (Routeburn). Here they met McGuirk, alias the Maori Hen, a noted character who, every few weeks, came in to the head of the lake for provisions and left again for the West Coast. Any parties who followed him were always given the slip. However, he agreed to lead Barrington and his party over a pass (North col) at the head of the north branch of the Routeburn. The snow was deep and their lives hung in jeopardy every few minutes. From the Hidden Falls creek, in which they then were, they went up
over another pass (Cow saddle) to the headwaters of the Olivine river, following it down until they could cross the range to Lake Alabaster. The party then set to with a tomahawk and made a canoe from a log of white pine. At 3 p.m. on 5 January 1864 the *Maori Hen* was launched. Dunmore and McGuirk crossed to prospect while the other two went back for provisions.

The latter had to force their way back through driving snow-storms and risk sliding down the slopes below each pass. For some reason Barrington went back to Queenstown and left Bayliss at the head of the lake where he went ‘on the spree’ and talked so much that they were followed on the way back. Barrington parted with Bayliss and took James Farrell in his place. Their swags were 107 lb each, but they hurried—still followed—to Lake Alabaster. Misfortune followed misfortune. Snow fell, rivers flooded, and Barrington had an attack of dysentery. By the time they were half-way Farrell had made two attempts to get back for more food; and when they did get to the lake they found ‘Dunmore sitting on a stone by the river—a complete living skeleton.’ They had never seen anything like him alive and promptly fed him and put him to bed. The Maori Hen had left for civilisation and probably died on the way.

Food was still short, so Farrell stayed with Dunmore, and Barrington returned to Wakatipu. A
large party came back with him but only Antoine Simonin would make an extended stay in the country. To get powder and shot Barrington and Farrell went back to Wakatipu and then rejoined Simonin at Lake Alabaster. They explored up the Pyke river to Lake Plenty (Wilmot) and beyond it over a saddle to the headwaters of the Gorge river. By following it up among granite boulders or through heavy bush they reached the Gorge saddle which leads into the Cascade river. Conditions were bad. The heavy frosts of approaching winter hardened their water-soaked clothes; the dog, when sent to catch kakapos, preferred to eat them himself. They did not scorn killing a robin and three wrens to obtain some small joints. All that kept them pressing forward was the presence of a little gold in the river flats of the Cascade. But by the end of April they had to get back or spend a winter on the coast. Barrington wanted to move north and reach the Haast, but the others voted for Wakatipu, not by the circuitous route they had come, but straight across country. For boldness born of desperation this decision must be unique in New Zealand history. It meant the traversing of 7,000 feet snowfields, the ascent of broken glaciers, and days without food.

The mining tools were dumped and the Cascade followed above its gorge until, to get past a waterfall, they climbed the adjoining precipices with their lives 'depending on a few blades of grass.' Soon after
they reached easier slopes and climbed to the summit of the Red hills and descended into the Red Pyke. They knew that this river after describing a semi-circle joined the Pyke, but they would not deviate from their direct route. Then in a mist Barrington lost his companions and had to weather a heavy storm which left two or three feet of snow round his tent. He thought of the Maori Hen and was pleased to eat the roots of spear grass. All his gear, except notes and gun, were thrown away and he hurried on until by observing smoke he found the others enjoying two wekas and drying their clothes. Having only a 5 x 6 fly, they had not enjoyed the snow-storm.

Not daring to lose time by any indirect route, they struck up to the very head of some branch of the Red Pyke and camped at the foot of a glacier. The next day these desperate men went up what Barrington called ‘a mile of pure ice, as pure as crystal.’ Beyond were two miles of snow and then a really steep snow slope up which they struggled with toe and finger holds. Over the crest they came to great fields of snow, above which peaks of between seven and eight thousand feet rise in every direction except the west. Glaciers fell away in all directions but the miners chose to go between the Furies and Gyrae and follow a steep snow slope into the gorge of the Barrier river. Barrington, describing the descent says, ‘At one time Simonin was behind me;
I heard him sing out... I turned round and he was coming down the snow at a fearful rate, head first on his back. He held the gun in one hand but had to let it go, when both he and the gun passed me at the rate of a swallow and did not stop till they reached a little flat about two miles down, with a fall of 1,000 feet... not hurt but a little frightened. He concludes the day's notes saying, 'Such a day I hope never to see again.'

After three days of lowering each other down flax ropes they got through the gorge of the Barrier to the main Pyke and Lake Alabaster. They fed on ducks, wekas, and fern roots until they could make the last rush to Wakatipu. The trip was by the old route with the boulders and sub-alpine scrub loaded with feet of snow. Wet and miserable, they forced their way through, taking six days to travel what had once taken one day; a roasted rat was said to be 'the sweetest meat we ever ate.' On 7 June they reached the saddle (Cow saddle) above the Routeburn and found the frozen snow would almost carry their weight. So down they slid and rolled, sometimes crashing through the crust and disappearing into the drifts and hidden scrub.

In the valley they had the good fortune to shoot seven kakas, thereby feeding themselves and saving the life of the dog. He had probably been reserved for the next meal, for in the snow he had no value as a bird catcher. The three living skeletons then
made their way to the lake and so to the hospital. They were badly frost-bitten and according to observers, ‘their cheek bones and noses, besides their elbows, hips and other parts of the body were protruding through the skin in places.’ The generous community subscribed £40 to cover hospital expenses.

When they were sufficiently recovered, a public meeting was held and Barrington, in a speech interrupted by acclamations and cheers, described the West Coast. They had found gold eighty miles from Wakatipu and thirty miles from Jackson’s Bay, but they never intended to go overland again. They were going to charter a boat and go round with twelve months’ provisions. Prominent citizens asked questions and were satisfactorily answered. The meeting ended with a unanimous recognition of ‘the services rendered by Mr Barrington and his party prospecting a difficult and unknown portion of the Province’ and with the heartfelt wish that they would have future success in developing the new goldfield. Later in the year there was a minor sensation when Barrington accompanied a friend to the bank and with ‘a paternal interest’ watched him sell 16 oz of gold of a type unknown in the Lake district. Those who observed the incident said they went away in ‘close confab’. But what intensified public interest was the Lake Wakatipu Mail’s account of his expedition, column after column of romantic adventure,
outstanding in a paper already unequalled for romance. By August, when news came of good
returns in the Grey, the miners were restless and the
Dunedin press said that the West Coast had ‘taken
many by the ears’.

In the summer of 1864–5 the Petrel, the Thames,
the Colleen Bawn, and the Nugget conveyed pros-
pectors to Barrington’s country. Barrington went in
the Nugget and led thirty-eight miners up the Cascade
river to the point where his party had left their gold
bag and mining tools. They prospected there and in
the Arawata without having any success. The other
parties were also unsuccessful and all went back to
the Grey river, where good returns were being
obtained. This is the last we hear of Barrington who
had accomplished one of the finest pieces of explora-
tion in New Zealand history. Without Maori aid,
with less vegetable food than Brunner obtained in
the Nelson bush, and with an infinitely more severe
climate to endure, he had explored the Pyke and the
Red Pyke, the Gorge, the Cascade, and the Barrier
rivers. The publicity given to his efforts drew atten-
tion to the Coast and in 1865 was partially responsi-
ble for the exodus from the Otago goldfields.
CHAPTER XV

Westland

THE EXPLORATION of the West Coast was begun by Brunner and Heaphy in 1846 and continued by Brunner in 1846-8. But Brunner’s sufferings during his second trip had so impressed his contemporaries and his reports had been so unfavourable that no one wished to continue the work. Until 1856 the only visitors were sealers from Foveaux Strait, shore whalers at Jackson’s Bay, and overseas whalers who sought anchorages for which they would not have to pay harbour dues. When exploration again began, the motive was the discovery of extensive plains which the Maoris said existed in the north-west corner of the Island. To find them James Mackay and J. Clark in 1856 went inland from Massacre Bay up the Aorere and Takaka rivers to the crest of the Divide. They found a pass to the Heaphy river and that great stretch of scrub-covered country now called the Gouland Downs, but saw no country worth occupying.

Mackay was not satisfied and in January 1857 he
left with two Maoris and followed Brunner's track from Massacre Bay to West Wanganui and down the coast to the Grey river. With the chief Tarapuhi he went up its lower reaches and south almost to the Taramakau. The natives were not altogether encouraging because the country west of the Alps had not really been bought by Kemp and Mantell in 1848. Consequently, when Mackay returned to Nelson, he reported the matter to the authorities.

But before he returned, several other parties visited the West Coast and made 1857 one of the great years in the early history of Westland. In March the Oakes brothers in the Emerald Isle are said to have visited Martin's Bay, Jackson's Bay, the Hokitika, and the Grey. On 21 May the barque Pacific, a whaler from New Bedford, U.S.A., sank somewhere between Milford Haven and Jackson's Bay. The bow boat and eight men got away to be cast up on the coast without any loss of life. Finding it too difficult to go overland to Milford Sound, they went to Jackson's Bay where the natives received them kindly and gave them directions as to the overland route to Nelson. Then, living on shell-fish and fern roots, the seven whalers walked up the coast from village to village finding the natives 'invariably kind'. Had they not been so, these amateur bushmen could never have crossed the rivers or lived on the country.

With very sore feet they reached Nelson in September and one, Theodore Jerome, gave a very
matter of fact statement of their adventures. This is a pity because these seven whalers were the first Europeans to traverse the coast from Otago to Nelson.

In November Leonard Harper and a Mr Locke approached the West Coast from another angle. They went over the Hurunui pass (Harper’s) which was regularly being used by the Maoris of the Kaiapoi and the Grey river settlements. Brunner, Hamilton, and Mackay had wished to cross it and the elder Dobson, Mason, and Taylor had actually crossed to the Taramakau river in September.* Thus, when Harper visited Kaiapoi, it was natural that he should persuade Tainui, a brother of Tarapuhí, to take him to the West Coast. They crossed the pass on 14 November, noticed some rice and curry left by Yonge and Wilson, and went down the Taramakau. At its junction with the Otira, Harper was told of a pass (Arthur’s) at the head of the Otira which saddled with some east coast river. No living Maori had used it, but he thought of returning by it. Farther down the river the track branched north over the hills to the Grey river, but the Maoris chose to make a moki and race past the snags and through the rapids of the flooded Taramakau. At the mouth they met Tarapuhí, and Harper gave him a clay pipe and a waistcoat.

Locke had badly swollen feet, but Harper was in

* See Chapter x.
good condition and with Tarapuhi made a long journey down the coast acquiring most useful information about rivers and mountain passes. Tarapuhi led them back to Kaiapoi and owing to short rations and broken shoes no attempt was made to use the Otira pass. The trip was given little publicity, probably because James Mackay had not yet purchased the West Coast. The main point, however, was made quite clear; Europeans could cross from Canterbury to the West Coast.

The next to use the pass were John Rochfort and James and Alexander Mackay. They went over to the Taramakau in 1859 and then separated, Rochfort going overland to Lake Brunner and the mouth of the Grey, and the Mackays taking a moki down the Taramakau to the sea. The former surveyed the boundary between Nelson and Canterbury while James Mackay attempted to purchase Westland. When negotiations failed because the Maoris would not sell the greenstone-bearing country between the Grey and the Hokitika rivers, the Mackays walked north to the Grey where they expected to find stores brought by sea from Nelson. But they had been dumped at the Buller, from which it was impossible to bring them overland to Grey. So the party remained at the Grey, living on the country and accepting potatoes from the Maoris. The Mackays made one attempt to reach Nelson by a direct route up the Grey to the watershed above the Maruia
which flows into the Buller river. The idea was very sound, but bad weather ruined their chances and sent them back to the coast where they were picked up by the store ship on its second visit.

The Nelson provincial council was now more active, and in August Rochfort was sent by ship to the Buller to begin a survey of its portion of the West Coast. He went up the river noting coal seams and the presence of gold. In his diary he said that F. Milligan discovered gold 'lying on the edge of the river, glistening in the sun, and in such quantities as induced rather a mutinous spirit ....' Gold was found farther up the river, but the survey went on until the canoe, with their food and gear, was swept down the river. Nothing more could be done and a sorry looking party returned to the mouth of the Buller. The survey was not complete, but the discovery of gold was important and men from the Collingwood goldfields began to take an interest in the regions over the mountain.

Meanwhile, Mackay, after explaining to the Native Department the land problem on the coast, had been ordered to return and complete the purchase. To establish a more direct route from Nelson to the Grey he decided to reach, from the north, the point which he had attained when advancing up the Grey. Early in 1860, with his relatives A. and J. Mackay, he went to Lake Rotoroa and down the Buller. Following much the same route was Dr Haast
making a geological survey of the province for the Nelson government. He naturally went more slowly and James Mackay, after his relatives had to turn back, left him far behind. The dangers of the lower Buller he avoided by turning south up the Maruia river, one of the tributaries of the Buller. At the head he found a pass to the Grey river and reached the country he had explored the previous August. Had he not been short of food and tormented by a poisoned knee, Mackay would have been jubilant, for he had discovered a very direct route from Nelson to the mouth of the Grey. As it was, he had to open up his knee with a razor and limp on until he reached a cache of provisions left for him by Tarapuhi. Before he reached the river mouth he met several Europeans inspecting the valley. They went no farther, for their Maori guides wished to return with Mackay to discuss the land sale. It was concluded after Mackay had gone down the coast to Bruce Bay and met the majority of the populace. When crossing the Grey on his way to Nelson, his canoe capsized, but Mackay, like a wise Scotsman, reached the shore with the bedraggled deed of sale and 100 sovereigns which he had not spent. He led back to Nelson twenty miners disappointed with the coast and reduced the coastal route by deviating up the Wakapohai (Heaphy) river and across the mountains to Aorere and Collingwood. The Nelson government, well
satisfied with his new route to the mouth of the Grey, gave £150 as a reward.

While all this was going on, Haast had been carefully collecting scientific data and making his way to Greymouth. His route was, to all intents and purposes, that taken by the indefatigable Mackay, and his encouraging report was most valuable.

Meanwhile another section of the routes from the east coast to Westland had been explored. In February 1860 W. T. L. Travers and C. Maling began the search for passes from north Canterbury to the West Coast. They began by going from the upper Wairau to Lake Tennyson and thence by Maling’s pass to the headwaters of the Waiau. They named the Ada, the Ann, and the Henry rivers and ascended the Divide to see a river which they thought was the Grey and a pass to it from another tributary of the Waiau. They returned with such an enthusiastic report that Maling and Lewis were sent to inspect a possible bridle track. They crossed the range and ‘descended 2-3000 feet down ugly slips and thick scrub to the supposed Grey.’ Before they came to some hot springs, it went through a narrow ugly gorge (Cannibal gorge) which had to be crossed over forty times in 1½ miles. Then it swung north and proved itself to be the Maruia river which flowed into the Buller. This was useless, so they went back up the gorge and over by the pass now called Lewis pass to the Lewis river and then to the Boyle. Curiously enough,
they thought both these eastern rivers flowed into the Grey, and when Maling returned in 1861 to find a better route to the West Coast than Mackay’s, he was surprised to learn from a Mr Handyside that the Lewis and the Boyle met to form the Hope river which flowed into the Waiau above Hanmer. However, he continued to the crest of the Divide and though he found no improved route, he returned confident that a pass could be found from the Doubtful river south of the Lewis, to the Ahaura and the Grey.

This was discovered by John Rochfort late in 1861. From the Grey river he went up the Ahaura river and the Waiheke river and crossed the Amuri pass to the Doubtful river. Before pointing out the route, he asked the Nelson government for a bonus and the superintendent ‘consented to pay the sum required.’* It was then inspected and a bridle track cut across in 1862; by 1863 Freeth had driven over 500 sheep and Mackley 100 ewes and two heifers.

On the West Coast European activity was increasing. Nelson was developing the coal deposits, gold-miners were fossicking in the Buller and sheepfarmers such as Francis, Young, and the Ollivier brothers, had sailed down the coast to Jackson’s Bay looking for grazing country. Canterbury had taken very little interest in its portion of the coast, but in 1863

* This fact, and the award to Mackay for his discoveries, were precedents, known perhaps to the Otago gold-miners who asked for £1,000 before revealing passes they discovered. See Chapter xiv.
gold was found in the Taramakau, and the government decided to cut a track over Harper’s pass. Drake was sent to survey the track and with him went the Sherrin brothers and one, Jacob Lauper, who had previously spent some weeks in that region. After considerable suffering they reached the mouth of the Taramakau and went south to inspect the Hokitika river and the country some three miles inland. They returned by Harper’s pass, and the Sherrins by their enthusiastic description of the Hokitika river aroused the interest of Christchurch. Its ‘discovery’ was said to be of unparalleled importance; the Press, thinking of the Australian trade, thought that a town at its mouth would become ‘the capital of the West Coast, if not of the Middle Island.’ And there was the possibility of a goldfield being discovered on the coast.

But the route from Christchurch to Hokitika by way of Harper’s pass was one taking three sides of a rectangle, so the government was advised to find a pass up the Rakaia or the Waimakariri, otherwise ‘The town in the West Coast... will become an offshoot from Melbourne and will belong to Canterbury only in name....’ The result was that Cass, the chief surveyor, instructed Henry Whitcombe to search for the desired route up either the Rakaia or the Waimakariri. The latter, being the nearer to Christchurch, was the obvious choice, but Whitcombe, who seems to have heard of the pass
discovered by Butler and Baker, was permitted to explore the Rakaia. In April 1863 he and Jacob Lauper, expecting to meet Europeans on the coast, went over the Whitcombe pass and down an unknown river with no gun and food for only fourteen days. The gorges were very difficult and the explorers went very slowly; rain fell heavily so that their sugar was melted and their biscuits reduced to dough. When they reached the coast, Lauper realised that they had come down the Hokitika and were far from the Grey. They hurried on and at the Taramakau they had another disappointment. Neither Europeans nor Maoris were to be seen and their only chance was to go upstream and find the Maoris. But Whitcombe, harassed by hunger, cold, sandflies, and fleas became impetuous to the verge of recklessness. Two old battered canoes were found and lashed together with flax. With one inch of free board the argonauts pushed off and were swept downstream over the bar. Whitcombe was drowned; Lauper clung to the canoes and eventually was cast up on the beach. He fell asleep and awoke to find his hands black with sandflies. Not far away he found Whitcombe's body and covered it with sand and driftwood. Lauper then went up the river and with Maori assistance reached Lake Brunner where Howitt's party was cutting the track from Harper's pass. When he recovered, he went back over the pass and took the sad news to Christchurch. For the
time being Cass was satisfied, for he sent no party to explore the more likely Waimakariri river.

On the West Coast Europeans were still arriving and the Canterbury government sent Mr Townsend to establish at the Grey river a store for the relief of distressed prospectors. The Sherrin brothers, whom Whitcombe had hoped to meet, reached the coast after a voyage of sixty-one days, and went exploring up the Hokitika river. They came on one of Whitcombe’s camps and went far enough to see some saddle over the mountains. When they returned to the Grey, they heard that Howitt and his two men had been drowned in Lake Brunner. Then, after getting fresh stores at the depot, they went south hoping to reach Jackson’s Bay. But the Maoris said that it was too late in the season and that the Waiho river could not be crossed. All that they could do was to go twelve miles up the Wanganui river and far enough up the east Wataroa to see the gorges.

Towards the end of the year (1863) the Canterbury government decided to survey the West Coast. Robert Bain was given the contract for the south and he began work in November, moving north from Martin’s Bay. He had very bad luck, for his ship, the *Pride of the Huron*, was wrecked and his whale-boat was afterwards destroyed. After reaching the Haast river he returned to the east coast by way of Hector’s route up the Hollyford. His contract was allowed to lapse, and John Rochfort, using Maori
labourers, completed the survey north to Abut Head.

The section from here to the Grey was given to Arthur Dudley Dobson. His arrival by sea is noteworthy because he sketched the Franz Josef glacier, but did not name it, as it was within John Rochfort’s area. The large rivers made the work dangerous and when Townsend of the depot was drowned, Dobson’s men had had enough. Maoris were employed and worked well until they wanted to spend their wages in Kaiapoi. Dobson went over Harper’s pass with them and Tarapuhi casually mentioned the pass at the head of the Otira river. Dobson was interested and when he gave the newspapers a description of the coast he included it in his list of passes.

This may have been one of the reasons why, in March 1864, Cass sent him up the Waimakariri in search of another pass to the West Coast. Dobson and his brother Edward branched off up the Bealey river, cut their way through bush and scrub, and reached Arthur’s pass. They went down about 500 feet and thought that a zig-zag route could be cut to the coast. They returned to the Goldneys’ sheep station and Arthur Dobson went to the pass again with one of them. Using poles, flax ladders, and a flax rope for a dog they went down the Otira river to its junction with the Rolleston. This was far enough because Goldney saw no sheep country and Dobson had learnt that they could not take horses by that
route to the coast. The Canterbury authorities did not take any immediate action in the pass because their interest in the West Coast was rather on the wane. The Lyttelton Times suggested its development as a penal settlement. By June 1864 the surveyors, Dobson and Rochfort, were ordered to return and Revell, the agent at the relief store, was advised to leave by September.

But prospectors such as French, Smart, and Hunt had been getting gold in the Grey district, and Revell went post-haste to Christchurch to convince the council of its faulty policy. It reversed its decision and the province hoped for great discoveries, although the Lyttelton Times then made its famous comment that the settlers must submit to fate and console themselves with the fact that the goldfield would be in ‘the remotest corner of the province.’ Miners hurried from the Buller and from Nelson, and by October Liddle, Donnelly, and others were working the fields near Hokitika. By February 1865 the rush was beginning; Cobb’s coach to Kaiapoi was being crowded with miners en route to the Hurunui and Harper’s pass. Late in the month one parcel of 1,375 oz and another of 1,000 oz left Hokitika. The exodus from Canterbury and Otago then began and in one week of March over 1,000 men went through Kaiapoi on their way to Harper’s pass.

The Canterbury government once again realised
that the route was unsuitable, being in bad condition and too indirect. Therefore George Dobson was sent in haste to see if a road could be constructed across the pass his brother found in 1864. Christchurch awaited his return with interest and, when a public meeting was held to discuss the goldfields, the council’s reply to questions about a better route was practically, ‘Wait and see. George Dobson will soon be back.’ He was back in March after having gone up the Bealey and over the pass to the Otira which he followed to the Taramakau. On his return he crossed Goat pass which was 500 feet higher and so steep that he went over on his hands and knees. Neither pass pleased him and his report was very discouraging. The council, convinced that no good road could go by Harper’s pass, sent Edward Dobson senior to see if a road could be forced over Arthur’s pass and George Dobson to find a better pass from any of the many tributaries of the Waimakariri.

The Dobsons went together and tried the Hawdon tributary at whose head was a pass (Walker pass) crossed by McRae, a shepherd, and by Messrs Pearson and Walker. The descent to the West Coast was difficult and they returned to camp where they met Browning and Cahill. The latter was an engineer, the former was on the survey staff, but being on holiday was exploring as an amateur. They had been up the White river and found a pass which they had not been able to ascend because of loose rock. The
Dobsons now separated, George going up the East Poulter over a saddle to the Taramakau and back by Arthur’s pass, Edward going first to Arthur’s pass and then up the east branch of the White until some sheepfarmers told him that it had a glacial source. George then went up the West Poulter and over the pass discovered by Worsley, Percival, Leech, and Thomas. It led to the ugly gorges of the Otekahe and was therefore of no use.

All this time Christchurch was discussing the West Coast route. A deputation asked the provincial council to get a better route than Harper’s pass and some merchants offered a reward of £200 for the discovery of a good pass. Everyone now realised that geography was deciding whether the wealth of the goldfields was to go overland to Christchurch or by boat to Australia and to other parts of New Zealand. Consequently several active gentlemen—FitzGerald, Harman, Johnstone, and Armstrong—hired one of Cobb’s coaches and by superb driving were taken up the Waimakariri almost to its junction with the White river. There they met Browning and Cahill and organised two parties.

Harman, Browning, and Johnstone went up the west branch of the White, over a pass (Harman’s) and down a gorge until they reached a waterfall. Harman and Johnstone forced Browning to return, thinking that they had risked their lives often enough already. When they reached camp, they heard that
an accident had befallen Cahill and Armstrong who had gone up the main branch of the White to the pass (Campbell pass) seen by Cahill and Browning. Armstrong had climbed to the top, and when making another ascent with Cahill, had been knocked insensible by falling boulders. Cahill had taken the helpless man to the tent 2,000 feet below and then gone for the assistance of the others. This ended the exploration of the upper reaches of the Waimakariri, for Edward Dobson senior had already decided to cut a bridle track across Arthur’s pass. When the magnitude of the goldfields was realised, 1,000 men constructed a coach road in less than a year.

This burst of exploration had one interesting result. J. W. Hamilton suggested that the Maoris should be asked to describe routes across the mountains. The Rev. J. W. Stack at Kaiapoi made inquiries and heard of a pass up the Rakaia, quite different from that crossed by Whitcombe. The route now *tapu* had been popular until a party crossing in winter had been snow-bound in a cave where they died of cold and starvation. A map and description were sent by express messenger to Harman who, with Browning and Johnstone, then went from the Waimakaririr to the Rakaia. Following instructions, they went up the Wilberforce branch and there met Messrs Griffiths and Otway who had just been to the pass (Browning’s) with its small lake and the river flowing west. The parties joined, spent a week among
the gorges of this river, and returned to the nearest sheep run.

Browning and Griffiths returned to the pass, followed the Arahura for some distance and then went over Griffiths' pass (Styx saddle) to the north branch of the Hokitika. They struggled through the bush and then floated downstream in a moki. Their arrival at Hokitika created a sensation. Griffiths applied for the promised reward of £200 and in a very short time a track was cut for the use of miners and stock drivers.

On the coast itself the rush was moving fast to the south. Haast, on his geological survey, followed the miners as far as the Waiho river and went inland to the Franz Josef glacier which he named after the Emperor of Austria. By the end of the year 1865 the prospectors had reached Otago territory and explored inland for miles. The desire for gold will make men overcome insuperable difficulties, and the miners followed many a river to its glacial source. Unfortunately, few records were kept, but we know that a rush up the Cook river led some miners to the La Pérouse glacier whose terminal moraines they mistook for auriferous wash, that in 1866 'Harry the Whale' and Dick Nicolls discovered the Balfour glacier, and that the former, with 'German Harry' and 'Tony the Greek' went from the Cook river over the ranges to the Copland river. There must have been hundreds of expeditions
similar to these and worthy of more notice than they have yet obtained. When the map of Westland was completed towards the end of the century, only the glacial sources and the upper reaches of a few rivers had yet to be explored.
WITH THE decline of gold-mining and the failure to found settlements at Martin's Bay and Jackson's Bay, there was no desire to complete the exploration of South Westland. However, in 1875 two geologists, S. H. Cox and A. McKay, who were sent to study the structure of the country west of Mount Cook, thought of going up the Fox glacier to the Main Divide to see if Mount Cook could be ascended from the West Coast! Cox afterwards explained that they dropped the idea as soon as they saw the peak from Gillespie's beach. But they did cut steps up the Fox glacier and ascend the range between it and the Balfour glacier. From the crest they had an excellent view and Cox was afterwards able to give the first description of the vast snowfields which feed the Fox and the Franz Josef glaciers. More important still, he suggested that Mount Cook must be a separate peak to the east of the Divide.

After 1878 the West Coast Survey worked according to the system of triangulation instituted by J. T.
Thomson, and by 1887 the only unmapped areas between Hokitika and Martin’s Bay were the mountainous districts behind the fringe of almost impenetrable bush. Only a most experienced bushman could explore them and G. J. Roberts found such a man in the person of C. E. Douglas. He was a descendant, on his mother’s side, of Sir William Fettes of Edinburgh; his father was an accountant and a ‘successful and diligent amateur painter’; his brother was Sir William Fettes Douglas, one of Scotland’s great painters. After being educated at the Royal High School of Edinburgh* he was first a bank clerk and then a gold-miner in Otago and Westland. Life must have had little to offer this cultured but rather introspective Scot until he met Roberts in 1878 and was shown how to use a compass and surveyor’s chain. His inherited facility with pencil and brush was developed to quite a high standard, and it is surprising how many specimens of his work are scattered throughout New Zealand. He was first employed by the Department in 1879 and as the years went on he became the main figure in the exploration of the coast. In the Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives he became ‘Mr Explorer Douglas’ and the author of some delightful reports, quite out of keeping with the usual run of parliamentary papers.

* The classical side was very strong, as Boswell once made Dr Johnson admit. Hence it may be true that Douglas read Homer in the original and used classical place names whenever possible.
One of his most important journeys was undertaken in 1885 when he went with Mueller, the chief surveyor, to explore the Arawata river, visited by Hector in 1862 and by Andy Williamson in 1863. Thus they named one branch of the river the Williamson and its source the Andy glacier. Douglas sketched this glacier which flowed into a lake (now non-existent) and broke into miniature icebergs. The other tributary, the Waipara, they traced to the Bonar glacier which drains the west slopes of Mount Aspiring. To complete the survey, they climbed Mount Ionia by using a rope and cutting steps. It was not difficult but Mueller thought that no mortal would ever ascend its neighbour Eros.* Later in the year Douglas went up the Okuru river seeking passes into Otago. He found four, ‘utterly useless for road or railway’ and suitable only for ‘an Alpine Explorer or other Lunatic.’

In 1887 Mueller explored the Landsborough and the Clarke, which rise near Mount Sefton and flow forty miles to join the Haast. Douglas distinguished himself by crossing a mile of razor-back in search of a route along the Hooker range. The map and sketches of this expedition show that Douglas went by the Douglas pass to the sources of the Twain river and the Douglas glacier. It rises on the slopes of Mount Sefton, crashes over precipices nearly 1,000

* In 1935 a party landed by aeroplane on the Arawata flats, ascended Eros but failed to climb Ionia from another angle.
feet high, and reforms to flow nearly four miles down the valley. In 1889 Mueller visited the Okuru, where Douglas had been exploring in 1885-6, and inspected a pass leading from the Okuru to the Haast. He thought that it should be used for the proposed Haast pass railway.

In 1891 Douglas, working alone, made a first-class expedition up the Waiatoto river, finishing up with an ascent of Mount Ragan. The last 2,000 feet he climbed on his bare feet—'it was the grandest piece of climbing I ever did.' His diary for the expedition is more detailed than usual, probably because he had many wet days in which to add his comments on life in general. They are not as bitter as one would expect from a lonely man draped in a blanket, waiting for his only set of clothes to dry. If he had remained at home he would have been 'the respectable father of a family standing before the Church plate on Sundays with a benevolent smile.' Occasionally his homelessness comes to the surface—'here I am after thirty years of wandering crouched under a few yards of calico with the rain pouring and the wind and thunder roaring among the mountains, a homeless friendless Vagabond with a past that looks dreary and a future still more so. Still I can't regret having followed such a life and I know that even if I and thousands beside me perish miserably, the impulse which impells us to search the wild places of the Earth is good—a small
MOUNT VICTOR AND OKURU VALLEY

THE ARK AND ANDY GLACIER
grain of knowledge is cheaply purchased at the expense of a thousand ordinary lives.‘

Later in the year he was more cynical and said that he was seeking a pass or bridle track which ‘would enable West Coasters to plunder tourists.’ Actually New Zealand was developing its tourist centres and finding that the topography of the South Island prevented easy movement from one to another. Therefore men in the south explored the possible routes between the sounds and the Otago lakes, and the West Coast Survey looked for passes across the Main Divide. There was particular need for a route from Mount Cook to the West Coast and in 1892 Douglas was sent ‘to discover a pass available for mule traffic to the Hermitage.’ The nearest West Coast valley was that of the Copland river and he went to its head with Betsy, his dog, and H. Cuttance, a bushman. They saw Baker’s saddle but it led to a spot above the icefalls of the Hooker glacier. Douglas told the Department that they could have a road only if it went ‘over a sloping ice field swept by avalanches or under the glacier by a tunnel.’ Between the saddle and Mount Sefton there was another gap (Copland pass) in the Divide, but it was snow covered and unsuitable for a mule track. The rest of the report was typical of Douglas; it had sketches, geological diagrams, and comments on the bird life and vegetation of the valley: ‘The bell bird sang its chorus in a style only now to be heard south
of Jackson’s Bay; while the blue ducks were as tame as of yore.’

When the other valleys were explored, Douglas was assisted by A. P. Harper who had been one of the enterprising amateurs climbing in the Mount Cook region. In 1893 the Franz Josef glacier was partially explored and each man produced an excellent report. Harper dealt with the scenery and glacial action, Douglas with geology, botany, and bird life. According to Douglas, Mrs Kiwi now said, ‘What’s the use of my laying that awful egg which Nature has given me, if the stoat sucks it; yes, actually sucks it while we are sitting on it. No, I’ll be stuffed or roasted first.’ The following season, 1894-5, they visited the very secluded Balfour glacier and Harper went from the Fox glacier to the Franz Josef glacier and attempted to reach its head, the Graham saddle. He failed owing to the ‘eight hour day’ principles of a man he had persuaded to go with him.

But this work was not leading to the discovery of tourist routes to the east coast, so they decided to explore the Karangarua and go over the hills to the Landsborough from where Brodrick pass led to the Huxley river and Lake Ohau. They started, but Douglas, broken by his past exertions, returned, and Harper went to the Landsborough and down to the Haast with a Maori porter. They returned by much the same route and reported that a route to Lake Ohau was feasible but too long for tourists. The
Department decided that Harper should re-explore the Copland for a pass not necessarily free from ice. But before he started, E. A. FitzGerald and Mattias Zurbriggen arrived from the Hermitage. They had climbed Mount Sefton and seen below them the gap Douglas had scorned because it would not be suitable for a mule track. It was almost clear of snow so they soon after crossed to the Copland and struggled down the river-bed until they met Harper. He took them from the Fox glacier to the Franz Josef and back to the Hermitage by the Graham saddle.

The New Zealand papers had much to say in favour of FitzGerald’s pass, perhaps because he was a visitor and perhaps because it was thought that Douglas had failed. However, FitzGerald was quite modest until he returned to Britain, where he claimed to have made the first crossing of the Southern Alps and to have succeeded where the Survey Department had failed. There was a storm of protest from New Zealand, but many years passed before FitzGerald’s friends admitted that a piece of simple mountaineering was not exploration on a grand scale.

Meanwhile the organised exploration of the coast came to an end. Harper left and afterwards wrote his excellent book; ‘Mr Explorer Douglas’ retired, and the Royal Geographical Society awarded him the Gill Memorial prize. In the Survey report it was written ‘His attainments as a botanist and geologist
would have placed him in a much better position were it not for his retiring habits. For twenty years he has led the life of an enthusiastic explorer, and is undoubtedly the first bushman on the coast. He has frequently gone for months, without cutting a track or the assistance of a comrade, up the untrodden densely timbered inland valleys of Westland, traversing the rivers and streams, scaling peaks, determining geological features, patiently tracing mineral belts, making sketches of the scenery, and afterwards sending up good plain maps, replete with information of the greatest interest and importance.’ He was later employed by the Department to report on minerals, timber, and road lines and to write delightful and accurate monographs on the lakes, rivers, and passes of the coast. If they are ever published, students can decide whether Douglas or Brunner was the greatest explorer in New Zealand history.
CHAPTER XVII

The Southern Lakes and the Sounds of South-west Otago

DURING THE rush for sheep country the squatters had stocked the region east of Lake Manapouri and south of Lake Te Anau. From there Messrs Henry and Griffiths in 1860 had explored from the eastern shore of Te Anau to the flats of the Eglinton valley, and McKerrow had surveyed the lakes and attempted to reach the sounds by way of the Middle Fiord of Te Anau. This was an attractive route and in 1877 Messrs Hankinson and Mitchell went up its north-west arm to discover Lake Hankinson; some years later Thomson advanced a stage further and reached Lake Thomson. Few journeys were made inland from the sounds during this period, for the coast was dangerous, the valleys more precipitous, and the bush even more impenetrable. But in spite of these difficulties, miners in 1863-4 prospered the stream flowing into the sounds and Hector, in an attempt to reach Wakatipu, explored the Cleddau valley at the head of Milford Sound.
When the search for gold became less intense exploration was left to lonely prospectors such as W. Docherty, who lived a semi-hermit life seeking for a copper lode in Dusky Sound, and Andreas Reischek, who collected specimens of birds and in 1886 explored the country between Chalky Inlet and Dusky Sound.

Another inhabitant was Donald Sutherland of Milford Sound. The first reference to him was made by a tourist who found in a bottle hanging from a tree a note saying that Sutherland had camped there when sailing an open boat from Foveaux Strait to Jackson’s Bay. The run from Thompson’s Sound to Milford Sound had taken ten hours and he said ‘I don’t want to sound my own trumpet too much but this is a bully run for one man in an open boat in ten hours.’ He ended with ‘Anno Domini 1877. Suaviter in modo fortiter in re Vivat Regina. D. Sutherland, captain, mate and cook, dog passengers and livestock.’

Between then and 1880 Sutherland, J. Mackay, and J. Malcolm settled at the Sound. They were interested in an asbestos reef and Sutherland hoped to find a route to Wakatipu. There is a story by one quite reliable authority of his obtaining six months’ provisions from the Lake county council on the understanding that he would open up a track from Milford Sound to Lake Wakatipu. This may be true because Mackay and Sutherland explored both the Cleddau and the Arthur rivers. They found no
pass through the mountains, but in November 1880 they discovered the Sutherland falls and the Maori track from Milford Sound to Bligh Sound. In 1881-2 Messrs Hall, Robertson, and Moreton visited the district and before examining the sources of the Bowen falls, toyed with the idea of finding a pass to Wakatipu. In 1883 Sutherland, sailing down the coast, discovered the long lake or bay which is now called Sutherland Sound.

About this time increased interest was being taken in the country west of the lakes. In the hope of finding some pastoral country, John Hay was sent to survey the region between the Waiau river and Preservation Inlet in 1882-3. He went to Lake Poteriteri and west to the inlet, crossing Lake Hauroto in a canvas boat. Using it on Poteriteri, he reached its head and made two good expeditions, one west almost to Long Sound and another north by the Hay river to a point from which he saw Dusky Sound. Some four to five months were spent in the bush, and considering the climate and nature of the country, it is amazing that he accomplished so much.

Farther north in the Manapouri district several Dunedin gentlemen were making expeditions for quite another reason—the discovery of tourist routes to Doubtful Sound. In 1884 Messrs Chapman and White, who had seen a gap in the ranges, established a depot at Deep Cove in Smith Sound (part of Doubtful Sound), and planned to reach it from
Manapouri. Rain held up two expeditions and it was not until 1888 that Major Goring, J. White, and Professor Mainwaring Brown went up the Spey river and Disaster Burn and camped below a pass leading to Smith Sound. Rain fell heavily and oppressed by tent life the professor went for a stroll and never returned. His companions searched for days and found no trace of him except a mountain lily he had broken from its stalk. After snow fell on the pass, they returned to civilisation and Messrs Ernest Mitchell, Barber, Dore, and Murrell left immediately intending to go to Smith Sound, for there was just a chance that the professor had made for the food depot at Deep Cove. They reached the last camp, saw the broken mountain lily, and went to the watershed, finding Lake Mainwaring en route. The pass was waist deep in snow and only Barber and Murrell reached it to see in the distance the waters of the sound. Nothing more could be done and they returned to the lake, where they met a large organised expedition from Dunedin.

The *Otago Daily Times* had sent Malcolm Ross, T. Mackenzie, M.H.R. had offered his services, and Quinton McKinnon had been brought by special train. With several other men they had been endeavouring to reach the Spey river in a leaking boat, so they now exchanged boats and made the second visit to the pass. While they were there, White, who had gone round to Deep Cove in the ship *Stella*,
was fighting his way up the Lyvia river in an unsuccessful attempt to reach the saddle, from the untouched depot. No sign of the professor was seen, nor was any seen by Barber and Murrell who went over the pass to the cove in January 1889, or by Mitchell who went back to the pass in winter when his shearing was finished.

Nothing more was done in the Manapouri region until T. Mackenzie and W. S. Pillans took a party up the Spey river in 1894. After ascending the south branch of the river they went up the west branch over Mackenzie’s pass and down the Seaforth to Loch Maree. Being short of food, they did not carry on to Dusky Sound. This section of the route was inspected by Mackenzie in 1896 from the Dusky Sound side. The compass bearing did not agree with those taken in 1894 or with those taken on the Manapouri side by McKerrow in 1863. Having surprising faith in their pocket compass, Mackenzie produced a map with the Mackenzie river of 1896 flowing into Dusky Sound and the Seaforth river of 1894 flowing into the unknown. This was worth investigation, and as tourist routes were wanted E. H. Wilmot was sent to survey the district. In 1897 he went up the Spey and down the Seaforth river to Dusky, thus finding a tourist route and learning that the Mackenzie and the Seaforth were one and the same river. After exploring the rivers flowing into the south arm of Manapouri, he went up the
Spey and branched up the Dashwood and over Wilmot pass to the Lyvia river and Doubtful Sound. It was suitable for a road, and a track was afterwards cut for tourists.

In the Te Anau regions there was even more scope for exploration. Its long arms stretched westward and led to river valleys which were natural highways to the different sounds. In 1887 Quinton McKinnon and S. Tucker went up the south-west arm of the Middle Fiord and over to Caswell Sound, discovering white marble, two new lakes, and traces of Maori visitation. The north-west branch was thoroughly explored by R. Henry who made several expeditions before he and R. Murrell reached George Sound early in 1889.

But a greater problem was to discover a tourist route to Milford Sound. The most likely valley was that of the Clinton river, but no party met with success until Quinton McKinnon in 1887 went far enough to be hopeful of discovering a pass. Therefore in 1888 the Otago Survey office sent McKinnon and E. Mitchell to cut a track up the river and to discover a pass, while C. W. Adams, the chief surveyor, took a large party to survey the country fringing the sound. With him went T. Mackenzie, W. S. Pillans, and Main and Morris, the photographers; a canvas boat was taken to navigate Lake Ada; nurserymen of Dunedin gave seed and plants for a garden; trout were taken to be liberated in the
rivers. While Mackenzie and Pillans were searching for a pass to Lake Te Anau, they found a note from McKinnon saying that he and Mitchell had found one and were on their way down to the sound. They had endured floods, blowflies, and mosquitoes, discovered two lakes, and on 20 September crossed the McKinnon pass. There was general satisfaction, and a party went back overland to Te Anau to telegraph the glad news from Lumsden. In time the track was cut and ‘The Finest Walk in the World’ was a feature of tourist advertisements.

About the same time, 1888, W. H. Homer explored the upper Hollyford river and discovered the saddle which leads to a branch of the Cleddau river and Milford Sound. At last it was known just where one would come to, if one could get over the mountains at the head of the Cleddau. Homer appreciated geography and pointed out that at the bend between the upper and lower Hollyford there were very low saddles, one to the Greenstone river and Lake Waka-tipu and the other to the Eglinton river and Lake Te Anau. Therefore he argued that a road or even a tunnel to the Hollyford would remove the isolation of Milford Sound. To inspect the region E. H. Wilmot, the surveyor, went up with Homer in March 1889. They followed the Greenstone river to Lake Howden, built a shelter to protect some stores, and went up the Hollyford to the saddle. Wilmot thought it a granite razor-back, too precipitous on
the Milford side for any sort of road. But to the north of Mount Talbot they discovered the Gertrude saddle which overlooks the Cleddau. Quite wisely, Wilmot was not very enthusiastic about either pass, and the party returned after a visit to the Eglington valley.

Homer persisted in advocating a tunnel, and sections of his letters to the Lake Wakatip Mail are worth quoting now that the tunnel nears completion: ‘No timber wanted, no climbing over ice and snow; no repairs and open all the year round. The size of tunnel 7 ft. 6 ins. high by 6 ft. wide, at say £1-15-0 a foot—£2100. This should open a good horse track all through. A few good huts might be built for travellers and the whole completed before the Exhibition in Dunedin. These are facts, and a party can be found to accept the work at the figures tomorrow—and glad of the chance.’ The terms were good but nothing was done.

However, from each of the lakes a route had now been found to the sounds and exploration was less necessary. But there was no slackening of interest; in fact there were many more expeditions, particularly by the Murrells from Manapouri and by W. Y. H. Hall, the Fowler brothers, A. C. Gifford, W. G. Grave, and others from the arms of Lake Te Anau. The old question of a route to Wakatipu from Milford Sound arose when T. E. Donne of the Tourist Department asked Grave and H. Talbot to
find a pass for tourists. They explored the Cleddau in 1907-8 and Homer’s upper Hollyford in 1908-9. Finally in 1909-10 they found the Grave-Talbot pass, a somewhat difficult one for tourists, but practicable after the addition of wire ropes.

In modern times, though the Murrells and the Fowlers still make additions to the map, the work of exploration has been left to mountaineers. After beginning with the Mount Cook district they extended their activities to other unexplored regions in the mountains. M. Ross and his rival S. Turner gave their attention to Mount Tutuko near Milford Sound; the Rev. A. E. Newton and Dr Teichelmann, 1902-7, discovered mountain passes at the head of the Fox and Franz Josef glaciers, and Dr Teichelmann and A. Graham, 1910-12, explored the ranges from which flow the Rakaia, Rangitata, Wanganui, and Wataroa rivers. In 1913-14 Major Head drew attention to the magnitude of the Dart glacier at the head of Lake Wakatipu, and quite lately J. T. Holloway of the New Zealand Alpine Club has finally explored the complicated country west of Wakatipu,* and the Canterbury Mountaineering Club† has been exploring the ranges between the sources of the Rangitata and the Waimakariri.

* Until this was done the explorations by Barrington in 1864 could not be understood and were consequently almost disbelieved. † See Unclimbed New Zealand, by J. D. Pascoe.
NOTES ON THE SOURCES

A CLEAR and honest account of New Zealand exploration was given by W. Howitt in The History of the Discovery of Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand (London, 1865). He made good use of official reports but said little about the early missionaries and perhaps too much about the efforts to link Canterbury and the West Coast. For a more modern introduction to the subject there is The Pioneer Explorers of New Zealand (London, 1929) by J. R. Elder.

I. MISSIONARIES

The Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden (Dunedin, 1932) and Marsden's Lieutenants (Dunedin, 1934), both edited by J. R. Elder, are the standard works on the subject of early missionary endeavour by the Church of England. The activities of the succeeding generation are described in H. Carleton's Life of Henry Williams (Auckland, 1874); in W. Williams's Christianity among the Maoris (London, 1867); in Bishop Selwyn's letters in vol. ii of The Church in the Colonies (London, 1848); in
W. Colenso's *Excursion in the Northern Island of New Zealand* 1841-2 (Launceston, 1844) and *The Ruahine Mountain Range* (Napier, 1884). Students who have access to the Hocken and Alexander Turnbull libraries may read the original letters, diaries, and reports of the missionaries, but the general reader will prefer the extracts published in those immense repositories of missionary information, the volumes of *The Church Missionary Register* (London, 1813-48), *The Church Missionary Record* (London, 1830-48), and *The Church Intelligencer* (London, 1849-55).

Until the archives of the Wesleyan Missionary Society have been thoroughly searched, those interested in exploration by Wesleyan missionaries must be satisfied with such publications as J. Buller's *Forty Years in New Zealand* (London, 1878), W. Morley's *History of Methodism in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1900), and *Centenary Sketches of New Zealand Methodism* (Christchurch, 1922). The journey of Father Baty to Lake Waikaremoana is described by the Rev. J. Hickson, S.M. in *Catholic Missionary Work in Hawke's Bay* (Auckland, 1924).

2. SURVEYORS

*Adventure in New Zealand* (London, 1845) by E. J. Wakefield gives a graphic picture of travel and exploration after the New Zealand Company began operations. Any original work by the Company's survey parties was described in the *New Zealand Journal* (London, 1840-52). For exploration in the South Island the *Nelson Examiner*
is the most useful of the contemporary newspapers. It published, on 17 December 1842, Cotterell’s diary of his trip from Nelson to the Wairau; between 20 July and 5 October 1844 Dr Monro’s notes on Tuckett’s expedition to Otago and Southland; and between 30 September and 28 October 1848 Brunner’s diary of his wanderings on the West Coast. A good account of Brunner’s famous expedition appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (1850) and another version with more detail was printed by Charles Elliott of Nelson in 1848. Many of the reports from Captain Stokes and J. W. Hamilton of H.M.S. *Acheron* were published in the *New Zealand Journal*; the important report on Southland was published in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (1851). Some of the diaries of J. W. Hamilton are in the Public Record Office, London; an incomplete diary of Captain Stokes is in the Hocken Library, Dunedin. The letters sent by Captain Stokes to the Admiralty were part of a section which unfortunately has been destroyed. F. Tuckett’s diary of his expedition to select the site of the New Edinburgh settlement is printed in Dr Hocken’s *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand* (London, 1898).

In the provincial era if the work was considered important it was published in the *Gazette* of the province concerned. J. T. Thomson’s report on the north-east and interior of Otago in 1857–8 appeared in vol. iii, James McKerrow’s reports on his Lake survey, 1862–3, in vols. v and vi of the *Otago Provincial Gazette*. The
The Exploration of New Zealand

Journal of the Royal Geographical Society (1858) contains J. T. Thomson’s report on Southland, that of 1859 J. Rochfort’s account of his surveys on the West Coast, that of 1864 J. McKerrow’s description of the Lake district of Otago. Since the abolition of the provinces the best official source has been the reports of the Survey Department in the Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives. In them readers can find the delightful reports on the remote valleys of south Westland by G. Mueller and C. E. Douglas.

3. NATIVE AFFAIRS

Edward Shortland’s The Southern Districts of New Zealand (London, 1857) is the classic work relating to South Island Maoris and whalers of the period 1843-4. W. B. D. Mantell’s diaries in the Alexander Turnbull Library are another source, and most important of all is Native Affairs in the South Island (vol. i, Wellington, 1873; vol. ii, Nelson, 1872) compiled by Alexander Mackay. The expeditions made by James Mackay to purchase the Arahura block (Westland) are most accurately outlined in Rambles on the Golden Coast of New Zealand (London, 1886) by R. C. Reid.

4. SHEEPFARMERS

The local newspapers are again a source of information. Readers who do not wish to undertake laborious research should read A First Year in Canterbury Settlement (London, 1863) by Samuel Butler, A Surveyor in New
Notes on the Sources

Zealand (Christchurch, 1932) edited by Noeline Baker, and R. B. Paul’s Letters from Canterbury, New Zealand (London, 1857). Mitchell and Dashwood’s journey from Nelson to Canterbury was described in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society (1851) and in the New Munster Gazette, 5 August 1850. Accounts of the romantic expeditions to the Lake country of Otago and Southland were fortunately collected by H. Beattie and may be read in his Pioneer Recollections (vols. i-iii, Gore, 1909-18). The most reliable and most comprehensive statement about Mackenzie, the sheep stealer, is in George Rhodes of the Levels and his Brothers (Christchurch, 1937) by A. E. Woodhouse.

5. SCIENTISTS

J. C. Bidwill’s Rambles in New Zealand (London, 1841) and Dr E. Dieffenbach’s Travels in New Zealand (London, 1843) deal with the interior of the North Island. For W. B. D. Mantell’s geological survey of north Otago the best source is the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society (1850). The many important expeditions undertaken by Sir Julius von Haast are systematically outlined in his Geology of Canterbury and Westland (Christchurch, 1879). The Otago Daily Times, 9-18 February, 19-20 March 1863 contains excellent articles describing the expedition of Sir James Hector from Lake Wanaka to the Arawata river, and the Otago Provincial Gazette, vol. vi, contains a full report of his expedition from Martin’s Bay to Lake Wakatipu. Useful articles by
Hector and von Haast appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society* (1864).

6. GOLD-MINERS

The Otago newspapers are the chief source for information about explorers such as P. Q. Caples, C. Cameron, and A. J. Barrington. *The Lake Wakatip Mail* during the mining boom was probably the most romantic newspaper published in New Zealand. In the same period the *Lyttelton Times* and the *Christchurch Press* recorded in great detail the efforts which led to the discovery of Arthur’s pass and Browning pass. For a racy account of life on the West Coast goldfields there is a somewhat rare publication, *Knocking about New Zealand* (Melbourne, 1871) by C. L. Money.

7. MOUNTAINEERS

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8. ILLUSTRATIONS

The frontispiece Exploring Party (1849) from an original crayon drawing by C. Clarke in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, shows Sir George Grey and party crossing a swamp at Matamata, North Island. Thanks are due to the Committee of the Mitchell Library for permission to reproduce this drawing. Lake Waikaremoana (p. 54) is from a photograph by H. Farmer McDonald. The map of the North Island (p. 62) was drawn for this survey by W. G. Harding of Wellington. The Matakiteki Valley (p. 68) is from an original water-colour painting by Sir William Fox in the Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington; painted on 20 February 1846, this work was described as being ‘In the Aglionby, or Matukituki Valley—looking into the Otapawa’ (Buller district). The sketch map of the Southern Lakes (p. 114) was redrawn by W. G. Harding from a rough tracing of W. B. D. Mantell’s map showing his coastal routes in 1848 and 1851-2 and C. J. Nairn’s route in January 1852. The Hollyford Valley (p. 144) is from an aerial photograph by V. C. Browne. Lake McKerrow and the sea are shown in the distance. The sketches Mount Victor and Okuru Valley and The Ark and Andy Glacier (p. 176) are from originals by Charles Douglas in the William Wilson collection, Turnbull Library. The map of the South Island (p. 188) was drawn by W. G. Harding.
NOTE

Owing to an editorial oversight, it has been found necessary to insert this leaf before the first page of the Index.
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