



T. LINDSAY BUICK.

OLD
MARLBOROUGH.

OR

THE STORY OF A PROVINCE.

BY

T. LINDSAY BUICK, J.P.,

M.H.R. FOR WAIRAU, 1890-96.

PALMERSTON NORTH:
HART AND KEELING,
PRINTERS, MAIN STREET.

1900.

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*For Waiiau read Wairau

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PREFACE.

The purpose which has animated me in writing this book has been a desire to furnish in popular form a concise historical account of that portion of New Zealand known as the Provincial District of Marlborough; and in placing the result of my labours before a critical public, I am fully cognizant of the fact that it may be urged, with some truth, that, not being an old settler, I am scarcely the person best qualified to undertake the compilation of such a record, or at least of that portion dealt with in the last two chapters, but as no old settler has volunteered for the work, I may be pardoned for venturing to assume the responsibility of performing a task which, if not undertaken now, will soon be impossible. To adequately tell the story of this province since European settlement began, the collection of material should have been commenced at least twenty-five years ago, when most of the early settlers—the

makers of that generation's history—were still alive and in the vigor of their manhood, for now that an effort is being made to gather the information which they alone possessed, one regretfully discovers that the Old Reaper has been busy in the field, and the pioneers who could have been of most service to us are gone, while the memories of those who survive gradually grow less green as the sap of life runs down. It has therefore become difficult to cement together into a connected mosaic all the scattered fragments of information requisite to make a complete history, or to draw in perfect perspective a picture of what the province was like even thirty years ago. In the course of my work I have also been considerably hampered by the difficulty in obtaining early records, and by my non-residence in the district during the last three years. Still I have diligently sought to verify all that is here recorded by consulting those who appeared to me to be the most independent and reliable authorities, and while I am the first to acknowledge that many things have been omitted which might have been included I hope nothing has been included which should have been omitted. But whatever the elements of error may be, I trust no one will accuse me of *malice prepense* in regard to either persons or facts, for I have simply obtained the best information available, and used it with the greatest judgment at my command. It may be that the reception ac-

corded to this initial venture will embolden me to supplement and improve it, and for this purpose I will at all times be glad to receive additional information, or amplification of circumstances already related, and if the reading of these pages excites a friendly controversy in which other facts of interest concerning Old Marlborough are rescued from oblivion, then my labours will have served a doubly useful purpose.

THE AUTHOR.

Duke Street,
Palmerston North,
December 31st, 1900.



NOTE OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT.

During the time I have been engaged upon this work much help and sympathy have been extended to me by present and former residents of Marlborough, and to all those who have in any way contributed to my fund of information I now tender my sincere thanks. For the principal portion of the matter contained in the second chapter I am indebted to Mr. Jos. Rutland, who has made the subject of the Old Pit Dwellings peculiarly his own, and has most generously placed the result of his researches at my disposal. The remaining chapters, in the early part of the volume, have been compiled from a multitude of sources, and many of the standard books on New Zealand have been pressed into my service for the purpose. In this way I have brought together much that has already been published, but in such a form as to be accessible only to those who have extensive libraries at their command. Chapters eight and nine have been based on information kindly supplied by Mrs. Mowat, Mrs. Millington, the late Mr. Thomas Carter, the Hon. W. D. H. Baillie, M.L.C., Messrs. W. H. Eyes, J. J. White, J. J. Sinclair, T. Redwood, C. Redwood, W. Nosworthy, G. Dodson, P. Rush, J. T. Robinson, A. J. Litchfield, W. H. Macey, G. Coward, G. Baldic, Wm. Smith, H. Otterson, E. Rabbits, S. Johnson and Walter Gibson.

For many of the photographs from which the illustrations have been taken, I am also indebted to old settlers who happen to have preserved the pictures. I am especially obliged in this respect to Mr. W. H. Macey, who has cheerfully allowed me to freely draw upon the resources of his studio, while my grateful acknowledgments are also due to Mrs. S. J. Macalister, Sir James Hector, Messrs. Chinn, J. J. Sinclair, J. T. Robinson, A. B. Litchfield, and C. J. Monro.

The pictures of the first school at Blenheim were obtained from sketches kindly made by Miss White. The "Relics" found on Massacre Hill were photographed, by Mr. Macey, from weapons in the possession of Messrs. A. J. Litchfield and John Taylor, and the portraits of Te Rauparaha and Te Rangihaeata are copied from drawings published in Shortland's "Southern Districts of New Zealand," and are pronounced by the Hon. J. W. Barnicoat, M.L.C., (who knew both warriors well) to be excellent likenesses.

CHAPTER I.

DIVINE ARCHITECTURE.

Of't have I thought on Nature's power,
Whose changes we can trace.
How seas are dried, and lakes are lowered,
And high land takes their place.

DURING the course of the evolutionary process through which the human mind passes in its progress towards maturity, it must become abundantly evident to the majority of people that the delusions of their younger days have been both many in number, and great in magnitude. The writer, at least, is free to confess that one of the fixed convictions of his youth was that New Zealand, the land of his birth, was one of the very last countries made, and there were occasions when its apparent imperfections seemed to justify him in concluding that it must have been finished up late on a Saturday night at that. But be this as it may, the broadening influence of maturer years has dissipated these childish ideas, and furnished us with proofs which now convince us that so far from New Zealand

being a comparatively modern addition to the globe, it is one of the oldest geological monuments the student has presented to him for his admiration and edification. As a component part of this hoary pile, the province whose history is now under review can justly claim an honourable place; for everywhere amidst the reaches of her sounds, the wildness of her gorges, and the magnificence of her valleys, the voice of nature seems to proclaim that Old Marlborough is no misnomer, but a stern and tangible fact. Though the rocks of which her northern hills are composed stand grimly mute, the history of their beginning is deeply graven upon their stony slopes, and that history tells of a time not far removed from the genesis of the world, when its foundations were laid in fire.

It would, therefore, appear that, through all the countless ages which have passed since the cooling influence of the atmosphere first solidified the land, and through all the long drawn years which have rolled away since the Spirit first "moved upon the face of the waters," the rocks which are lifted up in the mountains of Marlborough, from Stokes to Patriarch, have witnessed almost every one of the mighty evolutions upon which our scientists speculate, and have played their part in the marvellous drama of the globe's development, the beginning whereof is the

savant's puzzle, and the end whereof is beyond the power of the human mind to conceive.

So far as scientific research has yet proceeded, there has not been found any trace within Marlborough's boundaries of the granites which are generally recognised as the primary, or fire-born rocks, from which all others derive their origin. But, although the first rung of the ladder of life, geologically speaking, is missing, the oldest rocks in the province are but a period removed from the time when, in its infant condition, the world consisted of a bare but gigantic crust, containing vast seas and profound oceans.

The first chapter in Marlborough's book of stone opens with the second in the world's history, for we find a triangular belt of rocks which have been assigned to the Silurian age, running from the north-west bank of the Wairau River, through the Grove, to Cape Koamaru, and forming the narrow ridge that divides the Pelorus from Queen Charlotte Sound. These are stratified rocks, and are the first product of the disintegration which commenced when the granites began to be worn away by the action of the atmosphere above and the erosion of the sea beneath. The substance of which they are composed was thus deposited in the bed of the ancient ocean, and there, by the agglomeration of

different materials and the excessive pressure to which they were subjected, a new kind of rock was formed, which subsequently was elevated above the level of the sea, and has never since been submerged.

During the period this process was in operation, life in its lowest form was present, the waters of the deep teeming with sea-plants and sea-worms of the humblest order, but although this is known to have been a characteristic of the Silurian age, no fossils have yet been found in this wedge of Silurian rock, which tapers from the Waitohi Valley and Bartlett's Creek down to the extreme point of Arapawa Island. This may be due to the fact that they were formed very early in the period, or that the extreme heat to which they have since been subjected has destroyed all trace of the fragile specimens entombed within their folds.

Next in period of time, but still on the north-west side of the Wairau River, we have the Devonian series of rocks, the older of which forms a narrow strip a few miles wide, bounded partly on the west by the Wakamarina River, whose banks clearly disclose the difference between the older and newer formations. From here to the extreme limit of the province, covering the whole of the Pelorus watershed, the younger Devonian rocks prevail, and we also find a con-

siderable area of country stretching from Cloudy Bay, past Tory Channel, composed of the same generation of stone. It was in the Devonian age that the corals, which are such a source of beauty to the eye and danger to the mariner, were first developed. Fishes, too, began to make their appearance; but probably for the reasons already given, none of their remains have so far been discovered in the Devonian rocks of the Pelorus or Port Underwood districts. But the peculiar formation of the rocks themselves and the absence of all evidence of life within their beds, are not the only proofs we have of the extreme age which crowns the hill-tops that are thrown up all over the mountainous region to the north-west of the Wairau River; for the practised eye of the observer has only to glance at their sharply-mitred peaks as they loom against the evening sky, or to gaze upon their scarred and furrowed slopes, to know that centuries of summer suns and winter snows must have come and gone before the hand of time could mould the rude uneven forms in which they first appeared into such symmetrical cones, the full effect of this denuding force being equally apparent in the plains which form the floors of all the valleys.

Perhaps no stage of the earth's construction has been pregnant with such important re-

sults, or fraught with such an amount of interest to the scientists, as that which has been designated the Carboniferous age, wherein we get our first proof of land-walking animals, and during which the great coal-beds of the world were deposited. Although, in this latter direction, it has not been particularly generous to Marlborough, the coal area being extremely restricted, and even that being practically destroyed by a force which has played an important part in giving the province its present configuration. But in other respects this period was an important one, inasmuch as the extensive elevations which then took place contributed more than one-half the present territorial area of the province. By striking a line from the saddle of the Redwood Pass to Top House, and thence down the western and southern boundaries of the province, and along the central line of the Kaikoura range, some approximate idea may be formed of the valuable additions made to the lands of Marlborough by the upheavals of the Carboniferous age, a period which was generally remarkable for the activity of the earth's crust. This activity is freely attributed to volcanic action, and here we find the local experience not to differ greatly from that of other parts of the world, indisputable proofs of volcanic force having

first been discovered* in the Awatere Valley by Sir Frederick Weld, in 1850, when on an overland tour from Lyttelton to Blenheim. Since then much more extensive surveys have been made by the officers of the Geological Department, with the result that traces of spent volcanos have been found in many different localities. There are indications that the country around Top House was not always the green and placid region that it now is, for, from Patriarch upwards to the Dun Mountain, the ancient fire founts have left vestiges of the time when they were forging rocks which still withstand the ravages of age.

This was, however, in the Devonian days, and was but the early forerunner of the more general activity which followed in the succeeding period. The centre of volcanic force which gave Marlborough those spires, domes, and minarets of every conceivable form, so eloquently described by Sir Frederick Weld,

* A great sensation was created throughout New Zealand in March, 1855, by the reported discovery of an active volcano in Marlborough. It appears that while the Lady Grey, a steamer trading between the Colony and the Chatham Islands, was nearing the coast, those on board noticed what was afterwards described as "wreaths of white vapour rising in a thin and unsteady column," from a high and conical shaped mountain in the Kaikoura range, culminating in "a canopy of smoke." The spectators of this phenomenon at once concluded that a new volcano had burst into activity, and although their report was not sustained by the passengers of the steamer Nelson, which arrived in Wellington shortly after the Lady Grey, they still maintained their ground. While the discussion was at its height Old Jack Guard came over from Port Underwood, and on being questioned he laughed at the idea of a volcano being in full swing on his side of the water and he not knowing anything about it, so to set the matter at rest a party went across the Strait in his whale boat, and proceeding to Flaxbourne, found that the cause of all the excitement was an old shepherd who had set fire to the fern on Ben More, and the flames ascending the mountain slopes had ignited a clump of white birch trees which then grew on the summit, hence the "wreaths of white vapour," and the "canopy of smoke," in which Marlborough's active volcano terminated.

was in the Awatere. Everywhere between Castle Creek and the Jordan* River the monuments of dead volcanos are seen stretched over the country, while around the base of Mount Tapuaenuku†, and in the neighbourhood of the Winterton Stream, these relics are particularly numerous in the forms of dykes and intrusions between the older rocks. At the same time, and as part of the same eruption, the brecciated masses of igneous material now to be seen in the vicinity of Black Birch Hill, on Blairich station, were forced to the surface in the triumph of the pent-up power escaping from its subterranean prison beneath.

From this time forward, right down to the Miocene period, volcanic action was simply rampant along the Clarence and middle Awatere Valleys. In the former, great rivers of lava were poured out of the fissures in the earth's crust which never achieved the dignity of mountains, or were afterwards removed by the forces of greater magnitude, for so far no authentic or well-defined craters have been discovered to mark the source from whence the lava rocks of the Kaikoura Mountains were emitted. Even in the Awatere,

* Called after an American negro who used to accompany Mr. William McRae in his explorations when out looking for pastoral country.

† The origin of this name is somewhat doubtful, as no authentic tradition concerning it seems to have been preserved, but its most feasible translation is that which gives the meaning as "Footsteps afar off," doubtless a reference to the great height of the mountain.

where the rocks are of younger formation, it is difficult to locate the precise point of eruption, so altered is the appearance of the country, although the proofs of volcanic force are incontestible, as is shown by the traces of ancient lava streams now broken into rough hewn blocks protruding from the hill-sides of Gladstone and Glenlee, and culminating in a lofty pinnacle on Mowat's Look Out, 5,933 feet high, the highest rocks of their age and type in New Zealand. Along the summit of the Seaward Kaikouras, in the ravines between Kekerangu and the Flags River, and in the depths of the Taylor Pass, disconnected traces of volcanic action are clearly visible, which, if they do not establish its severity, at least demonstrate its extent and its influence upon the face of the landscape. Beginning in the Devonian age, accumulating force through the Carboniferous period, and reaching its climax in the Cretaceo-tertiary times, the volcanic era gradually began to decline during the next and following formations until the fires were quenched, and a period of quiescence came, broken only by the rudeness of the earthquake shock; which, as will presently be shown, has given rivers their courses, lifted snow-capped mountains in the midst of plains, and generally operated in a marvellous way to create what are to-day the most imposing geographical features of the province.

But before entering upon this interesting phase of our subject, it will be necessary to refer, however briefly, to a series of rocks which one day may become a rich mine of wealth to the farmers of the Wairau, and to the settlers who in future years will plough the fields of Flaxbourne. The travellers who journey southward through the pastoral district of the province cannot but observe the huge white masses of limestone formation which first embolden the view in the vicinity of Cape Campbell, assume lofty proportions on Christmas Hill, and descending into the bed of the Ure River, again mount high on the slopes of Ben More, the northern terminus of the Lookers On. Still further down the coast, the traveller finds in almost unbroken succession the same white beds, sometimes rivalling the snowcloud of the Kaikouras in the purity of their hue, until our interest in them terminates in that pile of geological curiosity, the Amuri Bluff.

This much may be observed from the beaten track of travel, but shut out from casual observation there are behind the Kaikoura Mountains considerable stretches of the same limestone formation lying in the bed of the Clarence Valley, through which the old river has cut its way and left precipitous cliffs behind. The considerable area over which these limestone rocks are spread, and the

fact that they are intersected by a chain of mountains rising in jagged peaks to a height of 8000 feet, has caused them to be the subject of considerable scientific attention, and the result of these investigations seem to indicate that the beautiful and fertile country from Cape Campbell to the Conway River has had a somewhat chequered and varied history. The primary facts of scientific importance concerning these widely separated chalk rocks of the Clarence Valley and the sea coast, is that they are identical in composition, and of marine origin, two circumstances which point to the conclusion that during the Cretaceous period, when the chalk and lime deposits of Dover, of Northern France, and of the Mississippi Valley, were laid down, this lime-covered region of Marlborough was lying beneath the sea; indeed, there is reason to believe that the convulsions to which the earth's crust was before, and at that time subjected, had the effect of causing more than one elevation, and more than one submergence.

So bold a theory is supported by the fact that in parts of the province we find volcanic strata lying between deep and extensive beds of marine formation. Thus upon the greensands, which were formed when the world, although green with a luxuriant vegetation, was ruled by the tyrant Saurians, are seen

rocks of an entirely different character, and for whose origin we must look in an exactly opposite direction. These rocks are of terrestrial formation, and therefore must have been laid down on dry land; nay, the presence of igneous substance so profusely distributed through the overlying mass indicates that towards the end of the period when the greensands were deposited in the bosom of the ocean, and the Saurian age was passing away, an elevation of the land must have taken place, which stretched out the sea-bed in broad expanse to receive its mantle of volcanic matter.

For just how long Neptune was robbed of his estate it is useless to speculate, but judging by the thickness of the beds which interpose between the greensand and limestone formations, either the igneous forces worked with frightful vigor, or the period of time which elapsed between this elevation and the following submergence was longer than the mind can comprehend. Be this as it may, the day came when all the country now distinguished by its calcareous formation was again consigned to the deep, and it was during this period, known in geological science as the Cretacio-tertiary age, that it received its present characteristic coat, which bestows upon it such a striking individuality.

It must not, however, be supposed that, at

the time this deluge took place, or in the subsequent period, when the land was again restored to the world, it assumed anything like its present physical aspect. There were in those days no Kaikoura Mountains to inspire within us a feeling of admiration when we gaze upon their lofty towers, decked in their winter beauty; what rivers were then flowing through the valleys were probably not the present ones, and where the high terraces, deep ravines, and rolling downs are now the constant companion of the traveller, a plain extending far to the eastward was the dominating feature of the landscape. On this plain the limestone deposits had been laid 1000 feet thick by the myriads of tiny shell-fish which peopled the waters of the ancient seas, but how these deposits came to be divided by the Seaward Kaikouras, upon whose higher slopes no trace of limestone is found, remains yet to be told.

Strangely enough no rocks representing the next, or Eocene geological period, are found north of the Conway River, which is a clear indication that, when these beds were being laid down in other parts of the world, the whole of Marlborough was still elevated above the sea, and it is doubtful if it has at any time since been entirely submerged.

Scarcely more fortunate is the succeeding series, which is represented only by a tapering

block of country commencing at Cribb Creek, and following a straight line down what is popularly known as the "earthquake crack" on the one side of the Awatere Valley, and a somewhat serpentine course to Lake Grassmere on the other. This gives us the major portion of the Miocene's modest contribution to the lands of Marlborough. But though comparatively small in area, the land in question is amongst the richest in the colony, comprising as it does the verdant pastures of Weld's Hill, Upton Downs, Richmond Brook, Starborough, and a large portion of the Flaxbourne runs. The age of this field of interest is determined by the abundance of its fossils, and its comparative youth is discovered by the presence of so many species that are to-day amongst the living inhabitants of the sea. In many places these can be observed protruding from the road-side cuttings, while lower down in the gorges of the river, the beds of papa* which form the base of the series, are thickly studded with slightly older forms.

Since these beds were laid down they do not seem to have been subjected to any excessive subterranean movement, as the strata lies in unbroken layers from one end of the lower valley to the other, thus affording an indication of the diminution of the igneous

* Recent boring operations in the neighbourhood of Lake Grassmere have proved these beds to be over 500 feet in thickness.

forces which once appeared so active. A close inspection of the strata along the river bank, however, conveys the impression that at some period since their origin a slight subsidence has taken place, for the fossiliferous rocks at the mouth of the Awatere dip towards the south-west, while those above Weld's Hill dip in the opposite direction.

The next distinctive strata that we find contributing to the configuration of the province, but more particularly to the Wairau, is a belt of gravel conglomerates running from the White Bluff* as far up the valley as Wantwood station. It is of this material that the Bluff itself is composed, the gravels having evidently been derived from the older rocks of the Upper Awatere, and this is the source from which the immense quantities of shingle are brought by the tide and south-east storms to build the Boulder Bank and fill up the northern corner of Cloudy Bay.

These conglomerates are clearly seen in the cuttings of the Dashwood Pass, from which they continue along the Vernon Hills, and after crossing the Waihopai river, spread out in wide reaches over the Bank House run, where their peculiarly rippled appearance is quite a unique feature in the landscape.

They are undoubtedly water formed, and are but the product of the Post Miocene

* The old Maori name for this Bluff was Pari-nui-o-witi, meaning "The Great Shining Cliff."

and Pliocene periods, which seem to have been remarkable for the energy of the aqueous forces, and the extensive nature of the denudation to which the high country was then subjected, for it is a peculiarity, noted by geologists who have examined the Middle Island of New Zealand, that the close of the Miocene times has been followed by vast deposits of conglomerates, consisting of huge blocks of stone mingled together in the most confused and heterogenous fashion. Many of these stones attain considerable proportions, and are so rough and angular in shape as to almost dispel the idea that they have been lodged in their present position through the agency of a river or running stream. Much more forcibly do many of them convey the impression that they are the last surviving remnant of the morainic train, once proudly borne upon the crest of a glacier during the period when the valleys were locked in the cold grip of Father Frost. Scarcely any other theory will explain the companionship of rocks from such widely separated portions of the province, their enormous size, and the extent of the country they cover; but when we call to the assistance of our imagination the great ice ploughs that furrowed deep into the mountain side, and planed them down with titanic force as they moved slowly, silently, and irresistibly towards the ocean, we have engines of destruction whose power



SWALE RIVER WATERFALL.

CLARENCE VALLEY



THE AWATERE VALLEY.

to bring about the enormous denudation, of which these conglomerates are only a fragment, is beyond the pale of question.

Perhaps the most curious of these Post Miocene rocks is a bed 200 feet thick, resting upon the summit of the Chalk range, near Cape Campbell, 850 feet above the level of the sea. How this mass of vari-formed rocks came to enjoy such a unique and unlikely position would be interesting to know ; but so far as the realm of speculation can supply an explanation, it is probable that at one time they were a composite part of a much larger field of the same material, deriving its origin from what was then the higher country away towards the head of the Conway River. At that time the Chalk range, as a physical feature did not exist ; and on the lower levels the conglomerate deposit was spread by the aqueous forces, whose energies were spent in tearing down the mountains. Then at some later period, as the result of the folding of the earth's crust, the Chalk range rose to its present height, carrying in its arms this child of a former age, which it still holds upon its breast. All traces of the other beds that were not affected by the upheaval have since disappeared, doubtless finding their effacement in the continuation of the process that called them into existence, and so this small bed of slates and saurian, of crystalline and

conglomerate, rough and round stones, has been left a lonely relic enthroned in splendid isolation.

The detached and apparently inconsistent position of this particular section of the Post Miocene formation is not, however, the only key to considerable movements of the earth's surface since the conglomerates were first deposited, for in many places they are found driven against, and wedged between the older rocks in such a way as to preclude the possibility of any other explanation than that they have been thrown into their present position by surface movements of considerable magnitude, within comparatively modern times. This peculiar juxtaposition of the old and new rocks is particularly noticeable in sections of the Clarence Valley, the Kekerangu Gorge, on Deadman's Hill, near the Shades Creek, on Green Hills Station, and in many other places equally well known, in some of which they display evidences of rude stratification, while elsewhere they are huddled together in such supreme inconsistency as to be inseparable and indescribable; but the conclusion we are entitled to draw from their wide diffusion over so many districts, and the variety of their composition, is that at one time high country existed in the south-west, compared with which the mountains of to-day are insignificant, and that upon these giant

mounds the floods and storms of old waged incessant war until they wasted the hills and themselves in the struggle, for with the lowering of the higher lands climatic conditions changed, paving the way for milder seasons, and allowed nature to work on a less gigantic scale.

We now enter upon the last epoch of the geological formation which brings us up to what is scientifically described as "recent" times. These beds are represented by the shingle fans and alluvial deposits of the rivers which are now, and have been flowing in their courses for many hundred years, and are of special interest to us because we are in a position to watch the process of deposition going on around us every day.

Beginning at the southern end of the province, the first important feature of this kind that we notice is the flat upon which the farms of Kaikoura nestle. It is at once apparent to the eye that the white-faced cliffs which form the breast-work of the road round to the wharf belong to the familiar limestones which skirt the entire length of the coast, and are of an entirely different nature to the gravels which everywhere abound in the neighbourhood of the town, or to the deep loamy soils which comprise the rich and fertile lands of "the swamp." It will be noticed, too, that the gravels extend from the Hapuka

River to beyond the course of the Kowhai, and in gently circling bays unite the high headland with the higher range behind. How this union came about is not difficult to understand when the character of the plain is investigated. Under that examination we see the result of untiring industry, and we can measure the capacity of a small stream to repel the waters of the sea, and transform its depths into dry land.

Before what is technically known as "recent" times, the highland of the Kaikoura Peninsula constituted an island standing to the eastward, as the sole survivor of a serious submergence—

With the sea cast round it like a mantle,
The sea-cloud like a crown.

Between its western shore and the base of Mount Fyffe, the Pacific rolled in heaving billows and dashed its spray against the foot of the mountain range, down whose sides trickled innumerable streams, each bearing its own burden, until they joined the Kowhai, the largest of them all. To the indefatigable labour of this stream the existence of the plain is due, for fed by¹ the almost perpetual snow and the rain storms that circled round the mountain heights, the river became a torrent flowing with enormous velocity, sweeping in its current great masses of the soft drossy rock which crumbled from the steep

slopes under the alternating influences of heat and cold, or was hewn from the deep gorges and ravines as nature's industrious sculptors cut them out of the mountain pile. The formation of the Seaward Kaikouras is particularly favourable to the wasting influence of water, therefore the carrying capacity of the Kowhai was always fully supplied, and as it drained a district over 8000 feet high, and only a few miles from the sea, it can well be imagined that the quantity of debris poured into the bay was something enormous. This in the lapse of time had its visible effect, as gradually a great shingle fan was formed, which slowly extended as far as the limestone island, originally four miles away from the shore. For many years the river laboured at its work of reclamation on the northern side of the new peninsula, spreading its torrent-borne freight far and wide, until it had built up a barrier so formidable that it was forced to seek a course for itself that offered less resistance. Then it found a line of escape to the southward, where it is now building up a delta which may one day become rich pastures and green fields. But in changing its direction the river at the same time lengthened its course, and this fact is likely in the near future to be pregnant with important results, for the longer range at once checked the water's velocity, and, as a consequence, its

carrying capacity was so reduced that much of the washings from the hills, which formerly were shot precipitately into the sea, are now arrested mid-way, building up the river-bed in its higher reaches to such an extent that there is imminent danger before long of the water again being driven from its channel by the force of its own accumulations, and making for itself a new path towards the ocean, which it may enter again on the northern side of the peninsula. The effect of all such former changes upon the valley, before civilisation took possession of it, counted for nothing, but upon the valley of to-day, with its highly-cultivated farms and pleasant homesteads, it would be disastrous, and to avert this calamity the settlers have resorted to a number of expedients, but pitted against the forces of nature their efforts are comparatively futile, and although they may hold the waters in check for an indefinite period of time, the odds are all in favour of the Kowhai one day choosing to change its course, and when it does so, no one will be able to say it nay.

Precisely the same process is going on in connection with the Taylor River, on the outskirts of Blenheim, although the danger is not so imminent, for the reason that the drainage area is more limited, and the floods are more intermitten ; but here we have afforded

us probably the best instance of how rivers build up their enormous fans, the merit of the example being that it is sufficiently large to impress us with its magnitude, and small enough for the eye to comprehend it. Let the reader stand on the rise of the road at St. Clair and look up into the river gorge, then down into the lower valley, and the extent of the material carried out on to the plain by this small and erratic mountain torrent at once becomes apparent; yet it is much greater than it seems, for stretching from Blythfield on the west, to the confines of Redwoodtown on the east, its expanding spoil covers an area of many hundreds of acres. Some years ago heated arguments were conducted, both on the platform and in the press, as to whether the old course of this river was not at the foot of the Vernon Hills, and those who, like Mr. William Douslin, supported this view, urged that to turn it back again was the true preventive against its waters seriously inundating the town. As to the accuracy of this contention there can be no doubt, but it would be equally safe to argue that it once flowed on the opposite side of the fan, for at one time and another it has radiated backwards and forwards like a liquid pendulum swinging through the years of time. And now it has reached a stage when it seems disposed to make another change, owing to

the river bed becoming clogged with shingle washed out from the pile of Miocene gravels of which its watershed is composed. Here also artificial works are being set up to check the inclinations of nature, but the permanency of these remedies is very dubious, for since the cause of the water's waywardness is the filling up of its channel, owing to an overplus of debris, the natural direction from which relief must come is the arresting of that spoil for which no convenient repository can be found. The bare and treeless condition of the sources from whence the waters of the Taylor issue offers no resistance to the denuding influence of the elements, and the supplying of this want, by making extensive and suitable plantations, is the most effective antidote which can be provided against that public scourge, known to older and newer Marlborough as a "Taylor flood."

Apart from these important shingle fans, the work of the Kowhai and Taylor Rivers, almost every stream of any magnitude in the province has built up an alluvial platform of greater or less extent. The Conway, the Hapuka, and the Clarence each have their deltas, but considering what an enormous volume of water the latter discharges, it is rather remarkable that it has not spread its fan further seaward, a fact which can only be accounted for by the velocity of the tide,

which sweeping past destroys the handiwork of the river ere it has had time to make its foundations sure. The higher terraces, above the boulder-covered flat by which the Clarence bridge is approached, are not the creation of the river, but are ancient beaches lifted in one of the many elevations which have from time to time taken place, and it was these old sea shores which, on the memorable night of April 11th, 1886, when the ill-fated *Taiaroa** was driven like a beaten warrior upon the sands, loomed dark against the angry sky, and deceived the shipwrecked people into the belief that they were upon a rock-bound coast.

Along the banks of the Upper Awatere there are also extensive flats formed by the river, between the Molesworth and Langridge homesteads, sometimes almost abreast of the water, and again ascending in terraces from fifty to one hundred feet high.

It is, however, in the Lower Awatere that we see this terrace formation to perfection, for here we have as good an illustration of how a river cuts its way down its bed as nature

* It is generally believed that had the passengers and crew remained on board no lives would have been lost, as next morning, when the ship was visited by the men working at the Clarence bridge, they found a monkey and a cat alive, and perfectly contented. The boats were, however, launched, and most of them upset in the surf; some twenty persons in all being drowned. One of the passengers, Gunner Grant, made a most heroic swim for life, and the boats in which Captain Thompson and the mate got away arrived safely at the Wairau Bar next day. A peculiar feature about the wreck was that although a number of women were amongst the lost, not one of their bodies was ever recovered. A few of the bodies of the male passengers were washed ashore, and lie buried in the little cemeteries at the Kekerangu, Woodbank, and Flaxbourne stations.

anywhere affords. At present the Awatere River is confined between high banks of papa rock, but the great grass-covered terraces, which mount one above the other, are but the "golden stairs" by which this swift-running stream* has descended, through successive years, to its present level.

So far the deltas treated of are comparatively insignificant in extent, but when we come to the Wairau Valley we see nature's operations on a more gigantic scale, for here a plain of 65,000 acres in area has been built up almost entirely by river deposit. An observer standing upon the Vernon Hills, and looking first away towards the upper valley, and then out upon Cloudy Bay, cannot but recognise the strong probability that the plain before him, on which some thousands of industrious people find a home, must at one time have been a huge arm of the sea, with its tributary sounds in what are now the Kaituna and Waitohi valleys.

The two agencies which have been responsible for the rescue of this magnificent tract of fertile country from the ocean have been the igneous and aqueous forces, which everywhere mould the world into new shapes in their opposition to each other. The first through its subterranean power has elevated

* The English equivalent for the Maori name Awatere, is "Swift-running stream."

the land, perhaps no considerable distance, but yet sufficient to aid the second which is incessantly engaged in tearing down the hills and mountains in the back country, by the wasting influence of the rains and rivers. These streams have brought down the debris in their floods, until they at length accumulated sufficient material to drive back the sea, and transform the waters of the deep into dry land. How long the process of building up has been going on it is impossible to tell, indeed, it is doubtful whether the human idea of time could adequately express it, but certain it is that what for thousands of years has been nature's method of preparing the plain for human habitation, is still in operation, for no one who knows the Wairau need be told of the heavy deposits of silt which every year are spread over its length and breadth by successive floods.*

Another force which has been as silently and as steadily at work extending the plain into the sea is the action of the river and the tide on the shores of Cloudy Bay. To every resident of Marlborough, the Boulder Bank at the mouth of the Wairau River, is a familiar

* One of the most remarkable evidences of the way in which this plain is being built up was the finding, some five years ago, of an old farm fence buried beneath ten feet of soil, in the neighbourhood of Foster's Channel. In this connection, it is also worthy of note that many years ago, while some workmen were engaged in sinking a well in the Fairhall district, they came upon the partially decayed relics of an ancient raupo swamp, which at one time had flourished above the surface, like an oasis in the desert.

geographical feature, but as familiarity often dulls the sense of enquiry, it may not have occurred to many that in the course of the centuries prior to the advent of man, many hundreds of similar banks have been thrown up as the result of the battle between the waters of the river flowing in one direction, and the tide of the ocean in another. And precisely what has happened so frequently, both before and within human recollection, is happening to-day. During the spring of the year, when the snow is melting on the mountains, and the rivers, charged to overflowing, have broken through the barrier of shingle, or during a south-east gale, when the storm has come whistling round the White Bluff, and the fury of the waves so injured their own handiwork that it has been unable to resist the pressure from behind, the superior power of the river has forced a breach in the battlement and escaped in a more direct line to the sea, only to be again hemmed in by another bank, which in time would also be broken through. The natural result of this process is that every time a new bank is formed, the old one is so much added to the mainland, and in the course of years the former channels are filled up, and the whole becomes covered with silt, on which, as the seasons go round, grass grows, and the earth brings forth its fruit. The conflict

between the waters of the Wairau and the waves of the Pacific, when examined in this way, will satisfactorily account for the presence of such heavy deposits of shingle over on the western foot of the plain where the ancient beaches are still clearly discernible. So long as the river runs and the tide flows, this battle between the waters will result in a profit to the land, and if it only continues long enough, Cloudy Bay will be effaced from the map; just as the great gulf of which it is but the remnant has already been superseded by the plain; and if our spirits are ever permitted to return to earth and walk the paths we now know so well, they will find the shingle banks of to-day as far removed from the sound of the sea as that dismantled ridge of sand hills circling from Riverlands to Tua Marina, whose feet were once laved in the ripple of the Pacific, or perchance as far as that little mound at Fairhall, conspicuous by its isolation, on which Blythfield house is built, and which was once an island set in the heart of the old Sound.

Having thus briefly described the plan upon which the Supreme Builder has raised the geological structure of Marlborough, it is now easy to understand why there is such a marked contrast between the appearance of the country to the north-west of the Wairau River

and that of the opposite side. It is no longer a mystery why, amongst the peaks of the Kaituna and Waitohi, it is not possible to find a travel-worn boulder, except in the beds of the streams, while, on the southern slopes, every hill and spur, even to the highest, is covered with stones ground smooth and round by the action of running water, or why the sharply-defined spires, of which Mounts Richmond* and Strachan are typical representatives, are so clearly cut as compared with the softly-rounded domes and downs of Erina and Avondale. These facts, in a general way, indicate even to a casual observer, a vastly different geological origin for the lands which are severed by the Wairau, and if more particular proofs are required, one has only to contrast the cold, barren clay of the mineral region with the sweet and fertile soil of the pastoral country, the birch-covered spurs of the north with the treeless condition of the south; the presence of gold, sprinkled with tantalizing scarcity in the bed of every creek and the breast of every terrace, with its entire absence the moment foot is set on the plain. It has often been a subject of surprise to strangers, and even to old residents of the

* This mountain is part of the household furniture dedicated by people in all parts of the world to His Satanic Majesty, as it is familiarly known as "The Devil's Arm-chair." The neighbouring hill in the range, Mount Fishtail, derives its name from a huge slip on the Wairau Valley side, which, by a freak of nature, is exactly the shape of a fish's tail, Mount Strachan is called after a former settler in the province, and a member of the Provincial Council.

district, that no trace of gold has ever been found south of the Wairau River, but when it is remembered that the two districts belong to entirely different geological periods, and have been formed in an entirely different way, the element of mystery disappears, and it is thus easily seen why the Wairau River has formed a Rubicon which the diggers' treasure has never been able to cross.

These matters having been disposed of, a word yet remains to be said descriptive of a cause which has at least been an important factor in stamping upon the face of the province many of its present bold and picturesque physical features. As nothing in nature is due to chance, but everything has its basis in some well defined cause, it must not, for instance, be supposed that the formation of those magnificent reaches of water embraced by Queen Charlotte and Pelorus Sounds was due entirely to accident, nor is it permissible to imagine that where a mountain range lifts its lordly head, it does so simply because Dame Nature had more material than she knew what to do with. Similarly valleys and plains originate because corresponding changes are taking place elsewhere, and not because it was their "luck" to be brought into existence. And so when we take a bird's-eye view of the province and see the mountain ranges, rivers, valleys, and sounds, it is but natural that we

should speculate upon the power that conferred on them their being. At one time it was freely accepted as an established fact that the igneous forces were responsible for the mountain chains and the aqueous forces for the valleys, and in a general way this is probably still correct, but of recent years geologists have begun to give some attention to another force which doubtless is but the offspring of the former, and which is technically known as "faulting." These "faults" are simply huge fractures in the earth's crust, and being the lines of greatest weakness are deeply affected during periods of subterranean activity, and therefore in the districts where they have been observed they are popularly known as "earthquake cracks."

Marlborough is the first part of the colony where a systematic and scientific observation of this particular class of geological feature has been made, but these faults are known to affect many other portions of New Zealand, and more especially the whole of the Middle Island. Indeed there is every reason for supposing that far beyond the coast lines of our country the influence of these faults have been most forcibly marked.

It scarcely comes within the limits of our present purpose to enter into a lengthy dissertation upon the probabilities of there having been, at some highly remote period, a vast



LAKE McRAE.



SIR F. WELD, G.C.M.G.

continent in these southern seas stretching in hills and valleys, in mountain ranges, and sweeping plains, from the circle of Antarctica to the more temperate zones, and embracing within its area the Australasian Colonies, as well as their adjacent islands. Yet a careful study of revealed geology will not permit much doubt upon the point, and in the Marlborough of to-day there are not wanting evidences to show that it was then an integral part of this more imposing country.

It cannot for a moment be assumed that the many little outlying islands which dot the waters at the entrance of the Sounds, and which extend in an irregular chain to Stephen's Island, are but the result of a whim of nature. They are undoubtedly the relics of the vanished land which once joined the North and Middle Islands, and being possibly the highest of the hill-tops, have alone survived the great submergence which took place when the Strait was formed. This indicates a continuance of the land away to the northward, and following the same line of reasoning the presence of the Chathams to the eastward, and the Auckland, Bounty, and other islands to the southward, would lead us to conclude that by the submergence of the land the sea has, with these exceptions, been left master of the situation. To the westward, however, the evidences of a lost continent are of a

different character, to which, nevertheless, the physical features of the province conform with even more perfect harmony. Anyone looking critically at the map of the Middle Island will at once notice the peculiar direction in which its rivers and valleys run. In every instance those flowing eastward radiate with more or less regularity from a point slightly to the westward of Hokitika, and with this system of radiation the chief rivers and valleys of Marlborough are in perfect concert, and the deduction one is entitled to make from a circumstance so clearly the result of a natural law, is that at some former time much higher land than we now know of loomed up in the distant west, and by its dominating influence gave the rivers of the east their peculiar direction. Many theories have been advanced to explain why this vast country, which might have become an empire, sunk beneath the waves, but from the traces left on the New Zealand coast, the sliding down of one side of a great fault was immediately responsible for the disappearance of the land adjacent to our present shores. From the fragmentary evidence bequeathed to us, it is concluded that this subsidence took place towards the close of the Miocene, or beginning of the Pliocene period, and it is from this time that the physical features of Marlborough began to assume their present form,

for so great a catastrophe as the drowning of a continent could scarcely fail to deeply affect the surviving land.

Whether the ascertained lines of fault which run through Marlborough were created by the shock which the country received when the whole, or portions of the surrounding territory were submerged, or whether they were simply intensified by the strain, cannot easily be determined, but we have now the clearest evidence that at least four main lines of fracture intersect the province, and, as will be presently shown, have operated in no small degree to make the landscape what it is.

The first and most easterly of these faults appears on the coastline at the mouth of the Flax River, and runs along the seaward base of the Lookers On range, where its vertical displacements are estimated to reach a height of 13,000 feet. From this point it turns in a more westerly direction, and soon passes beyond the limits of the province near the source of the Conway River. The eastward continuation of the line is probably under Cook Strait, re-appearing again in the Wairarapa Valley, where, since settlement began, it has been subject to considerable movement. The second fracture, known as the Great Clarence fault, has been traced the entire length of the Clarence Valley, where its dislocations, in modern times, are clearly discernible over a

distance of fifty-miles, terminating on the coast at Lake Grassmere. To speak of the Awatere line of fault may not convey much to the average reader, but to mention the Awatere "earthquake crack" must sound strikingly familiar to every old resident of the province. This is by far the most important line of fracture, in the sense that owing to its being more frequently in activity during historical times, its course has been the most clearly observed. Between the Taylor Pass road and the coast it is not easily traced through the Dumgree paddocks, but the presence of the pond which has been dignified by the euphonious name of Lake Jasper, at once leads us on to the line on the other side, and from here it is never lost sight of until it intersects with the Flags fault at Glenwye. Finally we come to the line running from end to end of the Wairau Valley, which, in "the early days" was very energetic, as, for instance, during the year of 1855, a year of excessive earthquake activity. The land, which is now covered by the Vernon lagoons, was lowered at least twenty-four inches, and on the Benhopai Station the oscillations of the shocks were so acutely felt that a shepherd at once picked up his swag and left, alleging as his

reason for doing so that "it was time to go when his whare was first on one side of the gully then on the other."

No systematic effort has been made to trace these lines of fault in the neighbourhood of the Sounds, but the finding of a block of coal near Picton thirty-six years ago directed the attention of the geological officers of the colony to this picturesque locality, and during their investigations a fracture was discovered running along the shore of Shakespere Bay, which doubtless has its continuation along Queen Charlotte Sound.

So far as the Wairau fault is concerned, its distinctive features have long since been obliterated by the action of the rivers, but its presence is none the less pressed upon public notice by the frequency of the earth tremors felt in the vicinity of Blenheim, which lies between two of the most virulent fractures in the colony. That to the southward is, however, distinctly different, for in the Awatere the "fault" is clearly defined, sometimes and in some places more clearly than in others. For many years it was popularly supposed that this "crack" was first opened in 1848, or 1855,* years in which Marlborough was as rudely shaken by earthquakes as the Amuri was in 1888 by that remarkable series of

* Note.—A writer describing the effect of the 1855 earthquakes upon the Upper Awatere, says: "On the Fairfield Downs, a fissure was opened as far as the eye could reach, and perfectly straight."

shocks which destroyed buildings and fences at Glenwye. There can, however, be but little doubt that these shocks did but re-open lines of fracture which existed long antecedent to the settlement of the country by Europeans, and that their displacements were trivial compared with the movements of former times.

These movements seem to consistently take two forms, that of creating an elevation of the land on the one hand, and a corresponding depression on the other, the former being usually on the north western side of the fault line. If this be not the result of mere coincidence, we can attribute the elevation of the once green, but now bare and ungenerous looking Vernon Hills, to the convulsions of the Awatere fault, and the rearing of the majestic Kaikouras to the titanic activity and giant power of the Flags and Clarence fractures. The acceptance of such a theory necessitates the belief that the Kaikoura Ranges are, geologically speaking, comparatively modern additions to the provincial scenery, and while such a thesis may be in contravention to many pre-conceived ideas, it is nevertheless the simplest answer to two problems which otherwise are inexplicable.

If the Kaikoura Mountains had existed in what is known as the Cretaceo-tertiary times,

we would not find, as we do to-day, that the great limestone deposits of that period are absolutely cut in twain by this giant battlement of hills, upon whose crests no trace of cretaceous rocks can be found. Neither would we find the younger rocks driven under the older ones, as they are in many cases, thus completely reversing the natural order of the strata. Presuming also that the Kaikoura Ranges were non-existent in the Miocene times, it is easy to understand how triassic rocks, which alone could be derived from the head of the Conway, should be found amongst the conglomerates high up on the crown of the Chalk Range, one hundred miles away from the parent beds, but which could then be carried over the plain by a huge river or giant glacier.

Finally, it is self-evident that if these mountains had lifted their heads in glory during the great Ice age, their sides and base would have been deeply engraved with the markings of the glaciers. But no such tracery is found upon them, and therefore from this marshalling of facts we are entitled to conclude that even as late as Miocene times the provincial scenery was very different from what it is to-day. The southern portion of the province, at least, was low in level, and the general contour of the country was flat and uninteresting. Of hills there were few,

and mountains there were none; but in the Pliocene period, after the volcanic era had passed away, changes, upon a stupendous scale, commenced to take place. Then the subterranean power began to galvanise the lines of weakness into activity, and in a series of great earthquakes, manifesting enormous pressure, thrust the Kaikoura Mountains up in the midst of the lime-covered plain, leaving portions of the white rock in the Clarence Valley, and the other on the sea coast; at the same time altering the courses of the rivers, the inclinations of the valleys, and the general configuration of the country in a way that one can scarcely conceive.

No portion of Marlborough is so interesting as the County of the Sounds, both for its quiet beauty and historical associations, while in a geological sense it is not less entertaining, for no one could sail up its beautiful fiords without being lost in admiration and impressed with the marvellous power which gave them their form and structure. Various theories have been evolved to account for this network of land and water, but the most plausible seems to be that the Sounds of to-day were once valleys shut in by high hills, and that in the general subsidence which took place when Cook Strait was formed, the whole of the northern part of Marlborough was deeply affected, and, although not entirely submerged,

was so reduced in level as to make deep-sea channels of what might previously have been compared to Scottish glens.

The dislocated nature of the strata throughout the Sounds County shows clearly that at some time it has been subjected to considerable movement, while the appearance of the Kaituna Valley, with its low even level from mouth to mouth, at once suggests an old sea channel dried up by an elevation of its bed, and smoothed over by the washings from the hills. Even now, with a phenomenally high tide in the Pelorus, there is scarcely saddle enough to prevent the waves rolling through to the Wairau, and again meeting with those of Cloudy Bay. Much the same thing applies to the Waitohi Valley, which, as far as Mount Pleasant, gives every indication of having, in olden times, been an arm of the deep bay that ran as far inland as Onamalutu, though exactly how far the opposite power to that which created the larger sounds is responsible for destroying these smaller ones it is difficult to say, but it is not unreasonable to believe that they are very closely associated.

Ever since, the process of change has been going on uninterruptedly, but nature has never again put forth such stupendous efforts, being content to work on a much more humble scale. The rivers have gradually reclaimed the land from the sea, the waste places have

been clothed in a sward of green, while the forests have been growing in the Pelorus* for many thousands of years, furnishing a home for the giant moa, the diminutive weka, and a habitation for man, whose history we shall now endeavour to trace.

* Note.—Whether the district of the Awatere, and further south, was ever heavily timbered with forest trees is a matter of doubt, but the writer has been frequently told by those who have mustered over the country in the early days, that on the tops of the highest hills large totara logs were to be seen, and the following extract from a letter written by Lieut-Governor Eyre, who ascended within fifty feet of the summit of Mount Tapaenuku, in November, 1849, and had one of his Maori servants killed in the ascent, confirms the statement—"There is little vegetation on the hills but mosses, lichens, and some coarse grasses, besides prickly plants, of which the Taramea is the chief, but the singular fact was that on so steep and high a hill, where nothing but moss and lichens grow, were the charred remains of large totara trees, evidently showing that the ground had once been low and covered with forest, and that it has been pushed up within a comparatively recent geological period." The fact that these remains of trees are generally described as being charred, suggests the idea that the forests, after the advent of man, were destroyed by fire, but it is peculiar that no tradition of such a forest has been preserved, or that the remains of trees are not found anywhere but on the tops of the hills. In opposition to the theory that the trees grew on the hill sides, it has been remarked that the trunks are generally laid in lines, giving them the appearance of drift timber deposited on the mountain side by water.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANCIENT PIT DWELLERS.

I see a column of slow rising smoke
O'ertop the lofty wood that skirts the wild,
A vagabond and useless tribe there eat
Their miserable meal.

A learned writer has stated as the result of his reading and observation that "no country is found desert, by an invading, or migrating race, and that no race however long established, and however indigenous it may deem itself, but will be found to have come from somewhere else, if we can only get back far enough to find out." This conclusion, though not so intended, is distinctly applicable to New Zealand, for it helps to refute an assumption formerly popular both in the Maori and European minds, that this country was destitute of human inhabitants before the arrival of the first historical migration from Hawaiki, conducted by Kupe, the Viking captain of the Matawhaorua canoe. The motive that prompted the Maoris to suppress all knowledge of their predecessors, and induced their *tohungas* to ignore all reference to

them in the recital of the tribal genealogies, was altogether one of sentiment, for there is nothing a Maori is so jealous of as the possession of a pure and noble pedigree. No Englishman, whose ancestors "came over with the Conqueror," could be more proud of his descent than the Maori who can claim amongst his progenitors a prominent Pilgrim Father, who sought a new home in one of the "expedition" canoes; and it was the mortal fear that it might be supposed they had sprung from the original, and therefore from an inferior race, that caused them to obscure the existence of a previous people.

There is, however, a steadily growing chain of evidence to support the idea of an older race than the Maori, quite apart from tradition, and one of the most important links in the chain is the fact that nowhere else in the Pacific are there to be found men capable of producing those beautiful carvings of spiral patterns that abound in Maoriland on the heads of the war canoes, or the lintels and rafters of the wharepunis. Nor do we elsewhere find a people who indulge in that peculiar conception of beautification known as *moko*, or tattooing the face. The absence of these arts in other islands incline one to the belief that they must have grown up spontaneously among the Maori people after their arrival here, or have been acquired from

the then resident race, whose present day descendants in the Chatham Islands have lost these accomplishments in the stress of persecution, or the unfavourable nature of their new surroundings.

Tradition, however vaguely, speaks of two races, both anterior to the Maori, the red-headed Turehu, whom the story relegates to fairy land, and the Moriori, of whose blood a strain is sometimes seen in a dark complexioned square-featured native, whose physique and countenance seem to indicate a union, by intermarriage, of the two races.

These Morioris were evidently a milder-mannered and more generous people than the sea rovers from Hawaiki, and if we are to attach any value to the somewhat doubtful narrative of *Sieur De Gonneville*, a French navigator, who would seem to suggest that he spent some six months among them in 1503, and was received "with veneration and treated with friendship," we must believe that they were "a simple people, desiring to lead a life of happiness without much labour." Certainly the results harmonise with this description, for at no period do they appear to have displayed warlike proclivities, or produced a leader able enough to resist, even with temporary success, the aggression of the Maori, who, within one hundred and twenty-years of their landing, had wrested

from them the whole government of the islands, and reduced the survivors of the inter-tribal wars to a condition of vassalage, if not of actual slavery.

It is, however, not so much with the general history of the Moriori people that we are concerned, as with their sojourn in Marlborough, before they were driven in desperation to choose between a long and dangerous voyage to the Chathams and extermination at the hands of the warlike adventurers from Polynesia. Unfortunately there are few traditions, and no historical records, preserved by the living natives concerning these people. We are, therefore, compelled to look to the silent witnesses they have left behind them, and read their story as best we may from the monuments which have survived destruction, exactly as our contemporaries in the Mother land read the unwritten history of the ancient Briton by the aid of the discovered relics of the Stone Age, for only as recently as forty-five years ago, no portion of the colony had more the appearance of "a great lone land" than the County of the Sounds of to-day, which was then simply a tract of mountainous forest-clad country, within which a number of small artificial clearings had at some time been made. A

few of these clearings were under cultivation, the remainder being overgrown with fern, scrub, and small trees. Along the shores of the Sounds these abandoned cultivations, always near the water, were particularly conspicuous, the brown fern and bright-foliaged shrubs covering them, contrasting well with the darker green of the tall forest trees which everywhere on the land side surrounded them like a wall. Excepting these silent witnesses, there was little to indicate that the lonely reaches of water had ever been disturbed by man; the dense forest that filled the numerous valleys and clothed the hills from base to summit when examined internally and externally, having all the appearance of a primeval growth. But time has proved that the Sounds were not always as solitary as when the Europeans began to settle on their shores; the depopulation to which the overgrown clearings testified was only a repetition of what had taken place at some remote period on a much larger scale.

As will be seen in a future chapter, when Captain Cook entered Queen Charlotte Sound in 1770, and again in 1773, he remarked that the natives were subsisting exclusively on fern-root and fish, having no land in cultivation, though in the North Island he had observed considerable areas under crop. As the deserted gardens are not confined to the

Pelorus Sound, some still being visible in Endeavour Inlet close to Cook's old anchorage, we must conclude the land was cleared since his time. This conclusion has been curiously confirmed by a discovery on the shore of Tawhitinui Reach, Pelorus Sound. In a hollow hinau tree, on the edge of a scrub-patch called locally the Maori garden, Mr Mills, the present proprietor of the ground, found a broken bayonet, the breech of a gun-barrel, and part of a small worthless hatchet, trade goods of early European days, and several other scraps of iron, evidently a treasure-trove of the time when iron was first introduced. The Maori garden, lately covered with a dense growth of kohekohe about six inches in diameter, and various shrubs corresponding exactly with the deserted clearings throughout the Sound, show that a revival of agriculture must have taken place early in the present, or towards the close of the last century, a result probably due to the introduction of potatoes.

About 1855 the destruction of the forest on the shores of the Pelorus Sound, to create artificial pasturage, was commenced, and has gone on uninterruptedly with constantly increasing activity, a larger area having been cleared during the last ten, than in the preceding twenty years. In addition to the destruction for farming purposes, several



AN OLD PIT DWELLING.



PELORUS RIVER.

large sawmills have worked in the district. Thus excepting the birch, nearly all the marketable timber has been removed and some thousands of acres are now in grass. This uncovering of the land has brought to light traces of human occupation wholly unexpected. Scattered over the steep hill-sides and on the small flats; pits, terraces, shell heaps, cooking places, sepulchral mounds, stone implements, and other relics have been discovered in numbers that testify as plainly to a large population as do the ruined cities in other lands. Of these remains, the pits, owing to their unmistakably artificial origin and their wide distribution, were the first to attract attention, the names *kumara* pit, and rifle pit being given them; some concluding they had been used for concealing food, others that they were defensive works, the fact that large forest-trees were growing in as well as around many of them being overlooked.

Although many pits are found without terraces, and where none are required, and there are a few terraces in which no pit has been sunk, they are so commonly associated, and so plainly portions of the same work that they can be best described together. The pits, always rectangular in form and with perpendicular sides, are of two sorts, single and double. The single pit being merely an

excavation varying greatly in size, the largest measuring eighteen feet by ten, the smallest and least numerous, only five feet square ; the general depth is about four feet, though some are much deeper. The double pit consisting of two single pits placed end to end in a straight line, and separated by a wall or solid block of ground two to four feet wide. These pits, sometimes solitary, sometimes grouped in regular order, always occupy elevated situations on sloping hill-sides or on high flat-topped points of land. Unlike the almost inaccessible *pahs* on Motuara Island and elsewhere, described by Cook, all could be easily approached, while many were commanded by higher ground. On the sloping hill-sides, before a pit was sunk, the ground was carefully levelled or terraced. The terraces being always much longer and about three feet wider than the pit, allowing between it and the bank at the rear a foot or so of level ground. The bank or wall, generally about three feet high, was always levelled at the top so as to form a narrow horizontal ledge, behind which the hill rose naturally.

In a series of pits and terraces on the spur of a hill, close to Mr. Peter McMahan's residence at Kenepuru, these details can be plainly made out. At the foot of the spur which separates two small valleys, on nearly

level ground, the series commence with a double pit, having a dividing wall four feet wide, this is followed by another double pit, the dividing wall being only two feet wide. Above the pits where the ground begins to be steep, is a crescent-shaped terrace, sixty feet long and nine feet wide, on it there is no pit; the second contains one large pit; the next cut straight across the spur, as are those above it, contains a single pit; the fourth, a double pit with small compartments; the fifth, a single pit; and the sixth, about two hundred feet above sea-level, a single pit. In profile the spur has the appearance of a gigantic staircase. On the hill-sides, east and west of the small valleys, many pits, single and double, are scattered, all similar in their construction to those upon the spur.

When Mr. McMahan settled on his holding, the land now cleared was covered with dense bush in which there were but few large timber trees, and amongst the pits and terraces hinau and towai trees are now standing, many of the hinaus being hollow.

In Crail Bay a spur still uncleared is occupied by a group of pits, the largest being eighteen feet long by ten feet wide and eight feet deep, another close by measuring nine feet by eighteen. These remains occupy the upper portion of a steep narrow spur separating two small valleys, the highest pit being

about 150 feet above the sea-level. In outline and internal arrangement, the fifth in descending order is unlike any other discovered. Instead of the ordinary two rooms with a partition between, it consists of two rectangular portions, one fifteen feet by eleven, and six feet six inches deep, the other eighteen feet by eight feet six inches, only four feet six inches deep; without any partition, the two portions forming one stair shaped chamber, the floor of the upper step inclining slightly towards the lower portion, of which the floor is perfectly horizontal. In the construction of this abode, or whatever it may have been, more than 700 cubic feet of rock were removed, the material being used in raising the walls and levelling the outer margin of the pit, the site having been originally steep. Throughout, the walls of the chamber are perfectly perpendicular, the angles sharply cut, and the floor even, especially the raised portion, or dais.

On the artificially made ground at one of the lower corners of the chamber a beech tree, measuring ten feet three inches in circumference, four feet from the ground, is now standing. One of the main roots runs down the side and across the floor of the pit, showing that it must have grown since the place was abandoned.

On Whatamanga Point, Queen Charlotte

Sound, the remains of a pit twenty-one feet by sixteen feet, as well as several of ordinary type, may be seen, while at other places along the shores of the sound, on D'Urville's and Arapawa Islands, at Vernon and the Clarence, similar remains are to be found, in some places more numerous than in others.

At Moetapu, on the Elephant Rock, a low knoll standing out in the sea, there are four pits, in one of which the remains of wood-work are still discernible. From it we learn that the pit had been lined with the trunks of fern-trees set up perpendicularly. On the ledge at the top of the back wall there is the remains of a totara slab in a very decayed state. To form the ledge, the large root of a birch tree had to be cut through; the stump of the tree rotted down level with the ground being still visible. These remains seem to indicate that the pit was in use within a comparatively recent period; but in another pit lower down an unusually large matipo, an extremely slow-growing tree, is standing. Beside this, near the edge, there is a full-grown birch having its roots projecting over the margin, thus showing that it had grown since the pit was dug; indeed it is probable that all the trees now covering the knoll have sprung up since the place was abandoned.

Even on small islands, destitute of water like the Trias, in Cook Strait, and Mabel*

* So named after the eldest daughter of his Excellency Governor Gore Browne, the first Governor to visit the province.

Island, in Picton harbour, these remains may still be seen. In the north end of the Kaituna Valley, near Havelock, a few pits are found scattered over the hill-sides, but strange to say none have as yet been found in the valley of the Pelorus, although other evidences of human occupation at a very remote period have been discovered there.

On Horohoro-kaka Island, Port Underwood, four pits have been cut out of the rock. These excavations, the largest only four feet by five feet six inches, could not have been habitations. Sunk in sloping ground, the site had not been levelled either by excavating or filling up. The depth has not been ascertained, but it exceeds six feet. For whatever purpose these pits were intended, a site where the rock is close to the surface was evidently selected. On higher ground close by, where traces of other pits can be seen, there is a considerable depth of clay. Horohoro-kaka Island, about an acre in extent, is flat-topped, the sides being in most places nearly perpendicular, the average elevation about 100 feet. Mr. John Guard, who has resided in Port Underwood over fifty years, remembers this little island being occupied by a strongly-fortified *pah*,

where the natives took refuge when attacked by their enemies from the South.

Whether the pits belong to the same period as the *pah*, which was not erected until after whalers began to frequent the port, there is no means of ascertaining. In the remains of a village discovered in April, 1896, at the head of Matai Bay, Tennyson Inlet, Mr. Rutland found on the floor of a dwelling ashes and charcoal, the clay beneath being burnt to a depth that showed it had for some time been a fireplace. Though elsewhere he discovered traces of fire in these pits, the number examined is too small to justify any conclusion.

The consistency with which these artificial excavations occupy the sunny side of almost every bay throughout the Sounds County, has naturally given rise to a great deal of speculation as to the part they played in the daily lives of the people who expended such pains and labour to hew them out with their primitive implements. As already mentioned, uses both military and domestic have been attributed to them, but in 1894 Mr. Joshua Rutland first advanced the theory that they were the dwelling places of the ancient Moriori people, the first inhabitants of the province. This suggestion will probably never pass beyond the realm of theory, because it is now incapable of positive proof, and for this

reason it has not been unreservedly accepted by all scholars of Polynesian history and habits, but it is supported by a series of facts so strong and reasonable in their nature that the case for it is much more convincing than that against it.

As a general rule these pits are so situated together as to at once convey the idea of a village where the inhabitants congregated together for the purposes of protection and intercourse, while the care that was evidently bestowed upon their construction, their sides being perfectly rectangular, their floors truly levelled, and the terraces round their sides most carefully built, indicates that they were intended for more than casual use, nay, the fact that they were generally cut in places where the rock is near the surface is distinctly suggestive of permanency; and the choice of site, on the dry spurs with a northern aspect, is highly consistent with what even a barbarous people would prefer as the location of their homes, be they ever so rude.

The traditions of the Pelorus natives are, however, more reliable than speculations of this kind as a guide to the solution of the problem, for misty as they are, so much of them have been confirmed as to justify credence being given to the remainder. According to the Pelorus Maoris, their ancestors, on entering the district, found it

tenanted by a small dark-complexioned Maori-speaking people, who cultivated the ground, resided on the hills, the pits being the remains of their dwellings, and had only very small canoes, which, when not in use, they drew up on the hills by means of ropes. The ancient inhabitants were, in addition, unwarlike, but skilful in various arts, notably the working of greenstone, which their conquerors acquired from them. Throughout the Pelorus Sound the old pit villages are everywhere contiguous to land suitable for agricultural purposes. Though most of the land was recently covered with large forest trees, wherever this land has been brought into cultivation by Europeans, stone implements, often buried deep in the soil, are found, suggesting that the ground had at some former period been cleared; for it is certain that the Pelorus was a forest district when the settlers first entered it. But it is from the far away Chathams that we learn most concerning these ancient pit dwellings and their occupants, for the natives of those islands have had handed down to them a record of how their ancestors formerly lived at Arapawa, but were driven from the Sounds by the invasions from the north, and they give as one reason why the Hawaikians despised and ill-treated them, that they "burrowed," surely an unmistakeable reference to their sunken

houses. How these old pit dwellings were roofed cannot be positively ascertained, that portion of the structure having everywhere entirely disappeared. Only indirectly therefore is it possible to arrive at what it was like. The heavy rainfall of the Pelorus district precluding the possibility of a flat roof, we are forced to conclude that a sloping roof of some description was used. Neither is there anything left to show by what means an entrance was effected, as doorways or apertures of any kind seem to have been entirely absent.

But on these two points a description of the Moriori dwellings at the Chatham Islands, as they appeared when Europeans first began to visit them, is sufficient to clear up all doubts. These houses, if such they could be called, were only made of a few poles reared together over a circular pit two or three feet deep, covered in with sods, thus forming a cone-shaped hut, with a small hole on the north side just large enough for a man to creep through, which was afterwards closed with a bundle of sedge or other substance.

As the Moriori people would naturally carry their habits and customs with them in their flight across the sea, and continue them as far as their new conditions would permit, this description is doubtless an accurate replica of their former homes in

New Zealand, and if so, bears out in a remarkable way Mr. Rutland's contention.

Next to the Chatham Islanders, the nearest approach we find to the habitations of the Moriori people are the dwelling places of the Koro-pok-kuru, who at some remote period occupied a portion of the Japanese Archipelago and the Kurile Islands, and of which Savage Landor gives the following particulars in his work "Alone with the Hairy Ainu" :—

"The pit dwellers do not seem to have been particular as to the shape of these dwellings, though they evidently had a predilection for the elliptical or rectangular forms. The pits at Kushiro are nearly all rectangular, while those from Appeshi to Nemuro are either rectangular or circular. The average dimensions of rectangular pits are about twelve feet by nine feet, but I have seen some as large as sixteen feet by twelve feet. The sides slope inwards, and the average depth is from three to six feet. Pits that are situated on cliffs or at any height are generally deeper, probably for the extra shelter required by those living at an altitude compared with those living at the sea level. The round pits are from ten to fourteen feet in diameter, and the elliptical have a length of about sixteen feet, and are about eight feet at the widest part of the ellipse." The Moriori people were un-

doubtedly an offshoot of the Polynesian race, and as they were not the only pit dwellers residing on the shores of the Pacific, it is possible that at some very remote period, and in some indirect way, they may have acquired their primitive ideas of architecture from the inhabitants of the Kurile Islands, with whom communication may since have been severed by the altered condition of the Pacific Ocean. But whatever their mode of introduction may have been, the fact that our slow-growing forest trees have now covered them, proves that these pits have not been in use in New Zealand for some hundreds of years, but there can be little doubt that the natives were right in saying that they were dwellings.

Long before Cook reached these shores the great social change had taken place which delivered the ancient Arapawa into the hands of the restless and warlike Maori people, who practised neither the arts nor the industries of their predecessors. They were conquerors, or they were nothing, and the spirit of conquest which brought them ended in a policy of expulsion; the weak and inoffensive Moriori were driven out, and then covetousness and tribal pride added to the hideous anarchy, for after they had exhausted the aborigines they sought new adventures in plundering each other, and when tired of

plunder they fought for precedence. The business of bloodshed gave no time for the cultivation of the land, and the lack of opportunity soon destroyed the inclination. And so it came about that the cultivations of the Moriori people were allowed to fall into decay, but as nature is never idle, the land was soon covered with vegetation of another kind, and all trace of the original inhabitants was buried amidst the trees and undergrowth of the ever-spreading forest.

In addition to these deserted dwellings of the exiled people, there are necessarily many other evidences of the former occupation of the Sounds County, of which a most interesting account has been preserved to us by Mr. Rutland.

Shortly after settling in the Pelorus Valley, his attention was directed to a black horizontal seam in a perpendicular clay bank, formed by the encroachment of the Pelorus River on a small island at the head of the tide-way. The seam consisted of charcoal mixed with burnt stones and large mussel-shells, the whole evidently the remains of a cooking place. From one of the shells examined the lime portion had almost disappeared, but the more durable horny cuticle was intact. Above this ancient cooking place there was about three feet of solid clay, over which again stood a large matai tree more than three feet

in diameter, from which we may conclude that it was four hundred years old. Between the time when the fire was lighted and the discovery of the remains thirty-eight years ago, the clay must have accumulated and the matai sprung into existence, but more than that, the narrow channel separating the island from the mainland must have been still narrower, or probably it was not the bed of the Pelorus when the old inhabitants tarried beside it to cook their food. It could be plainly seen when the seam of charcoal attracted the attention, that the island had been a point of land severed from the mainland by the river working its way into a stream that drained a small gully a little to the westward. The wide shallow channel on the south side of the island, now only carrying water in flood-time, is plainly the old Pelorus bed. This was the first indication that the district had been longer inhabited than was commonly supposed. Subsequently the washing away of the clay bank continuing, exposed the burnt earth and stones of a Maori *kapa* (or oven) ten feet below the surface of the island, showing that at some period a filling up or raising of the land had taken place, and that men had occupied the spot occasionally or regularly during the time the reclaiming process was going on.

The second discovery was made on Mr. Rutland's place, Te Patoa. In carrying a line of fencing through the bush, the large root of a matai had to be cut through in order to sink a post-hole. Near the bottom of the hole, two feet deep, burnt stones and earth, the remains of a Maori *kapa*, were found; the position of the tree showing it had grown since the oven was in use. Everywhere throughout the district these cooking places have been unearthed under similar circumstances. Lately one was pointed out in North West Bay, with the stump of a very large towai projecting partly over it; close by, a very large stone axe was found protruding from the ground. As the *kapas* continued in use until superseded by the *kohua*, or iron pot, they are of any age; frequently we can only gather from them where the former inhabitants have been, but not when. In the Upper Pelorus Valley, fourteen miles inland, several have been observed along with stone implements. As widely dispersed as the *kapas*, and, like them, belonging to all periods, are the numerous shell-heaps or kitchen-middens. In some the shells are quite fresh, even the perishable pauas not having lost their brilliant colours; in others the shells have crumbled into indistinguishable fragments. Though found on the hill-sides and inland, the shell-heaps are most numerous near the sea-shore,

where they have been discovered with large forest trees growing over them, such as the pukatea and the rimu, which in the Sounds grows on the low level lands.

The most positive evidence yet obtained that the Pelorus Valley was inhabited prior to the growth of the present generation of forest trees was furnished by a stone implement discovered by the Messrs. Dalton, while clearing a piece of land for the plough. Upon digging out the stump of a matai tree, about three feet in diameter, they found embedded in the under portion of the wood a chisel-shaped tool now in Mr. Rutland's possession. This implement of grey chert, nine inches long, two and a half inches wide, and one and a half inches thick, is well polished and had been used, the edge being notched, but not broken beyond re-sharpening. Just as stones are frequently embedded in the roots of trees through the wood growing round round them, this interesting relic of some long-forgotten individual was entombed. Some time previous to this discovery a very rude implement, merely a long round water-worn stone having a four-sided point at one end, was dug out at Te Patoa from beneath a matai stump over four feet through. These discoveries made upon adjoining blocks of land, both belonging to a remote period in the history of the district, are important.



PELORUS FOREST.



WILLIAM ADAMS.
FIRST SUPERINTENDENT.

They warn us against concluding that the very rough unpolished tools found everywhere are the remains of a ruder people than the later inhabitants—they may have been merely made for work that did not require a more finished implement. Mr. Rutland has collected several, weighing from two and a half to four pounds, which have been in use; they are probably mattocks required to work the heavy land of the district. The smaller tools of the same character, so plentiful along the beaches of the Sounds, may have been hastily chipped out for an emergency, and thrown away after they had served their purpose.

In all parts of the districts and the neighbouring sounds, stone implements have been dug from beneath large forest trees, but as they have not been collected for comparison with more modern implements, we do not know whether new patterns have been introduced since the land was first peopled. Amongst the numbers of stone articles scattered over the land or buried in the soil, certain sorts are extremely scarce; thus out of a great many examined, three made of a white, close-grained quartz only have been found. One of these is a large adze highly finished and peculiarly shaped; of the other chisels, one is well polished, the second incomplete. More than a dozen kinds of stone were used in the manufacture of ornaments, weapons, and

tools. Of these, greenstone, obsidian, pumice, and diorite were imported, the remainder being probably found in the district.

We do not know of any greenstone article being found actually beneath a large forest tree, but two small implements have been ploughed out, one from eight inches, the other over a foot below the surface of the ground, where heavy bush was standing thirty years ago. Near the coast a greater number of these articles are discovered than inland, most being found where large trees were till lately standing. These greenstone articles, whether ornaments or implements, have invariably been sawn out, not chipped. A large lump of the stone found in a small valley called Kaikumara, in the estuary of the Pelorus, had a slab partly sawn off, evidently with some very clumsy apparatus, the irregular cut being in places half an inch wide.

Amongst the relics which have come into Mr. Rutland's possession is a rough unfinished *mere*, made of mica schist, the rock of which the country between Queen Charlotte Sound and the Pelorus Sound is composed. This formidable looking weapon, resembling an ordinary looking *mere* in shape, is fifteen inches long, five and a half wide, and one inch through in its thickest part. The blade, sharp on one side and thick on the other, is

rounded at the end. Admiralty Bay, where this relic was picked up, is of the schistose formation; the weapon, or the material of which it is composed, must, therefore, have been taken from some other part of the district. Besides the *meres* described, other weapons of the common country stone have been discovered on the shores of the Sound. A portion of one in Mr. Rutland's collection is of coarse sandstone, and resembles a Dyak *mandau* in shape. To what period in the history of the district these implements belong—whether they were lost before any of the forest trees round about (our only time-keepers) took possession of the ground—cannot now be ascertained.

A few relics discovered show that the inhabitants of the Pelorus were as forward in the art of carving as any New Zealand tribe. About twenty years ago a statuette four inches high, of a red material, resembling hard pottery, was dug up in a burying-ground at the head of Mahakipaoa Bay.* Unfortunately this valuable relic was again lost or destroyed. According to the description given to me by the finder, Mr. Henderson, now residing at Kenepuru Sound, it was a well-executed bust, the face unmistakably resembling a Maori. Not far from the burying-ground a small head

* This locality is now commonly called Mahakipawa, and is well known through the discovery of gold there in 1888; but its proper rendering should be Mahakipaoa, meaning smoke rising calmly and placidly, as in a steady column not blown about by the wind.

of a soft dark stone was found, and is still preserved. The face, fairly executed, is more Simian than human.

From the same locality a well-finished greenstone *kuru*, or ear ornament, intended to represent some animal, has been brought. Another *kuru* of the same material, plainly resembling a fish, was picked up in the Pelorus Valley on the terrace-land far back from the river. Near the same place some large stone implements have been discovered, showing that the ground, until lately covered with heavy forest, must at some time have been inhabited.

For ornaments, as well as weapons, the common stone of the district was at some period used. Near the Maori garden before mentioned, Mr. Mills found a *kuru*, in shape and size like a pencil, about two inches long, made of brown slate. This unique relic may belong to the time when the better description of stone these islands furnish had not been discovered.

Besides the ancient pits and the recovered weapons, we have yet another evidence of the former occupation of the Sounds district, which spans the gulf between the living and the dead, and affords interesting food for reflection. In February, 1893, Mr. Rutland was informed by Mr. Joseph McMahan that at

Ferndale, Kenepuru, there were a number of mounds or heaps of clay, supposed to be graves. As the pits and terraces already described showed that the locality had formerly been inhabited by a people differing in their habits from the modern Maoris, he was anxious to obtain a few skulls for comparisons. Accordingly, accompanied by Mr. McMahan and his nephew, he visited the place mentioned. On a steep, fern-clad hill-side, facing the east, they discovered the mounds, which were plainly artificial, and commenced the examination by digging carelessly into one of small size near the base of the hill. Instead of the bones expected, they soon discovered that the mound contained nothing but a quantity of ashes and charcoal, evidently the remains of a large fire, over which the clay had been heaped. Perplexed and disappointed, they decided to open another of larger dimensions standing half a chain higher up the hill. This mound, ovoid in form, was about fourteen feet long, seven wide, and five feet deep in the highest part. Immediately above it on the hill-side was a large irregular-shaped hole choked with black vegetable matter that had accumulated since it was dug. In this hole, which they cleared out, nothing was discovered. Between the margin of the hole and the edge of the mound there was a

narrow level path about two feet wide.

A careful examination showed that the mound, consisting of clay mixed with small fragments of the mica schist, of which the hill is composed, rested on a layer of ashes and charcoal six or eight inches deep. In the first place, they could see that a site had been dug out in which a very large fire, judging by the remains, was made. When it had burned down or gone out, clay taken from the hole at the rear was heaped over the ashes without being intermingled with them. Besides the smaller mound first opened, there are close by two others in every way similar, and a small piece of ground artificially levelled, where another mound might have been raised. Higher up the hill, on the same spur, there is a second group of mounds, and still higher a third group, while beyond a small gully there are about twenty, and on the western slope of the hill four; one very large mound crowning a naturally level spot on the summit.

In the ashes nothing was detected, but portions of it were caked together as if it contained some adhesive substance. As the mounds were certainly not cooking places, and such an amount of labour would not have been expended merely to cover up the remains of an ordinary fire, it was concluded that the mounds were monuments raised over

the ashes of persons who had been cremated on the spot. A small quantity of ashes taken from the larger mound opened, and sent to Wellington for analysis, contained fatty matter, supposed to be porpoise blubber, and splinters of bones supposed to be those of fish. Though this at first seemed irreconcilable with the theory of cremation, the information collected by Mr. R. E. M. Campbell, and published in an article on "Cremation amongst the Maori," proves it was, next to the discovery of human remains in the mounds, the most conclusive evidence that they are sepulchral monuments. After giving his authorities, in this very interesting article, Mr. Campbell describes the process of cremation adopted by the Ngati-apa tribe, of the North Island, as follows:—"When a member of the tribe died, a place was selected in some secluded spot, and, a large quantity of fuel having been prepared during the day, a fire was lighted as soon as night fell, so that the smoke should not be seen, and when well under way the corpse was placed on it. All kinds of fat, including that of the porpoise when procurable, was added to increase the heat. The greatest care was taken to secure a perfect incineration of the body, and that every bit of the wood, even, should be completely consumed."

Shortly after the discovery at Ferndale,

several natives belonging to the Pelorus, Rangitoto, Waikawa, and the North Island were questioned, and from all the same information was received, namely, that cremation had formerly been frequently practised by the Maoris, to prevent the bones of their people being carried away and converted into fish-hooks by their enemies. The enquirer was also told that on Rangitoto Island, a place is still pointed out where Rauparaha cremated one of his wives, who died on the island during his wars of extermination, but no mound marks the spot. Subsequently, Mr. Joseph Hypolite, of Rangitoto Island, whose great-grandfather on the mother's side, had been cremated, ascertained that when the custom was in vogue, after the body had been laid on the funeral pile the nearest relative applied the fire, or if there was no relative the ceremony was performed by the head or chief person of the tribe present. After the fire was lighted, if the smoke began to scatter it was regarded as an ill-omen, or that death would soon claim another victim. If, on the contrary, the smoke gently ascended, it was a good omen, the friends standing round calling out, "Mahaki-paoa! Mahaki-paoa!" piled on more fuel. When the mounds were raised, desecration of their graves, as remarked by Mr. Campbell, could not have been dreaded

by the inhabitants of the Pelorus. It seems, therefore, inconsistent to suppose that the fat, fish, etc., were merely thrown in to increase the heat of the fire in order that the bones of the corpse as well as the flesh might be consumed. Their presence in the ashes proves that they could not have been added until the fire was nearly, or quite extinguished. Probably they were votive offerings, and the complete reduction of the body to ashes may have had a religious meaning.

“ High on the top the manly corpse they lay,
And well-fed sheep, and sable oxen slay ;
Achilles covered with their fat the dead,
And the piled victims round the body spread ;
Then jars of honey, and of fragrant oil,
Suspend around, low bending o’er the pile.
Four sprightly coursers, with a deadly groan,
Pour forth their lives, and on the pyre are thrown.
Of nine large dogs, domestic at his board,
Fall two, selected to attend their lord.
As a poor father, helpless and undone,
Mourns o’er the ashes of an only son,
Takes a sad pleasure the last bones to burn,
And pour in tears, ere yet they close the urn.”

—*The Iliad*, Book xxiii.

Since their first discovery, sepulchral mounds have been observed in various parts of the Sounds. On a hill-side, near Kene-puru Sound, there are a few solitary graves of this description, and at Ely Bay, a cemetery. A mound which was examined at Broughton’s Bay, six miles from Ferndale, contained ashes and charcoal similar to those described. All

the mounds at present discovered are in open fern land, which must have been cleared at some remote period. Within the forest the recognition of these mounds would be very difficult owing to the inequalities of the ground produced by falling trees and other causes. Their age, therefore, cannot be determined in the same manner as the pits, terraces, and other remains on which large forest trees have been found standing. Still there are good reasons for referring them to the same period.

It has been remarked that "the abodes of the dead represent the abodes of the living." The long barrows in which the primitive inhabitants of the British Islands are found interred, resembled the caves wherein they dwelt; and the round barrows of their Keltic successors were like the holes or huts they inhabited. The Australian natives, who erect no permanent dwellings, raise no sort of monument over their dead. Why a people who practised cremation selected steep hill-sides for burial places, thus entailing on themselves the labour of excavating sites and carrying fuel, can only be explained by their mode of life. They may have been actuated by the same unaccountable desire that makes the proprietor of a castle or mansion erect a costly tomb; a desire that they should after death occupy a position similar in some

respects to the position they held during life. There can be little doubt the pits and terraces scattered over the hill-sides and on elevated points of land not chosen for concealment or defence, and the sepulchral mounds so similarly situated, are monuments of the same people. When Mr. Rutland questioned the Maoris, though all were well aware that cremation had formerly been practised in the country, none knew anything of the mounds; to them they were a complete mystery, an almost certain proof of their antiquity. Besides cremation, the former inhabitants of the Pelorus district disposed of their dead in various ways. Recently a tomb built of stones, and containing a much decayed human skeleton, was found at Taradale, Kenepuru Sound. The body had been interred in a squatting position, or reclining with the lower limbs folded against the breast. At Beatrix Bay there was formerly to be seen the remains of a hollow tree that contained many human bones, and bones have been dug up in various places. From these remains brought to light by the destruction of the forest along the shores of the Pelorus Sound, we find that the district was formerly inhabited by a people differing widely in their habits from the Maoris of Cook's or the early missionary times, and that these ancient people occupied the land at a period suffi-

ently remote to allow our slow-growing forest trees to come up and attain their full dimensions where their habitations once stood, or where their fires were lighted.

On comparing the bush throughout the Sounds generally with that of the inland valleys, though on the coast it is much denser and more entangled with climbing plants, the quantity of pine timber is much greater inland. Where the forest has been destroyed and the land allowed to remain idle, certain shrubs found along the margin of the undisturbed forest, such as the poro-poro and the ngaio, quickly take possession of the ground. These in time are displaced by larger shrubs and what may be called our timber trees, of which the slow-growing pines are the last to re-appear. In many places on the coast tawa trees nearly monopolised all the level land, though the few large pines scattered amongst them showed that the soil is well adapted for their growth.

This coupled with what we gather from the Maori holes and gravel-covered land, and the number of stone implements found scattered over the flats, seems to justify the conclusion that while the ancient inhabitants dwelt upon the hills they kept the adjacent valleys in cultivation. If this conclusion is correct, it explains why the population was so strictly littoral, for the taro, the kumara, and the cala-

bash, the only esculents then in cultivation, will not thrive in the colder inland climate. That the Pelorus Valley was occasionally frequented at an early period is sufficiently proved by the stone implements and cooking places discovered; but there is another and more important evidence of ancient occupation, as it enables us to test the value of native traditions.

The point of land formed by the junction of the Wakamarina and Pelorus rivers, called by the natives Taituku, was occupied thirty years ago by the principal *pah* of the district. As the word Taituku signifies "the head of the tideway," and the tide at present only flows up the river to Paranui, a mile and a half below the Wakamarina junction, it is apparently a misnomer. In explanation, the Maoris state that according to their traditions, when the place was first occupied, the tide did flow there, and that the name has ever since been preserved. In 1860, since which time the rivers have undergone considerable alterations owing to the goldmining, there were in the Pelorus, below the Wakamarina, two falls, or rapids, one at the head of the estuary, the other about twenty-five chains higher up. Above each of these falls the river was in places very deep. Although when not flooded the surface of the river immediately in front of Taituku was seven or

eight feet above the highest tide-level, the bottom of its bed was several feet lower. The two falls—Paranui and Ropaka—were merely dams, the removal of which would have allowed the tide to run up to the Wakamarina mouth, converting it into a veritable Taituku. How these dams originated may still be seen at the Parapara, a mile below Paranui; here a mass of snags embedded in the river bottom has collected gravel brought down in flood-time, and thus raised a barrier, over which, when the tide is out, the river flows with great velocity. In time, if nothing occurs to counteract what is now taking place, the accumulated gravel will raise the barrier above the tide-level, and make the Parapara the terminus of the estuary.

On the Paranui Fall timber is still protruding from the gravel-bed; in the older Ropaka it is only after a flood has scoured a channel that any can be detected. A little above the Ropaka, the river encroaching on its banks, exposed to view beneath ten feet of soil, a bank of stiff clay, having many stumps of trees standing on it just as they had grown. As the stumps were constantly submerged, the growth of trees in such a situation could only be accounted for by the Ropaka Fall, or dam, not being formed when they were living. Near to the mouth of the river trees of the same species, whauwhi, are now growing on

land only a few inches above high-water mark, raise the surface of the river permanently by means of a dam, a little higher than tide-level, and these trees, though well adapted to flooded land, must perish.

This is what happened where the clay bank and the stump it supported where exposed. The evidence is unmistakable that at a very recent period, geologically speaking, but remote in the history of unlettered people, the tide did flow up the Pelorus Valley to the Wakamarina where a rocky reef crosses the Pelorus River, forming a rapid of a different nature to those described. As it is extremely improbable that the Maori reasoned out the former condition of the district, we must accept the statement that Taituku has been continuously occupied ever since it was what the name implies, "the head of the tideway."

The preservation of the name Taituku, and the legend attached to it, necessarily implies that this locality or district has been continuously inhabited since the name was bestowed; had the place been deserted for any length of time after the valley assumed its present character, the name must inevitably have been lost. On the other hand, the re-growth of the forest along the shores of the Sound points to depopulation. Between the revival of agriculture, when the over-grown Maori gardens were cleared, and the days of

the pit-dwellers, there was an interval of centuries, during which the Sound could only have been inhabited by people subsisting on the natural productions of the district.

What seems most probable is that a small remnant of the ancient population escaped destruction by concealment, and thus their names and traditions have been handed down. A few of the inhabitants were also enslaved, their descendants being still pointed out amongst the Pelorus natives. One family in particular, the Pokiki, is said to be a remnant of the old race. The only known individuals bearing the name certainly correspond with the traditional descriptions of the natives, being shorter of stature and darker-complexioned than the Maoris, and generally differing from them also in features. The strange but persistently repeated story of the little canoes that were hauled up the hill, may relate to the unhappy times when the unfortunate survivors lived like hunted animals, surrounded by the ruins and memories of their once peaceful homes, immediately prior to their migration to the Chatham Islands.

When sorrow gloomed the parting day,
That called them from their native walks away ;
When the poor exiles every pleasure past,
Hung round the bowers and fondly looked their last ;
And took a long farewell, and wished in vain
For seats like these beyond the eastern main ;
And shuddering still to face the distant deep,
Returned and wept, and still returned to weep.

CHAPTER III.

THE COMING OF THE MAORI.

They left their native land, and far away
Across the waters, sought a world unknown.

Beyond the supposition that the Moriori people were the inhabitants of the ancient pit dwellings, there is nothing to establish, with any degree of certitude, the identification of their occupants. It is, therefore, not a simple matter to pick up the connecting links in the chain of life that binds the lost humanity of the past to the living beings of to-day, for, owing to the incessant blood feuds which prevailed between the tribes of New Zealand, the traditions of a whole generation were sometimes swept away in the slaughter of a single battle.

Without letters to make permanent the records of their movements, and depending solely on the oral transmission of their history from one to the other, the death of a prominent *tohunga* often meant that all knowledge of the past, of which he was the sole possessor, would die with him. Yet, with all the ele-

ments of failure, it is marvellous how complete is the narrative thus handed down to us from father to son through the rude ages which have intervened since the Maori first landed on these shores.

In tracing the course of the human stream which has flowed through the veins of the province from times immemorial, the first evidences of life we meet with are, as we have seen in the last chapter, purely of a negative character. Almost equally so is the next, which assumes the form of a Maori tradition concerning the Kahui-tipua people, who are said to have been the first Maori inhabitants of the Middle Island; but they have been invested with such miraculous powers that their annals seem more properly to belong to the fables of fairyland than to the pages of authenticated history.

Whatever may be the truth concerning these people and the part of the island they occupied, it is known that two canoes with their living freight came to Wai-pounamu from the North Island before there is any record of an organised migration to Marlborough.

Of these early comers the first is said to have been Kupe*, the father of navigation in these waters, who, in one of his voyages to

* Kupe is said to have been the hero of a great struggle with a giant octopus which he attacked near Castle Point. The octopus fled across the Strait, but Kupe pursued it, and finally killed it in Tory Channel.

New Zealand, went as far south as Kai-koura,* and landed a few of his people there to await his return. But it is to the descendants of a chief named Tumata Kokiri, who had left their home at Taupo, that the distinction belongs of being the first accredited Maori inhabitants of the province. As to the causes which sent these exiles across the stormy Raukawa, tradition is silent, but they came about the year 1400, and settled at Arapawa, in Queen Charlotte Sound, where they enjoyed immunity from persecution by other tribes, and in this security they waxed both numerous and prosperous, spreading far to the westward, and peopling the country round Blind and Golden Bays, where they afterwards came into conflict with Tasman's crew, and enacted the now historical tragedy which caused that discoverer to name the locality Massacre, or Murderer's Bay.

What interval of time intervened between their coming and that of a *hapu* of the Ngapuhi tribe, under a chief named Te Puhirere, who landed at the Wairau, it is impossible to say, but like their predecessors, they, too, flourished and multiplied in their new home, of which their many shell-heaps are the clearest indications, and before they were dispossessed

* It was here that Tama Tea Pokai Whenua landed to cook crawfish, while on his voyage round the Middle Island, and the place derives its name from this incident. = *kai* (eat) *koura* (crawfish).

by the next invasion they could count their villages in unbroken line as far south as Kaiapoi.

Following them, in 1477, came a powerful division of the Waitaha tribe, which had lived for two hundred years in the North Island, and at the end of that time found their position so oppressive that they gladly sought an asylum in the south. Here they partly assimilated by inter-marriage with the Ngapuhis of the Wairau, but the fusion of the two tribes was never absolutely complete, and they passed their days in alternate stages of peace and war.

Still their new home was worth fighting for, and they were determined to conquer, if possible, every portion of its bounty. For here beside the waters of the Wairau* their kumaras grew with an unprecedented luxuriance, the pipi beds were richly stored with luscious molluscs, the fishing grounds of Cloudy Bay returned an abundant harvest of toothsome food, and every morning their eel baskets were full, with plenty to spare. In fact, since they had been at the Wairau their storehouses had never been empty, hunger had been a stranger, and want unknown.

Yet this very wealth of larder, which had acted upon them as an incentive to conquest,

* The old Maori name for the Wairau river was Motu-Kawa=sour bush. The present name is derived from the valley through which it flows, which truly means "many waters," or a "hundred rivers."

proved to be the nemesis of the tribe, for in a moment of generous impulse they sent across to their friends, the Ngatimamoe tribe, in the North Island, a present of food, which included all the varied delicacies upon which they were wont to regale themselves on high occasions. To say that the gift was appreciated by the Ngatimamoe would be superfluous. In fact, so highly was it prized, that the sweet flavour had not departed from their lips before they decided to go and conquer the country that produced such sumptuous fare. The arrival of the gift of food was most opportune, for at that particular moment the Ngatimamoe tribe was suffering serious dissension, through a fatal quarrel which had occurred only a short time previously between two of their chiefs. Awatopa and his brother Rauru disagreed about the building of their houses, and in the altercation which followed the former killed the latter, for which crime he was in turn killed by the tribe, who then were rent in twain by two opposing factions; while in this state of civil disruption the baskets of dainties sent by the Waitaha people arrived, and paved the way for an escape from the dilemma by suggesting the idea of a migration, and the conquest of the Waitaha's preserves.

Three families at once determined to leave their old home at Poneke and try their fortunes in the south, and these were followed

about the year 1570 by other *hapus*, whose numbers swelled the ranks of the tribe to considerable proportions. Being of a more warlike disposition than the occupants of the Wairau, they gradually assumed the mastery of the situation, and reaped where they had not sown, and gathered where they had not strewn. In a few instances inter-marriage took place between the victors and the vanquished, but as a general rule, after their subjection had become complete, the Waitahas were treated with great indignity, those who escaped with their lives being driven over the Vernon hills as far south as Canterbury, or they were retained in a state of bondage, and made to perform the menial work of slaves in the fields. This was, however, but a forerunner of the fate that was to befall the Ngatimamoe tribe themselves, for time, which works such remarkable revenges, brought a terrible retribution upon them when the next great wave of migration swept down upon the coast. But during the time these two contestants were struggling for the supremacy, a series of minor additions were made to the population of the province by the coming of the Rangitane people, who seem to have been less systematic than any of the other tribes in their methods of escaping from old enemies, or of meeting new ones. They originally came from the West coast of the North Island,

near Patea, and their first settlement in Marlborough was at Totaranui, on the shores of Queen Charlotte Sound. But following close in their wake, another branch of the tribe, under a chief named Te Huataki, wedged themselves in between the Waitaha and the Ngatimamoe on the East Coast, where they planted extensive groves of karaka trees, those at the Wairau having long since been destroyed.* These people, however, seemed to be moribund and destitute of that vitality which made tribes populous and influential, their settlements never increased, and since Rauparaha and his warriors almost extinguished them, scarcely anything of their traditions that remain is worth recording, and the only lingering representatives of the tribe are now scattered about the Sounds, while the followers of Te Huataki have dwindled down to the few natives who live at Mr. George McDonald's settlement.

Of a somewhat similar nature was the advent of the Ngatikuri tribe, an insignificant branch of the Maori race, who were shortly followed by the Ngaitara, a tribe of the same lineage as the Ngapuhi, who came to the Sounds and settling there intermingled with

* The only karaka tree at the Wairau now is a fine, but solitary, specimen growing on Mr. T. Wilkins' farm at Waikakaho. Apart from its symmetrical form, a peculiarity about the tree is that it should be found so far away from the seashore, as this botanical importation from Hawaiki seems to thrive best in the humid climate of the coast.

their predecessors, with whom they lived in comparative peace.

The next invasion from the north consisted of a reinforcement of the Ngatikuri tribe, in the form of a numerous *hapu* under the chieftainship of Turakautahi, and Moki, his younger brother. They had lived in the neighbourhood of Cape Terawhiti, and their first landing place in the province was at Totaranui. From here they travelled overland to Kai-koura, fighting incessant battles the while with the tribes they met *en route*, but they ultimately succeeded in attaining their goal where they began to flourish and increase, more particularly after the advent of the Ngaitahu, with whom they were connected by race and blood, and after their formal alliance they became one of the most powerful tribe to be reckoned with in the south.

It would, therefore, appear that about the year 1670 the lands of Marlborough were shared between the remnant of the Waitaha tribe, the Ngatimamoe, the Rangitane, the Ngaitara, and the Ngatikuri. The Ngatimamoe, owing to their greater numbers, were still, however, the dominating power, and therefore the trend of succeeding events, which began to develop while the gay and frivolous Charles II. was reigning on the throne of England, was fraught with deeper import to them than to their neighbours.

What circumstance actually brought about the migration of the Ngaitahu tribe to the Middle Island seems to be a matter of considerable doubt, in fact, upon no branch of Marlborough's history do opinions vary so much, or the ancient traditions present so many versions, of the same event. It may be that each of them is in a measure true, inasmuch as they refer to the separate departures from Wellington, which ultimately comprised the complete invasion. According to some accounts, they came at the invitation of Te Huataki, the Wairau chief of the Rangitane, who was blown across the Strait and took refuge in Wellington harbour, and while there married the two daughters of Tiotio, the high priest of the Ngaitahu. Others say that the love of the greenstone was the incentive which influenced the tribe in changing their home, while the slaying of Tapu, a chief of the Kahungunu tribe, and the fear of the consequences, is by many considered the true explanation of the event. In every probability all three causes contributed more or less to the exodus in 1677, which next to the advent of Te Rauparaha, was destined to be the most influential episode in the Maori annals of Marlborough.

This much, however, appears to be beyond the region of doubt, that the Ngaitahus were a fierce and warlike people who for many

generations had lived in the district now known as the Wairarapa, and that their first place of habitation in the Middle Island was upon the shores of Tory Channel, and the adjacent islet of Moehoiho, which lies under the shadow of Mount Kaihinu. Here they lived peaceably enough, surrounded by the Ngaitara people, until these neighbours put an insult upon them which could only be obliterated in blood. The feud arose through an unfortunate infringement of that complexity of superstition which in these days makes us marvel how it was possible for the benighted Maori to get through life at all. The Ngaitaras had entertained their neighbours at a feast in celebration of some social or military event, but it afterwards transpired that portion of the fare placed before the guests was the body of a dead tribesman which had been found in the bush. This so enraged the Ngaitahu tribe that they sought revenge by a course which secured for them the implacable hatred of the people with whom they had formerly been so friendly. High upon the slopes of Mount Kaihinu, Te Ao Marire, the old and honoured chief of the Ngaitara tribe, had been laid to rest in a cave, but the angry and quarrelsome Ngaitahu sought out and desecrated the mountain tomb by disturbing the chief's bones and making fishing hooks of them. This was an intolerable insult to the

memory of a chief and the dignity of the tribe, and the offence was considerably aggravated by the manner in which the Ngaitara were apprised of the fact. The information was not conveyed to them directly, but one day, when both *hapus* were on the fishing grounds together, the Ngaitahu began referring in contemptuous tones to the "nip" there was in the old man's bones, for hooks made of this material were supposed to possess some special virtue in attracting fish. The Ngaitara people who heard the Ngaitahus' scoffs, suspected that they hinted at some violence upon their dead chief, and at once a party set out to inspect Ao Marire's grave, where to their horror they found their worst fears realised. The tomb had been broken open, and the bones which had not been carried away were scattered over the ground in sacrilegious contempt. The fierce glow of anger burned within the breast of every man who stood as a witness of the Ngaithau perfidy, but the time was not yet ripe when the revengeful blow could be struck, and for nearly a year the tribe hugged its grudge to its own bosom and feigned the greatest friendship towards their treacherous neighbours. But one day they suddenly pounced down upon a number of Ngaithau women who were gathering flax upon the side of Mount Kaihinu, and before help could come to them the Maori maidens were

no more, amongst the slain being the daughter of Puraho, the chief who had led his followers upon the mountain raid. This success they immediately followed up by killing Puraho himself, and the dual disaster satisfied the Ngaitahu chiefs, Manawa and Maru, that their position at Tory Channel was by no means a secure one. They therefore immediately conducted an exodus of the tribe to the mouth of the Wairau River, where a strongly fortified *pah* was built, and from this point several retaliatory *sorties* were made upon their enemies, with results sometimes satisfactory to the avengers, and sometimes tainted with the bitterness of defeat.

The migration of the Ngaitahu to the Wairau now brought them for the first time into conflict with the Ngatimamoe people, and along the line of coast several sanguinary battles were fought, both on sea and land. Of the latter probably the most notable was that waged at Tete Whai, below Kekerangu, at which spears pointed with the sting of the "ray" were used by the Ngatimamoe, but not with any measure of success, for they were routed with considerable slaughter by their more warlike and experienced assailants.

A long period of peace then followed, during which intercourse of a most friendly nature prevailed between the two tribes. Whether the weaker Ngatimamoe saw the advantage of

completing a favourable alliance with so powerful a section of their race, as a precaution against future contingencies, or whether they deemed discretion to be the better part of valour, tradition does not say; but the fact remains that large areas of land were uncomplainingly surrendered to them, the Ngatimamoe maidens were given in marriage to their young braves, which afterwards led to strange complications, and no effort was spared to placate the invaders, who, under most circumstances, would have had to contest every inch of the soil they occupied. How their kindness was requited remains to be seen.

In some instances the Ngaitahu men received into relationship were elevated to the rank of chieftains. This occurred in the case of two men who were cousins, and out of this circumstance arose much of the future trouble of the Ngatimamoes. The elder of the two, Aponga, was a man of stern and morose temper, with more iron than honey in his soul. With his wives he lived alone in a barren part of the district some distance from Waipapa, where game was scarce and shy, and fish were seldom caught in the waters of the neighbouring bay; therefore Aponga was forced to live mainly upon fern roots and such other incidentals of food as chance brought in his way. But the fact that he was never able to fare sumptuously himself, or treat his

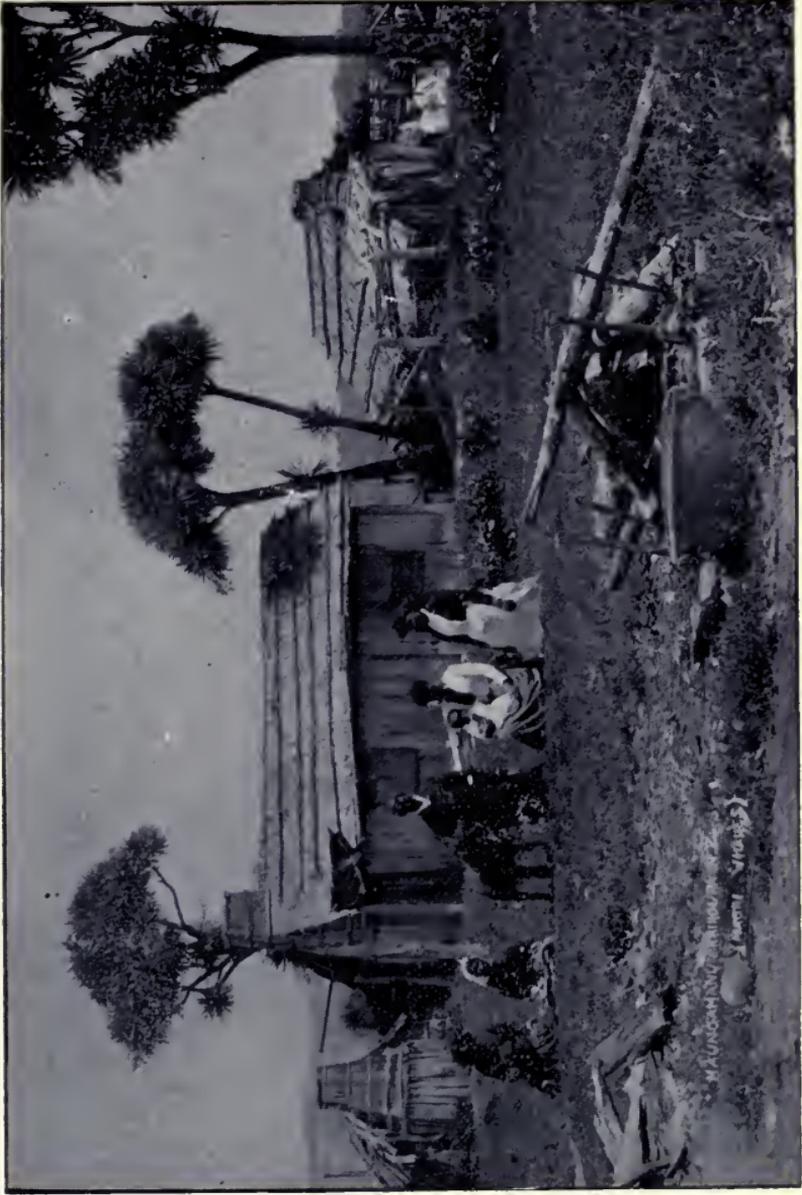
friends to a banquet when they visited him, in no way disturbed his mind, until his suspicions were aroused by the demeanour of his wives. Although for anything he knew to the contrary, they lived as he did, they invariably retained a plump and sleek appearance, quite inconsistent with the frugal fare which the woods and waters provided. He noticed, too, that they paid a surprising number of visits to their friends at Waipapa, and that on their return their breath was always fragrant with the scent of savoury food. For many months he ruminated over the mysterious behaviour of his wedded mates; but nothing that he saw at his own *pah* supplied the necessary explanation, or brought relief to his troubled mind; for although he frequently questioned them as to the existence of secret stores, they as repeatedly denied the soft impeachment. Aponga therefore decided to go at once and take counsel with his cousin Tuteuretira, who being blessed with a bright and cheerful disposition, had become so popular as to be elected chief of a *hapu* of three hundred Ngatimamoe at Waipapa.

The journey was soon made, and Tuteuretira was found in the midst of a beautiful plantation of kumaras, such as Aponga had not gazed upon for years. In fact the whole flat bore such a rich and cultivated appearance that the visitor was amazed beyond

expression. Upon Aponga's approach, his cousin ordered the slaves, who were hoeing the kumaras, to desist, as a mark of respect to his relative, and then conducted him to his own house, where food was set before them by the spouse of the host, who invited Aponga to eat, and at the same time to make known the object of his coming. With neither of these requests, however, was the bewildered Aponga able to comply. Amazement had stricken him dumb, and overcome with surprise he sat thinking of the cultivated fields in the distance, and looking at the variety of baskets before him as one in a dream. At length he was aroused from his condition of coma by the repeated enquiries of his cousin, who was at a loss to understand this strange conduct ; but for a time the only reply Aponga would vouchsafe was, " I am stupified, I am amazed at the variety of food, I cannot eat." " But," asked Tuteuretira, more puzzled than ever, " how is it that you, who have married Ngati-mamoe women, are surprised at the everyday fare of that people ?" Then Aponga took his cousin aside and told him all his secret suspicions concerning his wives, whom he now believed had deceived him at the instigation of their relatives, who feared that if he knew the richness of their plantations he might urge the tribe at the Wairau to sweep down upon Waipapa and conquer them.

After long and deep consultation, Aponga was advised to lay the whole story of his wrongs before the patriarchs of the tribe at the Wairau, and to be guided in his future actions by their judgment. Approving of this course, Aponga rose, and without defiling his lips with the Ngatimamoe food, he proceeded back to his home where he was treated by his wives to his usual homely meal of prepared fern root.

Determined to lose no time in executing the decision arrived at, he arose early next morning, and in order that no detail necessary to propitiate the gods might be omitted, he took his two slaves with him and set off for Waipapa, each member of the party being supplied with a complete set of fishing tackle for use in future operations. On arrival at the Clarence *pah*, where his father-in-law lived, Aponga found the canoes ready to start on their daily fishing expedition, and when the chief offered to postpone the trip and remain on shore if he desired it, Aponga, with alacrity, explained that his only motive in coming was that he might accompany them, and so they at once set off together. Ill luck seemed to follow the fishermen that day, for although they tempted the hapuku with the choicest of bait, and exhausted all their piscatorial arts, only two fish were caught, and both those by Aponga. Thus far the



THE NGAITAHU AT HOME.



THE KAIKOURA COAST.

fates had favoured him, and fearful lest the smiling gods would turn away their faces if he neglected any of the sacred rites, the fish were immediately taken home and hung up to receive the prescribed incantations, which were most solemnly intoned by the devout Aponga. When these preliminaries to the success of his scheme had been completed, he ordered his wives to prepare a large quantity of food, and without volunteering any further information to them than that he intended to take a long journey, he placed the fish on the end of a pole, and with this across his shoulder he began his pilgrimage to the Wairau.

The spectacle of their tribesman carrying this symbol of grief at once sent a thrill of excitement through the Wairau *pah*, and curious to know what circumstance had contributed to his distress of mind, young and old flocked round to hear the story of the Ngatimamoe deception, which Aponga declaimed in bitter words, urging that they had concealed their food supplies from him in the fear that he might induce the tribe to come and conquer their settlement, and when in a flight of eloquence he declared his willingness to wipe out the insult in blood, a host of warriors at once sprang forth and offered to serve under him in battle.

Before starting, it was practically agreed

that the mantle of protection should be thrown over Aponga's wives, as their close relationship to him entitled them to the clemency of the tribe, but on no consideration was mercy to be extended to their relatives. With this dark intent the avengers advanced upon their unsuspecting prey, but in order to avoid the slightest chance of an alarm being given by any stragglers of the Ngatimamoe tribe, the war party deflected from the main south road at the Kekerangu river, travelled up its bed for some miles, and then crossing over into the Woodbank stream, followed it to its junction with the Clarence, whose course they descended, and approached the doomed *pah* from behind, arriving before its palisades at dawn. In this way they avoided passing through Tuteuretira's settlement, which was on the other side of the river, and so preserved a greater secrecy in their movements, as well as avoiding the chance of injuring him.

With the knowledge that Aponga possessed of the daily life of the inhabitants of the *pah*, he was aware that some of them would go early to the fishing grounds, so accordingly he arranged his forces in ambush with due regard to the opportunities which the absence of suspicion on the part of the Waipapa natives gave him. To Urikore, a brave and dauntless warrior, was entrusted the commission of lying in wait for Paua, the head chief, whose

size and muscular development was the pride of his own and the envy of surrounding tribes. So strong was he that, single-handed, he could launch his own canoe, and this being his usual habit the wily Urikore lay secreted beside the vessel until Paua strolled majestically down to the beach, and placing his shoulder against the stern of the canoe began to force her into the surf. Then stealthily rising up, the Ngaitahu sprang upon his victim, and with one blow of his *mere* laid him a lifeless corpse upon the beach. The death of Paua was the signal for the general attack, and the sleeping *pah* was soon aroused by the noise of assault, but high above the din a cry arose that Paua was slain, and a panic at once seized the affrighted people, who fled from one station to another, only to find that they were completely surrounded, and the avenues of retreat judiciously closed by the generalship of Aponga. Thus caught like rats in a trap, the Ngatimamoe turned and prepared to die as their fathers had often done, but the long period of unbroken peace had left them sadly out of fighting fettle, and although they made a gallant stand with such weapons as they were able to grasp in the excitement of the moment, the besieging force pressed so furiously upon them that resistance was in vain; and gradually they were borne down before the superior organisa-

tion of the assailants, who trampled upon their dead and dying bodies in their last victorious rush. Only a few escaped to tell the tale of Aponga's vengeance, the rest were either doomed to life-long slavery, or were killed and cooked to make a feast worthy of so great a victory.

But the measure of Aponga's hatred towards the Ngatimamoe was not yet full, and he at once decided to complete the work already begun by attacking the *hapu* who were living under the chieftainship of his cousin. Urikore was therefore despatched, as a messenger, to warn Tuteuretira of the intended attack. As a kind of passport, he was robed in the mats usually worn by Paua, and when these garments were seen by the relatives of the dead chief in the possession of another, they at once divined that some misfortune had befallen him, and set up a spontaneous wail and loud lamentations, which filled the air with sobs and grief.

But their greatest misfortune was the desertion of their leader, who, yielding to the persuasions of Aponga's ambassador, returned with him to the victorious tribe, and left the people with whom he had lived, and by whom he was loved and respected, to drift wheresoever the tide of fortune might carry them, or list wheresoever the winds of war might blow them. In this hour of travail the

Ngatimamoe held a council, and decided that the position was hopeless. They saw that it was impossible to oppose the grim host across the river with any chance of success, and that unsuccessful resistance would only bring down upon them the unrelenting hand of the invader. The key to safety was therefore in flight, and in the darkness they stole silently away to their canoes, in which they paddled down the coast to the southern side of the Kaikoura peninsula, where, at Peketa, at the mouth of the Kahutara Stream, they built and fortified a *pah*, and remained unmolested for many years. Here in the meantime they grew and multiplied, and attracted numerous other branches of the tribe to them; so that before the pleasant recollections of their old home had faded from their memories they were once again a strong and vigorous people, purified in their passage through the fire of adversity.

Proud in their new found strength the Ngatimamoe at length began to grow restless under the long continued peace, and one day as they spied a number of Ngaitahu canoes off the shore, the occupants of which were engaged in catching crawfish, they held a hurried council of war, and decided to attack them in revenge for the many humiliations they had suffered at the hands of the tribe. The unsuspecting fishermen quietly pursued

their occupation, little dreaming of the storm that was about to burst upon them, until the rush of forty paddles and the roar from a hundred throats, as the approaching canoes swept down upon them, proclaimed that again the dogs of war had been let loose.

Hampered as they were by the fishing tackle and moorings, and utterly unnerved by the suddenness of the attack, the Ngaitahu made but a poor defence, being either killed in the first onset or captured in the subsequent chase. Only one canoe, that commanded by a guerrilla chief named Te Kauae, managed to slip through the meshes of the attack. He had been fishing some distance from the others, and, profiting by the space that separated him from the combatants, he slipped his anchor and made off in the direction of Waipapa. His tactics, however, did not pass unheeded, and one of the fleetest of the Ngatimamoe canoes immediately gave chase, and occasionally got within fighting distance of the fugitive. On each of these occasions Te Kauae manœuvred his vessel so cleverly that every encounter was fatal to the assailants, and at last, satisfied that nothing could be accomplished against this skilful tactician, or fearful of being led too far away from their friends, they relinquished the pursuit, and allowed this remnant of a large

party to bear the discomfoting tidings of the catastrophe to their friends at Waipapa.

No sooner had the chiefs at that *pah* realised that hostilities had once more broken out, than preparations were begun to carry the battle to the gates. The Ngaitahu forces swarmed down the coast and met their enemies, first at Opokihi, and subsequently in front of their own *pah*, two battles ensuing, in which the Ngatimamoe were worsted on the field, and driven behind their fortifications, where they had to sustain a siege for many months, for the aggressive Ngaitahu at once invested the place, and after repeated attempts had been made to force an entrance through the palisading of the enclosure, they sat down before it to patiently await the effect of the starving process. But as the besieged were well supplied with food, they were in no haste to surrender, and stayed stubbornly within their walls. Foiled in their attempts to take the place by storm, the chiefs of the attacking force consulted together as to the wisdom of continuing the siege. At the conference one of the younger bloods declared his belief that where force had failed, strategem might succeed. Accordingly he unfolded his plan, and asked permission to put it into execution. The necessary sanction having been granted, perhaps with some misgiving as to its success, the young chief proceeded to give his idea

practical form. Before dawn he wrapped himself in two feather mats, and concealing his *mere* beneath their folds, he threw himself into the surf which broke upon the beach within gunshot of the *pah*, and when daylight gleamed upon the waters the sentinels within the wall espied a dark object tossing helplessly at the mercy of the waves. Immediately they raised the cry, "*He ika moana,*" "*He ika moana,*" ("a stranded fish," "a stranded fish.") In response to the welcome call, the bustle of life and the hum of excitement were soon heard in every *whare*, and as the *pah* was only a few paces from the beach, the gates were at once thrown open, and a crowd eager to secure the prize rushed out to pounce upon the imaginary fish, but what was their surprise when the young chief sprang to his feet, and with one blow of his club, killed the foremost Ngatimamoe. A cry of terror was at once raised, which warned those within the *pah* that something was wrong, and before the Ngaitahus, who were lying in ambush, could reach the ocean path, the forage party had rushed back, closing the gate behind them, and so the scheme, which was excellently designed, failed from faulty execution.

Sick of the unsuccessful campaign, and weary of the harassing business of war, the Ngaitahu warriors at length relinquished the

siege and returned to their homes, peace being once more proclaimed in the land.

In this connection it is well to remark that the whole time of the ancient Maori was not taken up in the waging of war, but he had many intervals of rest, during which he doubtless found much solace in life in the midst of his family, and daily occupations. While the old men, with patient industry, prepared the weapons, the women cooked the food and dexterously wove the mats, and the more able-bodied men dipped into the forests to hunt, and while hunting acquired that extensive knowledge of their country, which enabled them to name every feature of the landscape, every plant, beast and bird. These employments of the day terminated with the recreations of the evening, which in summer were made up of games and dances, and in the winter by the recital of the tribal legends and the recounting of many stirring tales, told in the *wharepunis* by the fathers of the tribe. Then the monotony of their inter-tribal wars was sometimes relieved by a contest of a lighter nature, which furnished all the essentials to excitement, and all the excuses for the inevitable jubilation at its termination. Such an event occurred when the giant Ngatimamoe chief, Te Rangitauneke, of Ohau, came as champion of his tribe to challenge Manawa to single combat. Manawa was, however, grow-

ing old, and his friends, recognising that the contest was not an equal one, objected to his thus endangering his life. But Maru was permitted to pick up the gauntlet, and at the appointed time, and in the presence of the assembled warriors, he met and defeated Te Rangi, who acknowledged himself beaten, and returned home as crestfallen as he had been previously confident.

Then it not infrequently happened that when the Ngaitahus were not fighting with their neighbours they commenced to quarrel amongst themselves, and when the cause of disagreement did not attain to the magnitude of an inter-tribal question, they were not above falling-out over domestic affairs. Thus it came about that when Rakaitekura, the handsome daughter of Maru, who had been betrothed in infancy to Rangitauhunga, was, with her parent's consent, wedded to Tuakeka, the jilted bridegroom's father, Te Rangi Whakaputa, became so enraged that he went straight to Maru's enclosure within the *pah* and killed one of his slaves before his very face. So gross an insult could not be patiently borne by a chief who had any respect for his dignity, and Maru fled at once to seek the protection of Takiauau, a cousin of Whakaputa's, who had identified himself with the Omihi branch of the Ngatimamoe tribe, and with whom he remained in voluntary banish-

ment until the tribe at Waipapa, who missed his genial face and kindly manner, clamoured for his return, and forced Whakaputa to go and bring him back. To his offender's penitent intercessions Maru acceded, although on his home-coming he still hungered for revenge, but as he could not now kill any of Whakaputa's people, he proposed that the tribe should again go to war, hoping that in the struggle some of the kin of that chief might meet their death, and so satisfy his wish for *utu*. Accordingly, a war party was sent against the Ngaitara people, and one of their *pahs* at Kurateau, in Tory Channel, was assailed and taken. Amongst the unfortunates who fell into the Ngaitahu hands was a young chieftainess named Hinemaka, and when she was led before Maru, whose name might well have been "Merciful," his warriors fully expected that he would follow the custom of times and put her to death, but instead of this he gave the hand of Hinemaka in marriage to his son, in order that when the future generations enquired into the lineage of his children, they would thus know that he had conquered the Ngaitara, and the memory of his victory would consequently be better preserved than if he had slain the maiden.

After the assault and capture of the Kurateau *pah*, a general cessation of hostilities prevailed along the coast for a consider-

able period, and as an indication of the Ngaitahu sincerity in laying down their arms, old Manawa, their chief, sought to seal the compact by a marriage tie between the two tribes. He ventured to suggest that the hand of the beautiful Te Ahuarangi, daughter of Tukiauau, and the *belle* of the Ngatimamoe tribe, should be given to his own son, and that as man and wife they should be the symbol of unity between the two peoples.

The Ngatimamoe were, however, in no mood for such a federation, and they chose to take offence at the manner in which the proposal was made as an excuse for refusing to sanction the nuptials of the charming Ahuarangi. Nothing daunted by their frigid attitude, the persevering Manawa renewed his request a year later; and in order to avoid the possibility of offence being given by any apparent discourtesy on his part, he collected a more than ordinarily elaborate retinue, and proceeded to the Ngatimamoe *pah* at Pakihi, followed by a train of one hundred warriors laden with presents for the friends of the intended bride.

As they approached the house of her father messengers were sent forward to proclaim the purpose of his visit, and on reaching the gate of the *pah* the lips of Tukiauau breathed a song of welcome which was not responded to by his heart. The Ngatimamoe dissembled their

hatred with excessive cunning, and while neglecting no mark of friendship, conducted their visitors to a large house set apart for their reception. One by one the warriors passed through the portal of what was to be their tomb, and as Manawa, who was the last to enter, bent beneath the lintel of the door, the treacherous Tukiauau struck him two heavy blows on the head with a stone axe, which sent him reeling with blood-streamed face into the midst of his followers. If any doubt existed as to the intentions of the Ngatimamoe tribe, these were soon dispelled by the guarding of the door, over which a host of spearmen stood to impale all who attempted to escape.

The sorrowful Manawa cleansed the blood from off his brow, and addressed his crestfallen followers, to whom he pointed out the hopelessness of their position, and the impossibility of deliverance. But his dying wish was that at least an attempt should be made to carry the news of the Ngatimamoe duplicity to the tribe at Waipapa, who in the fullness of time would come and avenge their death.

When the dying chief called for volunteers to break through the avenue of spears, his appeal was eagerly responded to, and one stalwart brave being chosen, he was consecrated for the task by being smeared with the chief's blood and commended to the care of

the gods, but these charms availed him nothing, for ere he had advanced many paces death rained upon him on every hand, and he fell to the ground a bleeding corpse. Another and another made the attempt, with the same fatal result, until the ground was strewn with the slain, and the Ngatimamoe, becoming tired of the slaughter, began to grow less vigilant in their watching. In this they were somewhat encouraged by the fact that the prisoners within, despairing of success, had not renewed the attempt to escape for some time, but lay within, dejectedly hoping for some turn in their ill-fortune.

From this reverie they were aroused by the offer of a youth, a mere stripling, to once more make the attempt to pass through the jaws of death and carry the story of the Ngatimamoe treachery to Waipapa. The hope was a forlorn one, and only the knowledge that certain death would follow their captivity, induced Manawa to sanction an enterprise that seemed as inevitably fore-doomed. But as the event proved the hour was propitious, and after the messenger had received the blessing of his dying chief, he selected a moment when the guards rested on their spears to leap through the door, and before they had time to recover from the effect of surprise, the youth had passed the spot where most of his predecessors fell. The angry cry of the sentries whom

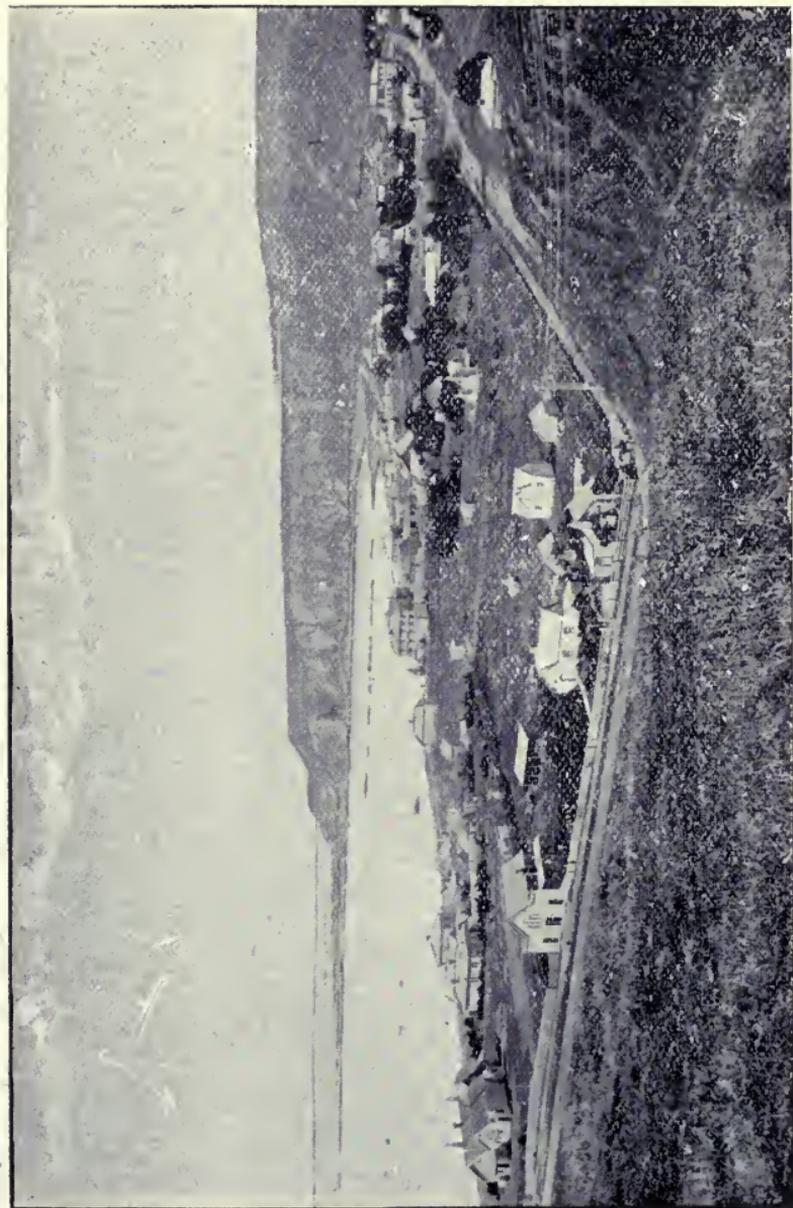
he had thus successfully evaded, at once raised the din of alarm, and put the spearsmen who guarded the path to the beach on the alert, and when those behind started in pursuit, the youth saw before him a forest of weapons that he could not hope to pass, and a crowd of war-dogs behind that made retreat impossible. Quick as lightning he turned in amongst the houses, and deftly dodging through the narrow passages between them, managed to elude his pursuers until he came to the outer wall of the *pah*. Over this he clambered with one lithe spring, but when he landed on the other side his heart sank within him, for the *pah* was built on the edge of a cliff, at whose feet the broad Pacific rolled, and now there was but one way in which escape was possible. Nor did it take him long to make up his mind, for the breath of his pursuers was hot upon him; and as he made the leap for life on to the sands below the captors of his chief dashed up to the palisades only to see his vanishing form, which presently re-appeared prostrate at the water's edge. A savage cry of exultation arose from their lips as they imagined the daring boy lay dead at their feet, but their hopes were soon dissipated, for in a few minutes he recovered from the concussion, and leaping to his feet, loudly defied his enemies to overtake the fleeting steps of

Tahu's son as he sped away to carry the news of Manawa's death to the tribe on the green banks of the Clarence River.

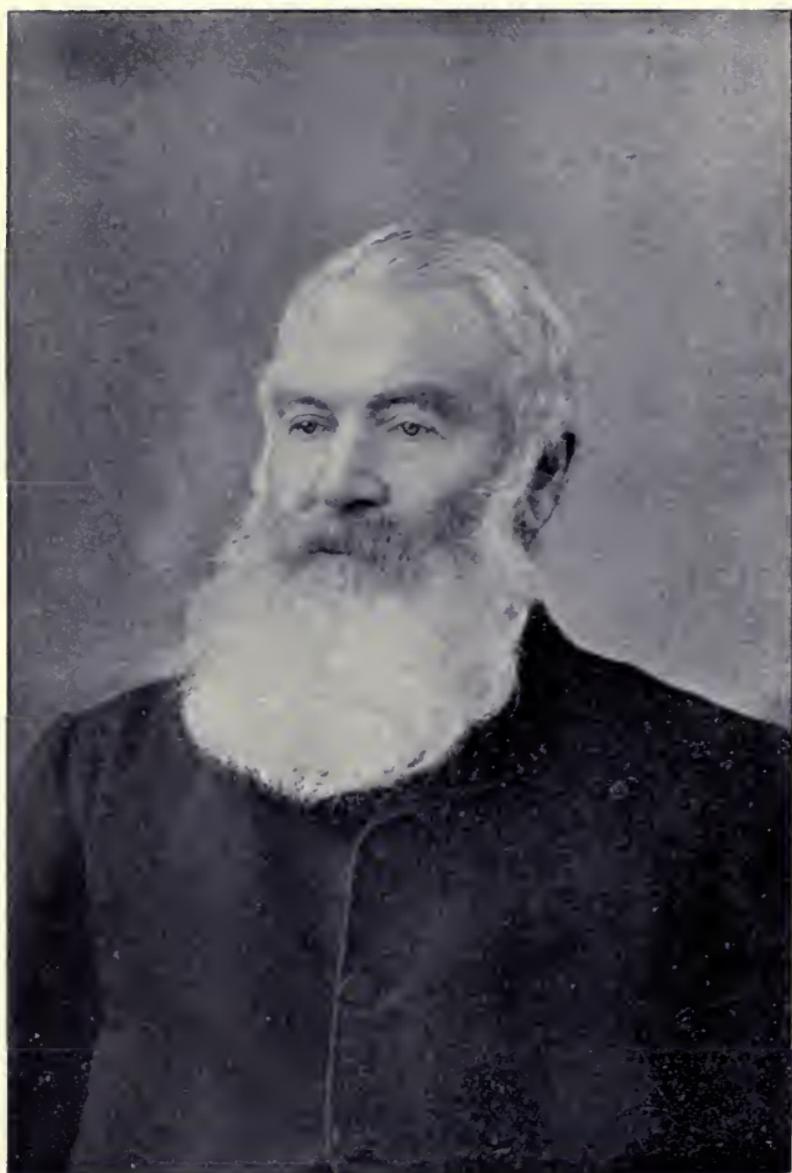
The rage of the Ngatimamoe at thus letting one of their victims slip through their fingers was at once wreaked upon the victims, who were still alive, for without further ceremony they were slain, and a feast made upon their flesh. But it was not for a year afterwards that they paid the full penalty for their treachery, because, for reasons prompted entirely by superstition, it was considered safest to let the grass grow over the oven in which Manawa had been cooked before any retaliatory measures were taken.

In the following spring, however, when the snow was fading from the peaks behind the *pah*, and the turgid waters of the Clarence* were sweeping down to the ocean in foam-capped flood, the Ngaitahu forces were hurriedly collected by Maru, who had succeeded to the chieftainship after the death of Manawa, and for the purposes of despatch it was decided to send the expedition by sea. Te Kauae, the hero of the adventure previously narrated, was the only leader whose canoe was not equipped for the expedition, and as it was not deemed prudent to delay the starting of the fleet, it was arranged to proceed without him, Kauae in the meantime undertaking to

* Called by the Maoris *Waiau-toa*=rapid water.



KAIKOURA.



HON. W. D. H. BAILLIE, M.L.C.

SECOND SUPERINTENDENT.

use the utmost speed in furnishing his vessel. So energetically did he labour at the task that the main division of the tribe had scarcely reached Kaikoura Bay before he overtook them, but, determined that his people should lose nothing by his lateness on the scene, he did not put into the cove, where they were camped, but paddled further down the coast, and at dusk took up a position behind a pile of rocks from which he could observe the Ngatimamoe *pah*. Here he waited all night, and in the morning he saw the unsuspecting objects of his hatred come down to the beach and proceed in their canoes to the fishing ground, a good league off the shore. Kauae and his crew watched them with savage delight, and waited until their anchors were dropped, and the attention of the fisherman concentrated upon winning the morning meal for the women and children in the *pah*. Then he emerged from his retreat and charged down upon them with fatal precision. The first canoe they reached was that of Tukarua-toro, a noted chief of the Ngatimamoe, and in the hand to hand struggle which followed, his crew were worsted and compelled to surrender. The discomfort of transporting so large a number of prisoners back to the Ngaitahu camp was obviated by knocking the plebians on the head and heaving their carcasses in the sea, but the chief himself was too

splendid a trophy to be disposed of in this perfunctory manner, and so he was securely bound beneath the thwarts of the canoe, and in high spirits the daring Kauae returned to his friends, who thought him still engaged in the mysteries of marine preparations at Wai-papa. When his canoe hove in sight from the southward the Ngaitahu warriors naturally surmised it was one of the enemy out on a reconnoitring expedition, and they immediately prepared to make a capture, but as it drew nearer, the picturesque figure of Kauae standing in the stern relieved all anxiety, and surprise took the place of excitement. A few words, however, sufficed to solve the riddle, and soon the news spread throughout the camp that Tukaruatoro was a prisoner. The previous close relationships of the two tribes now came sharply into conflict, for Maru had married the sister of Tukaruatoro, and when he heard that his relative was a prisoner of war, the natural instinct arose within his breast to save him from the death which the morals of the time had approved for all in his position. He accordingly snatched up his mat, and, pressing through the crowd, threw this mantle of protection over the prostrate form of his brother-in-law.

Only the most extreme circumstances would warrant any member of the tribe in disregarding such an evidence of a chief's good

will, even towards an enemy, but Kauae was not to be robbed of his prize so simply, and at the risk of promoting a quarrel with his superior in command, he knelt down, and with one gnash of his barbarous teeth, bit off the right ear of his helpless prisoner. The pain of so primitive a surgical operation caused the unhappy Tu Karu to cry out in agony, which only added to his misfortunes, for the angry Kauae at once chided him for his want of stoical fortitude by enquiring if Manawa cried out when he was treacherously struck, and before an answer could be given, he severed Tu Karu's remaining ear in the same manner as the first. It was now evident to Maru that his lieutenant meant to have his way, and rather than risk any disruption in the camp, he shattered the hopes inspired in the mind of his relative by his first friendly act, and allowed him to be borne away to make a feast for his implacable friend.

The next morning the serious business of the campaign was begun, but the incident of the previous day had put the inhabitants of Pakihi *pah* on their guard, and by the time the fleet had brought the invaders before its walls, the decayed fortifications were renewed, and the stores of provisions replenished from the neighbouring fields. Thus strengthened both inwardly and outwardly, the Ngatimamoe successfully resisted the attacks made

upon their strongholds. Repulsed in every assault and weakened by the death of many of their comrades, Maru and Kauae were contemplating the abandonment of the siege, when it suddenly occurred to one of their followers, a young warrior named Tu-te-Rangiapiapi, that if he took advantage of one of the peculiarities of Maori warfare he might be able to achieve by cunning what his chiefs had failed to do by force of arms.

The custom which came so opportunely to his aid, was that by which two opposing tribes would frequently hold intercourse with each other during a temporary suspension of hostilities. The chivalry of the ancient Maori was one of his most admirable characteristics, and the confidence which even sworn enemies would sometimes repose in each other, was a trust that was seldom betrayed, and forms a delightful oasis in a desert otherwise rank with treachery. The chivalry of Tu-te-Rangi was not, however, of this high and classic type, and whatever may be said of his ingenuity as a tactician, a great deal cannot be urged in extenuation of his infidelity to his kin, whom he used and sacrificed to the ends of his scheme, the particulars of which he would not disclose even to the chiefs in charge of the siege. As a result of the intermingling of the Ngatimamoe and the Ngaitahu blood, prior to the migration of the former from Waipapa,

Tu-te-Rangi was closely related to several of the defenders within the walls of the *pah*, and during the days when the siege dragged wearily on, he asked and obtained permission to visit these friends, by whom he was well received. His visits became frequent and long continued, and were to some extent made more welcome by a professed desire to negotiate for peace, as the Ngatimamoe stores were beginning to dwindle down, and there was no hope of replenishing them, for their fields were in possession of the enemy. When, therefore, the pinch of hunger began to be felt, they were not unwilling to listen to proposals of peace on any honourable terms. The besiegers were in no more fortunate position, for they, absorbed in war, had neglected to keep the commissariat fully supplied, and the chiefs saw that it was only a matter of time when they would be compelled to withdraw from the siege a foiled and baffled host. In these circumstances, the daily visits of the pseudo ambassador to the Ngatimamoe *pah* began to be viewed with impatience by both besiegers and besieged. The latter he hoodwinked by plausibly recounting the supposed objections of his chiefs to their conditions of peace, and to the former he vouchsafed no answer except "Wait till the north-west wind blows, and then avail yourselves of the opportunity afforded

you." At length, after many exasperating delays, the north-west wind did blow, and Tu-te-Rangi proceeded as usual to his seat under the verandah of one of his friend's houses, where he procured a *paoi*—one of the long stones used by the women in the domestic department for the preparation of the meal of fern root; to the end of this he attached a rope of flax, and gently shoving the other end into the embers of the fire burning within the *whare*, he quietly awaited results. In the process of time the end of the stone became red-hot, and then, watching for a favourable opportunity, the artful Ngaitahu slung it on to the roof of the house, where it instantly ignited the inflammable thatch. The ascending clouds of smoke soon attracted notice, and on the alarm of "fire" being sounded out, none were so active in its pretended suppression as the guilty Tu-te-Rangi. But in tearing off the burning *toe-toe* grass, he generally contrived to throw the flaming tufts on to the neighbouring dwellings, and aided by the high wind, he, in an incredibly short time, had the whole *pah* in flames. His friends outside immediately appreciated the advantages of the situation, and at once made a general assault upon the main entrance, which, in the excitement, had been left practically unguarded. In rushed the Ngaitahu warriors, and fell to massacring the helpless inmates, who were now as

it were between two fires, and as an inevitable result it was not long before the dead and dying were strewn in every direction, only a miserable remnant of a once numerous people escaping from the sack and slaughter that followed upon the fall of the first Pakihi *pah*.

The Ngaitahu tribe at once took possession of the new country, which they have practically inhabited ever since. Within the confines of the present town of Kaikoura they built a strongly fortified *pah*, which was afterwards the subject of a memorable episode in Maori history, but its decayed walls and half-filled trenches are all that is now left to mark a spot where the brave sons of Tahu formerly flourished.

When they had become thoroughly identified with the soil of the peninsula, to whose right they found no rival, new schemes of conquest were opened up to them by the pleasing prospect offered by the Canterbury plains, and the arrival at the Wairau of some reinforcements from the North Island. In these more ambitious designs they were considerably influenced by events which had transpired some years before; for while the tribe was seated at the Wairau, prior to the death of Manawa, they were, as we have seen, frequently involved in petty feuds and broils with the neighbouring Ngatimamoe people, in one of which (at

Tete Whai), the battle of the "ray" barbed spears, they had succeeded in capturing a goodly number of prisoners. After the battle, Waitai, one of the head chiefs, strongly urged the usual slaughter of the captives, but to this Maru would on no account consent, because of his relationship by marriage to the captured people. Enraged at what he considered sickening sentiment, Waitai collected three hundred of his people together, and after delivering himself in bitter invective against Maru for his feminine clemency, warned the remaining members of the tribe against a chief who was foolish enough to spare his foes, and migrated with his followers to the coast of Otago, "where," he said, "he could kill his enemies and not be interfered with."

With him went two of Maru's relatives, but in the course of a few years they longed to see the Wairau again, and decided to return, making the journey overland, and on their way they beheld in wonder the extent of the Ngatimamoe settlements and the wide expanse of the Canterbury plains, stretching in unbroken slopes from the snowy mountains to the seashore. They were also quick to notice the abundant supply of food, the wekas, the rats, the eels in the creeks, and the flat fish in Lake Ellesmere. But what was of greater importance, they discovered

that the old enemy of the tribe, Tukiauau, was living at Kaiapoi, whither he had sought refuge after the murder of Manawa, and when they returned to the Wairau they reported these matters to Moki, who had now assumed the chieftainship of the tribe at Otekane, the village at the mouth of the Wairau River. On hearing their marvellous tale, Moki at once caught up the inspiration, and ordered the preparation of the great war canoe, Te Makawhiua, made from the trunk of a giant totara tree, which formerly grew in the Wairarapa valley. In this expedition, which led to the extension of the Ngaitahu people into Canterbury, Moki accomplished the death of Manawa's murderer, and by the introduction of new blood into the war councils of the tribe, his fighting men were able to get a permanent footing on the plains. After the conquest, the famous canoe, which led the fleet, was brought back to the province and drawn up on the beach at Omihi, where it was afterwards partially buried in a land slip, only its bow protruding from the *debris*, and in this position it was ever after regarded as a sacred treasure by the tribe, the halo of sanctity with which it was surrounded being so intense that it was fully accepted that anyone having the temerity to injure it by so much as cutting

off a chip as a memento, would meet with instant death.

The fate of the Ngatimamoe tribe, after they were driven out of the province, is beyond the scope of this book to tell in detail, but in general terms it may be described as a succession of misfortunes, which ended in their being driven into the caves and mountain fastnesses of Otago, where they lingered until recent years, but it is doubtful if any true descendant is living to-day in the land of which they were once supreme masters. Thus did the Ngatimamoe tribe reap in destruction the black and bitter crop they sowed by the slaying of Manawa.

The provincial history of the Ngaitahu tribe from this date downwards is but a repetition, on a smaller scale, of the previous wars amongst themselves and their neighbours, until they were almost exterminated, within historical times, by Te Rauparaha and his braves, who most effectually annihilated the "native difficulty" in the Middle Island by annihilating the natives who were likely to create it.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DAY OF DISCOVERY.

Thine was the trumpet tongue, illustrious Cook,
That roused mankind and shook
Blind, brooding Ignorance from Austral waves
And drove her, darkling, to far dungeon caves.

For more than a hundred years this hopeless condition of chaos hung like a storm-cloud over the land, and under its shadow men's minds were darkened by superstition, their actions governed by rapine and their feelings by revenge. This absence of all moral and spiritual enlightenment gave to might an unworthy right, by which the strongest became the greatest, and who shall say what pain and anguish was endured by the weaker members of this barbarous community while some proud chief was climbing to power over their suffering bodies? But when the eighteenth century had passed its meridian, the first silver ray of light began to illumine the horizon, and gradually grew in strength and

beauty until the day of discovery had fully dawned.

The recorded history of Marlborough dates from the time when Captain Cook, "the ablest and most renowned navigator that England or any other country hath produced," was proceeding to carry out the design originated by His Imperial Majesty George III., of determining and settling at rest the geographical theories which prevailed regarding the *terra incognita* of the Pacific Ocean. Although marvellous progress had been made in the arts of navigation and ship-building since the great discoveries of Columbus, and although the Dutch seamen, led by Tasman, had gone out and pioneered the way for Byron, Wallis and Carteret, the vast expanse of ocean lying in the tropical zones had only been explored in the most cursory fashion, and in 1768 it was still a matter of speculation whether the southern hemisphere consisted more of land than water.

At this time the Dutch navy had reached its period of decline, and Spain, the only other country that had displayed a disposition towards discovery, had long since felt the grip of decay upon her, and as a naval power she was even then comparatively impotent. With England, however, the position was different. Her only rival upon the sea was France, and she was too busily engaged in

holding together the scattered fragments of her existing colonies, which the war of 1755 had threatened with dismemberment, to trouble herself with the discovery of new ones. Upon the English navy then, which had the stoutest ships and ablest seamen, devolved the privilege of opening the sealed book of geographical knowledge concerning this side of the globe.

In despatching his ships to these unknown waters the king was inspired not so much by a desire to add fresh territory to his empire, as to find an outlet for British trade, which was ever extending with amazing rapidity. The choice of Sir Edward Hawke, who had been commissioned to select a commander for the expedition, fell upon a young lieutenant, James Cook, who at that time was engaged in making a survey of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and the coast of Newfoundland, and who, by his natural inclination, his courage, energy, and native skill, was eminently suited for the post. The purpose of the expedition was a two-fold one. Their first duty was to make complete observations of the transit of Venus; and then to search into the recesses of the Pacific Ocean, both of which were so admirably performed that Cook received not only the encomiums of the astronomical and geographical leaders of the scientific world, but he also received the

greater compliment of being entrusted by his king on two other occasions with the prosecution of the work he had so admirably begun.

It was while in the performance of the latter portion of the royal duty thus imposed upon him, that he first sighted the coast of New Zealand; and although not the original discoverer, his visits gave a value to Tasman's voyage which it could not otherwise have attained. But Tasman never sighted the coast of Marlborough. He never got a glimpse of the snow-capped Kaikouras, glinting like domes of chiselled marble in the rays of the winter sun, hence it is not to his log, but to Cook's record of his first voyage, that we must look for the earliest accounts which serve as the basis upon which all the more recent history of Marlborough rests.

An appropriate time and place, therefore, to introduce the discoverer of the province will be the morning of the 14th of January of the auspicious year 1770, while sailing leisurely down the coast of the North Island, for it was on that day that he sighted the western side of the Strait, and obtained his first view of the shore, around which there has ever since clung so many pleasant and historical associations. Although recognising several deep bays, to all appearances suitable for anchorage, he did not deem it wise to

approach too closely to the land that night, and so he kept plying the "Endeavour" on and off the land till morning, a course he could safely adopt, seeing that the weather was fine, and he had from sixty-three to eighty fathoms of water under his ship.

The dawn of the 15th was of that quiet beauty, which makes this part of New Zealand a climatic paradise. A bright rosy sunrise, followed by the softer violet and deeper blue, the colour of the heavens above lending an azure tone to the sea beneath. The light and variable airs which played around the ship seemed to fan her on, and act as a friendly, if inconstant, helpmeet to the more powerful tide, which, with its irresistible sweep, was slowly bringing the great discoverer towards the shores of Marlborough. By eight o'clock the impulsive agencies of nature had unconsciously carried the ship to the entrance of Queen Charlotte Sound, where for the next three weeks her company were to make their home; and certainly the guardian angel of these adventurous mariners could scarcely have brought them to a more favourable haven where the sailors could rest and the ship be repaired. The wind was still light and uncertain, and as the running tide was inclined to carry the vessel on to the N.W. shore of the Sound, the boats were got out and the ship towed away to the music of the

sailors' song, mingled with the less harmonious tones of the leadsman as he sounded the depths beneath, and recorded the fact that they were still in fifty-four fathoms of water. As they passed along every feature of the sea and shore was critically examined, and two facts were noticed, which doubtless proved of considerable interest to these strangers in a strange land. The first was the appearance of a sea-lion, which twice came to the surface to look with surprise upon these intruders into the sanctity of his retreat; and then they saw a canoe full of dark-skinned natives flitting across the face of the Sound towards a village built upon the apex of a little island, which was destined to become a spot made memorable in history as the one on which the southern portion of our colony was first claimed as a part of the British Empire.

The appearance of the sea-lion at the side of the "Endeavour" is a fact which, to us of the present day, carries with it but little significance, except to indicate that before the southern ocean became a theatre of commerce, these aquatic monsters availed themselves of their greater freedom to enjoy the warmer climate, and that the advent of the early discoverers, followed by the whalers and the merchantmen, has imprisoned them within the less hospitable region of the Antarctic Sea. But the view obtained of the natives is

a matter of greater moment, for it satisfied Cook that he had come to a country inhabited by a people scarcely dissimilar in any particular to those of Te-Ika-a-Maui,* which he had so recently left, and his remarks upon their appearance, their habits and customs is the first authentic account we have of historic man in Marlborough.

The novelty of the view could scarcely have been so welcome to the natives, who in their proneness to superstition, doubtless regarded the sight of a ship in full sail as an apparition of their gods. That fear was their dominating feeling, is amply evinced by the fact that when the "Endeavour" had proceeded far enough to come abreast of the *pah* on Motuara Island, the crew were able to discern the natives crowded together in eager conference, and armed with such weapons of war as their savage ingenuity had devised for offensive and defensive purposes.

By two o'clock in the afternoon Cook had finally decided upon his anchorage, and had brought his ship into the picturesque little bay on the N.W. shore of the Sound, known to the natives as Totaranui; but which has ever since been more appropriately called Ship Cove. The movements of these strange visitors were narrowly scanned by the natives from their island *pah*, and when the sails had

* Maori name for the North Island.

been furled and everything made snug, curiosity overcame alarm, and a few of the most venturesome members of the tribe set out in their canoes to more critically inspect the newcomer. Their first method of testing its reality was by pelting stones at the irresponsible timbers of the ship, and when they discovered that there was no disposition to retaliate, one of their number, an old and venerable-looking native named Topa, who appeared to be a chief amongst them, even ventured, in compliance with the invitation of Tupia, a Tahetian boy whom Cook was carrying with him as interpreter, to climb on board, where, however, he did not appear at his ease, for he soon returned to his canoe, and was received back again by his companions with shouts and dancing. Whether this demonstration was intended in a friendly or hostile spirit could not be ascertained, but in any case it did not last for any length of time, for the natives almost immediately paddled back to the island.

Cook then took his officers with him, and went on shore to explore the cove, for although by the consistent use of his anti-scorbutic remedies, and a vigilant care over the sanitary state of his ship, he had succeeded in keeping his crew free from the terrible scourge of scurvy, which made so many ships of that day little better than floating coffins, his men

would be benefited by the change of a shore residence, and his unsheathed vessel sadly required cleaning and caulking, her weather-beaten sides having been strained by many weeks of voyaging. Ship Cove proved to be an ideal recruiting ground, for then, as now, it was one of the sweetest beauty spots ever kissed by the lips of nature. Under its salubrious air the forest trees grew full to the water's edge, and there in security the birds warbled their morning hymn with such delightful melody that those on the ship, lying a quarter of a mile away, could only compare them to "myriads of small bells exquisitely tuned," as the sounds vibrated over the still water. A clear limpid stream came trickling down the hillside, so that there was an abundance of both wood and water for the domestic wants of the crew, and upon the sandy bottom of the bay the ship could lie safely while her timbers were again being put in a seaworthy condition. These natural advantages were quickly noted by the practised eye of Cook, and so, early next morning, he had the ship placed upon the careen, and the work of accomplishing needful repairs was commenced.

At first Cook had reason to apprehend trouble from the natives, whose attitude was not altogether conciliatory, for their only idea of superiority was one of numbers, and when

that was on their side they did not hesitate to attack; so that when the boats were sent ashore to renew the ship's supply of water, some of the canoes immediately gave chase, and could not be induced to desist until several small charges of shot had been fired amongst them. A quarrelsome disposition was also shown by those who were engaged in traffic with the sailors, one of them attempting to snatch a piece of paper from the hand of the ship's market-man, but failing in his object, he seemed to at once recognise his mistake, and immediately put himself in a posture of defence, flourishing his *puāpuā* as though about to strike with it, the contents of a pistol discharged at him were so effective, however, that he subsided into the bottom of the canoe a great deal more frightened than hurt. But when a better understanding had been arrived at, through an unmistakable attitude of firmness, Cook had leisure and opportunity to look about him, and with his customary method, to note down in detail all that he saw. His exploration of the Sound itself was, on this occasion, necessarily of the most limited character, and when he left it a few weeks later, he had no idea that it swept on in undiminished majesty for twenty miles. Doubtless he was unwilling to venture too far away in the boats, for although he had endeavoured to encourage traffic with the natives

in such articles as they were prepared to barter, he had not failed to notice that their attitude was still, at times, of an unfriendly nature, so that at no time did he get more than a few leagues from the cove.

His most important observations of the surroundings were, therefore, made from the neighbouring hills, the first of which, about four or five miles from the cove on the S.E. side of the Sound, he climbed seven days after his arrival, and it was while standing upon its summit that he virtually made the great discovery that a Strait* running between the two Islands united the eastern and the western seas. From this point of vantage he saw the dim outline of Terawhiti twelve leagues away, and stretching out on either hand as far as the eye could reach was the broad expanse of water dotted with numerous islands. The eastern shore of the Sound, which had previously appeared to the officers of the "Endeavour" as a portion of the main land, and which might have extended any distance to the eastward, was found to be only a narrow ridge of hills no more than four miles in width.

Three days later, Cook, accompanied by Mr. Banks and Dr. Solander, the botanists of the expedition, again crossed over to the eastern side of the Sound, and from some-

* Called Raukawa by the Maoris, Cook Strait by the geographers, and "The wind-pipe of the Pacific" by the sailors.

where in the locality of Cape Koamaru they had still another view of the Strait, which only tended to confirm the impression already formed that this stretch of water was a passage between the two main islands, and not a deep bay, as was at first supposed, and Cook thereupon determined to test the geographical truth of his opinion as soon as his ship was ready for sea. As a record of their visit they built a small cairn of stones upon the spot on which they stood, and placed within it a number of beads, shot and musket balls, as being the most durable material, so that Europeans finding it would know that it had not been built by native hands.

A few days later another survey of the Strait was made, but this time from the point ever since known as Cape Jackson, which Cook named after one of the secretaries to the Admiralty. From here they obtained a clear view of the ocean before them, and of an island about ten miles off, which the Captain designated Stephens' Island, in honour of another Admiralty secretary, who, recognising the great navigator's invaluable qualities, had befriended him in the matter of his appointment to the command of the expedition. Before returning to the vessel, Cook, in accordance with his usual custom, raised a pyramid of stones on the point of the cape, placing within it a few coins and musket

balls, and upon a staff built in by the boulders he left a portion of a pennant flying in the breeze. To Cape Jackson, therefore, belongs the distinction of being the spot upon which the first flag was unfurled on the Middle Island.

Cook was now thoroughly satisfied that a passage existed between the main lands, and it scarcely needed the assurance of Topa, the old native chief of the Motuara *pah*, that such really was the case, to make him certain of it.

In his journeyings to and fro about the Sound, Cook had ample opportunities of observing the native people, who were a mixture of the Rangitane, Ngatiara and Ngatikuri tribes, numbering between three and four hundred souls. These he found to be generally inferior to the natives he had already met on the other Island, except in the matter of trade. In this he saw that although they had nothing to barter except fish, which mainly consisted of the species to be met with in the Sound to-day, they displayed a sense and wisdom he had not noticed before, a fact which he thought remarkable considering their isolation and inexperience. In stature the men were equal to the average European, but were not soft and corpulent like the South Sea Islanders, who lived a comparatively luxurious life, the Maori muscles being hard and wiry by constant exercise. The women

were not blessed with many charms of figure or feature, but they possessed remarkably soft and cheerful voices and a much greater flow of animal spirits than their male companions. It was also observed that while both sexes displayed the most tender affection towards each other, they were alike implacable towards their enemies, neither asking nor giving quarter. Their store of general knowledge was extremely limited, and they seemed absolutely indifferent about increasing it; neither the instruction imparted by Cook, nor the information given by his Tahitian boy of what he had observed of the outside world, appearing to make a lasting impression upon them. They cultivated no land, nor showed the smallest desire to do so, but lived exclusively upon fish, fern roots and the karaka berry, which their ancestors brought with them from far Hawaiki, and, when the tide of battle turned in their favour, upon the flesh of their victims. That the revolting rite of cannibalism, probably arising from a state of semi-starvation, owing to their precarious food supply, was freely practised amongst them, the "Endeavour's" company had abundant proof, for not only did they find human bones in the native ovens, but at Cannibal Cove, a small indent to the northward of their anchorage, they saw freshly cooked flesh in the possession of the men themselves, who, to convince the visitors that the

morsel was a tasty one, proceeded to eat the remainder of the meat in their very presence. This occurred on several occasions, but when Cook reported the circumstance in England his story received but little credence. He also found that they indulged in the practice of preserving the heads of their victims, which they valued highly, and it was only with difficulty that Mr. Banks could induce them to part with one, even for a consideration. Their dwellings displayed neither mechanical skill nor architectural beauty, being devoid of decoration and were of the meanest possible order; but they seemed to have got beyond the stage of the pit-dwellers, who had been superseded about eight generations before. Each family was possessed of a *whare* of their own, varying in size according to their immediate wants, but they did not live continuously in them, frequently in the summer time migrating to huts on the beach where the cooler breezes blew. This, together with their Bohemian habits, was no doubt the reason that on D'Urville's Island and in some of the bays Cook came across, here and there, a deserted village which bore signs of recent habitation. In these temporary villages, as in the permanent *pahs*, it was customary for each family, however large, to remain together, and the various domains were partitioned off by low palisades,

not differing very much, except in height, from a European fence. In the domestic circle polygamy was frequently practised, while in morals the women were by no means orthodox, their virtue being turned into a marketable commodity by their avaricious lords and masters. They appeared to have had no complex form of government—if indeed they had any government at all, for the authority of no chief extended beyond the members of his own *hapu*, and even there, only in a lesser degree than amongst the tribes, might was right; but strangers coming on business, especially if they were trading in greenstone, were always cordially received if they did not out-stay their welcome. Their canoes, too, were small and insignificant compared with those of the northern natives, whose ornamental barques are still regarded as triumphs of Maori art, and their implements of war were such as every visitor to our museums is now familiar with, and were made and used with great dexterity, after the manner peculiar to the Maori in both Islands. Those of greenstone were naturally of special value, and we may form some conception of the high estimation in which they were held by the fact that the people called their country by the name which was to them the first consideration, *Te Wai Pounamu*, “the water of the greenstone.” They also knew the value of iron, for they

preferred it, in the shape of nails, to any other article of trade. This knowledge they had probably acquired from the natives of the East coast of the North Island, who a few months before had been presented with some spikes by Cook, and who had apparently quickly communicated their use to others, for when the "Endeavour" was completing the circuit of the North Island, she was boarded by some thirty or forty natives, who came off near Cape Palliser, and who at once asked for *maitai* (iron), although none had been previously given to the inhabitants south of Cape Kidnappers. Their clothing, which corresponded with the description of other natives given by Tasman, appears to have been of the scantiest kind, at the best consisting of rough mats made from flax and grass, the only attempt at ornamentation being a cap of black feathers worn upon the head, and a necklace of sharks' teeth wound around the throats of the women. In other respects both sexes dressed exactly alike, even to the custom of smearing their bodies with oil and red ochre, and but for the difference in the *moko*, marks upon the face, and the tone of their voice, it was sometimes difficult to distinguish between one and the other.

So far as the Europeans could observe, these natives of the Sound had no places of worship, but they had a liberal supply of

tohungas, or priests, who offered fervid invocations for their success in temporal affairs ; and their religious principles, if such they might be called, were thoroughly instilled into them from their youth up. A remarkable instance of this was brought under Cook's notice, when a boy, who, having had his hair cut by one of the sailors, refused to eat anything during the greater part of the day, although strongly persuaded to do so, his fear being that should food pass his lips his *atua*, or god, would kill him for his sacrilege, but towards evening his superstitious scruples gave way, and he ate, but only sparingly.

In common with the northern natives they manifested their grief at the loss of relatives and friends by cutting and slashing their bodies with sharp shells and splintered stones, but this custom was mostly indulged in by the women, and considering the reckless disregard for life which prevailed, owing to the incessant tribal feuds, these wounds must have been both deeply and frequently inflicted. Their dead were disposed of by burial, and in the case of a person who enjoyed eminence amongst his people, a monument was afterwards reared to his memory, and one of these—a structure exactly in the form of a Christian crucifix—decorated with feathers and planted on the island of Motuara, particularly attracted the notice of Cook, who, however,

could not ascertain the name of the chief it was intended to honour.

Cook, having now got his ship's condition repaired and his store of wood and water replenished, began to make ready for his departure. Before going, however, he decided to leave some permanent memorial of his sojourn as a guide to any other mariners who might come after him. Accordingly he had prepared by his carpenters two long poles with inscriptions, setting forth the name of the ship, the month and the year, chiselled deeply into them.

One of these he had erected at the watering place on the shore of Ship Cove, and upon it he hoisted the Union Jack, thus conferring on Marlborough the distinction of being the first soil in New Zealand over which the emblem of the British Empire floated. The second post was taken off to the island of Motuara, and after its purpose had been explained to Topa, the chief, and his sympathies enlisted, it too was raised upon the highest point of the land, and the flag of Great Britain run up on the halyards. Cook then distributed presents of silver and copper coins amongst the natives, and formally took possession of the Sound and the adjacent islands in the name, and for the use, of his Sovereign. The former he dignified with the name it has ever since born—Queen Charlotte

Sound, in honour of the Queen and Consort of George III., consummating the baptism by drinking a bottle of wine and presenting the old chief of the *pah* with the empty bottle, a proceeding which was highly prophetic of what was to happen in after years to the native lands. This ceremony, simple in nature though it was, and witnessed only by a handful of English gentlemen and a horde of benighted savages, was really an epoch in the history of empire making. It was the true foundation upon which the temples of colonisation and civilisation were to be built in the Middle Island, and the success with which the great work, so humbly begun by Captain Cook, has been carried on by subsequent toilers in the same cause, is borne witness to by the thriving condition of the whole colony to-day.

These precautions having been taken, the "Endeavour" was hauled out into the stream and the anchor weighed on the afternoon of February 7th. The breeze, which had been fresh in the morning, had died away, and the ship was practically carried through the heads by the ebb tide. As she drifted slowly past the island of Motuara, with her sails flapping loosely to the masts, the venerable old chief Topa, who had shown such a friendly disposition towards Cook and his sailors, came off in his canoe to take farewell of them, and

in the conversation that followed he gave them a misty idea of some tradition concerning a ship which had previously visited the Islands. By seven o'clock in the evening they had got well out of the Sound, but the calm continuing, they were still at the mercy of the tide, and ere sufficient wind had sprung up to give them steerage way, they were carried close to the Brothers, and only escaped the disaster of wreck by bringing the ship to anchor within a few cables length of the rocks. From this dangerous and unpleasant predicament they were rescued by a freshening breeze, and the "Endeavour's" head having been put about, a course was steered directly through the Strait, into what Cook now realised to be the Eastern Sea.

From this point the land seemed to trend away to the southward, and the vessel accordingly bore down upon it, Cook being anxious to test the accuracy of his theory as to whether it was not an island rather than a continent. Later in the evening she had entered Cloudy Bay, so called because of the dull and heavy appearance of the atmosphere at the time, but sufficient was seen of the landscape to enable the voyagers to note that what is now known as the Wairau Plain was densely covered with a forest of tall trees, which have long since disappeared, but of

whose previous existence there is still abundant proof to the interested observer.

The majestic peak of Mount Tapuaenuku (9,467ft.) with its snow-clad steeple towering high above the lofty Kaikouras, was equally a subject of note and admiration; and it is a fact, interesting though trifling, that a few days later, when the ship had been brought back abreast of Cloudy Bay, an animated discussion took place on the deck between the Captain and his officers as to the relative heights of this and other famous peaks. Cook averred that it was not so lofty as either the peak of Teneriffe or even Mount Egmont (8,260ft.), and his opinion was based upon the circumstance that whereas the latter was deeply covered with snow well down to its base, the drift only lay upon "Tapu's" higher slopes and in the deep ravines. The Captain found but little support amongst his officers, although his theory was a plausible one, and while it displayed an observant mind, it also betrayed a hasty judgment. It is possible at this time he did not know as a climatic fact that, owing to the West coast of New Zealand being colder than the East, the snow lies heavier upon its high mountains, but he should not have neglected to remember that since he saw Egmont fully a month of summer had passed, and in that time a single warm rain would have denuded the king of the



CAPTAIN COOK.



SHIP COVE,

Kaikouras of his snowy mantle, and left him the brown and broken pile he then appeared to be.

After Cape Campbell had been sighted and named, the "Endeavour" sailed onward to the south, and nothing further remains to be recorded in connection with the great discoverer's first visit to Marlborough beyond the fact that when opposite Kaikoura four double canoes, containing some fifty-seven warriors, probably a section of the Ngaitahu tribe, came off to inspect the passing mystery, and that on account of their timid attitude, which constrained them not to board the ship, although invited to do so, but merely to look on, Cook commemorated the circumstance by designating the neighbouring mountain range as the "Lookers On."

COOK'S SECOND VOYAGE.

It does not come within the limits of our present purpose to follow Captain Cook in his subsequent travels ere he reached England again, nor are we specially concerned in the important public movement in that country which dictated to him the necessity of another voyage to reveal the secrets of the unknown region of Antarctica. These matters belong rather to the biography of the explorer than to the history of Marlborough, but the connecting link in the chain of our narrative may be conveniently resumed on a thick and foggy

day in February, 1773, when two Whitby built vessels, the "Resolution" and "Adventure," commanded by Captains James Cook and Tobias Furneaux respectively, might have been seen battling with the elements in the southern latitudes. On the following morning, when the haze had lifted, the people on board the "Resolution" saw nothing of their consort, she having been driven out of her course during the night. But as they were slowly making their way to New Zealand, and as a *rendezvous* had been appointed there at Queen Charlotte Sound, no anxiety was felt at her disappearance.

Captain Furneaux's first introduction to the Sound took place on the 7th of April, 1773, when he cast anchor in Ship Cove at dusk of that day. Although no natives made the slightest attempt to visit them at that hour, they were evidently sensible of the ship's presence, for the howling of dogs and the hallooing of the men were distinctly heard during the night, but it was not for two days after that that they saw anything of the inhabitants. The first care of the Captain was to ascertain if there were any signs of the "Resolution," and to this end the cutter was sent ashore next morning, but the crew saw nothing save the post erected by Cook on his previous visit in 1770, and which the natives had in no way injured. Preparations were thereupon made

for a sojourn in the Sound of sufficient length to permit of the ship being repaired and the health of the crew recruited, scurvy in a mild form being present amongst the sailors, for Captain Furneaux had not proved himself so successful a sanitary reformer as his chief. Accordingly tents were pitched, first on Motuara Island, and afterwards at the head of Ship Cove, where the sick were tended with the utmost care by those of more robust constitution, whose ministrations were greatly aided by the change of diet and invigorating climate, which were both food and physic to the invalids.

On the third day after the "Adventure" arrived in the Sound, a canoe containing fifteen armed natives came off to her, but they were neither disposed to make friendly advances nor to accept the proffered friendship, and it was only by dint of the greatest pressure, accompanied by a liberal distribution of presents, that they were at last induced to leave the canoe and board the vessel. On doing so, it was noticed that one of them carried a peculiar bundle, which on examination proved to be the severed head of a man whose blood was not yet cold. As soon as the natives saw that their treasure, for such they regarded it, had been discovered, they, with marvellous dexterity, managed to pass it from one to the other until it finally disap-

peared, and then by signs and gestures they tried to deceive the officers into believing that nothing of the kind had been in their possession, for they, knowing Cook's abhorrence of such unnatural customs, were both apprehensive of losing the trophy, and of receiving their merited punishment.

The natives, however, behaved well to the ship's company, and with one exception there was no evidence of hostility. The incident here referred to occurred on the morning of the 12th, for just as the Captain and his officers were preparing to leave for the shore, ten canoes were perceived coming down the Sound, manned by one hundred and twenty warriors, all fully armed. Their looks and actions betrayed their purpose, and when they came alongside and demanded admission to the ship, the concession was granted to only a few, but these acted in such an unruly manner that they had to be turned over the side at the bayonet's point by the sailors, who, by their alertness, showed that they were prepared for any emergency. The natives seeing that their design of surprising and capturing the ship had been frustrated, made a virtue of necessity and turned their visit into one of trade instead of war, but it was evident by their displeased and sullen looks that they were grievously disappointed, a grief for which even a good stock of presents

did not serve as a solatium. But no further attempt was made to renew the attack, and preparations were at once commenced to make everything snug for the winter. The ship was taken closer into the shore and given a winter coat to preserve the hull, while possession was relinquished of the native houses on Motuara, which were commanded by a fort furnished with one of the ship's guns, and where the crew had lived in perfect health and spirits. Here also Mr. Bayly, the astronomer who accompanied the expedition, had erected his observatory, and in his spare moments he and his staff cultivated a plot of table-land and planted a garden with seeds brought from England for the purpose. But the tents were now transferred to the shore of the cove and pitched near the side of the stream, where, overshadowed by the luxuriant forest growth, the crew spent the declining days of the winter. The monotony of their daily life, if monotony it could be called in a spot so full of varying beauty, was broken on the 17th by the cry that the "Resolution" was in sight, and sure enough she was to be seen lying becalmed off Cape Jackson. Boats were at once despatched to assist in towing her into the Sound, each crew vieing with the other to reach the consort first and partake of the joy which naturally follows the meeting of those who have been so long parted. By

evening the "Resolution" was within a mile of the "Adventure," and on the following morning they were together in the cove, where the crews enjoyed the pleasure of each other's society, which, as Captain Furneaux expressed it, "can only be conceived by those who have been in like circumstances." The meeting was celebrated by mutual salutes of thirteen guns, the demonstration having the effect of bringing the natives from far and near, who cordially welcomed their old friends back again.

With every alacrity preparations were now made for resuming the voyage, the crews being engaged in these operations by day, and passing their evenings regaling each other with stories of their adventures. The officers and scientific members of the expedition found ample employment in prosecuting their enquiries as to the geographical peculiarities of the place, the habits and traditions of the people. Occasionally the serious side of their occupation was turned into amusement by incidents of a distinctly humorous nature, as for instance when one of the chiefs brought his son, a lad of only ten summers, on board to receive a present. The boy had set his heart on being possessed of a white shirt, and when this type of purity had been given him, he proudly strutted about the deck, presenting himself to everyone he met for their cordial

admiration. But there was one on board the "Resolution" who did not approve of these proceedings, for old Billy, the ram goat, disdained vanity. Accordingly, as the boy in the flowing robe unsuspectingly waltzed within his reach, the goat gave him a most unmerciful butt, which sent him sprawling into the scupper. When the boy gathered himself together and realised that his shirt was soiled, he set up a doleful howl to Heaven which was truly pitiful to hear; nor would he approach his father, or be consoled until his treasured garment had been washed and dried, but the humiliating experience made him more modest in his demeanour, and caused him to ever after retain a wholesome grudge against "Old Kuri," upon whom he could never again look with a friendly eye.

During the investigations which followed upon his arrival, Cook was pained to find that in his absence the savage nature of the people had in no degree diminished, for cannibalism was as rife as ever, and the tribal feuds were still the fruitful source of bloodshed. These, however, did not interfere with the course of friendship between the ships' company and the natives living in the immediate vicinity of Motuara and the cove, towards whom Cook studiously observed a conciliatory attitude. Although his stay on this occasion was very brief, lasting only twenty days, he

gave the natives a substantial proof of his good-will towards them by leaving with them, at West Bay and Cannibal Cove, two sheep and two goats, besides digging a garden in which were planted all kinds of culinary vegetables which were thought suitable to the soil and climate, in the hope that they might be induced to cultivate this kind of food and so wean them away from the revolting habit of devouring human flesh, a hope which regretably enough was not realised. Before the ships left, these gardens were placed under the special guardianship of a chief named Teiratu, from whom a solemn promise was extracted that he would tend and protect them ; but considering the great social unrest which prevailed amongst the primitive community, it is a little wonder that his obligation was not strictly kept.

On the 7th of June the vessels again put to sea, and took their departure for the Southern Ocean, where they remained until the following November. But as they approached the coast on their return, they encountered a series of S.E. gales, which, for continued severity, surpassed all that they had experienced before. For several days the ships battled against the adverse winds, which defied the ablest seamanship of their captains, and in the stress of weather the "Adventure" again drifted away from her consort, and never

again rejoined her until they met at Spithead on the 30th June, 1775.

Alone the "Resolution" entered the Sound and remained there for twenty-three days, the time being fully employed in making such repairs to the sails and cordage as necessity required, as well as replenishing the stores of wood and water.

The customs of the people were ever the subject of much earnest enquiry on the part of Cook, and on one point he was particularly desirous that no vestige of doubt should remain, and this was as to whether the practice of eating human flesh was actually indulged in by them. Accordingly, on one occasion when a native approached the ship, carrying in the bottom of his canoe some portions of a victim to tribal warfare, he was permitted to boil the flesh and eat it in the presence of the officers. This feast was also witnessed by a young native of the island of Borabora, named Hete-Hete, or Oedidee as he was called by Cook, and who had taken the place of Tupia as interpreter. At first this South Sea Islander was rendered speechless by the sight, but when he recovered from his amazement he vented his rage, not only upon the Maori who perpetrated the deed, but upon the Englishmen who had permitted it, and positively refused to touch the knife with which the flesh was cut. Cook has been

severely blamed by his critics for permitting, and thereby tacitly encouraging, a practice so repugnant to European ideas, and his conduct is defensible only on the ground that his previous reports on the subject, based on what the natives had told him, and the fact that he had seen human bones in their possession and in their ovens, had been scouted by the English public as an idle tale of an over-active imagination, so that when a favourable opportunity offered, he desired to see the thing for himself, especially when there was the additional advantage of having his officers to substantiate his testimony.

On making enquiry as to the fate of the animals left with the natives on the previous visit, Cook learned that the two goats had been killed by a chief named Goubiah,* but the effort to stock the country was not despaired of, and others were secretly placed in the bush in the hope that they would not be discovered until they had increased. On the other hand the gardens had flourished amazingly, the soil and climate seeming to have a most stimulating effect upon the imported seeds.

On the 26th of November the anchor was weighed, and for the third time Cook passed out of the northern entrance of the Sound only to be followed by Captain

* Probably the name of this man was Kupia.

Furneaux, who, four days later, re-appeared in the Strait after being baffled in his endeavours to reach the haven by adverse winds and toilsome seas. The last day of the month, however, saw him safely in the desired port, but seeing no sign of the "Resolution," the thought uppermost in his mind was that she too had failed to reach the *rendezvous* and had perhaps met with some disaster. The natives had apparently gone off on an expedition, and therefore no information could be obtained from them; but on a boat's crew going ashore they observed cut into the stump of a tree, the words "Look underneath." Full of expectation they removed the soil and soon found a sealed bottle containing a letter from Cook, setting forth his movements in detail since last the ships were in company, and the course he intended to pursue during the remainder of his voyage. All speed was now made to get the ship ready for sea, and while the crew were employed in these matters, Captain Furneaux, profiting by the example of his chief, went daily to Long Island, or Hamote as the natives called it, and taking a few of his men with him, prepared a piece of land for a garden in which were sown a collection of garden seeds including all the popular vegetables of to-day, and amongst them the first potatoes ever grown in any part of New Zealand, the

Captain having brought these esculants with him from the Cape of Good Hope. A like service was rendered by Mr. Bayly, the astronomer, who had stationed himself on Motuara, where in his spare moments he and his assistants conducted a series of experiments with the seeds brought from England. These gardens were meant to serve a two-fold purpose, inasmuch as they were likely to prove beneficial to the natives and also of great service to the crews by providing a healthy variation of diet, which would act as an antidote to the dreaded scurvy. The labour of collecting native herbs suitable for the purpose was arduous and the results uncertain; nor were they likely to prove so palatable as the cultivated vegetables the men had been accustomed to in England, and although the crew of the "Adventure" did not have the pleasure of enjoying the delicacies they had planted, their sweetness was afterwards tasted by Cook and his men, who found the gardens flourishing in the following year, and it is said that to-day in remote parts of the Sound leeks are still to be seen growing wild, the perpetuated progeny of those sown by Captain. Furneaux in 1773.

For the comfort of those of the crew who were sick the tents had been carried on shore, and in the midst of this primitive hospital the astronomer afterwards set up his observatory,

where his patience was sorely tried by the interfering demeanour of the natives, which culminated in the attempt to make off with his instruments. One night when he arose for the purpose of making an observation, he was astonished to find that his instruments had vanished, with everything removable. His suspicions at once centred upon the guard, who alone could commit such an impudent theft with impunity. The accusation was, however, stoutly denied by the marine, and while the altercation was at its height, they spied a native creeping stealthily from under the tent. Mr. Bayly at once fired upon the burglar and wounded him, but he managed to make good his escape into the bush, he and his companions decamping without further ceremony, leaving their canoes on the beach, in which were found all the missing instruments. This episode was only one of the many instances in which the acquisitiveness of the Maori amounted to dishonesty, for they were inveterate thieves, and may in an indirect way have laid the foundation of the unfortunate catastrophe that happened so soon afterwards.

On the 17th of December the "Adventure" was ready for sea, but before the anchor was weighed, as a final precaution for the preservation of the crew's health, Mr. Rowe, the first mate, was sent on shore with nine men

in the ship's cutter to collect a stock of wild herbs possessing medicinal virtues. The boatmen were strong and stalwart fellows, having been chosen on account of their exceptional physique, and consisted of Mr. Woodhouse, a midshipman, Francis Murphy, quartermaster, James Sevilley, the Captain's servant, John Lavenaugh and Thomas Wilton of the after guard, William Facey, Thomas Hill, Michael Bell and Edward Jones, fo'c'le men. Their instructions were most explicit that they were to return to the ship by the evening, and to ensure this they left the vessel's side an hour earlier than they intended. But as the boat did not return that evening, and there still being no tidings of her on the following morning, the Captain became anxious for the safety of his men and irritated at the delay in getting to sea. To elucidate matters Mr. Burney, the second lieutenant, was despatched in the launch manned by a boat's crew of ten men, and what he saw was thus reported by him to his Captain:—

“About five o'clock in the afternoon, and within an hour after we left East Bay, we opened a small bay adjoining to Grass Cove, and here we saw a large double canoe just hauled up on the beach, with two men and a dog. The two men on seeing us approach instantly fled, which made us suspect it was here we should have some tidings of the

cutter. On landing and examining the canoe, the first thing we saw therein was one of our cutter's rullock ports and some shoes, one of which among the latter was known to belong to Mr. Woodhouse. A piece of flesh was found by one of our people, which at first we thought to be some of the salt meat belonging to the cutter's men, but, upon examination, we supposed to be dog's flesh. A most horrid and undeniable proof soon cleared up our doubts, and convinced us we were among no other than cannibals; for, advancing further on the beach, we saw about twenty baskets tied up and a dog eating a piece of boiled flesh, which, upon examination, we suspected to be human. We cut open the baskets, some of which were full of roasted flesh and others of fern-root, which served them for bread. Searching others we found more shoes and a hand, which was immediately known to have belonged to Thomas Hill, one of our fore-castle men, it having been tattooed with the initials of his name. We now proceeded a little way in the woods, but saw nothing else. Our next design was to launch the canoe, intending to destroy her, but seeing a great smoke ascending over the nearest hill, we made all possible haste to be with them before sunset. At half after six we opened Grass Cove, where we saw one single and three double canoes and a great many natives

assembled on the beach, who retreated to a small hill within a ship's length of the water-side, where they stood talking to us. On the top of the high land beyond the woods was a large fire, from whence all the way down the hill the place was thronged like a fair. When we entered the cove a musketoon was fired at one of the canoes, as we imagined they might be full of men lying down, for they were all afloat, but no one was seen in them. Being doubtful whether their retreat proceeded from fear or from a desire to decoy us into an ambuscade, we were determined not to be surprised, and therefore, running close in shore, we dropped the grappling near enough to reach them with our guns, but at too great a distance to be under any apprehension of their treachery. The savages on the little hill kept their ground, hallooing and making signs for us to land. At these we now took aim, resolving to kill as many of them as our bullets would reach, yet it was some time before we could dislodge them. The first volley did not seem to effect them much, but on the second they began to scramble away as fast as they could, some howling and others limping. We continued to fire as long as we could see the least glimpse of any of them through the bushes. Among these were two very robust men, who maintained their ground without moving an inch till they found them-



PICTON.



THOMAS CARTER.
THIRD SUPERINTENDENT.

selves forsaken by all their companions, and then, disdainng to run, they marched off with great composure and deliberation. One of them, however, got a fall, and either lay there or crawled away on his hands and feet ; but the other escaped without any apparent hurt.

We now improved their panic, and supported by the marines, leapt on shore and pursued the fugitives. We had not advanced far from the water side, on the beach, before we met with two bunches of celery which had been gathered by the cutter's crew. A broken oar was stuck upright in the ground, to which the natives had tied their canoes, whereby we were convinced this was the spot where the attack was made. We now searched all along at the back of the beach to see if the cutter was there, but instead of her, the most horrible scene was presented to our view ; for there lay the hearts, heads and lungs of several of our people, with hands and limbs in a mangled condition, some broiled and some raw, but no other part of their bodies, which made us suspect that the cannibals had feasted upon and devoured the rest. At a little distance we saw the dogs gnawing their entrails. We observed a large body of natives collected together on a hill about two miles off, but as night drew on apace, we could not advance to such a distance ; neither did we think it safe to attack them, or even to quit

the shore to take an account of the number killed,* our troop being a very small one, and the savages were both numerous, fierce, and much irritated. While we remained almost stupefied on the spot, Mr. Fannen said that he heard the cannibals assembling in the woods, on which we returned to our boat, and having hauled alongside the canoes we demolished three of them. During the transaction the fire on the top of the hill disappeared, and we could hear the savages at high words quarrelling, perhaps on account of their different opinions whether they would attack us and try to save their canoes. They were armed with long lances and weapons not unlike a sergeant's halbert in shape, made of hard wood mounted with bone instead of iron. We suspected that the bodies of our people had been divided amongst the different parties concerned in the massacre, and it was not improbable that the group we saw in the distance by the fire were feasting upon some of them, as those on shore had been where the remains were found, before they had been disturbed by our unexpected visit. Be that as it may, we could discover no traces of more than four of our friends' bodies, nor could we find the place where the cutter was concealed. It now grew dark, on which account we collected carefully the remains of our mangled

* Cook afterwards learned that none of the natives were killed in this attack.

friends, and, putting off, made the best of our way from this polluted place, though not without a few execrations bestowed upon the bloodthirsty inhabitants."

Mr. Burney's party brought on board the head of the Captain's servant, and also two hands, one belonging to Mr. Rowe, known by a hurt it had received, and the other to Thomas Hill, it being marked with the letters "T.H.," as before mentioned. These, with the other remains, were placed in a hammock, and with the usual burial ceremony observed on board ships, were committed to the sea.

For four days after the unfortunate affair the "Adventure" remained at her anchorage, and during this time no natives were seen from whom an explanation of the tragedy could be received, so that Captain Furneaux left the Sound without having the slightest knowledge of the circumstances attending the dispute which led to the death of his men, and no doubt in his ignorance of the facts he harboured a strong prejudice in his mind against the natives for their treachery and brutality, a prejudice he probably retained until the day of his death, for the mystery was not cleared up until long after, when Cook heard the story narrated by Kahura, the Rangitane chief, who was himself the leading spirit in the crime.

Although Kahura was a man evidently more feared than loved by his people, his account

of the *fracas* was substantially borne out by every native whom Cook interrogated upon the subject, and therefore we may believe that this savage was speaking truly when, standing in the cabin of the "Resolution" as she lay off the island of Motuara, prior to taking her final departure in 1777, he explained that while the boat's crew were at dinner they commenced to barter with the natives for curios and other articles, when one of the Maoris produced a stone axe and wished to exchange it for some bread. The sailor to whom it was offered was not an honest trader, and would neither return the axe nor deliver up the bread; whereupon the native did what most Europeans would have done under similar circumstances—he went down to the boat and helped himself to his share of the bargain. The negro servant who had been left in charge of the boat seeing him abstracting the food, and being unaware of his justification for the act, at once concluded that he was committing a petty larceny, and by way of correction struck him a violent blow with a heavy stick. The cries of the assaulted native at once roused his companions, who, believing their comrade to be killed, rushed furiously upon Mr. Rowe and his party, who were quite unprepared for such an attack. The sailors were, of course, seriously outnumbered, which only lends the greater em-

phasis to their folly in provoking a quarrel when so far away from the ship. They, however, fought gallantly, and in the struggle Kahura nearly lost his life, for one of the seamen levelled his gun at him, but ere the trigger could be pulled the agile chief dodged behind the boat, and one of his tribesmen received the charge instead, and fell on the sands a corpse. A desperate hand to hand contest then ensued between Kahura and Mr. Rowe, that gentleman bravely defending himself with his cutlass until overpowered by stress of numbers he fell from a blow delivered by Kahura's hand. One by one the others went down in the unequal conflict until all ten were slain, and then the barbarities of the cannibal feast were commenced with a relish that defies description and paralyses the imagination. Although it seems to be generally conceded that in this particular instance the Englishmen were at fault, Kahura's connection with the tragedy in no way increased his *mana* amongst the natives of the Sound, who entertained so strong an aversion to him that they frequently not only individually but collectively solicited Cook to kill him, presumably because of the part he had played in the massacre, but really because his death would rid them of a troublesome neighbour. To all these importunities, however, the Captain refused to listen, because he wished

to continue his unbroken friendship with each of the tribes, and he did not consider that the requirements of justice would be any better served by making an example of this particular man. The steadfast refusal of Cook to shed blood unnecessarily is all the more to be commended, because the demands of justice were not the only incentive behind the tribal requests, for he tells us that if he had followed the advice of all his pretended friends, he might have extirpated the whole race, seeing that the people of each village and *pah* applied to him by turns to destroy the inhabitants of the other. This condition of division and hostility in which the people of the Sound were living did not fail to attract the keen perception of Cook, who saw in it a reason why they would never become a controlling power, but would rather fall an easy prey to an opposing tribe who had generalship enough to attack them separately, and so profit by the prevailing mutual distrust which followed as a natural sequence of the age of violence in which they lived.

Of the personal courage of Kahura there could be no doubt, for although he was well aware of the general hatred of the tribes towards him, and that in their hatred they had begged Cook to kill him, and as he further knew that according to native custom there was every justification for making him

pay the last penalty of his act ; still he did not hesitate to visit the ship when a promise had once been obtained that no harm would come to him, for on the occasion of each of these visits he was so completely at the mercy of the crew that they might have despatched him without the slightest difficulty. This was especially so at the time the ship was lying at the entrance of the Sound, far away from the nearest source of help, when, amidst the execrations of Omai, a native boy of the South Sea Islands, who had been on board the "Adventure" at the time of the massacre, he entered the cabin and remained there for some considerable time, and even sat long enough to have his portrait drawn by Mr. Webber, one of the artists of the expedition. This courageous entering of the lion's den, as it were, must be regarded as a strong proof of the confidence with which Cook had inspired the native mind, for Kahura had nothing but his word on which he could rely to stand between him and certain death.

The matters referred to above more properly belong to a later stage of our narrative of Cook's connection with Marlborough, but for the sake of consolidating all the facts concerning the death of Captain Furneaux's men,

they have been added immediately after that event.

We may, however, now turn to receive Captain Cook on his third and last visit to the Sound during the second voyage, after the "Adventure" had taken her final departure for England. The "Resolution" had been busily engaged in the South Seas for some eleven months, during which time many notable discoveries had been made, and the geography of the Southern Hemisphere revealed in a way that the mind of man had never dreamed of.

But early in October, 1774, Cook turned his ship's head towards New Zealand, and on the 18th of that month the anchor was once more dropped in the bosom of the Sound. Naturally the first thought was for the "Endeavour," and evidences were soon found sufficient to satisfy them that she had succeeded in reaching Ship Cove during their absence, for in searching for the bottle at the foot of the tree, they found that it had been removed. They also saw trees cut down with saws and axes and a number of animals with the natives which they knew could only have been left by Captain Furneaux. And then there were the gardens on Long Island which proved such a source of delicious change to the ship's company, and which they could be certain no native had planted, as well as the

assurance of the natives themselves, who spoke of the "Adventure" having returned, some of them even confiding the fact that a boat's crew had been murdered, in hope that speedy retribution might be worked upon the unpopular Kahura, but the information conveyed to Cook was of so vague a nature that it even seemed doubtful if any such catastrophe had befallen the "Adventure's" men. He, therefore, deemed it wise to let the matter pass, and to continue his friendly intercourse with the natives, trading with them in such articles of barter as they were possessed of, and leaving the balance of profit in their favour by landing at Cannibal Cove and West Bay a number of poultry as well as a boar and a sow, the progenitors of that famous race of pigs who have ever since borne their liberator's name. This generosity on Cook's part was in a measure reciprocated by the old chief Matahoua, whom the sailors had nicknamed "Pedro," who presented the Captain with an ornamental staff of honour, such as was only carried by men of rank, and in return "Pedro" received a suit of cast-off clothes, which greatly tickled the old man's vanity, for it was said that when decked in these garments he presented no mean figure. This amiable old savage was a general favourite with the officers of the "Resolution," who several

times made him a guest at their table, and on these occasions he was able to distinguish himself by drinking more wine than any other man in the company without suffering the slightest ill-effect from his liberal libations.

During this visit Cook made his longest excursion up the Sound. Starting with the intention of discovering whether any passage existed at its head, he was dissuaded from this course by a number of natives, who assured him that there was no such outlet, but gave him to understand that a geographical feature of this nature did exist on the S.E. side of the Sound, and only a few leagues away. Accordingly the boat's head was turned in that direction, and about noon they came upon the passage that is now known as Tory* Channel. On this journey a more comprehensive idea of the population of the Sound was obtained than had hitherto been possible, for a large number of *pahs* were seen nestling in the bays along the shore, all of which seemed to have their complement of people, the largest of these settlements being then, as now, at Te Awaiti, but time did not permit of its being visited. On this occasion the "Resolution" remained in the Sound for twenty-three days, during which time the life of her people differed little from that of

* Named after the expedition ship "Tory," in which Colonel Wakefield and the pioneers of the New Zealand Company came to Wellington.

previous visits, the work of caulking and repairing the ship, of replenishing her stock of wood and water, and food for the cattle, proceeding with the usual discipline and despatch. By the 10th of November the necessary furnishing had been completed, the anchor weighed, and a start made to discover the great lone land which geographers imagined lay in the waters of the Antarctic Ocean.

COOK'S THIRD VOYAGE.

Captain Cook's last visit to the waters of Marlborough was made during the course of a voyage undertaken by command of His Majesty George III., for the purpose of prosecuting discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere, to determine the position and extent of the western side of North America, its distance from Asia, and the practicability of a northern passage to Europe. For the accomplishment of this end he sailed from Plymouth Sound, in his old ship the "Resolution," on the 12th of July, 1776, accompanied by the "Discovery," a vessel of 300 tons, commanded by Captain Clerke, who had previously sailed as his second officer in the "Resolution," the master of Cook's ship on this occasion being William Bligh, who, as captain of the "Bounty," became famous for his voyage of nearly 4000 miles in an open boat, into which he and twenty of his

crew had been forced after the mutiny on board that vessel.

Exactly six months after leaving England the vessels sighted the coast of Nelson at Rocks Point, and on the 12th of February, 1777, they again took up their position at the old anchorage in Queen Charlotte Sound. It was only natural the commander should expect that in consequence of the many evidences the natives had received of his good-will towards them, they would have flocked to his ship's side to welcome him back after his prolonged absence ; but on this occasion there was a marked reserve on their part and a pronounced disinclination to enter on board either the "Resolution" or the "Discovery," an act of friendship which neither the pressure of persuasion nor the proffer of presents could induce them to perform. At first this was a matter of considerable surprise to the officers of the "Resolution," as they recognised many of their former acquaintances amongst the Maoris in the canoes ; but at last Cook divined that this shyness might be due to a fear that he had re-visited the Sound for the purpose of avenging the death of Mr. Rowe and his boat's crew. He was, therefore, at no small pains, through the medium of Omai, the interpreter, to disabuse their minds of this error, and evidently these assurances of peace

were not lost upon them, for the next day after the ship's arrival all signs of distrust had disappeared, and the former friendly intercourse was continued as if nothing had occurred to mar the pleasure of their acquaintance.

The work of replenishing the ship's stock of wood and water was at once commenced under the supervision of the cooper and carpenter, while the boats were dispatched in various directions to collect green food for the cattle, and such as were not engaged in these operations were employed in repairing the ships' rigging. Two tents were also pitched on the shore, in which Mr. Bayly and Lieut. King prosecuted a number of astronomical and nautical observations with the instruments supplied to the ships by the Board of Longitude, for the purpose of aiding the scientific results of the expedition.

In all these movements by land and sea Cook adopted far greater precautions than ever he had observed before, for he could not overlook the fact that the Maoris had turned upon members of his former consort's crew, and they might as readily turn upon an isolated company of his own men. He had also heard of the murder of Captain Marion du Fresne at the Bay of Islands in 1772, and he therefore permitted no boat to leave the ship unless accompanied by a competent

guard. A guard of ten marines was also appointed to do duty at the tents on shore, and all the workmen were supplied with weapons. These precautions even Cook admits were in excess of apparent requirements, but it was not altogether possible to banish from their minds the memory of past calamities, especially when the natives began to gather from all parts of the Sound and make their camps within a stone's throw of the observatories.

The facility with which the natives erected their *whares* was a subject of no small surprise to Cook, as upon this occasion he saw as many as twenty of them built upon the flat at the head of the cove, where an hour before the land had been covered with fern and scrub. Their method of procedure was to bring some portion of the materials with them according to the locality in which they intended to settle; and immediately upon the canoes touching the shore the men would leap out, and racing up to the spot selected, begin to clear the ground by tearing up the growing vegetation. The act of clearing away the weeds was a fair title deed to the site for their houses, and when this had been secured they returned to their canoes, and, taking out their weapons, they brought them up the beach, and placing them in some handy spot where they could be grasped at a moment's notice, they continued

their work with unabated vigor. During the time the men were engaged in these operations the women were not idle, as they had each their several offices to perform. Some were stationed at the canoes, others were told off to store away the provisions, while others again set about collecting dry sticks to make a fire on which the evening meal was to be prepared, a feast that still consisted of fish and fern-root, for the natives had not yet shown any inclination to adapt themselves to the vegetarian delicacies introduced by the ships, although they were glad enough to regale themselves upon potatoes when they were cooked for them. Their proclivity towards animal food was, however, very great, and they showed an intense partiality for train oil, for the taste of which they would lick with rare relish every pot, and suck every stick which had come into contact with the, to them, tasty fluid. The natives who thus congregated about the camp were far from being a nuisance, for their services were utilised in a host of minor tasks about the ships, particularly in fishing, gathering celery and other herbs, which were boiled with peas and wheat as an antidote to the seeds of scurvy, from which the crews had enjoyed a remarkable freedom, there being only two cases of sick-

ness when the ships came to the anchorage, and these both on the "Discovery."

But it was not only the natives in the immediate vicinity of the cove who favoured Cook and his men with their company, for their presence soon became known to others whose *pahs* were higher up the Sound, and who had not yet been visited by any European. These were in the habit of journeying down to the scene of operations to gratify their curiosity and dispose of their wares. Prominent amongst them was Kahura, and old "Pedro," a title which, like most such secondary names, seemed to be more attractive than the original, for he was as well known to his countrymen by the one as by the other.

Another family of which Cook took special note was one headed by a chief to whom he has given the formidable name of Tomaton-geauooranuc. This *hapu* consisted of about thirty persons, who were by far the most handsome of the New Zealand race that he had as yet come into contact with, their bodies being straight and roundly developed, and their features well formed, which gave an open and cheerful appearance to their countenance.

By the 25th of the month all that was required to prepare the ships for sea had been

completed, and the vessels were now hauled out into the stream to await a favourable wind. But as this did not present itself immediately, the interval was employed in making excursions to various parts of the Sound where they had previously visited. The island of Motuara was found to be uninhabited, although there was evidence that the natives had been there not long before, as the *whares* were newly rebuilt, to the complete destruction of the gardens which had been planted by Mr. Bayly four years previously.

Just as the ships were heaving anchors, "Pedro" and his fellow chief Tomatonguea-ooranuc, with many of their people, came off in their canoes to take farewell of Cook, or, as that gentleman shrewdly surmised, to importune him for some additional gift. Their solicitations took the form of a request for some of the animals on board the "Resolution." This, Cook granted with considerable reluctance, because he was not at all satisfied with the treatment meted out to those he and Captain Furneaux left on their previous visits, but upon the chiefs giving him a solemn promise that the natives would not kill them, he gave two goats to the one, and two pigs to the other, and consigned them to the tender mercies of the savages with grave feelings

of doubt as to whether they would ever reach a ripe old age.

It had been Cook's intention on the occasion of this visit to have left quite a number of animals with the Maoris, but as he became more thoroughly acquainted with their methods, he saw that property had no rights amongst them, and so soon as one chief appeared to become more prosperous than his neighbours, his wealth was at once an excuse for an attack upon himself and his possessions by those who were less fortunate. As there seemed to be no chief sufficiently powerful to protect any number of stock, and as Cook had not sufficient to go round them all, he deemed it prudent not to stir up tribal strife, and risk the lives of his animals by favouring one chief more than another. But as he was sorely pressed by these two chiefs from the upper part of the Sound, he departed from his final intention and sent the pigs and goats on shore to take their chance. ●

During the last few days' stay in the Sound the explorers had an experience of what is commonly known to the settlers on the shores of these reaches as "Willie Waughs," for on the 20th a gale sprang up, and the gusts of wind coming down from the vapour-covered hills struck the ship with terrific force, and no two from the same quarter, so that it was with difficulty the ship rode the storm out, in

spite of the precautions exercised in taking off superfluous top-gear. But by the 25th of the month the weather had assumed its wonted calm, and at 10 o'clock on the morning of that day, a light and favourable breeze having sprung up, the anchor was weighed, and for the last time the great navigator passed out of the harbour* which Marlborough's people are proud to know gave him shelter.

Before closing our reference to Captain Cook's connection with the history of Marlborough, it yet remains to be told that, shortly before the ships arrived at New Zealand, Omai had expressed a desire to be allowed to take back to his own island some natives of this country, as his companions.

Accordingly, while they were at the Sound, he made the requisite arrangements with a youth named Tiarua, the son of a widowed chieftainess, who was much respected by the tribes. At first Cook was apprehensive lest Omai, in his anxiety to get the youth to accompany him, had misled him and his parent as to the probability of his return. He was therefore most particular to explain the small prospect there was of this event, but his assurances did not in the least shake the determination of Tiarua. On the afternoon before they left the cove Tiratoutou, the lad's

* Ship Cove is now protected by the Government as an historical reserve.

mother, brought him on board and took her farewell of him amidst a flood of tears and all the marks of affection which a mother might be expected to show towards a child whom she could not expect to embrace again. Then she dried her eyes and said she would cry no more ; and true enough, on the next morning before the ship sailed, she left the vessel perfectly cheerful, and without the slightest sign of emotion.

As Omai's friend was a youth born in the purple, it was thought necessary, to uphold the dignity of his rank, that he should have an attendant, and in keeping with this social distinction negotiations were entered into with a boy of inferior birth to act in the capacity of his servant, but before the ships took their departure his parents regretted their decision to let him go, and came and took him away. In his place, however, another lad named Kokoa came, but the conduct of his father was brutal, compared with that of Tiratoutou, towards his child. He did not give the slightest indication of sorrow at the loss of his boy, but sullenly brought him on board, and as sullenly left him, but not before he had stripped him of every vestige of clothing he wore, which was not a great deal, certainly, and left him standing

on the deck as naked as the day he was born.

This lack of paternal sympathy, to say nothing of love, convinced Cook that the boy was not likely to lose much by the change, and to some extent reconciled him to the idea that there was but a small chance of Kokoa ever seeing the Sound again.

For some days after the ship had passed through the Strait, to the eastward, both the Maori boys were ill at ease. Sea-sickness prostrated them bodily, and home-sickness lay heavily on their hearts. While in this unhappy condition they indulged in constant lamentations, in the course of which they recited the many beauties of their native land and the virtues of the friends they had left there. But when this bodily discomfort had passed away their spirits soon revived, and we have it on the authority of Cook himself that both the lads proved to be bright, witty and intelligent youths, capable of taking an interest in anything they saw, and thus rapidly acquiring a large fund of information. They accompanied the "Resolution" in all her journeyings through the South Seas, finally settling down with Omai on the island of Hauheine, where they survived their exile only a very few years.

CHAPTER V.

THE RAIDS OF TE RAUPARAHA.

Away, away with sighs and tears,
Raise your war-cry, point your spears,
Onward, onward, vict'ry cheers,
Te Rauparaha is here.

At the time of Cook's visit to Queen Charlotte Sound that portion of Marlborough was, as we have seen, occupied by a number of tribes, the most powerful of which were the Rangitane, Ngatiara, and Ngatikuri. Their coming has already been described, by which it appears that their presence in the country was due to the many successive waves of victory and defeat, the working of the stern law of the survival of the fittest, which operated with relentless vigor amongst the Maori tribes of that day.

After the great navigator's departure, the tide of battle still continued to ebb and flow with varying intervals of peace, and there are not wanting piquant evidences of the frequency with which the war-clouds loomed

dark in the angry sky, for the old fortifications at the entrance of Tory Channel, Langley Dale and Kaikoura, were not the result of a mere whim on the part of the settled population, but the outcome of grim necessity, and so materially has the course of human events been altered by the gage of battles fought over the country between the Pelorus and Conway Rivers, that scarcely any traditions remain of the fluctuating fortunes of the tribes between the time of Cook's visits and the arrival of the English whalers.

Then the landscape of life is once more brought into focus, and towards the year 1824 we begin to get a glimpse of those wars that established the Ngatitoas as a section of the resident native people in the province. The central figure in these sanguinary struggles which bathed the land in blood was Te Rau-paraha, a chief to whom Dryden's lines may be aptly applied:—

For close design and crooked counsel fit,
Sagacious, bold, and truculent of wit,
Restless, ambitious, subtle, sly, and base,
In power despotic—slavish in disgrace.

With the ambition of Alexander and the energy of Napoleon he had conceived and carried out the design of migrating with his people from Kawhia, and of conquering the country in the neighbourhood of Kapiti. His many fierce and bitter engagements against

the Muaupoko of Horowhenua, the Rangitane of Manawatu, and Ngatiapa of Rangitikei, in the process of his conquest, forms no part of our narrative, but by the time he and his handful of warriors had been in possession of the new land for four years they had met and defeated every individual tribe on the coast.

The leading chiefs of the opposing people now saw that their only hope of successful retaliation upon this victorious invader was to form a powerful alliance and crush him with one irresistible blow. The chief who formulated this design was Ratu, of the Muaupoko tribe, who had seen his people destroyed, and had the indignity of slavery heaped upon himself by Te Pehi, the uncle of Te Rauparaha.

By judgment and diplomacy Ratu at length, in 1826, succeeded in uniting all the discomfited tribes from Patea to Rangitikei on the north, Wairarapa on the east, and the Sounds and Kaikoura on the south. This vast army of men, to the number of two thousand, assembled at the appointed *rendezvous*, the right wing at Waikanae, the left at Otaki; and in the stillness of the night they started simultaneously for Kapiti, where the object of their hatred lay. But their proceedings were not conducted with over much caution, for the noise of their paddles, as they approached the land, awakened the chieftain

Nopera, who at once gave the alarm, and at four o'clock in the morning the battle commenced. Te Rauparaha was at Taipiri, at the other end of the island, whence a messenger had been despatched to inform him of the attack, but ere he could reach the scene of action his friends were being sorely worsted in the fight. At this stage a truce was asked for by Pokaitara, the Ngatitōa in command, who wished to gain time to admit of the arrival of his chief, and for a similar reason it was granted by Rangimairehau, who fondly hoped that when reinforced by the men who were still at sea in the canoes he would be able to for ever crush the pride of the haughty Ngatitōa. The terms of peace had scarcely been arranged when Rauparaha arrived upon the scene, and disdaining to recognise the truce entered into by his second in command, he recommenced the fight, and before the charges of his intrepid band, the allies broke and fled in defeat and disorder, whereupon the late Thomas Bracken, in his powerful poem descriptive of the Ngatitōa's famous march from Kawhia, has significantly remarked :—

The Tuis came the Hawk to kill,
And yet the Hawk is living still,
Kapai ! Rauparaha !

Although this battle of Waiorua occurred far from the shores of Marlborough, it was nevertheless destined to have an important

bearing upon its future history, for indirectly it was the cause of the many successive visits of devastation paid by Te Rauparaha to the province during the twenty years immediately prior to his abandonment of the glory and vanity of war; for when the fugitives from Kapiti reached their settlements on the Middle Island, and carried with them the marvellous tales of Te Rauparaha's prowess in battle, their stories only tended to engender even a greater feeling of hatred and jealousy than had existed before in the minds of the southern chiefs, and their impotent rage found expression in a vain and unfortunate boast made by Rerewaka, the chief of the Ngaitahu, who were then residing at Kairourou.

Rerewaka had not himself been present at the invasion of Kapiti, otherwise he might have been more modest in his language towards the invulnerable Te Rauparaha, but he had his friends with the allies, and the chagrin felt at their annihilation, and the taunting song of triumph chanted by the victorious Ngaitoas, in which the subjection of the Ngaitahu was hinted at, caused him to declare in an unguarded moment, that "if ever Te Rauparaha dared to set foot on his land, he would rip his belly open with a *nihomanga*."* This oral indiscretion was over-

* A shark's tooth fixed upon a stick, and used as a knife.

heard by a slave standing near by, who shortly after made his escape and carried the tale of Rerewaka's boast to Rauparaha. The chief of the Ngatitōa heard with placid countenance of his threatened fate, and in answer he merely remarked, "So he has said," the apparent unconcern of his reply justifying the native proverb concerning him: *Ko-te-uri-okapu-manawa-witi*. — "No one knew his thoughts, whether they were good or evil." Although so casually uttered, Rauparaha's comment upon the slave's story implied a great deal more than appeared on the surface for in his heart he was glad of the circumstance which gave him the very pretext he wanted for attacking and conquering the tribes of the Middle Island. But while he had his mind bent on revenge and his eyes fixed upon the treasure of greenstone which he knew was stored in the Kaikoura *pah*,* he was in no haste to put his design into execution. The lapse of time would enable him to mobilise his own forces, and wrap his enemies in a sense of false security, and so for two years he waited patiently, and kept his warriors in fighting trim by occasional skirmishes with the shattered remnants of the Muaupoko tribe. But in 1828 his plans had fully matured, for by this time he had suc-

* The natives of the Ngaitahu tribe were in the habit of making regular excursions to the west coast of the Middle Island for the purpose of collecting greenstone with which to make their weapons, and at this time there was a large collection of the valuable jade at Kaikoura.

ceeded in gathering a large quantity of arms and ammunition from the Europeans, who were beginning to make Kapiti a frequent port of call and a central station for the whaling industry. With these weapons he furnished his chosen men, who, when fighting with their native *meres*, were superior even to the best of the Ngaitahu or Rangitane, but when they were invested with the more modern implements of the *pakeha* they became simply invincible. His fleet of canoes had also been recently strengthened by the captures he had made after the battle of Waiorua, so that he had ample accommodation for the three hundred and forty men who comprised his expedition.

With this force, the largest and best equipped he had yet commanded, Rauparaha crossed the Strait, making his first port of call at Rangitoto (D'Urville Island). Here he found a section of the Rangitane tribe, who were the descendants of the people whom Cook had first met at Ship Cove, and who had now become powerful in the sense that they were numerous; but where the odds of skill and arms were against them, numbers only added to the sumptuous nature of the cannibal feast which followed the battle, for everywhere the islanders were defeated, and put to rout, many of them being eaten on the spot, and as many more carried back to

Kapiti, there to await the dictates of their captors' appetites, or if they were fortunate enough to have their lives spared their last condition was only one degree removed from the first, because their reprieve carried slavery and degradation with it.

Rauparaha, on this occasion, swept like a withering blast over the whole of the northern portion of the province, neither the seclusion of the Pelorus Sound, nor the inaccessibility of the Wairau and Awatere Valleys protecting the inhabitants from the rapaciousness of his warriors. Whether under ordinary circumstances he would have raided the Wairau during this campaign it is impossible to say, but as it was, he felt more than justified in doing so, for it had been reported to him that the Rangitane chief of the valley, Te Rua-oneone, whose *pah*, called Kowhai, was situated near the mouth of the Wairau River, had heaped a curse upon his head which called for prompt and vigorous action. As yet the Wairau natives had had no experience of Rauparaha's qualities as a fighting chief; but they had heard rumours, and listened to tales of his doings on the other Island, which, although painted in the glowing colours stories generally derive from imaginative narrators, were nevertheless regarded with contempt by many of the leading chiefs.

Amongst these incredulous persons was Te Ruaoneone, who treated the matter so lightly as to remark that "Te Rauparaha's head would one day be beaten with a fern-root pounder." According to the tribal code there was only one way of dealing with a scoffer who could speak so contemptuously of a chief, and therefore when the natives of the Pelorus, D'Urville Island, and Tōtaranui had been hopelessly beaten, the canoes were ordered to the Wairau, where the boastful Ruaoneone had ocular demonstration of what manner of man Te Rauparaha was.

The fight, which took place on the land which is now enclosed within Bank farm, was soon over, and could only have one result. The Rangitanes were brave men, but their wooden weapons were useless against the muskets of the Ngatitoas, who succeeded in capturing Te Ruaoneone, and carried him as a slave to Kapiti, where he had time and opportunity to reflect upon his defeat, which Rauparaha appropriately, and not a little sarcastically, called *tuki tuki patu aruhe*, which signifies, "Beaten with a fern root pounder."

Nor was this merely a raid of bloodshed, for Rauparaha sought the opulence of additional territory, and he adopted the Roman principle of securing the fruits of his conquest by planting a colony of his tribe at every centre along the route of his victorious march,

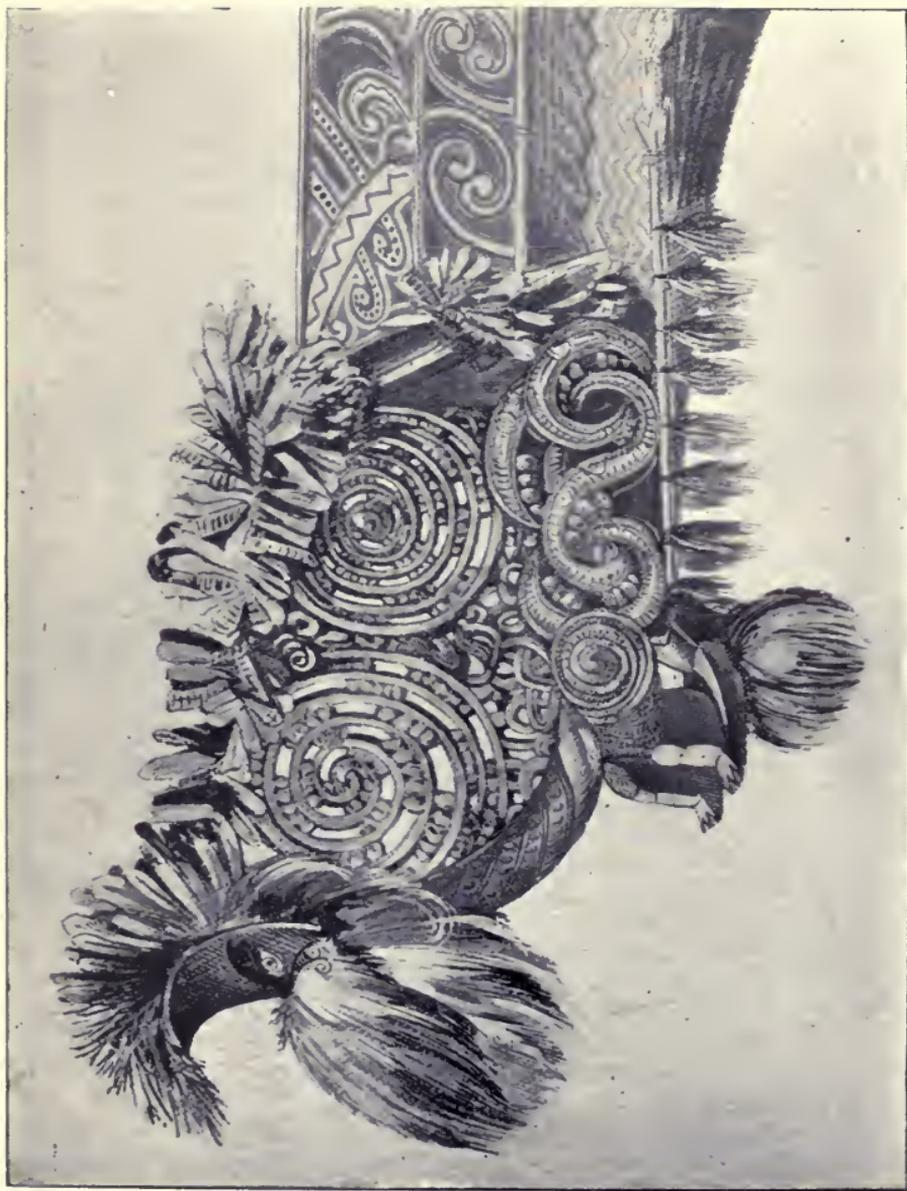
the newcomers keeping as slaves the strong amongst the men, and the beautiful amongst the women of the tribes they vanquished. While the Ngatitoas were thus employed in subduing the second race of men in Marlborough, an event occurred which gave Rauparaha even greater *mana* amongst his own people, and added to his deadly reputation abroad. This was the arrival of his former comrade, Te Pehi Kupe, who had secreted himself on one of the whalers, and was by this means carried to England; where he had induced a section of people whose generosity was greater than their judgment or their knowledge of the native mind, to give him a large number of rifles and a corresponding supply of ammunition. Te Pehi now coalesced with the Ngatitoa, and with this valuable addition to his munitions of war Rauparaha felt more than equal to the task of carrying the battle to the gates of Kaikoura.

From out of this extreme confidence grew a further development of the Ngatitoa scheme of conquest, their forces being now divided into two sections, the one proceeding to the great bays on the Nelson coast, where they intended forcibly establishing themselves, while the remainder of the invading army under their old leader, aided by Te Pehi and a staff of other warriors who had long since earned the right to lead in many a hard

fought fight, prepared to cast the die that was to determine the merits of Rerewaka's boast. It was a fateful day when the canoes, with three hundred men, left D'Urville Island and turned their prows to the south, for although the company was few in numbers compared with the enemy they were going in search of, they knew that the advantage of arms was with them, almost every man being provided with a musket. Moreover, they were full of that animation which is born of complete confidence in one's leader, and which in this case almost amounted to a superstition, for no war party with Rauparaha at its head ever took failure into account, some of the warriors even going so far as to declare that it was only necessary to strike the enemy with the handles of their paddles in order to secure a victory. In this condition of complete armament and vigorous spirits the Ngatitoas proceeded down the coast, resting first at Cloudy Bay and subsequently at various other points, arriving off Kaikoura before dawn on the fourth day. Not knowing what the exact disposition of the enemy's forces might be, and as he was not prepared to risk anything, Rauparaha anchored his canoes under the shadow of the peninsula and then waited for the light, and in this decision his characteristic good fortune did not desert him, for it so happened that the



TE RAUPARAHĀ



HEAD OF TE RAUPARAHA'S WAR CANOE.

Kaikoura natives were at that very time expecting a visit from some of their tribesmen in the south, and when the first glimmerings of the approaching dawn revealed a fleet of canoes on the bay below, and there being nothing to indicate the direction from which they had come, the unsuspecting Ngaitahu at once imagined that their anticipated visitors had arrived. Accordingly the early risers in the *pah* set up a song of welcome, and soon the whole settlement throbbed with life and activity, indicative of the jubilant expectation at the re-union of friends. While the elder ones busied themselves with preparations for the hospitable entertainment of the strangers, the younger people went pell-mell down to the beach, shouting gaily the while, to escort their guests back to the *pah*. The quick and vigilant eye of Rauparaha at once saw the trap into which his enemy had so simply fallen, and elated at his amazing good fortune he ordered the advance of the canoes, which with a few sweeping strokes of the paddles were driven like a flash across the intervening space, and, ere the unwary victims had recognised their mistake, or recovered from their surprise, the Ngatitoo warriors were amongst them, dealing death blows on every hand. As might be expected the Ngaitahu, being totally unarmed and unprepared for the attack, were slaughtered

without remorse or resistance, and as their only safety lay in flight, they beat an ignominious and breathless retreat towards the *pah*, where for a time the semblance of a stand was made; but the muskets of the assailants were busy singing a song of death, while their ruthless charges soon told a gory tale; and before very long Rerewaka was a prisoner, over a thousand of his people were slain, and his stronghold was in the hands of his most detested enemies.

The importance of this achievement was fully celebrated during the next few days, with all the atrocities peculiar to cannibal feasts, and after the savage appetites of the victors had been surfeited with the flesh of their victims, and the nephritic treasures of the *pah* were collected, the war party returned to Kapiti, carrying Rerewaka and four hundred additional prisoners with them, who were to be killed and eaten at the leisure of their lords and masters. The majority of them in due course met this fate, Rerewaka himself being killed with especial marks of cruelty and indignity, because of the insulting nature of his language towards the Napoleon of the Ngatittoa tribe. In consideration of the circumstance which influenced this attack upon Kaikoura, the victory has ever since

been known as *Niho Manga*, or “the battle of the shark’s tooth.”

The following is the late Thomas Bracken’s poetic rendering of this historic event :—

The conqueror’s red eyes are now fixed on the distant coast,
For news has reached the victor’s ears of Rerewaka’s boast
That he, with tooth of shark, would rip Te Rauparaha in twain,
The hero cannot rest until this braggart chief is slain.
The war canoes are ready, and the warriors are here ;
From Rangitoto, flushed with pride, to Kaikoura they steer.
Three hundred braves have landed, and sweep upon their foes,
As fiercely as the cataracts, fed by Mount Una’s snows
Sweep wild through Spencer’s mountain cleft, and down through
Ada’s vale !
The dying shrieks in chorus harsh are borne upon the gale.
Te Rauparaha has waded deep in boastful foemen’s gore,
And Rerewaka’s bones will bleach on Kapiti’s shore.
Full fourteen hundred victims have been conquered in the fray,
The *Niho Manga* shall be famed in legend and in lay
For evermore, for there was tamed proud Rerewaka’s pride.

After the humiliation of Rerewaka and his people at Kaikoura, Rauparaha’s greatest ambition was to pit himself in battle against that section of the Ngaitahu tribe, who, under Rongotara and other powerful chiefs, held the strongly fortified *pah* at Kaiapoi ; for like the great Alexander he ever longed for fresh conquests. But before he had a reasonable excuse for picking a new quarrel with this tribe, and so putting his design in execution, he had another opportunity of returning to Kaikoura to retrieve the dignity of himself and his friends.

The cause of this second invasion, like the previous one, was somewhat remote ; but unlike

it, it arose rather out of a superabundance of love than of hate, the one being as dangerous to the public peace as the other when wrongly directed. The offence complained of was not committed against Rauparaha, but against his nephew Rangihæata,* who afterwards played such an important part in the Wairau massacre. Rangihæata was at this time a young man, rapidly rising into fame as a daring and successful warrior, and his place in the tribe naturally demanded that much of his time should be given up to the business of war, the result being that his domestic functions as the head of his household were sadly neglected.

During one of these prolonged periods of absence, his *pah* at Porirua was visited by a chief of the Ngatikahungunu tribe named Kekerengu, who at that time lived between Napier and Gisborne. If all that tradition says concerning this chief be true, Kekerengu was a man of remarkable beauty of figure and grace of deportment. Tall and stalwart in frame, easy of carriage and engaging in manner, his personal appearance was even still further enhanced in Maori estimation by a particularly artistic *moko*, or tattoo decoration. The introduction of this social lion in Rangihæata's domestic circle was the cause of all the trouble, for, true to the old

* Rangihæata was the son of Waitohi, Te Rauparaha's sister.

adage : " When the cat is away the mice will play," the handsome and amorous Kekerengu had so inveigled himself into the affections of the warrior's wives, that when Rangihaeata returned from the wars the breath of scandal was busy with the way his flirting brides had been " carrying on " in his absence. The anger of the fighting chief, on learning what had occurred, knew no bounds, and forthwith he sent the fiery cross from *pah* to *pah*, and in an incredibly short space of time a force sufficient for his purpose was enrolled. Rauparaha, to whom the scent of battle was as sweet as violets, at once espoused the cause of his relative, and together they immediately set out in search of the destroyer of Rangihaeata's domestic happiness. Kekerengu knew that as the result of his indiscreet conduct, retribution would in some form follow him ; but in order to avert the evil day as long as possible, he judiciously took to his canoe, and with one hundred followers crossed over the Strait and sought refuge amongst the Ngaitahu at Kaikoura. Here the wrathful lord of Porirua tracked him, but this time the inhabitants of the *pah* were not to be taken by surprise ; and knowing that they were no match for the force they saw approaching, they at once abandoned their settlement and flew down the coast, through the Amuri, towards Kaiapoi. But so simple

a trick was not to stand between the Ngatitoo and their revenge; and therefore, when they arrived and found the *pah* empty, they at once decided to go in pursuit, and give justice a chance of having her own. The march was swift and forced, and the invaders soon fell in with the fugitives, who were caught while camped at the Omihī* Stream. Here the unhappy wretches were attacked and routed with great slaughter; the few who escaped death or capture flying in precipitate haste into the bush, through which they made their way to the minor settlements further south. The enormity of Kekerengu's guilt was now expiated in his own, and his harbourer's blood, and therefore the Ngatitoo might have returned to their homes fully satisfied with the results of their expedition; but the opportunity was so favourable for carrying out the long-cherished design of attacking Kaiapoi that the scheme was immediately agreed upon. To facilitate the movements of the war party all encumbrances in the shape of prisoners taken in the battle just fought, were left in charge of a detachment at Omihī, the rest of the force pushing on across the Conway towards the southern stronghold. What oc-

* The scene of this battle is now included within the sheep run of Mr Charles Goulter, and that gentleman has in his possession a large number of greenstone tools and weapons, which he has found since he settled there. Most of them were picked up on the sea beach at high water mark, suggesting that they were thrown into the sea, perhaps by the fugitives, to prevent them falling into the hands of their enemies, and have since been washed up by the tide.

curred there belongs in no part to the history of Marlborough ; but it is relevant to add that in consequence of the disappointment at not succeeding in capturing Kaiapoi, and the loss of so many of his leading chiefs, particularly Te Pehi, Rauparaha returned to Omihi, and in a fit of anger killed all his prisoners, and after their bodies had been devoured, he travelled overland to the Wairau, from whence he embarked for his island fortress at Kapiti.

Rauparaha, ever mindful of his repulse at Kaiapoi and the death of Te Pehi, was by no means inclined to rest quietly under the sense of injury caused by these misfortunes, and so he at once set about his preparations for another attack upon the southern Ngaitahu. This time, however, he adopted methods of a more civilised character to ensure success against his tribal enemy. The native canoe was discarded, and a brig named the "Elizabeth" was chartered to carry the war party

There are other traditions existing amongst the Maori tribes as to the death of Kekerongu ; that of his own people, for instance, making it appear that, in consequence of the unsettled condition of affairs in the north, this chief, with one hundred of his followers, decided to cross over to Marlborough to settle amongst the Sounds ; that shortly after his arrival he was murdered by a band of the Ngaitahu, who were roving over the country at the time ; and that, although he had offended Rangihacata, it was for the purpose of avenging his death that Rauparaha and his nephew paid this visit to the province. In all probability the Ngaitoa version of the incident is the correct one, as their account is the more circumstantial of the two, but in any case the result was the same, for it provided a pretext for a fight--an opportunity that was far too good to lose. The hero of this incident in all probability supplied the name for the well-known Kekerangu sheep station, which was better known amongst the early shearers as "Keggerigoo."

to Akaroa. But the incidents of this particular raid, which revealed Rauparaha as a crafty and bloodthirsty savage, do not immediately concern us; although indirectly they were the cause of an event of considerable import, as it was the one occasion on which this remarkable man seemed to be fairly within the clutches of death, and his escape might be accepted by the superstitious as an instance of Satan's solicitude for his own.

By a course of systematic treachery the chief at Akaroa had been captured and carried to Kapiti on board the "Elizabeth," and Tutehounuku, his son, recognising that his own people were not equal to the task of accomplishing vengeance, sought the aid of that Otago warrior Tuhawaiki, who, rightly or wrongly, received from the early whalers the startling appellation of "Bloody Jack."* This chief was a warrior of the progressive type, who at once saw the advantage of intimate intercourse with the *pakeha*, and to this end he made common cause with all the whalers stationed along the coast. He assisted them in their quarrels, and they in return supplied him with the implements of war necessary to overcome his tribal enemies.

* A name given to him not so much because of his sanguinary nature as of the lurid quality of his conversation. Having learnt most of his English from the whalers and sealers, he had, amongst other words, picked up the senseless adjective "bloody," which he was in the habit of using upon every possible occasion, thereby acquiring a title which has now become historical.

In this way he managed to acquire the mastery over a large area of country, and to amass a considerable amount of wealth. He owned a small vessel which was commanded by one of his whaler friends, and in which he frequently made trips to Sydney. There he formed an acquaintance with Governor Gipps, who presented him with a number of old military uniforms, and on his return to New Zealand he enrolled a squad of his tribe, clothed them in the soldiers' garb, drilled them, and on state occasions paraded them as his personal guard, "all the same the Kawana." To this enterprising barbarian the prospect of a brush with Rauparaha—or with anyone else for that matter, was a most agreeable one, and so the alliance with Tutehounuku was entered upon after the most trifling negotiation. Tuhawaiki came and secreted himself in the vicinity of Cape Campbell, being thus favourably situated for an attack upon the Ngatittoa, who now had entire control of the northern portion of the province, where a section of their people were continuously settled. Moreover, it had become one of their practices to visit Lake Grassmere* for the purpose of snaring the paradise ducks which then, as now, made this sheet of water

* The old name of this lake was Kaparetehau, a name which was also applied by the Maoris to the whole of the Lower Awatere district, and which freely translated means "the wind will change." The Blind River was called Otuwheru, and Flaxbourne Stream—Waiarakiki "the water of the flax."

one of their favourite breeding grounds ; and it was while upon one of these bird-catching expeditions that Rauparaha nearly lost his life. Being intent upon the manipulation of his snares, he was all unconscious of the approach from behind the cape of "Bloody Jack" and his horde, until with a savage yell they pounced upon the unwary Ngatitoa. For them the situation was indeed critical, and all its difficulties were taken in by Rauparaha at a single glance. He saw that in point of numbers the odds were terribly against him, and that to stand his ground and fight it out with such a formidable foe could only end in certain death. On the other hand the chances of escape had been almost completely cut off, for when the party landed at the lake the canoes, with one exception, were drawn up on the beach, and were now high and dry. The delay of launching these meant the difference between life and death, so closely were they pressed, but fortunately for him one still remained in the water some distance from the shore ; and on observing this solitary gleam of hope, it did not take Rauparaha long to make up his mind that discretion was the better part of valour. In an instant he raced for the sea, and, plunging into the surf, swam to the canoe with rapid

and powerful strokes, followed by at least forty of his own people.

On reaching the canoe a general scramble ensued, in which only the fittest survived, the remainder being left struggling in the water to escape as best they could, or be despatched by their enemies as opportunity offered. In the meantime those of the Ngatitōa who had not been able to plunge into the sea were unceremoniously killed on the spot; and those of the attacking party who were not actively engaged in this sanguinary work at once launched the canoes lying upon the Boulder Bank which divides the lake from the sea, and set off in hot pursuit of the retreating Rauparaha.

As might be expected the chase was a desperate one, each party straining every nerve to defeat the object of the other, Rauparaha, standing in the stern of his canoe, by word and gesture urging the men at the paddles to renewed exertions; not that they required much exhortation, for they knew that their lives depended entirely upon themselves; but notwithstanding their utmost endeavours it soon became painfully evident that their pursuers were gaining on them, owing to the overloaded condition of the canoe. Rauparaha then determined upon a course which can scarcely recommend him to our admiration, although nature's first law of self-p̄servation

might be urged in extenuation of his crime, for, without further ceremony, he ordered half the people in the canoe, many of whom were women and children, to jump overboard, and those who demurred were forcibly compelled to obey. Thus relieved of some of its burden the canoe gradually forged its way ahead, and the pursuers, diverting their attention to the jettisoned passengers who were struggling in the water, enabled Rauparaha to make good his escape to Cloudy Bay.

The Ngaitahu people are especially proud of this encounter, which they regard as a brilliant victory, and have called it *Rua Moa*, or "the battle of the moa's feather."

It could not, of course, be supposed that a man of action such as Rauparaha was, would long remain idle while so black a stain upon his reputation as a warrior was still unavenged. He therefore lost no time in sending his messengers to a branch of the Ngatiawa tribe, who then resided at the Wairau, soliciting their aid in a mission of retaliation. The request was readily granted, and with this reinforcement a war party of considerable magnitude set sail in their canoes for the karaka groves which grew luxuriantly at O-Rua-Moa Bay; immediately to the south of Cape Campbell, where it was fully expected the enemy would be resting. In these anticipations they were disappointed, for the prey

had flown, and if the purpose of the expedition was not to fail utterly, there was nothing for it but to push on until the object of their search was found. In this they were soon rewarded, for, close to the shore, at the mouth of the Flaxbourne River, Tuhawaiki and his braves were encamped, and here the gage of battle was thrown down. That the encounter was a desperate one may be judged by the fact that both sides claimed the victory, and they seemed to have withdrawn from the combat, mutually agreeing that they had each had enough.

According to the Ngaitahu account Rauparaha's stratagem of sending one hundred and forty men of the Ngatiawa tribe down the steep face of a cliff to cut off Tuhawaiki's retreat was successfully circumvented, the flanking party being caught in their own trap, and every one of them destroyed. The Ngatitoa are equally positive that the palm of victory rested with them, but in that event the advantage gained was not sufficiently great to justify them in following it up, for Tuhawaiki was allowed to depart next morning, unmolested, to Kaikoura. On the journey down an incident occurred which betrayed the savage nature of this man, and showed how much he deserved, in another sense, the title of the old whalers when they styled him "Bloody Jack." During the voyage the

canoe commanded by Tutehounuku, owing to faulty seamanship, was capsized, and the young chief was drowned, although every other man was saved. The selfishness of the men in seeking their own safety and letting their leader perish so enraged the fiery Tuhawaiki that as soon as he heard of the accident, he ordered the canoes ashore, and with his own hand slew every one of the negligent and selfish crew.

Although the next excursion made by Rau-paraha against the Ngaitahu tribe, and undertaken about a year after the preceding events, was probably the most important of all his raids, it being on this occasion that he laid his famous siege to the great *pah* at Kaiapoi, the province of Marlborough is but slightly interested in it, and that only to the extent that the allied forces of the Ngatitōa, Ngati-koata, Ngatiawa and Ngatiraukawa tribes, of whom the attacking party consisted, first landed at Cloudy Bay from Kapiti, and then divided into two parties for the purpose of allaying suspicion, the two latter sections travelling up the Wairau Valley and through the Wairau Gorge, thence across the Hanmer

* It is somewhat remarkable that a few years later "Bloody Jack" met a similar fate, near Timaru, to that of the chief whom he so avenged, for returning from Kaikoura one night in company with a young chief named Kopi, he mistook the passage in the dark and was capsized in the surf. His cries for help were heard by Kopi, who occupied another canoe, but that young gentleman was annoyed at Tuhawaiki because he appropriated more than his fair share of the proceeds of a recent land sale, and so he left him to work out his own salvation, a feat which he failed to accomplish, and thus he perished.

plains to where the Waipara River has its junction with the sea. Rauparaha on the other hand took his own tribe with him, and journeyed by slow marches down the East Coast through Flaxbourne, Kaikoura and the Amuri until he again united forces with those who had taken the inland route. The result of the recent wars had been to so effectually place the whole of the province under the subjection of the Ngatitōa tribe that no one was able to send intelligence of the intended attack to Kaiapoi, and so secretly were the whole proceedings carried out that it was not until the rattle of musketry was heard by the labourers in the kumara plantations that Kaiapoi knew Rauparaha was again on the war path.

The power of the Ngaitahu people was terribly shaken by the fall of this *pah*, but they still maintained their hostile attitude towards the Ngatitōa, and frequent skirmishes took place between them at various points along the coast, the last of which, a naval fight, took place at a spot near Port Underwood called Fighting Bay. Here a party of Ngaitahu under "Bloody Jack" again attacked some followers of Te Rauparaha, and claim to have defeated them with considerable slaughter. From this engagement the great chief only escaped by diving amongst his canoes into one of which he ultimately

climbed, and availing himself of a heavy mist which suddenly enveloped the scene of strife, he fled, and chivalrously (?) left his allies, the Ngatiawa warriors, to continue the unequal struggle alone. After the fight the bones of the victims were left to bleach upon the beach, where they were repeatedly seen by the first settlers at the Port.

Events of an external nature shortly afterwards caused a considerable increase in the native population of the province. This was the oppression of the Taranaki people by the Waikato tribes, who had swarmed out of Auckland and inflicted heavy defeats upon them. The culmination of their misfortunes took place at Pukerangiora, after which large numbers of them sought refuge in flight and came to settle in Queen Charlotte Sound. Doubtless they, too, would have had to assert their right to the soil by their prowess in battle but for the fact that the labours of the early missionaries and native teachers were beginning to have a beneficial influence, and the doctrine of blood was gradually vanishing before the gospel of peace. With this decadence of militarism and cannibalism, the daily life of the native was completely changed. That which ministered to the social requirements of the people rose into paramount importance; the *ko* became a more necessary implement than the *hani*, and the *merc* soon



TE RANGIHAETA.



A. P. SEYMOUR.
FOURTH SUPERINTENDENT.

became more ornamental than useful. This transformation from war to peace also necessitated a more just and definite division of the conquered lands. Accordingly, about the year 1835, Rauparaha allocated to each section of his friends the various districts in which they were to reside.

To the Ngatitoa, under Rawiri Puaha, was given the fertile Wairau plain. The Ngati-kuia *hapu* of the Ngatiawa went to the Pelorus Sound, while the Ngatikoata, Ngatihaumia and Ngatitumania settled at D'Urville Island. This, with the addition of a remnant of the Rangitane tribe, scattered over various districts, and a few of the Ngaitahu who had crept back to Kaikoura and re-occupied the country between the *pah* and the Clarence River, where their shell-heaps and kitchen middens are still to be seen in close proximity to the sea-shore, was the disposition of the native race when the first European settlers came to the province, and perhaps with slight variations these remain the standard divisions to the present day.

CHAPTER VI.

SINNERS AND SAINTS.

“ Sunday never comes into this bay.”

“ So mightily grew the Word of God, and prevailed.”

While the Maoris were thus lying in carnal bonds, and Rauparaha in raid after raid was sweeping all before him, there began to dawn in the east a light, which, though flickering at first, was destined to grow in strength and brilliancy, and has never since been extinguished. This light was borne to the shores of Marlborough by the rude whalers who came to pursue the leviathans of the deep, an employment which at all times secured them a life of exciting adventure, and frequently rich financial reward. For two apparent reasons the coast of Marlborough was made a centre of operations by these daring men. Experience had taught them that the quiet waters of the Sounds were favourite haunts of their prey, and from the numerous headlands they could view to

advantage the chance of a "school" passing through the Strait, while their ships rode safely at anchor. The earliest of these whaling depôts was established at Te Awaiti, facetiously called by the sailors "Tar White," and was founded by Captain Guard in 1827. His settlement there was purely accidental, for while he was striving to force his way through the Strait his little vessel was driven into a gap in the coast line, which afterwards proved to be the eastern entrance to the Sound spoken of by the natives to Captain Cook. Guard's vessel was thus the first to sail into Tory Channel. Being quick to notice the natural facilities afforded by the place, he at once established his home on the shores of the largest bay, where he was soon joined by other equally adventurous spirits. Theirs, however, was not a life of "slipperd ease," for, apart from the hardships entailed by their own hazardous occupation, they sometimes became involved in the tribal warfare of the natives, which at that time was devastating the country. Rau-paraha's invasion was at its zenith, consequently the resident Maoris often fled from their cultivations, and even the Europeans were not always permitted to reap everything they had sown, so that frequently there was a shortage of food which compelled them to make their daily meal upon the blubber of the

captured whales. But this was not all, for when they returned from the chase it was not an unusual thing to find that in their absence the invaders had descended upon the village and burned one or more of their houses to the ground, and then "commandeered" such property as they could conveniently lay their hands upon; and it may have been these irritating experiences which helped to confirm Captain Guard in his deep-rooted hatred of the Maoris, to which he sometimes gave such forcible expression.

Still with all these discouragements Te Awaiti, as a settlement, continued to grow, and when the ship "Tory," commanded by Captain Chaffers, sailed into the Sound late in August of 1839, with Colonel Wakefield as the pioneer of the New Zealand Company, it was the most important European town in the Middle Island. By this date Captain Guard had transferred his residence to Port Underwood, and his mantle as patriarch of the settlement had fallen upon the shoulders of that now historical personage, Dicky Barrett, who had migrated thither with the Ngaitawa tribe upon their flight from Taranaki in 1834. As Colonel Wakefield first saw him he was a short, stout man, who seemed to be built upon the principle of a tub. His jovial face was a rosy red, and its ruddy hue was lit-up by a pair of twinkling eyes. This

figure, adorned in a white jacket, blue trousers and a round straw hat, came out of the door of a neat little cottage, built upon a knoll over-looking the bay, to welcome the Colonel and his friends when they landed on September 1st, and with the cordiality for which his class was proverbial, invited them inside to partake of a whaler's hospitality. E-Rangi, his wife, was a tall and stately native woman of high descent, who had borne him three bright little children, and his family was made up of these and another, a boy, Dan Love, who afterwards grew into the well-known Waikawa chief, and who, on his father's death, had been entrusted to the fostering care of Dicky Barrett.

At the interview which followed between Colonel Wakefield and his host, the latter heard for the first time the gigantic nature of the New Zealand Company's scheme of colonisation, and although his sympathies were readily enlisted, he expressed some doubt as to the possibility of satisfactory arrangements being made regarding the purchase of land, for the reason that the natives seemed to have no definite idea as to its ownership. Some spoke of Rauparaha as the one who had the greatest right to sell, while others claimed that Hiko, the son of Te Pehi, had greater rights even than Rauparaha. These

fears, however, were not considered an insuperable barrier to the success of the scheme, and after Wakefield had explored the Pelorus* Sound, piloted by Guard and accompanied by Mr. Wynen, Barrett left Te Awaiti in the "Tory" to assist in the Company's slate-pencil and jew's harp purchases of land, which, faulty as they were, helped in some degree to build up the structure of colonisation upon the imperfect foundation already laid by the whalers.

The pilot who navigated the "Tory" on this voyage to Wellington, Wanganui and Taranaki was Captain James Hebblerly, who must be accounted a pioneer of the pioneers, for from a diary kept by him it would appear that at the time of his death, in 1899, he had known New Zealand more or less intimately for seventy-two years. Having derived a penchant for the sea from his father, who was a sailor, he gratified his taste by running away from home when he was only eleven years of age. His first craft was a fishing-smack with a dog of a captain, whose cruelty was beyond young Hebblerly's powers of endurance, and so he cut the painter and transferred his services to a vessel trading in the

* The old native name for the Pelorus Sound and River was Hoiere, which, the Hemi family say, was the name of the canoe in which the original Maoris came to the district from the North Island. When the whalers began to frequent the Sound, they could not master the native pronunciation of the word, and so they did the next best thing and called it Hosiery, and to this day some of the "old hands" never call it anything else.

Atlantic. From the merchantman he went into the navy, and then, in 1826, he joined a convict ship bound for Sydney. This was his introduction to the South Seas, and in the following year he still further varied his experience by entering a whaler, in which he voyaged to the Bay of Islands. Here, for three years, he witnessed many of the desperate deeds and wild scenes for which those rough old days were responsible, and then he sailed to Queen Charlotte Sound, where he met, and became closely associated with that terror to *pakeha* and Maori alike, Te Rauparaha, whose friendly intervention on one occasion saved him from the upraised tomahawk of a Waikato warrior, the anger of whom he had in some way unconsciously aroused. Amongst the old sailor's most vivid recollections of Rauparaha was his famous raid upon Kaiapoi and the victorious return with five hundred prisoners. The memory of the triumphal feast which followed their slaughter, of which he was an eye witness, clung to him to his dying day; indeed the cannibal banquet was by no means an uncommon event at Te Awaiti in those Alsatian days, when the wild justice of revenge was almost the only justice that was known. Although the adventurous whaler did what he could to suppress these gruesome orgies, he apparently had no such scruples about the

battles which preceded them, for he sometimes joined in the inter-tribal fights, one of which he declares raged for three weeks, and in which more than two hundred natives were killed. As colonisation began to progress, Captain Heberly went to Wellington, where he acted as pilot, and was presented by the relatives of his Maori wife with the land surrounding "Worser" Bay, an appellation chaffingly given to him by a native girl, and a name which the bay still retains. When the "Tory" arrived at Taranaki, Captain Heberly landed with the rest of the party, and in company with Dr. Diffenbach, the naturalist of Wakefield's expedition, made the ascent of Mount Egmont on Christmas Day, 1839, and as he outstripped the Doctor in the climb, to him belongs the credit of being the first white man to stand on Egmont's highest peak.

By the irony of fate it was decreed that this veteran sailor, who had passed safely through so many hardships, and successfully braved so many dangers, should be accidentally drowned in Picton harbour, after he had reached the extreme old age of 91 years.

The village of Te Awaiti at the time of Colonel Wakefield's arrival, was comprised of some twenty dwellings, most of them rudely constructed of supple-jacks nailed to uprights with a layer of clay between. The chimneys

were built with an eye to comfort rather than architectural beauty, while a thatch of *toe toe* grass was the roofing material universally used. Barrett's house alone was built of sawn timber, was floored and lined, and was the only one possessing the luxury of a verandah. The occupants of these dwellings were a free mixture of runaway sailors and escaped convicts—rough, strong men who lived hard, worked hard and died hard. Sundays and Mondays were all the same to them, for beyond the fact that some of them might celebrate the former by having a clean shave, there was nothing to distinguish one from the other. "Sunday never comes into this bay," was the explanation given by a gruff boatman to Mr. Jerningham Wakefield as a reason why certain work was being proceeded with on the Sabbath, and except with a few of the natives who had been brought under the influence of the missionaries, the Lord's Day was quietly dropped out of the calendar.

Although the nature of their occupation often prevented the whalers from being models of cleanliness, their homes were kept scrupulously neat by the native women, who, for a consideration, were given to them as wives at the commencement of every season, and who remained wives in everything except continuity of contract. Here and there instances occurred where these temporary companion-

ships ripened into affection, and the legal marriage of the parties was effected at the first favourable opportunity. But whether living as wives or mistresses, these dusky damsels were always proud to belong to a *pakeha*, and ever loyally strove to conserve his interests in the hundred ways that a woman alone can save a man from himself and from others. The influence of these women, therefore, was generally for good, but sometimes they bred considerable mischief by fostering within the breasts of their husbands something of their own tribal jealousy. Thus it frequently happened that a station where the majority of the women were Ngatiawas had constant quarrels with another where the women were Ngatitoas, and the ill-feeling so engendered was responsible for much of the lawlessness that made a whaling station of 1839 anything but a paradise to live in. Outside, where the serious business of the whaling industry was carried on, the surroundings were less savoury than within the whaler's cot. There the tar and try-pot reigned supreme, the beach was strewn with chunks of bone and blubber, and the stench that arose from the oil-saturated shore was certainly not the aroma of violets.

In addition to Guard, Barrett and Hebblerly there were other men who laid claim to some prominence at Te Awaiti; amongst

these was Jack Love, whose name, it appears, in no way belied his nature. He became an exceedingly popular man in the settlement by virtue of his kindly disposition, and when he died, two hundred natives followed his remains to the grave, and afterwards erected a monument, formed of an old canoe, to mark the place of his burial. Joseph Toms was another of these early whalers, who was better known by the name of "Geordie Bolts," a title he had acquired from the fact that having on one occasion had a misadventure with a whale, he never could be induced to face another. He had married a near relative of Rauparaha's, and spent a great deal of his time with the Ngatittoa tribe on the other Island, to which he traded in a small schooner, the "Three Brothers." A still more noted character was Jimmy Jackson, a man of big bulk and active brain. Had he been alive to-day he would undoubtedly have been the politician of the village, for he was a tremendous talker, and held most pronounced opinions upon almost every subject under the sun. Especially was he an admirer of Napoleon Bonaparte and he invariably clinched his arguments in favour of the "little Corsican" by liberal quotations from Gutherie's Geography, while upon other questions he usually relied upon a text from Holy Scriptures to stagger his opponent.

But his use of the Scriptures was not less peculiar than his application of prayer, of which he sometimes took advantage to extricate himself from an awkward situation. Such an instance is related of him when he was conducting the Rev. Mr. Reay round the coast on a pastoral visit to the whaling stations. At a certain point of the journey there was either an adverse wind or no wind at all. In any case the weather was not to Jimmy's liking, and he began to say some very uncomplimentary things about it, but suddenly he remembered that the missionary was sitting in the stern of the boat, and realising that he had put his foot in it, he immediately assumed a pious air, and exclaimed in most fervent tones, "God forgive me for swearing," and then casting a knowing look at the reverend gentleman, he roguishly remarked, "You see, Mr. Reay, I wipes off as I goes along." Jackson came to Te Awaiti in 1829, and has left behind him a race of children and grandchildren who for physical development are hardly excelled in the colony.

The principal native chief of the Sounds about the closing "thirties" was Ngarawa, or "straight trees" as he was called by the whalers, to whom he was exceedingly kind. Te Wetu, "the Star," was the chief at the Wairau, and although friendly to the Europeans, he made it his boast that he was "no

missionary," *i.e.*, he had not embraced the Christian faith. He was a highly domesticated man, having no less than four wives, it being his misfortune rather than his fault that he had not five, for the fifth had just died when Colonel Wakefield arrived. Te Wetu's fancy was tickled immensely when he was told that the kings of England had only one *wahine*, but in subsequent years, when he did become a "missionary" native, he changed his views upon the subject of matrimony, though history does not record what arrangement he came to with his surplus brides.

Pakihure, the Rangitane chief of the Pelorus, was in a less fortunate position than Ngarewa or Te Wetu, for he was then hiding amongst the fastnesses of the Sound to escape the vengeance of Rauparaha and his warriors, who had so recently swept over the tribal lands that the painted posts of the up-rooted *pahs* were all that remained to denote the former homes of a now crushed and broken people.*

Te Awaiti is of course no longer a place of great importance, and although whaling is still carried on there the annual "catch" is very small. The population, like the harvest, has also dwindled, as the village now contains

* The Pelorus natives were at this time paying tribute to Te Rauparaha, and it is said that when they sent their contributions of food to the great *tangi*, held at Mana in connection with the death of his sister, Waitohi, he killed and cooked the slaves who brought it, for no other reason than "that he might appear opulent in the eyes of his guests."

only a few families, some of whom are the mixed descendants of the old whalers and the native women.

The whalers were also shrewd enough to make a convenience of Kaikoura, Port Underwood and Cloudy Bay, on account of their easy ingress, their highly sheltered positions and their fast holding anchorages. The principal stations at Port Underwood were conducted by Messrs. Wallace (Ocean Bay), Guard (Kakapau Bay), Williams, popularly known as "Cloudy Bay Williams" (Tom Cane's Bay), and Captain Dougherty (Cutter's Bay). By degrees a few of the bays were permanently inhabited by men from the whaling vessels, and thus the initial stages of European settlement were begun here as early as 1830.

Of the exact nature of the social and moral conditions prevailing at Port Underwood at this time we have no personal knowledge, but from accounts which cannot very well be disputed, it would appear that they were not very different from those prevailing at other whaling stations.

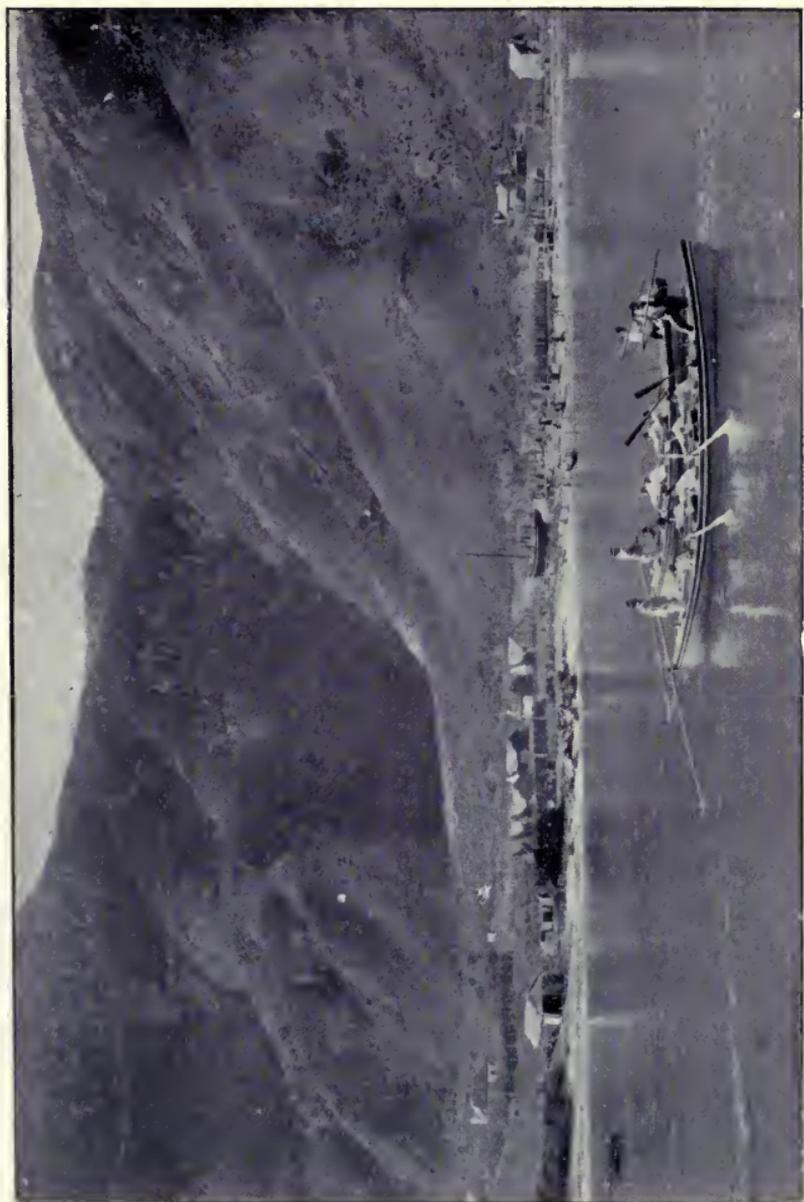
The native population were chiefly Ngaitoas, and "Robuller," as Rauparaha was

From 1831 the majority of the stations were worked by agents on behalf of Sydney merchants, who paid at the rate of £10 per ton for oil and £60 per ton for bone. The average wage a man might earn in a good season was £35, which was generally paid in kind; beer, spirits and tobacco, being the most popular mediums of exchange, and if the season was a poor one the men's exchequer corresponded with the season.

called by the whalers, was a frequent visitor to the Port. The whalers themselves were a congregation of all nations, and many of them had "left their country for their country's good." This of course was severe on Port Underwood, and as a result of this aggregation of "hard cases," a condition of affairs was brought about which fortunately has long since passed away. We are told that the language of the men was invariably of the most lurid description. Sobriety was the rule only when all the grog was consumed, and it was the custom here, as at Te Awaiti, to make temporary wives of the Maori girls, and not an uncommon practice to hire the other native women out for the fishing season, the payment being half a keg of rum or tobacco, which was generally appropriated by the chiefs who remained at home to enjoy themselves. Matters were in this condition when the Rev. J. H. Bumby, superintendant of the Wesleyan missions, arrived in the colony. After spending some time investigating the progress of the missions in the north, Mr. Bumby decided to make a three months' tour amongst the southern districts and ascertain for himself where new stations might with advantage be opened up. In the course of this journey he arrived in Cloudy Bay, about August, 1839. He first visited the Maori *pah* and held a service there,

being well received by the natives, who had obtained some glimmering of the gospel from the missionaries in the north. His welcome was not quite so cordial at the whaling stations, where opinions were divided as to whether a missionary was required or not. A few of the whalers who had not abandoned all sense of propriety were anxious to have someone amongst them who could teach their half-caste children, but others openly opposed anything in the shape of religion or education. Referring to these obstructionists, Mr. Bumby says:—"Some of them present specimens of human nature in its worst estate. They practice every species of iniquity without restraint, and without concealment. The sense of decency and propriety seems extinct. The very soil is polluted; the very atmosphere is tainted."

But by way of contrast, he points out that the natives along the shores of Queen Charlotte Sound had freely accepted the Christian faith; that it was no burden to them to meet twice a day, and to sound out the welcome hours of prayer they had hung up in front of their primitive churches the barrel of a gun, which they struck with stones, as a substitute for a bell. Their eagerness for services was only excelled by their desire for books, which some of the younger ones had learned to read. One of these had obtained a few leaves of the



WHALERS AT TE AWAITI.



REV. AND MRS. IRONSIDES.

New Testament, which he preserved with the greatest care, but by frequent use the verses had become almost obliterated, and when Mr. Bumby met him, the lad, who had also been taught to write a little, was overcoming the difficulty as well as possible by making fresh copies; the last verse he had transcribed appealing with especial force to the missionary: "He which hath begun a good work in you will perform it until the day of Jesus Christ." The opposition Mr. Bumby met with at the hands of the whalers was no detriment to his determination to establish a mission amongst them, but it acted rather as an incentive, for it only convinced him of its imperative necessity. Accordingly on his return to the north he selected as the man best suited to the task of evangelising the whalers, the Rev. Samuel Ironsides, and he was exceedingly fortunate in his choice. A deeply devoted and pious man was Mr. Ironsides, full of zeal and enthusiasm for his sacred work, and, better than all, he possessed the faculty of inspiring those around him with some degree of his own good-will. After a somewhat protracted and eventful voyage from Kāwhia, accompanied by Mrs. Ironsides, he landed at Port Underwood from the brig "Magnet" on December 20th, 1840. These were not the days of handsome churches or comfortable

parsonages, and the missionary's first habitation at his new station was a Maori cook-house, destitute of both chimney and door. But amidst all his domestic discomforts Mr. Ironsides energetically bent himself to his labours and commenced his ministry on Christmas Day. As he had rapidly acquired a knowledge of the Maori tongue, he was able to fluently proclaim "the good tidings of great joy" not only to the assembled whalers, but to the natives who eagerly crowded round to hear the same story of surpassing love which the Rev. Samuel Marsden had told to their countrymen at the Bay of Islands exactly twenty-six years before, and on the same day Mr. Ironsides began the work of social reform by marrying five of the whalers to native women. In the course of a few weeks more complete arrangements were made for the missionary's residence, and at the end of that time he removed over to Ngakuta Bay, where a small triangular block of land, 150 acres in extent, had been set aside as a site for a mission station. From this point a circuit of some thirty whaling stations and Maori villages was formed, and worked with immense energy and excellent results.

At this time the European population at the Port totalled fully one hundred souls, and as the Maoris were also numerous it was soon abundantly clear that a church suitable to

the requirements of the place would have to be erected. Up to the present a small squat building, 25 feet square, and built of raupo, had answered the purposes of church, school, and dwelling, the partitioning off of a corner with mats and rugs, being all the privacy that the missionary and his devoted wife enjoyed for many months. To obviate this discomfort, the idea of a commodious and permanent church was suggested by Mr. Ironsides, and as events proved the suggestion was readily and diligently acted upon by Maori and *pakeha*, the erection of the largest church of its kind in the colony being the gratifying result. This edifice was 66 feet long by 36 feet wide, with walls 12 feet high; its frame was built of timber hewn out of the hillside forests, and its walls inside were finished with the reeds of the *toe-toe*, which had been stained with various colours by the native women. The labour of its construction was divided between the five tribes who had attached themselves to the mission, and who were each made responsible for a portion of the work. While the men worked in the bush, preparing the timbers, or upon the building itself, the women cultivated the ground, looked after the gardens and kept the little army of one hundred and fifty labourers supplied with food. A young Englishman, who had evidently seen better

days, did what joinery work was necessary, the cost of his services and the material used, about £40, being the total expense the New Zealand mission had to bear for a building which Mr. Ironsides estimated was worth from £1,400 to £1,500.

The whole of this work the missionary supervised as best he could in the midst of his other duties, amongst which was included the building of smaller churches in the Sounds, twelve of which were eventually erected in the different bays. But on Friday, August 5th, 1842, he had the intense satisfaction of seeing his principal sanctuary, which he named "Ebenezer," finished and opened. On that day there was a great gathering of natives from the various villages in the Sound, the Pelorus, and even the distant D'Urville Island, all of whom came, full of high and holy expectation, to the opening service. After the prayers and lessons the missionary preached from the appropriate text "Ebenezer, hitherto hath the Lord helped us," and on the following Sunday he received into the visible church 163 adults and 34 children, all of whom had given satisfactory proof of their discipleship. Not the least interesting part of this day's service was the marriage of forty couples who had been living together on the principle of free love, but were now desirous of being united in "the holy estate of matri-

mony." There was, however, an initial difficulty to be overcome before this large measure of social reform could be made fully complete, and this was the bridegrooms' inability to supply their brides with that interesting and necessary token of marriage—a ring—but a happy thought struck Mrs. Ironsides, and she speedily produced a sufficient number of brass curtain rings which she had brought from England, and these were utilised on this memorable occasion to make "twain flesh one."

Towards the cost of this church, the first built in the province, the natives had voluntarily contributed considerably over £1000 in labour and material, and in the same way they willingly paid for the first instalment of the New Testament, sent out by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The circulation of the scriptures amongst the Maoris was, of course, one of the chief agencies from which the missionaries were entitled to look for encouragement in the spread of Christianity; but up to that time the scarcity of copies for distribution had greatly hampered them in their work. But in 1842 a supply of ten thousand volumes came from England, half of which were to go to the Wesleyan missions, and Cloudy Bay's share was four hundred and fifty. Early in January the mission ship "Triton" arrived in Port Underwood with

the books on board, and Mr. Ironsides was aroused from his sleep by the natives, who informed him, with joyful shouts, that their long-looked-for treasure had arrived. But in the expectation that they would soon have the "book divine" to read daily they were doomed to disappointment, for the "Triton" had only come into the bay to take Mr. Ironsides to the Annual District Meeting, which that year was held at Mangungu, and it was not for some two months later that the first great distribution of the New Testament took place on the shores of Old Marlborough. The church was not nearly large enough to hold the expectant recipients, and so beneath God's own dome the books were piled in convenient heaps around the preaching stand, from which the missionary delivered an address upon the duty of "searching the scriptures daily." Then the teachers were called up, each receiving the complement of books apportioned to their stations, and as they returned to their places, hugging their treasure to their bosoms, there was such an expression of evident pleasure upon their faces that all nature, animate and inanimate, seemed to be in perfect accord. Heaven smiling from above, the calm and glittering sea, the valley and the surrounding hills clothed in the richest verdure of early autumn, the crowd of Maoris, all with earnest gaze

looking at the distribution, provided such a beautiful and sanctified sight that Mr. Ironsides declares "an angel in his flight might have been arrested by the scene."

In return for the gift of Testaments the natives gave the missionary a *paremata*, or a gift of food, which they one day brought and piled up in front of the mission station. Then they invited the missionary and his wife to come and receive it. A magnificently built native in the person of Hoani Koinaki, chief of the Wekenuri village in Queen Charlotte Sound, was appointed to make the presentation, and when Mr. and Mrs. Ironsides arrived, he tucked up his blanket in one hand, and with a long spear in the other he ran first from one end of the food pile to the other, striking the baskets in his passage, and exclaiming, "Here is our feast, take it and give it to our loving fathers in England. It is all we can do to show our love for their great kindness in sending us the *pukapuka tapu* (holy book)." In addition to the six hundred baskets of food there was a collection of gold and silver coins of many nationalities, amounting in value to £9 17s. 6d., and after Mr. Ironsides had sold the produce to one of the coastal traders he had the pleasure of remitting to the British and Foreign Bible Society the sum of £34 17s. 6d as the Cloudy Bay contribution in return for their splendid

gift of Testaments. Remembering the sadly degraded condition of the natives only a short two years previously, Mr. Ironsides could now truthfully and gladly say, "So mightily grew the Word of God, and prevailed."

Mr. Ironsides remained labouring at the Port, and through the *pahs* in the Sounds for nearly three years, acquiring immense influence over his Maori flock, and the profound respect of the European population. During his ministry he baptised 613 adults, and 165 infants. He married 171 couples, and received 430 of the people into church membership, but not before they had each given the most satisfactory proof that they fully understood the gravity of the responsibility they were taking upon themselves, and it must be admitted that in the trials that shortly after fell upon the station their Christianity was tested to the full, but they came through the ordeal unshaken and unscathed, clinging to their faith "as the shellfish cling to the rocks," thus testifying to the soundness of Mr. Ironsides' ministrations. But events were shortly to transpire which put a serious check upon this good work, and caused the ultimate abandonment of the station. The first of these was the murder of a Maori woman, and the acquittal of the murderer, and the second was the consternation which seized the native population after the

Wairau massacre. This catastrophe completely sapped their peace of mind, and after the excitement consequent upon it had to some extent subsided a large meeting was held at Port Underwood, at which Mr. Ironsides was present, and there the Ngatitoas resolved to follow Rauparaha, their old chief, to the north. The Ngatiawas, who a few years before had fled from Taranaki to escape the fierce warriors from the Waikato, seemed anxious to return now that they no longer feared the vengeance of their tribal enemies, and when they knew the Ngatitoa's decision they too decided to go back to their native province. This dual migration was of course a heavy blow to the mission station, and as the whaling industry was beginning to wane, Mr. Ironsides soon found it expedient to remove to Wellington, where a larger field of operations awaited him. The station was then left in charge of a native teacher named Paramena, whom Mr. Ironsides describes as the most eloquent and logical native preacher he had ever heard. He had been permitted by the tribe to remain on the payment to them of a pair of blankets, and he carried out his duties faithfully and well, until the arrival of Mr. Jenkins, a local preacher, who was sent by the church authorities to take up the work so splendidly begun by his predecessor.

When the natives left for their northern

homes they believed that Mr. Ironsides would follow them, and he on the other hand believed that in keeping with their migratory habits they would soon return to Cloudy Bay, but as neither of these things eventuated the mission station soon fell into such a state of decay that it was thought unnecessary to keep a resident missionary there. This conclusion was considerably accelerated by the difficulty Mr. Jenkins experienced in working it from Ngakuta, which was now over half-a-day's journey from his chief congregations. The rambling habits of the natives made it inexpedient to build a new church nearer to them than the one already erected, and therefore Mr. Jenkins was shortly after withdrawn, and since his removal there has been no resident minister of the gospel at Port Underwood.

In addition to the arrival of Mr. Ironsides, and the practical introduction of Christianity by him, the year of 1840 was a memorable one for Cloudy Bay and Marlborough generally, inasmuch as it was then and there that the Queen's sovereignty was first proclaimed over the Middle Island. Seventy years before, Captain Cook had, from the heights of Motuara, taken possession of the surrounding country by right of discovery; but, as there seemed to be a danger of rival claims being set-up by the French, to clear up all technical doubts as to Britain's right to the Middle

Island, Captain Hobson, who had now assumed the governorship of the colony, deemed it prudent to obtain a more effective title, and to get, if possible, the rights of sovereignty ceded by the southern chiefs, as had already been done in the north under the Treaty of Waitangi. In the conduct of his scheme he considered that his policy would be better served by an ostentatious display of authority than by the puny efforts of single individuals. Accordingly when Major Bunbury and a portion of the 80th regiment arrived from Sydney, he sent them in H.M.S. "Herald," commanded by Captain Nias, to the more important centres in the Island, for the purpose of securing the allegiance of the leading chiefs, and to proclaim the Queen's sovereignty over those districts not already ceded to the Crown. In the course of his mission Major Bunbury arrived at Cloudy Bay on June 17th, and after consultation with Captain Nias he judged that it would be to the best interests of the natives as well as the European settlers that no further delay should take place in making the necessary proclamation. They therefore proclaimed the Queen's authority with the usual ceremony of a royal salute fired by the "Herald's" guns as the Union Jack was run up on a

temporary staff reared for the purpose on the shore of the bay.*

Though Port Underwood as a settlement has sadly decayed, it has not been altogether destroyed, and a remnant of the old stock is still to be found in the families of Baldic, Flood, Guard and Aldrich. Of these Mr. John Guard first saw the light at Te Awaiti in 1831, and was thus the first white child born in the Middle Island. His father was the founder of Te Awaiti, and owned the barque "Harriet," in which he traded between Sydney and New Zealand. From highly authenticated accounts we may judge that he entertained very rough and ready notions of how best to civilise the Maoris. "Shoot them to be sure" was his doctrine, and he gave them a dose of his favourite prescription when his vessel was wrecked on the coast of Taranaki in 1834, and all on board, including Mrs. Guard and her little son Jack, were taken prisoners by the fierce

* The performance of this ceremony by Major Bunbury and Captain Nias at this time and place is a matter of considerable historical importance to the province, as it establishes conclusively that both on the grounds of discovery and cession the Middle Island was first declared to be a portion of the British Empire on Marlborough soil. It also detracts considerably from the importance attached to the "race" between H.M. brig "Britomart" and the French warship "L'Aube" to Akaroa, which did not take place for two months later, and which so many people believe to have been the turning-point in the destiny of the Middle Island, if not of the colony. No doubt the action of the Governor in sending Messrs. Murphy and Robinson to act as magistrates in the southern ports, confirmed what had already been done, and probably averted a great deal of friction and possibly open rupture between the two nationalities; but the fact remains that to Marlborough, and not to Canterbury belongs the honour of being the initial spot in the Middle Island over which the Union Jack waved as an emblem of our Empire.

warriors of the Ngatiruanui tribe after a desperate and bloody fight. Concerning the treatment of these people while in captivity, and the mode of their rescue by the officers and men of H.M. ships "Alligator" and "Isabella," the accounts are hopelessly conflicting, and as the story of their release is more closely associated with Taranaki than Marlborough, it is not necessary that their differences should be analysed and adjusted here. It will be sufficient to say that Jack Guard came safely through his early troubles, and has lived almost continuously at Port Underwood ever since, where he may be met to-day, hale, hearty and hospitable, a typical specimen of all that was best in the early whalers.

Only recently there died at Wellington a very early Port Underwood settler, in the person of Mrs. Dougherty, the wife of one of the principal whalers, who, with her husband, might be justly regarded as a pioneer of the colony. Captain Dougherty had been sailing in the South Pacific during the early "thirties," and being attracted by the beauty of New Zealand he decided to bring his family out from Canada and settle in the new land. With them he arrived in his own ship in 1838 and at once established a whaling station at Cutter's Bay. Here Mrs. Dougherty naturally found the life

very different from that which she had just left, but being a woman of great force of character she met the hardships as they came, and was at all times as a ray of sunlight in the little settlement. During the absence of her husband in search of whales her responsibilities were often many and great, and between the visits from the natives, and the Bohemian character of the Europeans, her days and nights at these periods were by no means free from anxiety. By way of illustrating the kind of emergency she was sometimes called upon to meet it is worthy of mention that amongst his other possessions Captain Dougherty had a very fine stand of arms, which excited the cupidity of one of the irresponsible residents of the Port. In several attempts to borrow the guns he had failed, and so he laid his plans to get them by stratagem. His *ruse* was to induce two natives to light a great fire on the summit of one of the neighbouring hills during the night, and to pass round and round the burning pile to create the impression of numbers. The alarm was soon given, and on emerging from the house Mrs. Dougherty and her daughters saw what they supposed to be innumerable natives passing before the flames in single file, and they at once gave themselves up for lost. In the midst of their trepidation the wily European rushed up, and demanded the guns to repel the supposed

attack, which, under the circumstances, were readily yielded up to him; but as no result followed, their suspicions were aroused, and an old "shell-back," who was in Captain Dougherty's employ, crept up to reconnoitre, and discovered that the whole thing was simply a trick played upon the unprotected and confiding women to get possession of the guns, which, needless to say, were never returned.

During these early days the commercial operations of the people were no doubt very limited, but their connection with the outer world was preserved in a remarkable degree by the constant calling of American and English whalers, and of emigrant and cargo vessels waiting for a favourable breeze to enter Port Nicholson. Indeed the first settlers witnessed many a noble sight, when a fleet of perhaps fifty vessels was lying snugly at anchor while a howling "south-easter" was raging through the Strait. And once, on March 11th, 1870, they saw the grand but disastrous spectacle of one of these vessels perishing by fire. The Norwegian barque "Hera," Captain Trekelson, had taken in a full cargo of wool and grain, and was preparing to make the Homeward voyage, when she was discovered to be on fire. For a time the flames were bravely battled with, but their mastery was so complete that they

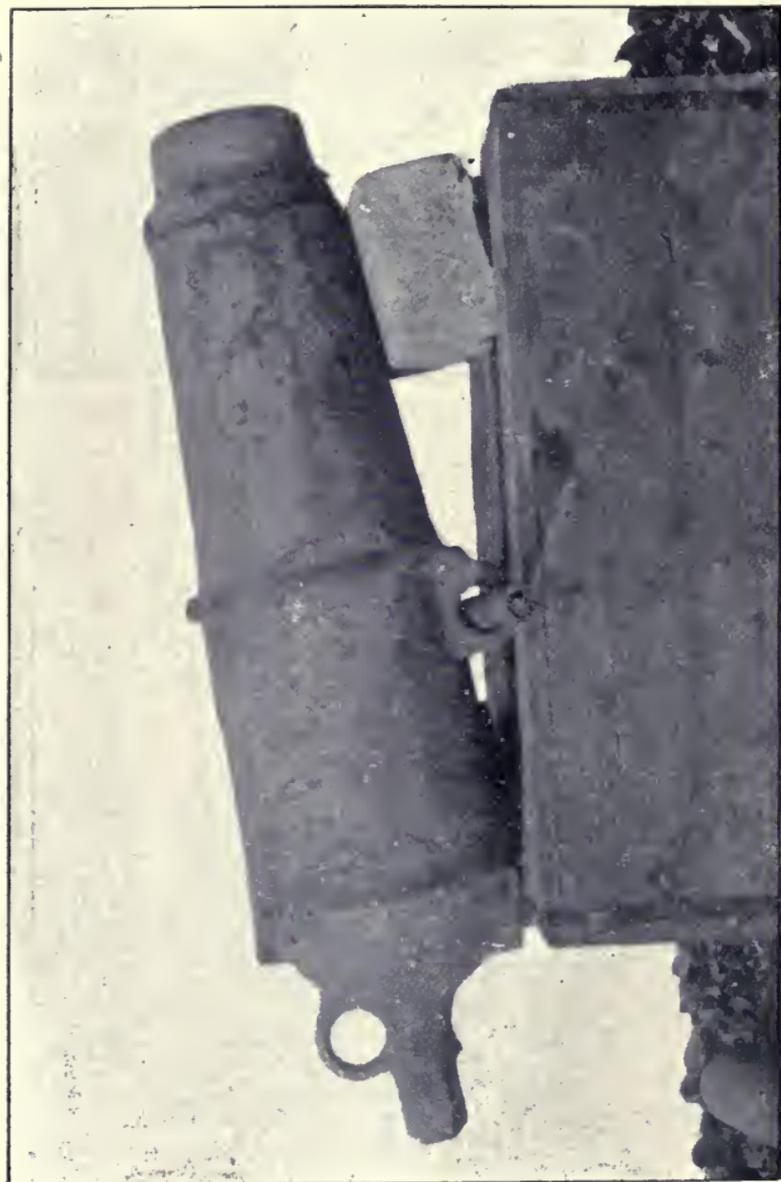
burned the vessel almost to the water's edge, and the remains of the ship were beached to prevent her foundering.*

It was to these people living at Port Underwood that the first tidings were conveyed of those now historical tragedies—the massacres of 1840 and 1843. As there has been so much misunderstanding, and so many contradictory accounts have been given concerning these two tragedies, we propose to furnish what we believe to be an accurate history of the events and the motives that prompted them. But in order to thoroughly understand the latter, it will be necessary to refer to another event not so well-known, but which helped to lay the foundation of all the trouble.

About the year 1839, Mr. Wynen,† already referred to as the companion of Colonel Wakefield, had taken up his residence at Port Underwood, and like most Europeans of the period he had taken unto himself a Maori wife named Rangiawha Kuika, who proved a faithful and devoted helpmeet. By the gossips of the little community, Mr.

* The hull of the "Hera" was afterwards repaired, and for the rest of her days she did duty as a coal hulk at Nelson.

† Mr. Wynen came to New Zealand as the agent for a Sydney syndicate, by whom he had been commissioned to purchase land in the most suitable situations for settlement. He was a man of good parentage, liberal education, and noted for his gentlemanly instincts, and when the first Taranaki settlers arrived in the "William Bryan" at Port Underwood in March, 1841, we are told that he "showed them much attention," and by his courtesy and urbanity left the impression on their minds that he was "rather out of place amongst a shore party of whalers."



CAPTAIN BLENKINSOPP'S GUN.



MRS. DOUGHERTY.



BEN. BYNG.
A WHALER OF 1833.

Wynen was reputed to be the possessor of considerable wealth, and amongst his other possessions he was known to keep a satchel full of bright new coins or medals, which he had no doubt procured for the purpose of barter with the natives. The actual value of these coins no one knew; by some they were supposed to be new farthings, by others they were thought to be new sovereigns. The latter impression was entertained by a retired whaler of low and criminal disposition named Dick Cook, who had also married a Maori woman and settled in one of the neighbouring bays. The existence of this supposed wealth aroused his avarice, and he determined to become possessed of it by fair means or foul. In the course of his business, for he had many transactions in land, Mr. Wynen frequently had to go to Nelson, and on one occasion when he had taken his departure for that then distant place, leaving Rangiawha, who was a chieftainess of the Ngatittoa tribe, behind him, Cook went down to his *whare* and cruelly murdered her. The butchery was witnessed by Cook's wife and Wynen's little boy. The former, Cook knew, would keep silence, as she was a slave of Rangiawha's tribe, but the latter had to be got rid of to save exposure, and he, like his mother, was tomahawked. When he had completed his murderous deeds Cook ransacked Wynen's

hut and found the bag containing the coveted treasure, but what was his rage and disappointment when he discovered that it contained nothing but useless tokens.

The fact that a horrible murder had been perpetrated soon became known to the few neighbours and natives residing in the bays, and suspicion was at once levelled against Cook. Blood, which he had vainly endeavoured to remove, had been seen on his clothes, and other awkward circumstances pointed to him with fatal accuracy, as the culprit. The anger of the natives against him was fierce and strong, and they would have speedily put him beyond the reach of human care, but for the intercession of Mr. Ironsides and Rawiri Kingi Puaha, a dignified and noble chief, who had embraced the Christian religion. They persuaded them to let Cook be taken to Poneke, there to be dealt with according to the European standard of justice. The criminal was accordingly sent to Wellington to stand his trial for the murder of the Maori woman and child. There was no direct testimony against him, because the only living person who saw the deed committed was his wife, and her evidence could not be adduced to the prejudice of her husband. But every link in the chain of circumstantial evidence was complete. The motive was there, the tomahawk, the bloodstains on his clothes and

his bad reputation were all pressed forward to prove his guilt, but strange to say the jury acquitted him. Perhaps a prejudice against the Maori character, and a resentment of similar deeds by the natives, contributed to this result, but looking at the facts calmly and dispassionately at this long period after the event, it does appear that a grave miscarriage of justice occurred, and Cook's acquittal had a most injurious effect upon the native mind, by lowering their respect for our judicial institutions. His crime was never forgiven by the natives, and in obedience to their custom of *utu* they resolved to avenge it.

The next epoch in our history of events opens with the alleged purchase of the whole, or a portion, of the Wairau plain by Captain Blenkinsopp, the skipper of the whaling barque "Caroline." The consideration given for what was even then regarded by the rough whalers as a magnificent stretch of country was the antiquated ship's gun, which for many years lay in a most dilapidated condition in front of the Literary Institute at Blenheim. According to the present-day conception of commerce, a payment of this nature would be regarded as little better than daylight robbery, and there seems to have been a good deal of this about the transaction, for we have been informed by the Wairau representatives of the tribe that when the gun was handed to

Rauparaha, he was also asked to sign a document purporting to set out in plain terms the true nature of the agreement between him and Captain Blenkinsopp, which was that in consideration for the gun the natives were to permit the Captain to supply his ship with wood and water during his stay in Cloudy Bay. As a matter of fact the deed set out that the gun was the price of the plain, and when Rauparaha signed the document he had no conception that he was parting with the land he had passed through so many bloody battles to gain.* This fact accounts for the steady resistance by the natives of the New Zealand Company's claim to the Wairau on the ground that Colonel Wakefield bought from Mrs. Blenkinsopp her husband's deeds for the sum of £300. But at the court of enquiry held by Commissioner Spain at Nelson, this title was not produced, nor was any mention made of it by Colonel Wakefield. The truth was that by this time the Colonel had discovered that he had only purchased a *copy* of

* Rauparaha was ignorant of the real nature of the deed until he showed it to a *pakcha* trader named Hawes, who was then living at Kapiti. Hawes told him that all his land at the Wairau had gone, and that he had received a big gun for it; whereupon the chief flew into a violent temper, tore up the document and burned the fragments. He then left the gun lying on the shore of Guard's Bay, from which place it was brought to Blenheim by Captain Scott of the p. s. "Lyttelton." Captain Blenkinsopp not satisfied with merely deceiving the natives, added insult to injury by carefully spiking the gun before he gave it to them. It was called by the Maoris *Puhuri Whenua*, or "the gun that ploughs the ground." This famous old weapon has now been properly mounted, and after a silence of fully 60 years it will be used to fire a Royal Salute on the occasion of the South African peace celebrations.

the deed from the Captain's widow,* the original document being in the hands of a Mr. Unwin, a Sydney lawyer, to whom Blenkinsopp had mortgaged his supposed New Zealand estate. Shortly before his death Captain Blenkinsopp made some preparations to settle upon this land, but his decease at Sydney abruptly terminated these arrangements, which were, however, continued by Mr. Unwin.

There is no record to show that Mr. Unwin was ever in New Zealand to purchase direct from the natives, but that he believed he had a claim to the land, and that he asserted his claim, is clearly proved by an indenture made at Sydney on April 4th, 1840, between him and one George Baldic, whom, with his family, he engaged to work on the estate. Those who accompanied Mr. Baldic were Wilton, who acted as overseer, Hall and Baird, all of whom were afterwards massacred, and no doubt similar contracts were entered into between Mr. Unwin and them.

The barque "Hope" arrived in Cloudy Bay about the middle of the year 1840 with the employees of Mr. Unwin, their families and a number of cattle. The cattle were landed at Ocean Bay, and driven over to the Wairau. Many of them were poisoned by the native *tutu*, and the remainder roamed wild for a few

* The widow of Captain Blenkinsopp was a native woman, and was the grandmother of Harry and Alfred Rore, of the Wairau *pah*.

years, until they were taken possession of by some of the settlers living at Port Underwood. A temporary residence was found for the women and their children at Port Underwood ; while the men went down to the Wairau to prepare their permanent place of abode. They had so far progressed with this portion of their plans as to erect the frame of a building on the bank of the Wairau River, opposite Mr. Beatson's farm at Clovernook. This they left, returning to Port Underwood to visit their families and to replenish their stock of provisions. So far nothing is known to warrant us in supposing that these men had ever quarrelled with the natives, or that they had abused their privileges. All that we do know is that one day in August they left Port Underwood, intending to return to the Wairau and complete their unfinished building. They apparently got as far as the mouth of the Wairau River, which was then commanded by Rauparaha's old *pah*, but what actually happened there no human tongue has ever told. Whether the men had camped for the night, and were surrounded and seized in their sleep, whether they were betrayed by treachery, or whether they were only overpowered after a desperate struggle, must remain a mystery until all things are explained in the great hereafter.

No tidings of what had happened reached the ears of the unsuspecting wives for some

few days, when a number of Maoris came over to the Port and were somewhat boisterous in their manner. One of them was wearing a pair of boots which Mrs. Baldic thought she recognised, and on looking more minutely at them she saw that they were fastened with a piece of braid which she knew she had given her husband a few days before in substitution for the lace which he had broken while adjusting his boots immediately prior to leaving for his work on the plain. This startling discovery aroused her suspicions, and on questioning the Maoris they reported that the boat had capsized, and all the men were drowned. A search party immediately set out to recover the bodies, but to their utter amazement and horror, they found traces of a catastrophe infinitely more appalling than any death by drowning could ever be. On the beach and in the *pah* they discovered some of the boat's cargo strewn hither and thither, but there was no sign that it had ever been taken from the water—even the men's tools and clothing were vauntingly displayed by some of the natives, who could give no satisfactory explanation as to how they came into their possession. Only a little distance away there was a charred heap where the boat had been burned, in the vain hope that its absence might verify the story that the men had been drowned. But the most damning evidence

of a horrible and brutal massacre, accompanied by the awful rites of cannibalism, was yet to meet their view. On the Boulder Bank there lay a dark blood-stained patch, marking the altar where Wilton and his companions had been offered up as a human sacrifice, and around which their murderers had danced in merry savagery. There was no doubt as to what had happened, but the victims could not be called back to life, and there was nothing for it but to return home with the dismal intelligence.

Only one person not actually implicated in the crime was witness to the tragedy. This was the native wife of Allen, an old whaler, who had acted as steersman in the boat. She had accompanied her husband, intending to remain with him at the station. Her life was spared for the time, but her ultimate fate is undetermined. Some allege that she and a Newfoundland dog were killed a few days after, while others report that she was taken to Robin Hood Bay, and prevented from holding intercourse with any European until her death, which occurred about a year after the massacre. Whichever may be the true account, she never had the opportunity, if she had the inclination, to relate what she saw when in accordance with Maori custom, the

crime of Dick Cook was avenged by the massacre of innocent men.

An attempt was made to investigate the affair by the officers of a man-of-war which was sent from Sydney with a few marines, but nothing ever came of the enquiry, and no steps were taken to sheet home the crime to the real criminals. Mr. Unwin was so disheartened by the tragic fate of his men that he gave up the settlement scheme in despair, and it is said that he parted with his title to the land to the New Zealand Company for a nominal figure, but the deeds were of no more value to them than they were to him.

CHAPTER VII.

THE WAIRAU MASSACRE.

And thus in peace the Wairau lay
Unknown to strife, save for the human need,
Till coldly dawned the fatal day
Of Rauparaha's dark and bloody deed.

Amongst the many unsatisfactory negotiations for the purchase of land entered into between Colonel Wakefield and Te Rauparaha, few seem to have been so ill-defined as that relating to the Wairau Plain. Whether Wakefield really believed that he had bought it, and Rauparaha was as equally confident that he had not sold it, will never be known. Certainly, it is difficult to understand how such a wide difference of impression could have arisen between them had they both been sincere in the transaction. It is true the Colonel might have considered that the Plain was included in the purchases made in 1839, when he bargained for four hundred miles of country, extending from the 38th to the 43rd degree of latitude on the West Coast, and from the 41st to the 43rd

degree on the East Coast ; but he knew that the plain had never been specifically named, and in his heart he must have felt that no valid title could rest upon a purchase made as this one was ; its full purport not being clearly explained by Dicky Barrett, who acted as interpreter ; and the signatures of three chiefs only being obtained to the deed, when thirty thousand natives had, by native law, a voice in its disposal. That Colonel Wakefield did have some reservation, later on, about his right to the land is almost certain, for after the settlement of Nelson had been in progress for about a year he strongly opposed his brother's suggestion to include the Wairau in the district to be surveyed, partly because he considered that its occupation might militate against the success of the Wellington colony, but chiefly because he anticipated that the Company's title would be disputed by other claimants and by the natives. It would therefore seem that Captain Wakefield, the resident agent of the Company, was more to blame for the improper occupation of the valley, and for all the subsequent trouble, in the expiation of which he paid the penalty with his life. He was as conversant as the Colonel with the whole circumstances of the case, and perhaps more so, and had it not been that he had no alternative between opening-

up the Wairau, and acknowledging the ignominious failure of the Nelson settlement, he would hardly, in the face of so many warnings, have persisted in his high handed and injudicious course.

The story of the Nelson settlement repeats the tale of undue haste, imperfect preparations, a disposition to make florid promises and hold out inflated inducements, that was common to all the New Zealand Company's attempts at colonisation. One of the essential features of this settlement was that each settler could obtain 150 acres of rural land, 50 acres of suburban land, and one town acre; but when the most thorough exploration of the region around Blind and Massacre Bays had been made it was found that, although a great deal of inferior country had been included in the sections laid off by the surveyors, there was still an enormous deficiency in the area required to provide for all the settlers who had either paid for their land in advance, or were waiting to settle on it. Misled by the reports of some of his officers Captain Wakefield had caused it to be broadly published that there was more than sufficient land at Port Wakatu to meet the requirements of the settlement, and it was while looking round for some tangible fact to

justify his assertions that he bethought him of the Wairau.*

During the many excursions made by Mr. Tuckett, the Company's chief surveyor, in search of rural land, he had discovered a route *via* Top House, by which the Wairau might be reached after a journey of 110 miles. This fact was reported to Captain Wakefield, who ordered that a complete examination of the district should be made by Mr. Tuckett, who, accompanied by his assistant, Mr. Davidson, and Captain England, a land owner in the settlement, made an extensive exploration, and subsequently conveyed the discomfiting intelligence to the resident agent that the Wairau Plain was the only available surface between Cape Farewell and Cape Campbell sufficient to afford the number of sections required to complete the settlement. The survey of the plain was then decided upon, but intelligence had reached Kapiti that the *pakehas* had been down to the Wairau, and that they intended to take possession of it. Immediately upon the receipt of this news

* When the expedition ships, the "Will Watch" and "Whitby," were *en route* to Nelson they were driven by the unfavourable wind within the waters of Cloudy Bay, and while they were beating about between the White Bluff and Port Underwood, from their decks the emigrant passengers got a glimpse of the Vernon Hills, whose slopes were then covered with long waving grass, and the sight of the beautiful pasturage filled them with admiration. But at this time nothing was said by those in charge of the expedition as to the future occupation of this rich and tempting district. It therefore seems abundantly clear that the settlement of the Wairau was a pure afterthought, determined upon by Captain Wakefield when he found it was utterly impossible for the Company to fulfil its engagements with the settlers in the immediate vicinity of Nelson.

Rauparaha, accompanied by Hiko and Rangihaeata, crossed over to Nelson, and sought an interview with Captain Wakefield. In plain and straightforward terms the natives told the Europeans, who had gathered in Dr. Wilson's residence to hear the *korero*, that they had not sold the Wairau to the principal agent of the Company, and that they had no intention of doing so, unless the payment, or to put it in Rauparaha's own expressive phrase, "the cask of gold was very great." They therefore warned them not to go there as they had no right to the land.

Captain Wakefield's answer was that he intended to proceed with the survey, as he claimed the land in the name of the Company, though on what grounds it is not clear. Rangihaeata vehemently denied the sale, and backed up his protestations by a threat that if Captain Wakefield attempted to carry out his intentions he would meet him and take his head. The agent was in no way disturbed or shaken by the hostile attitude of the chiefs, but to Rangihaeata's boisterous manner he calmly replied that if any interference was offered, he would come with three hundred constables and arrest the belligerent natives. This unconciliatory attitude did not in the least assist to clear the atmosphere, for Rangihaeata went about the settlement during the next few days openly threatening every one

with death whom he conceived had any authority amongst the colonists if they ventured to annex the Wairau, unless they could first succeed in killing him, in which event, he said, the land would remain as the lawful possession of the conqueror. Rauparaha, on the other hand, assumed the air of the diplomat, and professed not to sympathise with the policy of his lieutenant, whom he described as a "bad man." At the same time, in his fawning fashion, he entreated the Europeans not to go to the Wairau, and begged that the dispute might be referred to Mr. Spain, the Government Land Commissioner, who had been appointed to investigate the claims of the Company, but Captain Wakefield repudiated the jurisdiction of Mr. Spain in the matter, and refused to comply with the request. The chiefs, finding that neither threats nor persuasion could shake Captain Wakefield in his determination to take possession of the Wairau, indignantly left the settlement, but as a final warning Rauparaha expressed his intention to lay the whole circumstances of the case before the Queen's Commissioner, and demand an immediate settlement of the claim.

Scarcely had the angry Ngatitoas left Nelson than the three chiefs who were resident at the Wairau arrived. These natives were sons of Rauparaha's elder brother, Nohoroa,

the oldest of whom, Rawiri Puaha, had previously informed Mr. Tuckett, when that gentleman visited his *pah*, that the plain was theirs, and that Rauparaha had no power to sell it. They were gratified at the idea that the Europeans looked upon it with a favourable eye, but at the same time they were in no haste to enter into any negotiations for its sale until they had considerably extended their cultivations, in order that they might fairly claim a larger compensation. Doubtless one of their reasons for desiring closer intercourse with the *pakehas* was that in addition to their clearings they had a large number of pigs running on the plain, which they used as a marketable commodity with the settlers at Port Underwood; but as fast as they cleared and cultivated the land and reared their pigs, Rauparaha was in the habit of coming over and coolly helping himself, with the result that his relations with the resident people were by this time considerably strained, and they probably thought that the presence of the settlers would check these depredations on the part of their high-handed relative. When they heard that Rauparaha had been to Nelson, they, being utterly mistrustful of his methods, at once concluded that he had gone there for the purpose of selling the plain; and it was to counteract this policy as far as possible that they went to see



THE TUA MARINA STREAM.



HON. J. W. BARNICOAT, M.L.C.

Captain Wakefield. That gentleman had always been much more considerate to resident natives than to those whom, like Rauparaha, he described as "travelling bullies," a friendliness which no doubt arose from the mistaken idea that those who held possession had the best title to the land. He was therefore most anxious to make a valid and binding bargain with Puaha, to whom he offered a small schooner and any reasonable quantity of goods, if he would acknowledge that the Wairau had been purchased by his brother, the Colonel. This Puaha refused to do, and therefore at a subsequent interview the resident agent adopted another line of argument, contending that the Company had already a legal title to the district by virtue of its being included in the latitude and longitude purchases made in 1839, and by right of a deed bought from Captain Blenkinsopp's widow for £300. Puaha denied the genuineness of both titles, pointing out that "the Wairau" had evidently been afterwards written into the first deed; and that in the second case, if Rauparaha had sold any portion of the land to Blenkinsopp, he had no right to do so without his (Puaha's) consent, which had never been asked, and never given. For three days the conference was continued by the agent and the chief, without either being able to convince the other; but at last Puaha with-

drew, still protesting in manly and dignified language against the views of the agent as to his title to the land.

After these animated interviews it might have been supposed that Captain Wakefield would, in his calmer moments, have seriously reviewed the position, and that against the vague and shadowy rights of the Company as expressed in the two deeds in his possession, in the first of which it was doubtful if the Wairau was included, and both of which it is certain the natives did not understand, he would have set the fact that the authenticity of these sales was being stoutly contested by the resident and non-resident natives interested, and that he would also have recognised that the whole question, having been placed in the hands of Mr. Spain, was entirely *sub judice*, and as such should have remained in abeyance until the court had pronounced its judgment. These considerations were, however, altogether outweighed by the desire to placate the settlers who were clamouring for their land and to prevent the exposure of the Company's inability to perform all that it had promised. The fear that if this could not be done he would be open to crushing censure from all with whom they had entered into engagements, and the desire to rescue his own and his brother's reputation from public anger and ridicule, biased his

otherwise judicial mind against the merits of the opposing case, which he could scarcely even regard with patience. Accordingly he decided to act upon the impulse that moved him most, and on the 15th of April, 1843, he entered into three contracts for the survey of the plain with Messrs. Barnicoat and Thompson, Mr. Cotterell, and Mr. Parkinson. As there was a probability that the natives would evince a disposition to interfere, a special provision was made in the tenders that the contractors were to be indemnified in case of loss, and on this understanding the surveyors, with forty assistants, arrived a few days later, and commenced operations, Messrs. Barnicoat and Thompson at the Marshlands' side of the valley, Mr. Cotterell in the neighbourhood of Riverlands, and Mr. Parkinson still higher up the plain, towards Grovetown.

At first the resident natives allowed the work to proceed with but slight resistance, once or twice they refused to permit timber to be sawn with which to make pegs and ranging rods, but with the exercise of a little tact and patience these difficulties were overcome, and the work had proceeded with so little friction that before Rauparaha arrived Messrs. Barnicoat and Thompson had practically completed their contract, the others not being quite so far advanced.

Rauparaha and Rangihaeata were at Mana

when the news of these proceedings reached them, and they at once engaged with their English friend, Joseph Toms, to convey them and a portion of their party, in his schooner "Three Brothers," to Port Underwood, from whence they intended to reach the Wairau in their canoes. On the 1st of June the schooner and the canoes arrived at the Port, and Rauparaha, with one hundred armed followers, at once proceeded to the house of Mr. Cave, who for seven or eight years had been employed there as cooper for the whaling stations, and with whom they were on the best of terms. To him they declared their intention of burning the surveyors' camps, and for that purpose they left for the Wairau the same evening in eight canoes and a whale-boat. Their threat was duly executed next morning, when Rauparaha with thirty of his people appeared at Mr. Cotterell's camp on the Opawa River, and after stripping his huts, they burned the *toe-toe* grass with which they were covered, as well as the survey pegs and ranging rods prepared from manuka sticks. They then assisted the surveyors to carry their belongings to the boats, and shipped them off to the *pah* at the mouth of the river. Their next proceeding was to paddle up the Wairau to Mr. Barnicoat's camp, which was situated on the river-bank close to the Ferry Bridge and there

they re-enacted their settled programme. In these proceedings Rauparaha was very firm yet conciliatory. There was no exhibition of temper or violence towards persons or property. He simply gave the surveyors to understand that he would have none of them or their surveying there, and the sooner they returned to Nelson the better he would like it, and to this end he assisted them to remove their instruments and personal effects to a place of safety before he demolished their *whares*. His reasoning upon this point was most logical, for he argued that the *toe-toe*, having grown upon the land, was his, that he was entitled to do what he pleased with his own, and so long as he did not interfere with any of the articles brought from England, he committed no breach of justice.

The instruments and baggage were placed in the boats and taken down to the *pah*, where they were safely landed and their owners treated with every consideration. But before matters had reached this crisis the contractors had despatched a joint letter to Mr. Tuckett at Nelson, explaining the gravity of the situation, and asking him to come down at once and certify to the work already done. On receipt of this communication Mr. Tuckett, accompanied by Mr. Patchett*, at once set out for the Wairau, and on his arrival at the

* Mr. Patchett represented the absentee land-owners in the Nelson settlement.

Bar he was met by Mr. Cotterell, who briefly related all that had transpired since the arrival of Rauparaha, adding that he believed the chiefs were at that moment away in search of Mr. Parkinson, whom they also intended to bring to the *pah*, and that Mr. Thompson had started for home with most of his men*, but Mr. Barnicoat was remaining with two of his labourers to take charge of their goods and await Mr. Tuckett's acceptance of the survey.

So soon as he had grasped the situation, Mr. Tuckett hastily wrote a letter in pencil to Captain Wakefield, in which he detailed the situation, and intimated his intention of remaining on the scene until the Captain should make his pleasure known to him. This letter he entrusted to Mr. Cotterell, who at once left with his men in the boats for Nelson. The chief surveyor then set off up the Opawa River to the site of Mr. Cotterell's camp, where he pitched a tent and remained all night. In the morning he proceeded, in company with Mr. Patchett and Mr. Moline (Mr. Cotterell's assistant), to search for Mr. Parkinson, and when they arrived at

* The late Mr. Henry Hammond, of Fairhall, was one of the men employed with Mr. Thompson. Mr. Cyrus Goulter, who was surveying with Mr. Cotterell, also returned to Nelson with this party. They were camped just above "The Narrows" in the Wairau Valley on the day of the massacre.

his hut* they found it in possession of a few natives, who had in no way interfered with it. The surveyor and his party not being there, Mr. Tuckett enquired for Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, whom he was informed were in the bush. He thereupon explained that he intended to go over to the Awatere, that he would be absent about three days, and at the end of that time he desired to meet the chiefs at Mr. Cotterell's camp, where he would converse with them over the recent events. The natives gladly undertook to convey this message to Rauparaha, who with Rangihaeata, a number of their followers, and Mr. Parkinson's men, were awaiting them at the appointed place of meeting when the party returned from their explorations beyond the Vernon Hills. Here the expected conference took place, Rauparaha calmly but firmly explaining his reasons for his interference, which were that he claimed the Wairau as his own, but since there was a dispute about it he had, on his return from Nelson, placed the

* This camp was situated near the junction of the four cross-roads at Grovetown, on land that is now the property of Mrs. Alex. Cameron. By the time Mr. Tuckett arrived, Mr. Parkinson, fearing trouble, but not wishing to relinquish the survey before it was finished, had divided his party into two sections. One he sent in charge of Mr. Drake, who formed a new camp on what is now Mr. Lucas' farm, but they were soon discovered and taken with the rest down to the mouth of the river. Amongst the members of this party was Mr. John Gibson, of Renwick, who was then a boy employed to look after the camp. Mr. Parkinson went down to the *pah* to confer with Mr. Tuckett, but sent his men higher up the plain on to land that has since been washed away by the Opawa River, where they formed a camp. By refraining from lighting fires during the day-time they managed to evade detection, and when rejoined by Mr. Parkinson they returned to Nelson by the overland route.

matter in the hands of Mr. Spain, who had appointed a day on which to hear the case, Rauparaha on his part undertaking that in the meantime none of his people should enter upon the land. The day appointed by Mr. Spain had passed, and fearing that if the survey was finished before he adjudicated upon their claim they would lose their land, they had determined to stop the proceedings. Rauparaha expressed himself as being still willing to abide by Mr. Spain's decision, but the survey must cease and the Europeans must leave, until such time as that judgment had been given. Mr. Tuckett vainly endeavoured to point out the hardship this course would impose upon the contractors and their men, who were dependent upon their work for their living. He also explained that he was expecting instructions from Captain Wakefield, and he asked permission to remain until he heard from his superior.

His request for delay was met by a command to remove his tent to the boat, and upon his refusing to obey, Rangihæata burst out into a violent passion, and in a torrent of invective reminded Mr. Tuckett of the warning he had given him in Nelson, ironically remarking that if he was so fond of the Wairau he (Rangihæata) would bury him there. This insulting outburst was treated with studied contempt by the chief surveyor,

who quietly rebuked Rangihaeata for his ungentlemanly behaviour, telling him that he would not converse with him until he mended his manners, the reproof having the desired effect upon the angry chief. While this brief altercation was proceeding Rauparaha had remained silent, although he was evidently exercising a restraining influence upon his comrade. But he now advanced, and once more politely requested Mr. Tuckett to have his tent removed; but that gentleman still persisted in his right to remain, whereupon Rauparaha, becoming impatient, ordered some of his own people to carry out his behest, and in a few minutes the tent was struck and stowed away in the boat. Mr. Tuckett then deemed it unwise to offer further objection, and together with the two chiefs he agreed to go back to the *pah*.

It had been Mr. Tuckett's intention to embark for Nelson next morning, but in the night a south-easterly gale came up and blew for three days, causing such a surf on the Bar that Rauparaha advised him not to attempt to cross it. During this compulsory stay that chief was most profuse in his expressions of goodwill towards the Europeans, and by his fawning and obsequious manner created a feeling of revulsion in the minds of the Englishmen. Rangihaeata, on the other hand, left them severely alone, neither seeking

favours nor intercourse of any kind, and save on one occasion his isolation was complete. That exception arose from the fact that one of the men reported that he had lost a handkerchief and a bill-hook, which he had seen in the possession of Rangihaeata's people, and Mr. Tuckett at once approached the chief and asked to have the property returned. His reply was that he had some bad men as well as good ones amongst his followers, sarcastically adding that perhaps Mr. Tuckett was in the same position, but that as he had come to the Wairau to defend his own and not to thief, if the surveyor could identify the man he would have his property back, and, failing that, he could have *utu* instead. The bill-hook was soon found, and here the incident ended, but the impression it made upon Mr. Tuckett was, that if Rangihaeata was more violent than Rauparaha, he was up to this point, certainly the more noble of the two.

As soon as the weather cleared the chief surveyor prepared to take his departure, but as the boat would not carry passengers and baggage both, it was finally decided that Messrs. Barnicoat and Parkinson should remain, and Messrs. Tuckett, Patchett and Moline proceeded to Nelson, although the chiefs raised no objection to the whole party remaining until additional boats could be

brought, or until they could be conveyed to one of the whaling stations at Port Underwood. By noon on the following day Mr. Tuckett and his companions had got well into Blind Bay, when they observed the Government brig "Victoria," under full sail, from which a gun was fired as a signal to board her. On doing so they learned that the vessel had just left Nelson, and was proceeding to the Wairau with the police magistrate (Mr. Thompson), Captain Wakefield (the Company's agent), Captain England, J.P., Mr. Cotterell, and some of the landed proprietors of the proposed settlement, as well as the chief constable, Mr. Maling, and twenty-four labouring men who had been sworn-in as special constables. The agent informed the chief surveyor that after Mr. Cotterell had arrived at Nelson and made his report, it had been decided to proceed as soon as possible to the scene of operations and arrest the chiefs on a charge of arson, a warrant having been granted by Messrs. Thompson, P.M., Captain Wakefield, Captain England, and A. McDonald, Esq., justices of the peace. Mr. Tuckett was naturally surprised and deeply grieved at this intelligence, and in antagonism to the rash and impolitic step, he informed Captain Wakefield of Rau-paraha's interview with Mr. Spain, and of that chief's willingness to still abide by the decision of the court. He further pointed

out the great care observed by the natives not to interfere with any of the surveyors' property or to injure the persons of any of their employees. He proceeded to argue that the men on board would not number one-half the strength of the natives then at the Wairau, and contrasted this numerical weakness with the threat made by the Captain at Nelson, that if Rangihaeata interfered with the survey he would come with three hundred constables to arrest him. His impression, therefore, was that the smallness of the party would inspire confidence in the minds of the natives rather than dread, and he strongly urged that however satisfied the agent might feel about the result, prudence demanded that they should appear on the plain with such a force as would completely overawe the Maoris, and to which there would be no humiliation in surrendering. In support of his views he handed to Captain Wakefield a letter which he had received from the Rev. Mr. Ironsides on the 12th of June, the day that he had met Mr. Cotterell at the Bar, in which the missionary, ripe with experience of Maori customs, and knowing how tenaciously they clung to their rights in landed property, ventured the opinion that unless this dispute was most diplomatically handled, the result might be extremely serious. Captain Wakefield expressed him-

self deeply thankful for the counsel contained in Mr. Ironsides' letter and also for the advice tendered by Mr. Tuckett, with whose whole conduct he entirely acquiesced. So impressed was he with the force of the chief surveyor's arguments, that he at once went into the cabin, where Mr. Thompson was, and requested him to read Mr. Ironsides' letter, stating that from it and other considerations urged by Mr. Tuckett, he had come to the conclusion that it would be wiser to return to Nelson. Mr. Thompson was totally averse to turning back, as he begrudged missing the opportunity of giving the natives what he called "a prestige for the law" and of showing the Government the correct way to deal with such troublesome fellows, at the same time expressing the opinion that if the authorities at Wellington had dealt with these chiefs as he had dealt with Ekawa at Massacre Bay, they would have ceased to give annoyance long ago. He also stated that if they returned at that stage they would simply be laughed at by the settlers, and he was not going to put himself in that undignified position. In his determination to go on Mr. Thompson was seconded by the Crown Prosecutor (Mr. Richardson), who begged that the expedition might not be given up, as he considered it was "only a lark," and in deference to the aggressive wishes of the magistrate and

the pleasurable inclinations of the lawyer, Captain Wakefield committed the fatal error of agreeing to proceed. Mr. Tuckett, still apprehensive that disastrous consequences would follow if Mr. Thompson's unwise counsels prevailed, earnestly remonstrated with that gentleman, taking up the attitude that he was exceeding his rights in proceeding to execute his warrant with an armed force. The magistrate admitted the correctness of Mr. Tuckett's premises, but he hotly resented the assumption that he intended to use the force at all. He then explained that he did not know that he would land the men. Certainly he would not give out the arms or take the force into the presence of the natives until he had first exhausted every plausible means to get the chiefs to submit themselves to trial on board the brig. Should they refuse to do so, which he did not expect, then he would investigate the charge on the spot, and afterwards decide whether he should call in the aid of the armed party or not. Had this plan of operations been strictly observed, much that afterwards happened might have been averted, but in no single particular did the magistrate follow his promised line of action, for as soon as the vessel arrived at Cloudy Bay the men were supplied with firearms and landed at the mouth of the Wairau River.

On seeing the Government brig enter the

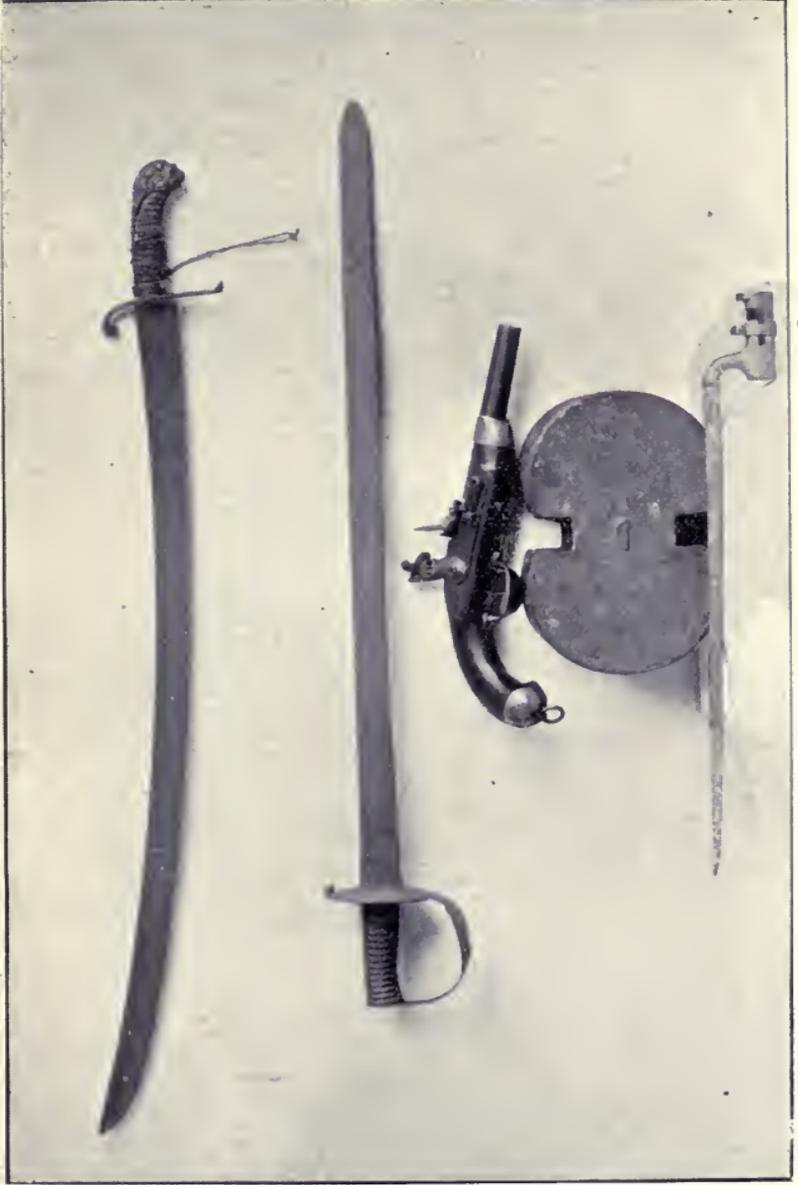
Bay the Maoris had abandoned the old *pah* at the Bar, retired further up the plain, and next morning the magistrate's band of special constables was ordered to get ready and go in pursuit. Perceiving that his worst fears were likely to be realised, and that the magistrate would not go without the armed force, Mr. Tuckett made a final appeal to Captain Wakefield, and offered to go himself and see Rauparaha, in company with the chief constable and the interpreter, if only the men bearing arms were allowed to remain where they were. To this suggestion the Captain readily agreed, and at once put the proposal before Mr. Thompson, who also consented, and ordered the chief constable to prepare himself for the journey ; but when Mr. Maling announced himself ready to go he presented such an armour-plated appearance that the chief surveyor absolutely refused to be seen in his company. He wore a cutlass at his side, a brace of pistols and a pair of handcuffs in his belt, while he carried a pair of heavy leg irons in his hand. How he proposed to get Rauparaha down to the Bar when he was both handcuffed and hobbled, is not very clear, nor did he have time to explain, for Mr. Tuckett at once drew attention to his accoutrements, and pointed out that the leg irons would have an especially exasperating effect upon the natives, while if he

insisted upon carrying pistols, it would at least be judicious to conceal them, and so avoid the appearance of intimidation. The magistrate at once ordered that the irons should be discarded, but also intimated that he had changed his mind as to the mode of procedure, and that he had now determined the whole force should participate in the arrest, a decision from which no amount of persuasion could induce him to deviate.

At the outset an attempt was made to ascend the river in boats, but as the ebb tide was flowing, and the wind was unfavourable, the travelling was both slow and laborious, and before they had proceeded very far the boats were abandoned, and the party, except Mr. Cotterell and his men, who remained in a whaleboat, commenced the march along a survey track which ran parallel with the river. By this time the ardour of the men had been considerably subdued; the bitter cold night experienced at the Bar had helped to extinguish their enthusiasm, and now the keen morning wind and bad walking through the long wet grass completely dissipated all idea that the affair was to be regarded in the light of a pleasure trip. During the course of the journey, which was both a slow and irritating one, Captain Wakefield expressed the opinion that the natives were more inclined to trade than war, and that the prospect of their at-



W. H. EYES.
FIFTH SUPERINTENDENT.



RELICS OF THE WAIRAU MASSACRE.

tempting to fight in the event of a forcible arrest being made was very small. In reply to this Mr. Tuckett still adhered to his former opinion that the Maoris would most certainly offer resistance if the armed force was taken into their presence. While this discussion was going on, the party reached the bend in the river at the back of Grovetown, where they met a number of resident natives, who, in consequence of their differences with Rauparaha, were quitting the Wairau and were returning to Port Underwood. Amongst them were Puaha, a lad named Rore (who afterwards became the honoured and respected chief of the Wairau natives), his father and a few other Maoris cutting timber in the bush. Of these they enquired the whereabouts of Rauparaha, and were informed that he was a few miles further up the valley at the Tua Marina Stream. Night coming on they decided to camp in the Tua Mautine Wood*, but took the precaution to send Puaha forward to acquaint Rauparaha of the nature of their visit, and he was followed by the remainder of the natives at a later hour.

Mr. Thompson was careful to explain to Puaha that he had not come to interfere with him, but it was noticed that his countenance bore a most anxious and concerned expression, and in the brief interview he had with

* Big bush at Grovetown.

the magistrate, he not only advised, but earnestly entreated him not to precipitate a quarrel by taking the armed men into the presence of Rauparaha and his followers; for if he did so it would be impossible to convince them that he had not come for the purpose of shedding blood. The pained look that fell upon the face of Puaha when he realised what the magistrate intended to do, made a deep impression upon Captain Wakefield, and he several times made reference to it. Even when waking from his sleep in the night he spoke of the fact as though he had a gloomy presentiment that all would not be well on the morrow. Mr. Thompson did not appear to be troubled with any such forebodings, his concern was that he would not have the opportunity of arresting the chiefs, who would probably make good their escape as soon as Puaha conveyed his message to them, and he endeavoured to make light of the agent's fears by explaining that Puaha's troubled looks were due to the conflict between the dictates of his barbarous nature and the influence of his Christian teaching, which, under the circumstance, would naturally rage within him—a course of reasoning that Captain Wakefield seemed to cheerfully accept.

At dawn next morning the camp of Rauparaha was easily distinguished by the smoke rising through the forest trees at the mouth of

the Waitohi Valley about four miles away. The magistrate then mustered his constables and served out to each man eighteen rounds of ball cartridge. When all-told they numbered 40 men, bearing muskets, bayonets and cutlasses, besides ten or twelve gentlemen who were without arms, the chief surveyor and Mr. Cotterell, being members of the Society of Friends, refusing to carry them in accordance with their religious principles. After a short march across the plain through the fern and *toe-toe* they arrived at the foot of the Tua Marina hills, and there they halted, having during the course of the journey been cautioned not to fire unless ordered to do so.

The constitution of the arresting party was not calculated to ensure success in the event of resistance on the part of the Maoris. They were untrained and without discipline, some of them were even unwilling participants in the expedition, for they had been coerced into coming by the threat that they would lose their employment in the service of the Company if they refused to assist in the arrest of the chiefs. Their arms were old-fashioned and not in the best of repair, there was a total lack of organisation, and apparently no common understanding as to who was in authority. Under these circumstances the result could scarcely have been different,

considering the character of the men with whom they had to deal.

Anyone sitting on the hillside even now can, without the aid of a vivid imagination, picture the animated scene which took place on that bright June morning. What are now grass paddocks were flats, more or less covered with native scrub, here and there only a remnant of what was then dense bush remains, but otherwise the physical features of the landscape are but little changed. The Maoris were squatting around their camp fires on the western side of the Tua Marina* Stream when they first observed the Europeans, whom they immediately hailed, and enquired if they intended to fight. Mr. Thompson answered in the negative, and after explaining the purpose for which he had come, asked the natives to place a canoe across the stream that he might come over and talk the more freely to them. Rauparaha consented to this course, but stipulated that the armed men were not to be allowed to cross over, and the magistrate agreeing to this condition, the special constables were left in charge of Captain England and Mr. Howard, who had instructions to act if called upon, while he, accompanied by Captain Wakefield, Mr. Patchett, Mr. Tuckett, Mr. Cotterell and Mr. Brooks, the interpreter, crossed over on the

* The original name of this stream was Wai Tua Marina, meaning calm, peaceful, or sleeping water

canoe, which was immediately drawn back again alongside the bank by a native named Piccawarro (big fellow) to prevent any surprise from the force on the other side of the stream. When the magistrate walked into the presence of the natives he observed that they numbered about 90 men and 35 women and children, but as an indication of their peaceful intentions they had placed in the midst of their group three women, the wives of Rauparaha, Rangihaeata and Puaha, while the party of resident natives sat on one side and the immediate followers of Rauparaha on the other. The noble and dignified Puaha stood in the centre with a Bible in his hand, reading from it select passages, and exhorting both parties to peace, while the natives sitting around chanted the usual welcome *Haere-mai Haere-mai*. Rangihaeata lay concealed behind some bushes, but Rauparaha came forward frankly when Mr. Thompson enquired for him, saying: "Here am I," and offered to shake hands with the strangers, but this courtesy was declined by the magistrate, who pushed the chief's hand away, and it was left to Mr. Tuckett and Mr. Cotterell to perform the politenesses of a friendly greeting.

In reply to Rauparaha's enquiry as to what had brought them there, Mr. Thompson proceeded to explain to him through Brooks, the interpreter, that he was their prisoner.

Rauparaha disdainfully replied that it would be time enough to indulge in such talk when Mr. Spain had made his inquiry about the land. They then strove to make him understand that as this case had nothing to do with the land, but was a charge of arson, it did not come within the province of Mr. Spain to inquire into it, but that the charge must be heard on the brig. Rauparaha declared that he had not destroyed any European property, in proof of which he appealed to Mr. Cotterell, who admitted the truth of his assertion and therefore he would not go on board the brig, but he was quite willing that the matter should be adjudicated upon there and then, and provided the compensation demanded was not excessive he would be prepared to pay rather than there should be any ill-feeling between the two races. Thereupon he was told that if he would not go voluntarily he must be taken by force, and a pair of handcuffs were produced to impress him with the sincerity of this threat. His chieftain blood was aroused by this insult, and he indignantly dared them to try to imprison his hands in such instruments and bind him like a slave. The magistrate, who was now rapidly losing his temper, began to stamp and rave, and then desired the interpreter to finally ask Rauparaha to say whether he would go on board the brig or not, and upon his still firmly

refusing to do so Mr. Thompson turned to Brooks and exclaimed, with a violent gesture in the direction of the opposite bank, "Then tell him there are the armed party, they will fire on them all." A native from the Bay of Islands who was present amongst Rauparaha's people, and who understood a smattering of English, told those of Rauparaha's party that an order to fire had been given, and sixteen of them at once sprang to their feet, and presenting their muskets at the magistrate, awaited the order from their chief to fire. The mistaken impression under which this hostile display had been made was at once removed by the chief surveyor and Mr. Patchett, who walked over to them and explained that only a threat, and not an order to fire had been given, and on this assurance they immediately subsided to their seats on the ground. The altercation between Mr. Thompson and Rauparaha still proceeded, during which the former produced his warrant, which he told the chief was the "book-a-book" of the Queen "to make a tie," and that he was the Queen, again adding in high and excited tones, stamping his foot the while, that if Rauparaha did not consent to surrender himself, he would order the Europeans to fire on them. This was quickly interpreted to the armed natives by the stranger from the Bay of Islands, and they instantly

sprang to their feet, and pointed their muskets at Mr. Thompson and his companions as before. At this point the peace-making Puaha stepped forward with his Testament in his hand and strove to reason with Mr. Thompson, but that gentleman in his frenzy and rage pushed the native aside, and angrily called out for Rangihaeata to come forward. That chief, on hearing his name, came from behind the bushes which concealed him, and leaping into the midst of the throng, began to brandish his hatchet in dangerous proximity to the magistrate's head, meanwhile upbraiding him in a most violent manner. "What do you want with Rangihaeata that you come here to bind him? Do I go to Port Jackson or to Europe to steal your lands? Have I burned your house? Have I destroyed tents or anything belonging to you?" Such were the pertinent enquiries the angry chief made as to why the indignity of arrest should be put upon him, and as it was quite evident from his flashing eyes and bitter tones that he was in no mood to be trifled with, Mr. Patchett appealed to the chief surveyor to interfere, "otherwise," he said, "we shall all be murdered." Rauparaha, seeing that his companion's manner was not likely to improve matters, ordered him to retire and leave the settlement of the matter to Puaha and himself, at the same time leading Rangihaeata's

lame wife, Te Rongo, to him so that she might be under his protection. Mr. Tuckett then seized the opportunity of pointing out to Captain Wakefield that in the event of Rangihaeata's temper getting the better of him they would be completely at the mercy of the natives, seeing that their retreat had been cut-off by the removal of the canoe, and after a brief consultation with Puaha, they agreed it would be wisest to restore the means of communication between themselves and their party on the other side of the stream. Captain Wakefield took the initiative by jumping into the canoe, and with the aid of a pole shoved the bow down the stream until he found a convenient landing place on the other side. While this movement was in progress Mr. Thompson had made another attempt to place the handcuffs upon Rauparaha's wrists, and just at that moment, when the chief had indignantly wrested his hand from the constable's grasp and was bitterly expostulating against the conduct of the Queen's officers, Captain Wakefield stepped on to the opposite bank of the creek, and noticing a threatening movement towards Mr. Thompson on the part of the natives, in a loud voice he gave the command, "Men, forward; Englishmen, forward." The company at once obeyed, and four of the men who were in the front, Morgan, Clanzey, Ratcliffe and Tyrrell,

jumped into the canoe for the purpose of crossing over to assist Mr. Thompson, while almost simultaneously that gentleman turned and entered the canoe at the other end, with the result that she was nearly capsized, and a momentary confusion ensued, during which one of the Englishmen in striving to get in front of his companions on the bank, tripped and fell, and in the fall his gun was accidentally discharged. That was the fatal crisis, for it turned what had hitherto been only stirring drama into fearful tragedy. The natives now had no doubt that the Europeans had come to fight, and they at once returned the fire, the first volley being fatal to Tyrrell, who was shot in the throat, Clanzey and Ratcliffe being also shot by the first discharge of musketry, and their bodies fell into the water and sank to the bottom. The Englishmen returned volley for volley, and in the midst of the general fusillade Mr. Thompson and his party passed safely over on the canoe, Mr. Tuckett being the last to leave the bank on which the natives were, which he did by entering the stream, and with one hand on the canoe pulled himself through the water. At this stage of the fight the natives might easily have killed every one of the leading Europeans, for when they started to cross the stream the muzzles of their guns were no more than a few inches away from them, and the fact that

they were not shot must have been due to some chivalrous sentiment on the part of the natives, who, seeing them unarmed, honourably abstained from attacking them. For some ten minutes after crossing the creek Mr. Tuckett stood no more than twenty yards away, fully exposed to the fire that was being kept up by the natives and fourteen or fifteen of the European rank and file. Beside him stood Messrs. Barnicoat, Cotterell, Richardson, Patchett and Maling, the two latter of whom were shot almost at the same moment. Mr. Richardson bent over Mr. Patchett and enquired if he was hurt, to which that gentleman replied, "I am mortally wounded, I am mortally wounded; you can do no good for me, make your escape."

As the bullets now began to rain down upon them thick and fast, and as several of the labourers had fallen in the vicinity, amongst them being Northam, Smith, and Burton, Mr. Tuckett and his friends retired to the foot of the ridge whither the other officers had gone with a portion of the men to consult as to the best course to pursue. Their decision was to retreat up the hill, and they called to Mr. Tuckett and the rest of the party to follow them. This act of mistaken generalship cost them dearly, for up to that time their fire had kept the natives penned up on the other side of the stream,

but the moment they observed the Europeans falling back they dashed into the water, and carrying their guns above their heads to keep them dry, crossed over and took possession of the trees which grew on the opposite edge, and, secure within this cover, opened a galling fire upon the Europeans, who were now hopelessly exposed upon the face of the fern-clad hill. Mr. Thompson did his utmost to steady the party by exclaiming, "For God's sake men, keep together," but his appeals were for the most part disregarded, not more than a third of the men remaining with their leaders, the rest of them retreating up the ridge and firing haphazard as they went. Captain Wakefield's attempts to instil something like discipline into the men were likewise frustrated by some panic-stricken individual rushing up and shouting out, "Run for your lives lads, run!"—an injunction which they were not slow to obey—and in an instant all semblance of organisation had disappeared. Time after time a few men were got together, but the majority of them were always utterly beyond control. On the last occasion that some of them were rallied, Captain Wakefield and Warrant Officer Howard ordered the men to fix bayonets and charge the natives, but on one of the men, who had been in the artillery, pointing out that there was no one visible to

charge at, the idea was abandoned, and a further retreat up the hill-side was the result of a protest on the part of the artilleryman, who declined to remain where he was "and be shot down like a crow," for the natives were still maintaining a steady fire, those who were short of bullets using pebbles as a substitute. On the second brow of the hill they met Mr. Cotterell, who was sitting down with a double-barrelled gun at his side. At the commencement of the quarrel he had been unarmed, but he now had seized this weapon with which to defend himself. He appeared deeply distressed at what had occurred, and expressed his intention of quitting the scene, but he was dissuaded from this course by Captain Wakefield, who, addressing him in most earnest tones said, "For God's sake, Mr. Cotterell, don't attempt to run away, you are sure to be shot if you do." Mr. Cotterell therefore remained with the party, but remarked to Richard Painter, one of his own men, "This is bad work, Dick."

Being now out of range of the native fire a council of war was held by such of the party as could be got together, and finally it was decided that Captain England and Mr. Howard should bear a flag of truce to the natives and endeavour to settle the dispute by negotiation. A white handkerchief was accordingly fixed on a stick, and with this

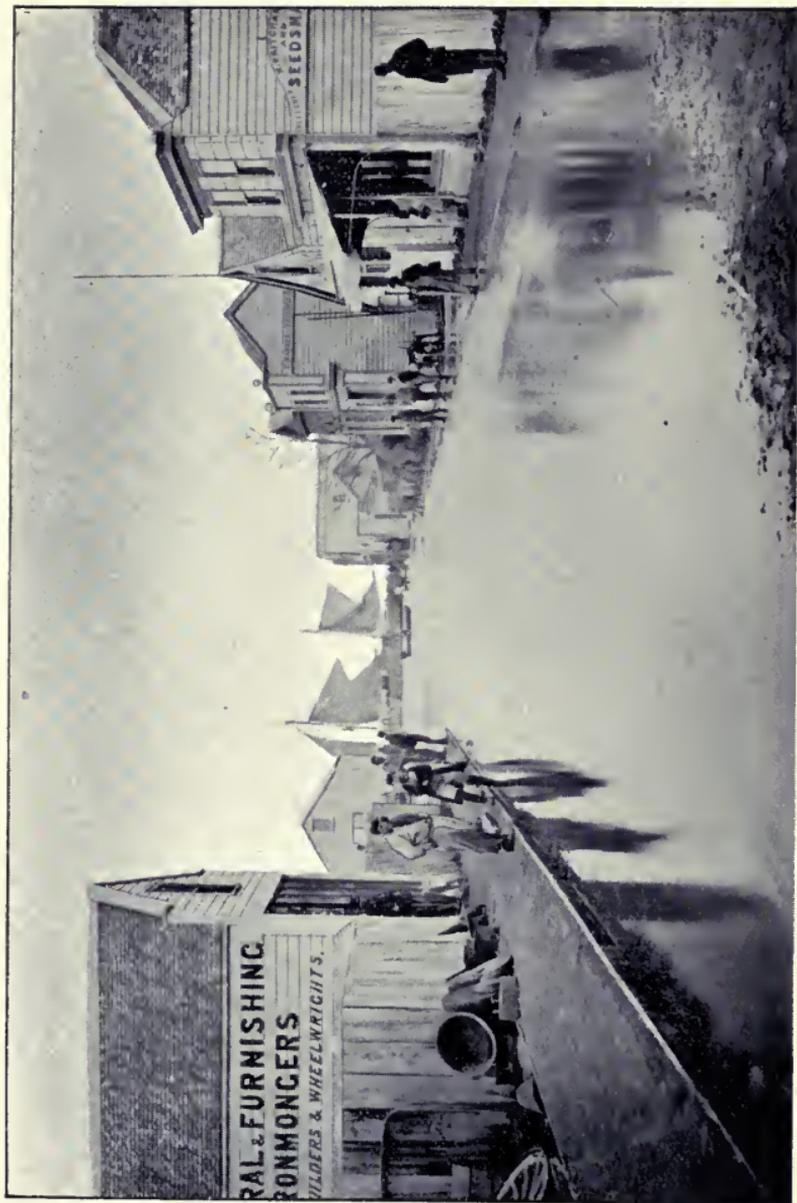
fluttering in the breeze the two officers started towards the wood. As an indication of their sincerity in desiring to relinquish fighting, Captain Wakefield ordered all those who were with him to lay their arms on the ground*, and the natives, seeming fully to appreciate the nature of the advances that were being made to them, ceased firing, and a number of them left their muskets behind the trees and came out to meet the bearers of the flag. Captain England and his comrade had almost reached the wood when some of the Englishmen who had halted much higher up the hill than Captain Wakefield, seeing the Maoris emerging from the bush, commenced to fire upon them, notwithstanding that they had seen both the flag of truce and their companions lay down their arms. Regarding this as a dastardly act of treachery the Maoris beat a hasty retreat back to the bush, and re-opened a rapid fire upon the Englishmen, whereupon Captain England and Mr. Howard ran back to the hill, and reached the spot from which they had started, uninjured by the native bullets. This attempt at conciliation having failed through the folly of their own people, at which the magistrate, in

* Some years ago the late Mr. Peake, schoolmaster at Tua Marina, while rambling over Massacre Hill, found the cutlass of a naval officer, which he believed must have belonged to Warrant Officer Howard, as from the description given of those composing the arresting party, he was likely to have had such a weapon in his possession. An old flintlock, pistol, cutlass, and bayonet, found on the same hill, are now in the possession of Mr. John Taylor. (*See Illustration.*)

despair and disgust, stamped his feet and tore his hair, exclaiming "Oh men! men!" he and Captain Wakefield decided to go further up the hill and meet those who were in advance of them to induce them, if possible, to act in concert with the rest, but this seemed to be as impossible as before, for no sooner did the one section begin to advance than the other began to retreat, and Mr. Tuckett, seeing that this must go on indefinitely, endeavoured to persuade Captain Wakefield that their best hope of reaching the beach and getting back to the brig was to abandon the ridge they were climbing and strike down into the plain. Although this advice was twice pressed on Wakefield he took no notice of it, and Mr. Tuckett thereupon calling to Mr. Barnicoat and a labourer named Gay to follow him, descended in an oblique direction on to the plain below. For a moment Mr. Cotterell hesitated which course he would take, but finally decided to go up the spur with the rest, and this decision cost him his life. When Captain Wakefield and his party began their last retreat most of them left their muskets lying on the brow of the hill, and were therefore quite defenceless, but the Maoris kept up a running fire as they gradually crept up the side of the range. As they approached the summit of the first knoll Mr. Cotterell stopped and surrendered himself

when the natives reached him, calling out: "Enough, enough, that will do the fight," in the hope of assuring them that the Europeans wanted peace, but he was immediately struck down and his body thrown into a manuka bush. Captain Wakefield followed his example by surrendering a few minutes later, as did also Captain England, Messrs. Richardson, Howard, Brooks, Cropper, McGregor and the magistrate. A few of the younger natives were in the van of the pursuit, and these held the prisoners in hand until the arrival of Rauparaha, whom they had outstripped. At first gold was offered as a ransom, and it seemed as if the feud would end with no more bloodshed, for the chief had accepted the assurances of Captain Wakefield that the shooting had been a mistake, and he had shaken hands with them all, when Rangihaeata, who had killed the wounded as he found them lying on the hillside, panting with haste and anger, rushed up and called out to Rauparaha, "What are you doing? Your daughter Te Rongo* is dead! What are you doing, I say?" He thereupon scorned the acceptance of gold, and demanded the lives of the principal Europeans as the only *utu*

* Te Rongo was not the *daughter* of Te Rauparaha, as is generally supposed, but a much more distant relative. She was the widow of Te Whaiti, a nephew of Rauparaha and a first cousin of Rangihaeata, who married her because she was the widow of his near relative. The story that she was shot while standing in front of Rangihaeata to protect him, is pure romance. She was killed by a stray bullet while hiding in the swamp at the rear of the Maori camp.



HIGH STREET, 1869.
EASTERN END IN FLOOD.



RAISING THE S.S. "TARANAKI."

WRECKED NEAR TORY CHANNEL ON AUGUST 19TH, 1868. S.S. "LADYBIRD" ACTING AS TENDER.

that would compensate him for the loss of his wife, exclaiming in impassioned tones, "We are sure to be killed for this some day. The white people will take *utu*, let us then have some better blood than that of these *tutua* (common men). We are chiefs; let us kill the chiefs and take *utu* for ourselves beforehand." To this Rauparaha was at first reluctant to agree, and his objections were well supported by Puaha and the other Christian natives, but he felt that in view of Te Rongo's death the demand was a reasonable one, and he at length yielded to the powerful appeal of his lieutenant, and delivered the unfortunate colonists over to their fate. At this juncture Mr. Thompson seemed, for the first time, to be apprehensive of serious consequences attending his conduct, and he implored Rauparaha to save their lives, but that chief haughtily answered, "Did I not warn you how it would be? A little while ago I wished to talk with you in a friendly manner and you would not, now you say 'Save me.' I will not save you." The whole party then retired a little lower down the hill, and there the massacre was commenced. Captain Wakefield and Mr. Thompson were killed by a son of Te Ahuta, the first native who fell in the fight, as a retribution for the death of his father. Brooks, the interpreter, was struck down by Rangihaeata and despatched by the slaves, which would

account for the mangled condition in which his body was found by the burial party from Port Underwood. The rest of the slaughter, according to native accounts, was conducted mainly by Rangihaeata, and was accomplished by that chief gliding silently behind the victims, while they were standing amongst the crowd of natives, and braining them with a single blow of his tomahawk. The peculiar part of the tragedy was that none of the Englishmen, except Captain Wakefield, made the slightest resistance, and even he was checked by Mr. Howard exclaiming, "For God's sake, sir, do nothing rash!" Perhaps their ignorance of the native language prevented them from understanding all that was passing around them until they received the fatal blow; but there was no struggle, no cries, except from the native women, led by Puaha's wife, who pleaded with the men to "save some of the *rangitiras*, if only to say they had saved some." No Englishman who survived actually saw the massacre, and therefore it is impossible to describe the exact method of its execution, but the colonists to all appearances met their fate with the greatest equanimity, for George Bampton, who had concealed himself amongst the fern only a few yards from the spot where the tragedy was enacted, in giving evidence at Nelson before Messrs. A. McDonald, Dr.

Monro and George Duppa, J.'sP., a few days after the event, deposed that "he heard neither cries nor screaming, but merely the sound of beating or chopping, which he supposed at the time to be the natives tomahawking the white people."

In accordance with Rauparaha's express orders, none of the dead bodies were mutilated or stripped, although Captain Wakefield's watch was taken by Rangihaeata and buried with Te Rongo, while one native regaled himself with a pair of white gloves, and another with a pair of silver-mounted pistols. After burying their own dead in the Waitohi Valley, the two chiefs with their followers came down to the mouth of the Wairau River, bringing with them their own canoes and the whale-boat which had been taken up by Mr. Cotterell and his men. In these they went first to Robin Hood Bay and then to Te Awaiti, where they remained a few days, finally crossing the Strait to Mana and Otaki, there to await developments.

Shortly after the skirmishing began, a Sydney merchant named Ferguson, who had been a passenger in the brig to Nelson, and had accompanied her to the Wairau under the impression that he would have a pleasant outing, had taken one of the wounded men, Capper, down to the river where the boats had been left that morning, and with the

boatman who had been stationed in charge, these three had paddled down the river to the Bar, and reached the brig that afternoon. A number of the men had also gone down the Waitohi Valley, which was then densely bushed, and by this means had evaded pursuit until they could return to Nelson by the overland route. Others again who had broken away from the main body had made for the sea, so that before Mr. Tuckett and his two companions had proceeded very far they were joined by eight of the original party, one of whom, John Bumforth, was badly wounded in the shoulder, an injury which afterwards necessitated the amputation of his arm. Mr. Tuckett first proposed that they should divide into two parties, the one to proceed to the Bar and the other to the vicinity of Port Underwood, thinking that by this means the chances of some of them reaching the brig would be increased, but the men stoutly refused to separate, and the chief surveyor then decided to proceed to the corner of Cloudy Bay nearest the Port, where luckily they found one of Mr. Dougherty's fully equipped whale-boats riding in the bay a few chains off. They hailed the boatmen and explained that they wished to be taken to the brig, which was anchored some seven or eight miles away, but owing to the heavy swell that was rolling into the bay at the time and

the large number of the party, there was the greatest difficulty in persuading the whalers to comply with the request. Even after the danger of embarking had been overcome, the headsman* had almost made up his mind not to risk the voyage to the brig, but to land the party at Port Underwood. But fortune still favoured the fugitives, for at this moment another boat's crew who had been watching their movements, imagining that they had sighted a whale, came out in pursuit, and in their delight at seeing their opponents fooled, and the desire to fool them still more, all thought of danger vanished as they raced away towards the brig, which was almost reached before the pursuing crew discovered the true position of affairs. Up to this point the whalers had not been informed why Mr. Tuckett and his friends desired to get on board the brig, but they were now told that a *fracas* had occurred between the Europeans and the natives, that the leaders of the party were Rauparaha's prisoners, and a promise, that was never fulfilled, was extracted from the boatmen that they would convey the intelli-

* There died at Picton Hospital on September 26th, 1899, Isaac Wallace—a Kanaka—one of the oldest residents in the colony, having, as he said, when a young man, lived with one of the first missionaries who had visited the colony. To give some idea of his age, he had a tattoo mark on his arm testifying that he was steersman in his fifth whale-ship in 1824. Wallace was one of the party who rescued, at the Boulder Bank, some of those who escaped from the Wairau Massacre in 1843. He had been a resident of the Sound for many years, following his calling as a whaler, until old age prevented his leading an active life, and for some years he had been an inmate of the above-mentioned hospital. Deceased was reported, and with probability, to be over 100 years of age.—*M. Press*,

gence to the other settlers at the Port, and prepare them to act as they might think best under the circumstances. The captain of the brig then sent his boats to search the shore, in the hope that other fugitives had reached the beach, but no one was seen, and no unusual event was noted except the burning of a large fire at the mouth of the river, which had been lit for some purpose by the natives. The anchor was then weighed and the brig sailed for Wellington, the captain, whose inclination was to enter Port Underwood, adopting this course at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Tuckett, who believed that if assistance was necessary it could be more easily obtained from the larger centre of population.

When the news of what had happened spread through the infant settlement early next morning, the excitement ran wild and high, and the settlers, believing that at the worst Captain Wakefield and his friends were only prisoners in the hands of the natives, immediately organised a band of volunteers to effect their forcible rescue. Their departure was, however, delayed by a gale, which had the effect of making most of the volunteers seasick, and by the time the storm had abated wiser councils prevailed, and it was decided that only a quorum of magistrates and Dr. Dorset, the surgeon of the settlement, should proceed to the scene, the impression having

gained ground that intercession was more likely to prevail with the Maoris than the presence of an armed force. The brig left Wellington for Cloudy Bay that night, and it was when she arrived at Port Underwood that Colonel Wakefield and Mr. Tuckett learned for the first time the appalling nature of the tragedy which had been enacted, and that the natives, both resident and visiting, had hurriedly left the Wairau, believing that retaliatory measures would speedily be taken against them. Altogether, about twenty-seven of the arresting party managed to elude the pursuit of Rangihaeata's warriors. After passing through intense privations, some wandered back to Nelson, but most of them went to Port Underwood, a few suffering from wounds and all from protracted hunger and exposure. The first to arrive were Morgan and Morrison, who reached Ocean Bay with their trousers worn to their knees, and they were shortly followed by others who were in no better plight. Their wants and wounds were attended to by Mrs. Dougherty, who ministered to them with the kindest of care, and it was by these few survivors that the whalers were first apprised of the catastrophe. The Rev. Mr. Ironsides had heard vague rumours about impending trouble between the chiefs and the Government, but as he had not seen the arrival of the brig he paid no

heed to them until the following Sunday, when, in the midst of a heavy rain-storm, he noticed a Maori swiftly paddling his canoe up the bay. Knowing that a native would only be out on such a day under exceptional circumstances, Mr. Ironsides sent one of his mission boys to enquire. The boy did not return, which only increased the anxiety, and later on, when a few particulars did reach the station, they were only sufficient to indicate that a collision had taken place, but there were no details; and that night the missionary and his wife retired to rest a prey to the greatest suspense. Next morning the storm had increased to a perfect hurricane, and as it was impossible to launch a boat, they could do nothing but wait until Tuesday, by which time the weather had moderated, and a boat's crew of whalers took Mr. Ironsides down to Ocean Bay, where the two chiefs and their exultant followers had arrived. From them the whole story was gleaned, and by them the tragedy was justified; "for," said Te Rangihæata, "they killed my wife Te Rongo, and they did not punish the murderer of Kuika." Mr. Ironsides at once asked permission to go and bury the dead, whereupon the fiery Rangihæata ejaculated, "What do you want to go for? Better leave them to the wild pigs. But you can go if you like." Still the gale was too

severe to safely venture across the twelve miles of open sea, but so anxious had they all become that next morning a start was once more made from Ngakuta, and at the imminent risk of their lives the brave crew* pulled their boat across the stormy bar into the river. On arriving at Tua Marina, Mr. Ironsides and his party found that all the bodies had been left as Rauparaha had directed—unmutilated. The watch of Captain Wakefield, for the reason already given, was gone, and one of the pistols, which he had evidently attempted to fire but the cap had missed, had been laid across his throat in compliance with Maori custom, and a piece of “damper,” in savage derision, had been placed under his head. The body of Brooks, the interpreter, was found to be in the most mangled condition, the others apparently only having received the one final and decisive

* Some difference of opinion has arisen as to whether it was a European or native crew who took Mr. Ironsides up to Tua Marina, but the evidence seems to be in favour of the latter assumption. Mr. Tuckett in his account says: “Accompanied by a few attached natives, Mr. Ironsides entered the Wairau River when the state of the weather would have deterred others less habituated in self-sacrifice. Mr. Spain immediately engaged whale-boats and crews to proceed with the party on board the brig, but the boatmen could not be induced to attempt to enter the river until the weather moderated.”

Mr. Ironsides is reported to have said, “The whalers were frightened to go down on account of the heavy sea until they saw me with a boat’s crew of Maoris.”

To this Mr. Aldrich, of Port Underwood, replies, in support of his contention that the crew was composed of Europeans: “This could not have been the case, as there were no Maoris at the Port except one young man, for whom Mr. Ironsides gave two blankets to his master, as he was a slave. I pulled up to Ngakuta in a seven-oared whaleboat and a full crew, and took in Mr. Ironsides and the young Maori, and we went down and buried the people.”

blow when they were struck down by the enraged Rangihaeata. Five bodies were discovered in the bush close to the creek, and were there interred with the benefits of a Christian burial, while those who were slain on the brow of the hill, thirteen in number, were buried near-by with similar rites. This fatiguing work had been almost completed by the devoted missionary* and his band of native helpers when Colonel Wakefield, with the party from the brig, arrived to assist in the work. On an extended search being made by the combined parties, one more body was found at the point where the road turns into the Waitohi Valley, and it was buried where it lay. Probably it was that of Isaac Smith, who had either sought to escape after being mortally wounded, and had died in the attempt, or had been overtaken in his flight and killed where he was found. Mr. Patchett was buried in a single grave on the spot where he fell, and Tyrrell and Northam were interred together close beside him.

Upon the return of the party to Port Underwood, Messrs. Spain and McDonough (the magistrate at Wellington), set about the collection, with all possible speed, of the available

* In recognition of the kindly and humane service rendered by Mr. Ironsides during this critical and anxious period, the Nelson settlers presented him with a testimonial in the shape of a handsome edition of the Bible, bound in three volumes. The gift was gracefully acknowledged by the reverend gentleman in a letter to Mr. Donnett, dated from Wellington on February 20th, 1845.

information concerning the disaster from those of both races who had been present, and who had now arrived at the settlement. Amongst those whose depositions were taken were two Maori boys, both of whom had been wounded, and who were being taken care of by female relatives. Their story is a general corroboration of the Maori version, and they were both unanimous in declaring that when the Europeans were overtaken on the brow of the hill, Puaha, who was one of the first to reach them, offered them his hand and did all in his power to obviate further bloodshed by pointing out that he had counted the slain, and as both sides had exactly the same number shot, there was no need for further *utu*. In this view Rauparaha at first concurred, but he finally gave way before the vehement protestations of Rangihaeata, who reminded him in violent tones of his duty to his dead relative Te Rongo, and allowed his enraged lieutenant to work his wicked will, which Puaha and his people, being unarmed, were powerless to prevent, and thus there was no friendly hand to interpose between the settlers and their fate. At the conclusion of his enquiry, Mr. Spain left for Wellington, taking the wounded with him, and those of the survivors who had escaped uninjured proceeded back to Nelson, some in the boats and some overland. Before leaving the Port, Mr. Tuckett was authorised

by Colonel Wakefield to act as agent for the settlement until the pleasure of the New Zealand Company was known. His journey home was rather an adventurous one, as he had a very narrow escape from being intercepted by the natives when sailing through the French Pass. Some of his companions who were venturesome enough to call in at Tory Channel, were detained there for a week by the natives, but were ultimately permitted to take their departure unharmed.

The body of Mr. Maling*, the chief constable, had not been found when Mr. Ironsides made his first search upon the scene of the massacre, a fact which created no surprise at the time, for it was thought probable that he had succeeded in making good his escape into the bush, but as he had not arrived at any of the settlements, the missionary again returned to Tua Marina for the dual purpose of making an extended search and of protecting the graves already made from desecration by the wild pigs, with which the valley was at that time thickly stocked. He was successful in finding two bodies floating in the stream, being the remains of Clanzey

* Mr Maling's body was not found by Mr. Ironsides, but, according to Mr. M. Aldrich, it was discovered in 1846 by himself and party while out pig hunting. They identified the body by the sword-belt, powder flask, and memorandum book, in which the writing was still legible. They also found the bullet which had mortally wounded him. Mr. Aldrich says, "We hung the things on a manuka bush, and told the surveyors where to find them. We buried the remains as well as we could, having no spade or pick."

and Ratcliffe, who were shot while crossing on the canoe, and which had afterwards risen to the surface. These were reverently interred on the banks of the creek near where Mr. Patchett had been buried. The last resting-place of these men bears no mark to distinguish it from the surrounding landscape, but a plain, though substantial monument* has been raised over the spot where Captain Wakefield and his companions fell; while a memorial church, built by the Wakefield family, stands prominently upon the point of the hill, and solemnly presides over the whole scene. The following is a list of the Europeans who were engaged in the catastrophe :—

Police Magistrate and				
County Judge	...	Mr. Thompson	...	massacred.
Magistrates	...	Capt. Wakefield	...	massacred.
		Capt. England	...	massacred.
Crown Prosecutor	...	Mr. Richardson	...	massacred.
Land Agent	...	Mr. Patchett	...	killed.
Company's Storekeeper		Mr. Howard	...	massacred.
Surveyors	...	Mr. Tuckett	...	escaped.
		Mr. Barnicoat	...	escaped.
		Mr. Bellairs	...	escaped.
		Mr. Cotterell	...	massacred.
Passenger of Brig	...	Mr. Ferguson	...	escaped.
Interpreter	...	John Brooks	...	massacred.
Chief Constable	...	Mr. Maling		died of wounds.

* A representation of the monument appears on the cover of this book. The cost of its erection was defrayed out of moneys raised by public subscription in Nelson shortly after the massacre, but never expended until Mr. Eyes became Superintendent of the province. He then took steps to have the fund spent upon the purpose for which it had been raised. The monument was designed by Mr. Felix Wakefield, and unveiled by Mr. Eyes in March, 1869.

Constables	...	...	Capper, wounded, lost use of hand. Coster and Wm. Gardiner, killed or massacred.
Special Constables	...	...	Edward Stokes died of wounds. James McGregor massacred. Thos. Tyrrell ... killed. Rich. Burnet ... wounded. John Gay ... escaped. Wm. Maunsell ... escaped. Richard Warner ... escaped. John Noden ... escaped. John Bumforth ... lost an arm. Eli Cropper, William Northam, Henry Bumforth and Isaac Smith. killed or massacred.
Boatmen	...	...	Thomas Pay, killed or massacred. Sam. Goddard ... escaped. Abraham Vallard escaped. John Kidson ... escaped. George Bampton ... escaped. William Burt ... escaped.
Men Engaged on the Surveys	...	...	H. Richardson ... escaped. Thomas Hannam escaped. W. Chamberlain ... escaped. James Grant ... escaped. Richard Painter ... escaped. Wm. Morrison ... escaped. Joseph Morgan ... escaped. John Miller ... escaped. Henry Wray ... escaped. Robert Crawford ... wounded. John Smith ... wounded. Wm. Clanzey ... killed. John Burton ... killed. Thos. Ratcliffe ... killed.

It would be difficult to describe the intense excitement which agitated the whole colony as the tidings of the massacre flew from settlement to settlement, and in the white heat of their anger the settlers were guilty of saying and doing many rash and intemperate things. Few of them had made themselves conversant with the whole facts of the case, and fewer still stayed to reason out the natural actions of men under the circumstances. All that they knew, and all that they cared to know, was that their countrymen had been, as a Nelson settler forcibly expressed it, "brutally butchered by a parcel of miscreant savages, ten thousand of whose useless lives would have all too cheaply purchased their survival, let the cant of ultra-philanthropists say what it will."

But this unbridled indignation was not alone participated in by the Europeans, for the natives, on leaving the Wairau, had taken with them the handcuffs and leg-irons which had been foolishly brought down by Mr. Maling to ensure Rauparaha's capture, and these were sent from one *pah* to the other throughout the North Island: and wherever they were exhibited the enemies of the *pakeha* were not slow to insinuate that when the English became numerous in the land, they would provide leg-irons for the whole of the natives. The sight of these manacles and

the dark hints with which they were everywhere accompanied, created bitterness and resentment against the settlers, with whom the Maoris had always lived in perfect harmony; so that before many weeks had passed away it only required a single spark of indiscretion to set the whole colony in a blaze of war. At no period of her history did New Zealand stand so much in need of firm, discreet and conciliatory guidance as in this critical juncture, and fortunately the hand of authority was strong enough to prevent the fiery brand being applied to the fern. Acting-Governor Shortland took a bold but unpopular initiative, and on the 12th day of July, 1843, issued the following proclamation:—

“Whereas it is essential to the well-being of this colony that confidence and good feeling should continue to exist between the two races of its inhabitants, and that the native owners of the soil should have no reason to doubt the good faith of Her Majesty’s solemn assurance that their territorial rights should be recognised and respected. Now, therefore, I, the officer administering the Government, do hereby publicly warn all persons claiming land in this colony, in all cases where the claim is denied or disputed by the original native owners, from exercising rights of ownership thereon, or otherwise prejudicing the question of title to the same, until the question of ownership shall have been heard and determined by one of Her Majesty’s Commissioners appointed to investigate claims to land in New Zealand.”

The wisdom of thus holding the hands of the settlers until the title to their lands had been



P.S. "LYTTELTON," 1869.



OLD OPAWA FERRY.



PICTON, 1864.

settled by a constitutional course, was not at first apparent to the pioneers, who treated the proclamation with scant respect, and roundly abused it and its author in the public press.

“If,” said one writer, “it had been the desire of its framer to hound a troop of excited savages upon a peaceable and scattered population, to destroy the remains of friendly feeling existing between the two races, to imbue in blood the hands of both, and lead to the extermination of one or the other, such a proclamation might have served its purpose.”

This style of exaggerated invective will serve to show the unreasoning pitch to which even the better class of colonists had allowed themselves to be worked by the news of the catastrophe. Nor were they content with merely upbraiding the authorities in the press and at public meetings, but deputations waited upon the Acting-Governor at Auckland, urging him to take immediate steps to avenge the death of Captain Wakefield. The Nelson deputation consisted of Dr. Monro and Mr. A. Domett, and the essence of their petition was contained in the following paragraph:—

“We have no hesitation in stating that it is the general opinion of the settlers at Nelson that our countrymen who were killed at Wairau Plain, lost their lives in endeavouring to discharge their duties as Magistrates and British subjects, obedient to British law, and that the persons by whom they were killed are murderers in the eyes of common sense and justice.”

They therefore hoped that impartial justice would be done, and that the penalties of the

law would certainly overtake those whom its verdicts pronounced to be guilty; but to this and all other petitions of a similar tone, Mr. Shortland staunchly refused to accede, and in his reply to Dr. Monro and Mr. Domett, he clearly set forth the error the settlers were labouring under when they ascribed the cause of the disaster to the performance of a duty on the part of the magistrates, and pointed out that it might be more fairly attributed to an excess of duty on the part of those officials in attempting to annex land which had never been legally purchased. After dwelling upon the criminality of those who were responsible for the fatal conflict, he proceeded to say:—

“But whatever may be the crime, and whoever may be the criminals, it is but too clear that the event we must all deplore has arisen from several parties of surveyors, without the concurrence of the local government, proceeding to take possession of and to survey a tract of land in opposition to the original native owners who have uniformly denied its sale. His Excellency therefore deems it proper to inform you that the New Zealand Company has not selected any block of land in the valley of the Wairau, nor has the local government yet received any intimation that it is the intention of the Company to select a block in that district.”

To say that the Englishmen were trespassers is the mildest way in which the case against them can be stated, especially in view of the forceful opinion expressed by Mr. Swainson, the Attorney-General at the time, who described their conduct as “illegal in its

inception and in every step of its execution, unjustifiable in the magistrate and four constables, and criminal in the last degree on the part of the attacking party." Writing from Port Nicholson ten days after the massacre, Mr. Spain, confirmed Mr. Swainson's condemnation of their conduct, which he declared to be "an attempt to set British law at defiance, and to obtain, by force, possession of a tract of land, the title of which was disputed, and then under the consideration of a commissioner specially appointed to investigate and report upon it." From the information he had been able to collect, Mr. Spain arrived at the conclusion that at the commencement of the affair the natives exhibited the greatest forbearance and evinced the utmost repugnance to fight with the Europeans, and his views were cordially endorsed by Mr. Clarke, the protector of the aborigines, who reported to the Acting-Governor that he was "satisfied that such an unhappy affair as that of the Wairau could never have occurred had not the natives been urged to it by extreme provocation." These emphatic opinions from men who were not only capable of arriving at a judicial conclusion, but who were impartial in the sense that they were not concerned in the catastrophe, together with the decision of the Attorney-General that no act of felony had been committed by the natives in burning the

huts, fortified His Excellency in ignoring the violent clamour of the settlers for revenge, and induced him even to go further and prohibit the military displays they were beginning to organise amongst themselves, under the plea that they were in imminent danger of being attacked by the natives. This prohibition was to their excited minds the crowning injustice of all; and in October, when H.M.S. "North Star" arrived at Port Nicholson, as the result of a memorial sent by the settlers to Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales, the Wellington and Nelson settlements were practically in a state of open rebellion; so much so that when her commander, Sir Everard Home, was applied to by the colonists to execute a warrant against Rauparaha and Rangihaeata for murder, he was compelled to "decline the honour" and admit candidly that he did not consider a force so necessary to put a check upon the natives as to keep in subjection the irate settlers themselves. At the same time that the settlers requested help from New South Wales, they also memorialised Sir Eardley Wilmot, Governor of Tasmania, for assistance, and he immediately sent the battleship "Emerald Isle" to their aid, but he took the precaution to warn Captain Nicholson not to land his troops unless the natives and Europeans were in

actual conflict ; and this not being the case when the ship arrived, she soon after took her departure. In their extremity the settlers then turned to a French frigate, which was lying in New Zealand waters, but upon Major Richmond hearing of the proposal to call upon her captain for aid, he indignantly rejected and vetoed the idea as being " a stain upon the British arms."

The social and political atmosphere was still in this condition of ferment, when, towards the close of the year, Captain Fitzroy, the newly-appointed governor, arrived. It was not, however, until February that he was able to give his undivided attention to the adjudication of matters connected with the massacre, but he then spared no pains to make himself master of all the facts upon which his decision would be based. He first studied the merits of the European case, and then journeyed to Waikanae, where he landed on the 12th of February, 1844, with his suite, consisting of Sir Everard Home, Mr. Spain, the officers of the "North Star," Major Richmond and Mr. Symonds, the Wellington magistrates, and Mr. George Clarke, the sub-protector of the aborigines, and there met Rauparaha and Rangihaeata, with upwards of four hundred of their tribe, congregated for the *korero*, in a large enclosure in the centre of the *pah*.

His Excellency, in addressing the assembled natives, said :—

“ I have heard from the English all that happened at the Wairau, and it has grieved my heart exceedingly. I now ask you to tell me your story, so that I may compare the two and judge fairly. When I have heard your account of that dark day I will reflect and then tell you what I shall do. The bad news I have just heard about killing the English after they had ceased fighting and had trusted to your honour, has made my heart very dark, has filled my mind with gloom. Tell me your story, that I may compare it with the English, and know the whole truth. When I first heard of the death of my friends at the Wairau I was very angry, and thought of hastening here with many ships of war, with many soldiers, and several fire-moved ships (steamers). Had I done so, your warriors would have been killed, your canoes would have been all taken and burnt, your houses and *pahs* would have all been destroyed, for I would have brought with me from Sydney an irresistible force. But these were hasty, angry, unchristian thoughts; they soon passed away. I considered the whole case. I considered the English were very much to blame even by their own account, and I saw how much you had been provoked. Then I determined to put away my anger and come to you peaceably. Let me hear your story.”

Rauparaha then arose, and after being exhorted by several of his tribe to speak out that all might hear, he began in slow and measured tones to narrate their land troubles with the Company in the Wellington settlement, and then he passed on to the Wairau. This land, he declared, was taken away by Thompson and Captain Wakefield, and he described the visit of Rangihaeata and

himself to Nelson to protest against its occupancy; nor did he omit to mention the threats then used towards them by Captain Wakefield. Then he told how they had gone over and stopped the survey, and brought Messrs. Cotterell and Barnicoat down to the Bar, how they had afterwards met Mr. Tuckett, and likewise refused him permission to remain.

“After Mr. Tuckett had gone to Nelson,” said Rauparaha, “we continued our planting till one morning we saw the “Victoria” (the Government brig). Then were our hearts relieved, for we thought Mr. Spain and Mr. Clarke had come to settle the question of our lands. Being scattered about on the different places on the river, we took no further notice, expecting a messenger to arrive from Mr. Spain, but a messenger came up to say that it was an army of English, and that they were busily engaged in cleaning their arms and fixing the flints of their guns. They met Puaha, and detained him prisoner. They said ‘Where are Rauparaha and Rangihaeata?’ Puaha said, ‘Up the river.’ After Puaha and Rangihaeata arrived, we consulted as to what we should do. I proposed going into the bush, but they said, ‘No, let us remain where we are, what have we done that we should be thus beset? The Europeans slept some distance from us, and after they had breakfasted, came on towards us in two boats. We remained on the same spot without food, we were much alarmed. Early in the morning we were on the look-out, and one of the scouts, who caught sight of them coming round a point, called out, ‘Here they come, here they come.’ Our women had kindled a fire and cooked a few potatoes that we had remaining, and we were hastily eating them when they came in sight. Cotterell called out, ‘Where is Puaha?’ Puaha answered, ‘Here I am, come here to me.’ They said again, ‘Where

is Puaha?' Puaha again saluted them. Cotterell then said, 'Where is a canoe for us to cross?' Thompson, Wakefield and some other gentlemen crossed over with a constable to take me, but the greater number stopped on the other side of the creek. Thompson said, 'Where is Rauparaha?' I answered, 'Here.' He said, 'Come, you must come with me,' I replied, 'What for?' He answered, 'To talk about the houses you have burned down.' I said, 'What house have I burned down? Was it a tent belonging to you that you make so much ado about? You know it was not; it was nothing but a hut of rushes. The materials were cut from my own ground, therefore I will not go on board, neither will I be bound. If you are angry about the land, let us talk it quietly over. I care not if we talk till night and all day tomorrow; and when we have finished I will settle the question about the land.' Mr. Thompson said, 'Will you not go?' I said, 'No,' and Rangihaeata, who had been called for, and who had been speaking, said so too. Mr. Thompson then called for the handcuffs and held up the warrant, saying, 'See, this is the Queen's book, this is the Queen to make a tie, Rauparaha.' I said, 'I will not listen either to you or your book.' He was in a great passion; his eyes rolled about and he stamped his feet. I said, I would rather be killed than submit to be bound. He then called for the constable, who began opening the handcuffs and to advance towards me. Mr. Thompson laid hold of my hand. I pushed him away, saying, 'What are you doing that for?' Mr. Thompson then called out 'Fire.' The Europeans began to cross over the creek, and as they were crossing they fired one gun. The women and children were sitting round the fire. We called out, 'We shall be shot.' After this one gun they fired a volley, and one of us was killed, then another, and three were wounded. We were then closing fast; the *pakehas'* guns were levelled at us. I and Puaha cried out, 'Friends, stand up and shoot some of them in payment.' We were frightened because some of them were very close to us.

We then fired; three of the Europeans fell. They fired again and killed Rongo, the wife of Rangihacata. We then bent all our energy to the fight, and the Europeans began to fly. They all ran away, firing as they retreated; the gentlemen ran too. We pursued them, and killed them as we overtook them. Captain Wakefield and Mr. Thompson were brought to me by the slaves, who caught them. Rangihacata came running to me, crying out, 'What are you doing, I say?' Upon which some heathen slaves killed them at the instigation of Rangihacata; neither Puaha nor the Christian natives being then present. There was no time elapsed between the fight and the slaughter of the prisoners. When the prisoners were killed, the rest of the people were still engaged in the pursuit, and before they returned they were all dead. I forgot to say that during the pursuit, when we arrived at the top of the hill, Mr. Cotterell held up a flag and said, 'That is enough, stop fighting.' Mr. Thompson said to me, 'Rauparaha, spare my life.' I answered, 'A little while ago I wished to talk to you in a friendly manner, and you would not; now you say save me, I will not save you.' It is not our custom to save the chiefs of our enemies. We do not consider our victory complete unless we kill the chiefs of our opponents. Our passions were much roused, and we could not help killing the chiefs."

At the conclusion of Rauparaha's address, Captain Fitzroy desired time to reflect upon what he had just heard, and at the expiration of half-an-hour, he announced his decision as follows:—

"Now I have heard both sides, I have reflected on both accounts, and I am prepared to give my judgment. In the first place the English were wrong; they had no right to build houses upon lands to which they had not established their claim—upon land the sale of which you disputed; on which Mr. Spain had not decided. They

were wrong in trying to apprehend you, who had committed no crime. They were wrong in marking and measuring your land in opposition to your repeated refusal to allow them to do so until the commissioner had decided on their claim. Had you been Englishmen you would have known that it was wrong to resist a magistrate under any circumstances, but not understanding English law the case is different. Had this been all, had a struggle caused loss of life in the fight—wrong and bad as it would have been to fight in the sight of God—I could not have blamed you so much as the English. The very bad part of the Wairau affair—that part where you were very wrong—was the killing of the men who had surrendered, who trusted to your honour as chiefs. Englishmen never kill prisoners; Englishmen never kill men who have surrendered. It is the shocking death of these unfortunate men that has filled my mind with gloom, that has made my heart so dark, that has filled me with sorrow. But I know how difficult it is to restrain angry men when their passions are aroused. I know you repent of your conduct, and are now sorry that those men were killed. As the English were very greatly to blame, as they brought on and began the fight, and as you were hurried into crime by their misconduct, I will not avenge their death.”

In arriving at this determination, Captain Fitzroy may have been actuated to some extent by considerations of expediency, for had he decided in any other way the reprisals of the English would undoubtedly have created a war with the natives, which the Government was not in a position at that juncture to carry to a successful issue, and therefore to have provoked hostilities with Rauparaha would have meant the obliteration of all the settle-

ments before the necessary reinforcements could have arrived. At the same time there was a large measure of justice in the course he chose to adopt, which in the calmer moments of to-day, must receive the endorsement of all impartial men, as it did of Lord Stanley, the Secretary of State for the colonies, immediately the Governor's decision was known to the Home authorities. In his despatches on the subject, Lord Stanley made it clear that in his opinion Mr. Thompson and Captain Wakefield had needlessly violated the rules of English law, the maxims of prudence and the principles of justice; and having thus provoked an indefensible quarrel with a barbarous tribe, they could not reasonably complain at the barbarities practised in the subsequent conflict. He was therefore satisfied that in declining to make the Wairau massacre a subject for criminal proceedings, the Governor had taken a wise, though undoubtedly bold decision. As might have been expected, the action of Captain Fitzroy in refusing to arrest the two chiefs created a tempest of ill-will against him amongst the settlers, but on the other hand the Maoris were overjoyed at the prospect of once more possessing the friendship of the *pakeha*, and instantly resumed a sociable demeanour towards the colonists, which, upon the advent of Captain (afterwards Sir George) Grey

as Governor, was gradually reciprocated by the Europeans, who in time came to recognise the folly of their fears and the absurdity of their hostile attitude. In this way the startling nature of the catastrophe, which had paralysed the efforts of the New Zealand Company and thrown a shroud over the settlement of the whole colony, began to lose its deadly effect, and the splendid scheme of setting a new gem in the British Crown was rescued from the disaster which threatened it while the scales trembled in the balance.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PIONEERS.

Thy peace thus rudely broken and disturbed,
Struck terror to the heart ;
And settlers trembling and perturbed,
Shrunk from the settlers' part ;
But Time, the world's great leveller,
Sped in his wondrous course,
Till shortly came the anxious traveller
Through Waitohi's wooded pass.
Fair lands before him stretched,
And beauty's conquering view
The ideal home in fancy sketched,
In 'midst of pastures rich and new.

So far as Marlborough was concerned the work of colonisation remained completely in abeyance for many months after that fatal 17th of June. Then the spirit of adventure amongst the younger members of the Nelson settlement could no longer be restrained, and explorations again began to be made towards the Wairau, in 1845, by Messrs. Fox, Redwood, Ward and Goulter, with a view to finding a shorter route from Waimea than that discovered by Mr. Tuckett, but their labours were not rewarded by the discovery of anything more accessible than the track

via Top House, and that for years remained the chief thoroughfare to the east and south. In March of the same year another party of explorers, consisting of Messrs. Fox, Renwick, Jollie and Wells, led by Mr. Stephens, who had succeeded Mr. Tuckett as the Company's chief surveyor, made a journey up Queen Charlotte Sound, through the Waitohi Pass to the Wairau, and overland to Nelson, a tour which occupied seventeen days. All these explorers were deeply impressed with the magnificence of the country, and freely proclaimed its suitability for settlement, but their favourable reports were scarcely an antidote for the rooted prejudice which the colonists harboured against the blood-stained valley. To go down to the Wairau in those days was considered almost as foolhardy a piece of business as Stanley's dive into Darkest Africa, and the following authenticated conversation between a Nelson settler and his son is but typical of the dread with which such a tempting of Providence was regarded :—

“Where be gooing, Garge?” “I be gooing down to the Wairau, Father.” “But thee musn't go theer, lad.” “But I be gooing, Father.” “Then go my boy, *and God be wi' thee,*” exclaimed the old man as he parted

from his lad, whom he doubtless gave up for lost.

But still the stream of settlement rippled on, and about the year 1847, a few settlers began to scatter over the lower plain, most of them coming from the bays, where the whaling stations were beginning to break up. In that year Mr. Clifford*, in conjunction with the late Sir Frederick Weld, brought 3,000 sheep from Sydney, and landing them at Port Underwood, took them over to the present Flaxbourne run, these gentlemen being amongst the first to make a systematic effort to stock the pastoral lands of Marlborough. This effort at colonisation was no doubt facilitated by the fact that Governor Grey paid to Rauparaha the sum of £1,600, with a promise of more, in consideration of his tribe's claim upon the lands on both sides of the Strait.

The population of the province at this time was extremely limited; even in 1848 there were only 194 Europeans within the whole district, but these pioneers were greatly reinforced, and settlement was again aided by the surrender, in the year 1850, of their charter by the New Zealand Company to the Crown, and upon the completion of this important transaction, Governor Grey paid the natives a further sum of £3,000 to

* Afterwards Sir Charles Clifford, Bart, first Speaker of the House of Representatives.

liquidate all their claims to the Wairau. A second survey of the district was then made, and as a result some 34,219 acres were allotted to the purchasers under the New Zealand Company, who had already selected their lands at Nelson on March 27th, 1848. The first title these settlers received was a license of very doubtful duration, but to set this question at rest the licenses were eventually fixed for a term of fourteen years at an annual fee of £5, the balance of the rent being assessed on the carrying capacity of the run, a differential rate being charged on large and small cattle. A return of his stock had to be furnished by the runholder in January of every year, upon which he was assessed, the rent falling due on March 31st. Failing the prompt compliance with these conditions, the license might be—and sometimes was—cancelled, and the run forfeited without any compensation for the improvements effected in the meantime. As a natural result of this somewhat fickle tenure very few improvements were made, even the primary work of a boundary fence being avoided as long as possible, in fact there was scarcely such a thing to be seen throughout the pastoral area until the occupiers were able to acquire their freeholds under Sir George Grey's well-meant, but too liberal, Land Regulations of 1853,



CYRUS GOULTER.



C. F. WATTS.



MARKET STREET, 1865.
LOOKING FROM MARKET PLACE.



MARKET STREET, 1884.
LOOKING FROM MARKET PLACE.

and the ravages of the scab* compelled the general adoption of wire fences in lieu of the Boundary Riders and the sod banks around the home paddocks.

It is difficult at this distant date to determine the exact order in which the early settlers came to the Wairau, but it is well ascertained that when the massacre of 1843 ceased to wield its prejudicial influence, the chief influx of population was from Nelson, and the first comers were mainly interested in pastoral pursuits. One of those thus early on the scene was Mr. N. G. Morse, who, with Dr. Cooper in 1847, drove a mob of sheep from the Waimea, through the Big Bush, and established the first sheep run in the valley, now known as Top House. They were followed by Mr. Duppa, the first holder of Birch Hill; Mr. C. F. Watts, who took up Landsdowne; Mr. A. J. Jenkins, who occupied the Hillersden Station; and by Mr. Coward† and a number of other gentlemen, all of whom were tenants under the vague and shadowy licenses. By 1850, however, the question of title had been so far satisfactorily determined that definite licenses to occupy

* It is believed that the scab was first introduced into the province from Nelson in 1848. In its early stages it was dressed, by hand, with a solution of bluestone, which was necessarily a slow and expensive process. The first tank dip was made by Mr. Duppa, at Birch Hill, and was called the "Royal George." The dressing then used was a solution of tobacco, every station having a tobacco plantation of its own to grow the raw material for the dip.

† Mr. Coward was afterwards drowned while crossing the Wairau River, at a place ever since called Coward's Island.

runs in the Wairau, Waihopai and Awatere districts, were issued to the following settlers : N. G. Morse, Top House ; G. Duppa, Birch Hill ; J. F. Wilson, part of Birch Hill ; W. Adams, Redwood ; A. J. Jenkins, Hillersden ; E. D. Sweet, Hillersden Cattle run ; C. F. Watts, Landsdowne ; G. W. Schroder, Erina ; D. Monro, Bank House ; Joseph Ward, Brookby ; C. Goulter, Hawkesbury ; C. B. Wither, Wither run ; E. Dashwood, Bluff run ; J. Alison, Avondale ; F. Witherby, Te Arowhenua ; W. L. Shepherd, Summerlands ; F. Vickerman, Stronvar ; R. K. Newcombe, Starborough ; E. Fearon, Marathon ; A. J. Richmond, Richmond Brook ; H. Bedborough, Upton Downs ; J. & R. Tinline, Weld's Hill ; G. McRae, Blairich ; T. Renwick, Dumgree ; W. A. Atkinson, Blind River ; S. S. Stephens, Wakefield Downs ; E. W. Stafford, Upton Fells ; E. Green, The Delta ; W. O. Cautley, part of Benhopai ; C. & F. Kelling, Castle run (part of Benhopai), C. A. Dillon, Leafield ; H. Godfrey, Fairfield Downs (now Camden) ; Clara McShane, Upcott (upper portion adjoining Castle Creek) ; C. Elliott, Upcott ; George McRae, senr., Braes of Sutherland ; E. Bolton, Glenlee ; H. O. Otterson, Gladstone ; F. Trolove, Middlehurst (afterwards occupied by Messrs. Mowat and Cross) ; Thomas Ward, Langridge ; J. H. Caton, Molesworth ; Clifford and Weld, Flaxbourne ; J. D. Tetley, Kekerangu ; Dr. Shaw, Woodbank (afterwards taken up by Mr. F. Trolove) ; W. McRae, junr., Waipapa ; G. Fyffe, Mount Fyffe.

There were also a number of other landholders who occupied smaller sections, but these were the principal representatives of the pastoral industry at this date, and their managers or their shepherds were almost the entire inhabitants of the three districts named. One of the first of these to begin the erection of a proper habitation was Mr. Sweet, who in

1848 brought a party of labourers over from Nelson for the purpose of sawing the timber at the Grovetown Bush for the Hillersden house. There was still a wholesome dread of the natives lurking in the minds of the settlers; and when his party reached the Waihopai River, Mr. Sweet became dubious as to whether the sight of his men sawing in the bush would not arouse the Maoris and provoke another massacre. He thereupon decided to leave the men at the river and return to Nelson to obtain a permit to indemnify him in case of friction, a wise and prudent course as events afterwards proved. During Mr. Sweet's absence the party, which consisted of Mr. Philip Rush, then a mere boy, his father and Mr. Thomas Flowers, set to work to make the first cutting from the terrace on the western bank down into the bed of the Waihopai, and while they were engaged upon this work they received a surprise visit from Mr. Brunner, the well-known explorer, who with Mr. Le Grand Campbell and "Jacky," the Maori guide, had forced his way through the Kaituna pass, and virtually discovered it as a practical route from Nelson. The journey had been a very trying one, and when they reached the Wairau they were in an exceedingly distressed condition, for which they found no relief at the deserted *pah*, then standing on the site of Gibsontown. Fortunately it was a clear

day, and across the plain they saw the smoke of the camp* fire at Waihopai, towards which they made their way as best they could, and where they found the rest and refreshment they so much required. Upon Mr. Sweet's return with the necessary authority the party moved down the plain, which was then covered with deep swamps and dense vegetation, through which the travellers had to pick their way without the aid of road or track of any kind. The only human inhabitants whom they met were the Maoris, who had *pahs* at Grovetown, Tua Marina and Gibson-town. That at Grovetown stood on what is now the Maori Island, in the midst of the bush, the only means of direct ingress and egress, except by water, being the war-trail which ran in a direct line along the present Steam Ferry Road. The natives were not numerous, and on the whole were amiable enough in their behaviour. Occasionally a grizzled and tattooed warrior would come prowling about the camp, and Mr. Rush, who was generally left in charge while his father and his mate were at the saw pit, has a lively recollection of being boxed up alone in the *whare* on one occasion with an old "man eater" whom he expected every minute

* The camp was pitched on "Starvation Point," so-called by Messrs. Ward and Goulter, because while surveying the country they were isolated there for three days without food during a flood in the Waihopai. "Dog Point," a little lower down the plain, derived its name from the fact that one day while Mr. Ward was looking through the theodolite at this particular spot, he saw a wild dog run across the spur, and he straightway named it "Dog Point."

would attempt to make a meal of him. However the Maori was either not that way inclined, or thought better of it, and Mr. Rush is happily still living not far from the spot where he had made up his mind to sell his life as dearly as possible. The only serious interference met with by the sawyers was from the chief Kaikoura, who came one day with a number of his followers, and peremptorily demanded the timber already sawn. His demand was politely but firmly refused, but upon Kaikoura becoming insistent Mr. Rush, senior, was about to precipitate matters by punching his head, when young Phil appeared on the scene, and in a few words of Maori which he had picked up, managed to explain that they had a permit from the Magistrate at Nelson to cut timber, and that they were acting within their rights. This explanation was sufficient for the chief, who drew himself up with great dignity, and flourishing a number of sovereigns, which he had tied up in the corner of his blanket, commented with profane embroidery upon the poverty of the *pakeha* and the wealth of the Maori and strode off, telling them that he did not want their d—— timber, for which the sawyers were duly and devoutly thankful*.

So far as animal life was concerned, the

* The only other visitors of note who came to Mr. Rush's camp were Messrs. John Tinline and John Sharp, who had walked overland together from Nelson. Mr. Tinline was the first white man to walk through the Rai Valley.

valley was teeming with native game of all kinds, ranging in dimensions from the mosquito to the wild boar. Of the former there were simply countless millions, and great fires had to be kept blazing all night to prevent the sleepers in the camp being eaten alive, while the pigs were almost as plentiful as the mosquitos. For some reason the chief haunt of the pigs was in the vicinity of Marlborough-town, and here the first Europeans were wont to go and slaughter them without mercy. Out in the open swamps the ducks swarmed in thousands, in fact so numerous were they that it was only necessary to alarm them by clapping the hands, then fire a gun in the air, and the sportsman was certain to bag two or three. In the bush quail flitted about in every direction, while pigeons and kakas seemed to be in every tree, and were so tame that they could be caught with the greatest ease, the Maoris having a permanent snare for this purpose on the little mound where Mr Alex. Craven's cottage is now built. Lower down the valley there was a herd of wild cattle running, the progeny of those sent over by Mr. Unwin in 1840, and when the sawyers' appetites tired of wild pork, they had only to turn in the other direction and change their bill of fare to wild beef. But considerable care had to be exercised in approaching these nomadic bovines, for under the excessive

liberty they enjoyed they became exceedingly fierce and irritable, and unless the hunter was either a deadly shot or an expert tree-climber his life was worth very little if he unduly exposed himself to their view before taking careful aim, for the animal whose eye first caught a glimpse of him would charge down upon him like a regiment of cavalry, and then it was simply a question of either shooting the bull or shinning up the nearest tree. The ferocity and daring* of these animals became a source of great annoyance to those settlers who, for various reasons, were beginning to establish themselves along the lower fringe of the plain, and it was not until they made common cause against them,

* Even at a much later period, when the valley was being fairly well peopled the settlers suffered considerable annoyance from the wild bulls that came down from the runs and took charge of things generally. One of these animals invariably made a scratching pole of Dr. Stewart's *whare* on Doctor's Flat, and one day while Mr. Bull was arranging his toilet with more than usual energy, the Doctor rushed out with a sword in his hand to drive him away, but seeing the appendage end of the animal projecting past the corner of the building, a sudden inspiration seized him, and with one slash of the weapon he severed the tail in twain, whereupon the bull did not stop to enquire after his property, but made straight for the hills, where he had time to reflect upon the passing mystery by which he lost his fly-switcher. Needless to say the Doctor was not troubled by that bovine again. On another occasion, when Mr. Duppa's bullock puncher was taking his team up the valley, he was accompanied by Captain I——, an Indian officer, who was going on a visit to the station. Amongst the goods on the dray was a large iron boiler in which the tobacco dip for the sheep was prepared. When they were opposite Hillersden they heard Mr. Sweet's bull roaring in the distance, but apparently drawing nearer every moment. Presently they saw him charging along the road in the midst of a cloud of dust, and in a very short time it was perfectly evident that they were in for an adventure, for no sooner had the bull caught up to them than he attacked the more docile working bullocks, and in a few seconds the whole caravan was in a state of chaos. The driver jumped down and began punching the infuriated bull with the handle of his whip, and after considerable effort he succeeded in driving him off, but when he climbed back on to the dray he found the gallant captain coiled up in the bottom of the boiler, from which he emerged when assured there was no longer any danger, at the same time apologising for his apparent want of bravery by explaining that while he would cheerfully face a whole tribe of Sikhs, he stood in mortal dread of a wild bull.

and killed off those that were not poisoned by the *tutu* plant that the district was well rid of the pest.

Prominent amongst these settlers along the shores of Cloudy Bay was Mr. Wynen, who, after the murder of his wife, left his seclusion at Port Underwood and established a combination of store and drinking shanty at the Boulder Bank. At first he had no license to sell liquor there, although if all that is said be true, the paradoxical spectacle of sly grog being sold openly was witnessed every day, but when Lieut.-Governor Eyre was returning from his ascent of Mount Tapuaenuku in 1849 he called at the house, and desiring to purchase liquid refreshments, was told that there was no license to sell. He thereupon gave the necessary permit, under which the Boulder Bank accommodation house became the first licensed premises in the province. This, and similar places, which were opened at a later date, were frequented by a class of men who were doubtless but the product of the period, but whose day and generation has now happily passed away. Rough and uncouth bullock-drivers, boatmen and whalers, who had no moralising influences to put a curb upon their passions, and who, therefore, abandoned themselves to every excess it was possible to perpetrate, and revelled in drunken orgies which are almost past our comprehen-

sion in these days of comparative sobriety. That the Boulder Bank was then a centre of interest was due to the fact that shipping from the Wairau was just beginning to be established, and it was a convenient port of call for the bullock-punchers in passing to and from the stations in the Awatere. As yet no road had been made into that district, but the station supplies were carted along the beach and round the Bluff in the good old-fashioned bullock-drays. These journeys were often attended with a good deal of excitement and even danger, for not infrequently huge stones came bounding down the steep face of the cliff, and, striking some members of the team, caused a panic amongst the bullocks, and the driver was extremely fortunate if a capsize was not the result. Then again a driver, impatient of waiting, would sometimes attempt to pass the Bluff before the tide had fully retired, or if the delays of the road caused him to arrive after the tide had commenced to flow, he often punched his bullocks in the surf and chanced the consequences, which were seldom more serious than getting the wool or stores wet. Once an accident happened by which Mr. Kemp, Mr. Newcombe's manager at Starborough, lost his life, and tradition tells of how, on another occasion, a risky journey of this kind was nearly attended by fatal results. On the

day in question an unsophisticated son of Erin was enjoying a gentle ride on top of the load, when a wave of more than ordinary proportions came dashing against the dray and swept the unwary passenger off in the backwash. Pat fully believed that his hour had come, and thinking it right that his temporal affairs should cause no trouble after his demise, he shouted his last will and testament to those who were still in the dray, but between gulps of salt water and his frantic efforts to get ashore, all they could hear was this imperative injunction, "I leave all my money to my brother Mike. I leave all my money to my brother Mike." But things had not reached such a desperate crisis, for Pat was soon fished out, and is still in the land of the living, so that brother Mike has not yet come into his inheritance.

Mr. Wynen continued at the Boulder Bank in his dual capacities of publican and storekeeper until 1855, when he sold out to Mr. Samuel Bowler, and came up to the Beaver, now the town of Blenheim, and to facilitate shipping arrangements he opened a *raupo*-built store on the site of Clouston & Co.'s Bond. These primitive premises were afterwards destroyed by fire, and his second establishment, which was also the second wooden building in the Beaver, has long since been demolished. The principal traders to

the port at this time were the schooners "Triumph" and "Old Jack," both of which discharged their cargoes inside the Boulder Bank, the goods being brought to the Beaver in boats towed by horses who were so accustomed to be sworn at, that ultimately any instructions from the driver which were not accompanied by a liberal supply of profanity became perfectly unintelligible to them, and it was in this business of shipping and receiving goods that Mr. Wynen was chiefly engaged. Of those who were employed in transporting the wool and stores up and down the rivers, none were so closely identified with the progress of the Wairau as Captain Samuel Bowler, a man of great industry and upright character, who, with Captain Jackson, had settled on the Marshlands run. He had been a whaler, and for a time managed Captain Dougherty's station, but on retiring from the sea he invested in Mr. Wynen's old store where he acted as agent for the run-holders, and he and his partner also owned a fleet of boats wherewith they ferried the wool from Wynen's wharf to the Boulder Bank, where it was afterwards put into barges and taken to Port Underwood, and there deposited in the hold of the ship loading for London.

But a great change was soon to take place in the mode of marine transportation, for it was discovered that the heavy earthquakes of

1855 had considerably improved the navigable condition of the rivers, and in 1860 some of the enterprising spirits conceived the idea of taking small crafts up the Opawa, thus superseding the slow and cumbrous system of conveying the ever increasing supply of wool to Port Underwood in barges and boats. Upon a trial of the new scheme being made it was found to be practicable, and vessels of from eighteen to forty tons initiated in that year what is now known as the river trade*. The first of this tiny fleet of vessels to come up the river was the "Gipsy," and she was closely followed by the "Mary," the "Rapid," and the "Necromancer," or, as she was popularly called in those irreverent days, the "Old Nick." Later on Captains Jackson and Shortt ran the schooner "Alert," which sometimes took six weeks to make the return journey from Wellington. Then Captain Shortt purchased the "Supply," and sailed her for years between Wellington and the Wairau, while the "Gipsy" and the "Mary" traded regularly to Nelson. As the trade of the port increased other vessels were brought into requisition, the best known of these being the ketch "Falcon," originally owned by Captain Milo, who sold her to Mr. Charles Redwood. Under that gentleman's

* The method adopted by these early navigators of the Opawa to intimate to the station-owners that they had arrived with stores, was to light a huge fire on the high knob, where the Blenheim Gas Works now stands.

ownership she was sailed for a number of years by Captain John Morrison, who continued to navigate her until 1873, by which time she had passed into the hands of Messrs. Dodson, Fell & Co., and then that mariner took a more comfortable post ashore, and was succeeded on the "Falcon's" deck by Captain Fisk. Messrs. Dodson & Co. also owned a small cutter called the "Dido," and the ketch "XXX," skippered by Captain Manning, who as commander of the "Rotomahana" now occupies one of the highest positions in the Union Company's excellent service. These sailing vessels have, however, long since been discarded for the faster and more reliable steamers, the initial vessel of this type being the "Tasmanian Maid." The "Maid" was a paddle boat of considerable dimensions for those days, and was engaged, in 1857, trading up the Wairau River, receiving cargo at the Big Bush, where Mr. Stafford was endeavouring to establish a township. Messrs. Curtis Bros., of Nelson, had already built a store there, near the site of Mr. Sutherland's present house, and had placed Mr. John Mack Hutcheson in charge. But a change in the course of the river in 1868, and the repeated floods which were beginning to occur in the Opawa, cutting off all direct communication with the Beaver, together with the cheap land offered there, so militated against

the success of this settlement that it was ultimately abandoned, and only one house now remains to mark the spot where it stood. With the collapse of this township Mr. Hutcheson went into Blenheim, and established himself in business in Alfred Street, becoming one of the town's foremost citizens, and when he died at the ripe old age of 82, he was almost the last of the little band of plucky pioneers who fought the wilderness, and tamed rough nature's stubborn forms. With sterling qualities of heart and mind, kind, generous and unassuming, upright and honest in all the dealings of his long life, he was a man whom to know was to respect.

But before Mr. Stafford's township began to fall into decline the "Tasmanian Maid" ceased to trade to the Wairau, for in 1862 she was purchased by the Government and transformed into the gunboat "Sandfly." Similarly the "Sturt," another paddle boat, was purchased by the Government after she had made her first and only trip up the Opawa in 1863 and turned into a gunboat, and as such she operated during the Maori war under the command of the late Captain Fairchild. But the first steam trader that began to ply regularly up and down the Opawa was the p.s. "Lyttelton," and it was a proud day for the Beaver when Captain Whitwell, in the interests of Mr. John

Symons, brought her up to the wharf. Captain Whitwell did not long remain on the "Lyttelton," for he was soon promoted to the bridge of the "Wallaby," and therefore during the greater part of the time she was trading to the Port she was commanded by Captain Scott, a rough old salt who was wont to declare that many of his trips were made overland, a statement not far from correct, considering the number of shoals and sandbanks which had to be negotiated. But in spite of these difficulties of navigation the "Lyttelton" remained in the trade for many years, during which she was widened, lengthened, and deepened before she finally went the way of all ships. The list of these steam pioneers would not be complete were we to fail in mentioning the little "Osprey." She was not a trader but a tug, employed to bring the larger schooners up the river when the wind failed them; and her construction was as fearful as it was wonderful, for she was simply a barge fitted with a portable engine, and when she was labouring up the stream with a vessel behind her all the Wairau knew it, as her puffing could be heard resounding through every part of the valley, in consequence of which she was better known as "Puffing Billy" than anything else. In 1877 Messrs. Fell Bros. purchased the p.s. "Napier," and she continued to run in the

river trade until comparatively recent times, being followed by the fast and furious "Mohaka," the "Waihi," "Neptune" and the popular boats of the present fleet.

Long before the advent of the steamers, well defined settlement was beginning to be noticeable on the plain, and agriculture on a small scale had been commenced. Amongst the first of those to locate themselves amid the swamps was Mr. Cornelius Murphy, who came, with Mrs. Murphy, in 1850 and took up the Springlands estate, now one of the most thickly populated portions of the valley. But the first to begin agriculture in a systematic way was Mr. Henry Godfrey, who had taken up the Woodburn farm, and with the business of agriculture he joined that of flour milling, having erected the first flour mill in the province on the banks of the Woodburn Stream. Contemporary with these pioneers was a retired Indian officer named Henry Godfrey Gouland, who had planted himself on the banks of the Opawa River at a place called by him Budji Budji, after an Indian district in which he had been resident. So far as can be ascertained Mr. Gouland never acquired a title to the spot, but simply squatted there pending the selection by him of a more suitable site to make his home, for the whole valley at this time was virtually "no man's land." Finally he made his choice



JAMES SINCLAIR.



MRS JAMES SINCLAIR.



HENRY REDWOOD



GEORGE DODSON.

on the opposite side of the plain, for a few years later he took up a considerable area of what is now the best farming land in the province at Spring Creek, and, as a consequence, the ferry over the Wairau River at this place was long known as Gouland's Ferry. He was then made postmaster and invested with some sort of magisterial authority, thus being the first administrator of Her Majesty's justice in Marlborough. Mr. Gouland's house was built on what is now called the Peninsula, and his assistant in maintaining the majesty of the law was an old soldier called "Marengo" Watson. He held no commission from the Government to act as policeman, but he seemed to be the person, who, by general consent, was allowed to "run people in," and as he executed this painful duty in the kindest of manners, he managed to hold office for a good many years. It is said that Marengo's method was to first ingratiate himself into the good opinion of his prisoners by going on the "spree" with them, and if the person who was "wanted" happened to get as far away as Renwick, it took fully a week to bring him before the magistrate, during which time there had been a spree at that township and another at the Beaver. Still his policy was probably dictated by the spirit of the times, for he soon found that no law had any force which did not have

the weight of public opinion behind it. This was clearly impressed upon him on an occasion when he went to one of the local "pubs" to suppress a disorder, for he was promptly seized by the festive crowd, jambed into a big Maori kit and hoisted up to the rafters, where he was told to remain until the fun was over, sufficient refreshment to keep him mellow being, of course, supplied to him in the meantime, and Marengo was wise enough in his generation to know that it was better to accept the situation than to kick against the pricks.

Mr. Gouland's neighbour on the Opawa River was Mr. Budge, who, about the year 1848, came down from Nelson to conduct the survey of the plains after the land troubles had been settled. Mr. Budge and his family lived on what is known as Budge's Island, upon which he kept a flock of sheep until its subsidence after the great January earthquake of 1855* caused the land to become so sodden that he was compelled to leave it, and in succession to Mr. Henry Redwood, senior, he took up a considerable stretch of country on the Bluff run, as well as a large area of farm land in a more elevated portion of the valley. Subsequently the run and the sheep thereon were leased by Mr. Budge to Mr. Redwood, who again took it up, and sent his second son

* The first shock of this earthquake occurred about one o'clock in the morning, and was so severe that it demolished all the mud *whares* in the district, and for three weeks afterwards the surface of the ground was in a state of constant movement.

down to manage it. Mr Thomas Redwood first saw the Wairau on the Christmas Day of 1847, having brought the pioneer mob of his father's sheep over from Waimea in company with Mr. William McRae, who was one of the most intrepid explorers of the province, and who then began to stock the Blairich run. The Awatere country at this time was terribly infested with wild dogs, and Mr. Redwood, senior, became so disheartened with the havoc they made amongst his flock that he decided to retire his sheep and remove them back to the Waimea. In the meantime Mr. Thomas Redwood went on as manager for Dr. Monro, and having demonstrated that the wild dog* nuisance could be overcome by vigorously hunting them down, his father again took up the Bluff country, which he re-named the Vernon run, in honour of the popular vice-admiral who captured Portobello from the Spaniards on Nov. 22nd., 1739. The Ugbrooke flats were then occupied by Sir William Congreve, Bart., whose father had been knighted by the British Government for inventing lucifer matches; but Sir William was not a successful settler, and by

* A notable sheep-worrier in the Wairau was a bull and mastiff dog, which had belonged to Mr. Howard, who was killed at the Massacre. The dog came down with the arresting party, and, after the massacre, hovered about the Tua Marina Hill, living upon native game and anything he could kill; but when the sheep came into the district he crossed over the valley and took to worrying them, and in consequence of his depredations amongst the flocks, he was called by the shepherds "Bloody Jack." The majority of the wild dogs were animals which had wandered from the Maori *pahs*, or had escaped from the shepherds, and for many years they were so numerous that every station had to keep its gang of wild dog hunters.

neglecting to take precautions against the scab his sheep became so hopelessly diseased that he abandoned his run and Mr. Redwood succeeded him in its occupation.

A well-known figure in the Lower Awatere in these early days was Mr. William Atkinson, who had migrated, in May 1850, from Waimea with his wife and child, and settled in a very humble way at Burtergill, where he started life by rearing cattle and carting wool for the more well-to-do settlers. But Mr. Atkinson had the real grit of a pioneer in him, and before long he was able to make Burtergill his freehold, and to lease one of the richest spots at the Blind River, where he soon increased his flocks in a most remarkable way. In contradistinction to the ruinous policy generally pursued by the sheep farmers of this date, Mr. Atkinson never believed in sinking his capital in making extensive purchases of land. He was a thorough convert to the wisdom of the leasehold, under which tenure he held extensive areas, all of which were most successfully managed, and when he died at Rangiora a few years ago he was reputed to be an extremely wealthy man. Within six months of Mr. Atkinson's advent to the Awatere there came from Wakefield Mr. and Mrs. Mowat, two of the best-known settlers, who have ever

resided in the province. Middlehurst* was their first station, Messrs. Mowat & Cross having secured a license to depasture stock there after Mr. Frederick Trolove left it to take up Woodbank, but for a considerable time Mrs. Mowat lived in the Lower Awatere, which, save for the sheep, was then indeed a desolate place, the only habitations within miles of her being two "cob" *whares* on Starborough and a rough shed on Richmond Brook. There was then no road to the Upper Awatere, or to any part of the district, and all the station supplies had to be laboriously packed up the bed of the river, while to save the drudgery of packing the wool down, the sheep were made to carry their own fleeces as far as the Reserve, where they were shorn, and from this point the bullock drays transported it to the Boulder Bank, the arrival of every load being the signal for renewed dissipation at the seaside taverns.

Amongst the pioneers of Marlborough there seems to have been a fair sprinkling of medical men, no less than seven of the original land-holders belonging to that honourable profession. Of these Drs. Richardson and

* Most of the runs and geographical features of the Upper Awatere were named by Sir Frederick Weld when he passed through the valley in 1850 *en route* from Lyttelton to Blenheim. The hand of the McRae's is, however, traceable in the Scottish nomenclature of the country with which they were identified, Blairich being so named because of the warm or snug corner in which the house was placed, and Antimarlock after a spot in Caithness where a battle had been fought, and was, in consequence known as Antimarlock, or "the burn of the gravestones."

Renwick were very early upon the scene, the former taking up a strip of country along the Vernon frontage, in addition to the Meadowbank run, and the latter stocking Dumgree with sheep from a flock which had been purchased as a speculation by Captain England just prior to his death at the Wairau Massacre. Dr. Vickerman must also be ranked amongst those who helped to subdue the wilderness in the Wairau. His first venture was the occupation of the Stronvar run, in the upper part of the Waihopai Valley; but subsequently he abandoned this and took up a tract of country on the south side of the Wairau River, near Messrs. Redwood Bros.' mill, which is now the site of many pleasant farms; while almost simultaneously farms were purchased at Spring Creek by Messrs. Dodson, Gifford, Wm. Robinson, O'Dwyer, Reeves and Jellyman. But it was not until 1857 that the great exodus of farmers took place from the Waimeas to the Wairau, and when they came they brought their Nelson habits with them, ploughing with bullocks, reaping with sickles, and threshing with flails, not that there could have been a great deal of corn to reap or thresh, for the farms of that time were characterised by long ridges of dry land alternated with deep swamps and dreary marshes. There were then no Old, Middle and New Roads to Renwick, even the Spring

Creek settlers for many a day had no direct route into Blenheim, but they used to travel up the valley, through creeks and bogs to a ford on the Opawa River, where they crossed on to what is now Mr. A. J. Litchfield's farm and then came down into the town. The first farmer on the Old Road was the late Mr. Jackson, who began the erection of his cottage in 1857, while shortly afterwards Messrs. Barnes, Dalziel and Thomson came down and followed his example. On the Middle Road Mr. Con. Murphy's nearest neighbour was Mr. Brindle, who lived a mile or two higher up. This pioneer had been a bachelor shepherd on one of the runs, but he succeeded in making a conquest, which created quite a flutter in the social circles of the time, and materially altered his mode of life. When Mr. and Mrs. Sinclair left Scotland they were advised to take a nurse with them, and an elderly person for preference, it being explained that a young and handsome maiden was certain to be snapped up at once in a matrimonial market where the gentler sex were at a premium. And so, after a good deal of trouble, a dame was selected on account of her plain and homely qualities, a special recommendation being that she had reached a period in life when most women regard matrimony with more prudence than passion. For some time the old lady fully justified her

selection, and adapted herself to colonial life in a most admirable manner, assisting Mr. Sinclair to build his first house and ministering most carefully to the comfort of the family. But presently Mr. Brindle came along and set his cap at the nurse, who immediately lost her heart, and to Mrs. Sinclair's consternation and the surprise of every one else, the pair went off and got married. Mr. and Mrs. Brindle settled down on their farm and remained well-known and highly esteemed residents of the Wairau until the end of their days. Higher up the valley Mr. Brydon was living, and Mr. John Gibson had taken up a section at Gibson's Creek, but shortly afterwards he passed over the Wairau River and gathered a number of settlers around him at Gibsontown. The New Road held out longest against the farmers, the run-holders keeping possession of the country until almost recent times. With the exception of a few shepherds' huts the first residence at the Fairhall was Blythefield House, which was built as a mansion for Mr. W. H. Eyes, who, with Mr. Empson, then held the Meadowbank and Wither runs.

Of the early Spring Creek farmers Mr. George Dodson is the oldest survivor, having arrived in the district from Waimea in 1854. He was thus the first farmer in Spring Creek, and second only to Mr. Henry Godfrey in the

Wairau. At the time of his arrival Dr. Vickerman was just building his farmhouse, but had not as yet commenced agricultural operations, indeed it was some years before agriculture was possible, even had there been a market for the produce, for Spring Creek at this time was as much swamp as dry land. Cattle-raising, therefore, became the chief occupation of the farmers until the Australian diggings broke out, when a sudden demand was created for grain of all kinds. Mr. Dodson at once put the plough into his paddocks, and from that time forward he has never ceased to keep himself abreast of the times in the matter of agricultural machinery and farm implements. He was the first to plough with horses, he owned the second manual reaping machine used on the plain, the first self-delivery, one of the first four wire binders that arrived in Marlborough, and the first traction engine imported into the province. But it was not only in his private business that Mr. Dodson showed an enterprising spirit, for he soon began to take an active interest in provincial politics, and had he chosen he could have been a member of the first Provincial Council. But it was in the work of conserving the rivers and protecting the district from floods to which Mr. Dodson gave the greatest attention, for as the scrub was burned off the plain by the settlers, while

clearing their land, the water which previously trickled through the vegetation was allowed to flow freely into the rivers, and consequently floods were becoming more frequent and more disastrous. To avert the general ruin of the farms from this cause, what is known as "Paul's Bank" was started in 1874, and during the whole of the succeeding 25 years Mr. Dodson, as chairman of the Spring Creek Rivers Board, has been at the head and front of all the river protective work carried out in the district, and now has the pleasure of living to see the beneficial effects of his labours. Although by no means the earliest, perhaps the most prominent Spring Creek farmer was Mr. Henry Redwood, who as a sportsman possesses more than a provincial reputation, for in his younger days he was admittedly the best shot with the gun in the Australasian colonies, and as an admirer of horseflesh he has owned and bred some of the fastest steeds that ever ran on New Zealand or Australian courses. Moreover Mr. Redwood's horses were always raced to win, and his eminent uprightness in this respect, as well as his great services as a breeder, has well merited for him the title of "Father of the New Zealand turf." In his capacity as a farmer at Spring Creek Mr. Redwood also displayed great enterprise, and was both an extensive economiser, and employer of labour. He im-

ported one of the first steam ploughs into the colony, and almost every new invention in the department of agricultural machinery he brought to the district, and tested it, at the same time freely giving others the benefit of his experience, thus helping to promote the interests of the Wairau, more, perhaps, than his own.

In the year 1852 there came to the Wairau rather a remarkable man in the person of Mr. James Sinclair. He was one of those clear-headed, strong-minded Scotchmen, who, when they have once determined on a certain course will allow nothing to divert them from their purpose, and by his dominating personality and magnificent energy he became known as the "King of the Beaver," and as such he influenced the early settlement in a marked degree, but whether for weal or for woe will perhaps be the subject of divided opinion. But whatever differences may have arisen as to the wisdom of Mr. Sinclair's political views and actions, none will withhold from him and his amiable wife the virtue of unbounded hospitality during the early stages of the little settlement. No stranger came to the district who was not most cordially received into their house, the door of which was ever as open to the poor as the rich, and there are many men living in the Wairau to-day who still retain the most

pleasant recollections of the welcome they received at the hands of Mr. and Mrs. Sinclair when they first went down to seek their fortunes in the wild and swampy Beaver. Upon their arrival from Nelson Mr. and Mrs. Sinclair landed at the Boulder Bank, and remained there for a few weeks, but the drunken, dissolute habits of Wynen's grog shop patrons so terrified Mrs. Sinclair that she begged her husband to remove her to the Beaver, where she preferred to take her chance with the benighted Maoris, rather than be subjected to the indignity of living amongst the rough and lawless Europeans. At this time the land where Blenheim is now built was owned by Messrs. Fell and Seymour, of Nelson, who had acquired it as original purchasers under the New Zealand Company, and in the year 1857 they instructed Mr. Alfred Dobson to lay it off as the site for a township. Mr. Sinclair had by this time started business as a merchant in a small building on the Opawa River bank, near where the present railway goods shed is situated, and with the ordinary functions of a storekeeper he combined those of a land agent. He was, therefore, entrusted by Messrs. Fell and Seymour with the sale of these town sections, which were to be bought for £10 per quarter acre. The selection of the site has since proved to be unfortunate,

and it is now easy to see how something better might have been done, but in justice to those who were responsible for the choice it must be remembered that the conditions of forty-three years ago are not the conditions of to-day, and that at the time the spot was chosen no better site was available. In locating Blenheim where it now is there were a number of controlling influences operating upon the minds of Mr. Sinclair and his principals in Nelson, the first of which was that in order to ensure the success of the town it was still advisable to keep as far away from the Maoris as possible, and to have gone to Spring Creek, where most people now think the town should have been, would, in the face of public prejudice, simply have courted failure. Moreover Spring Creek was at that time a district heavily flooded, whereas until the bursting of the Opawa Breach in 1862 the Beaver was a comparatively dry spot, so that before any measure of censure is dealt out to the founders of Blenheim, due allowance must be made for the reversed positions which the actions of nature and man have brought about. But there was also another circumstance, quite as potent in its influence as either the natives or the floods, and that was the convenience of the sheep-farmers and the shipping. As already explained, during the "fifties" all the wool

from the upper valley was carted along the foot of the Vernon Hills to the Boulder Bank, but after the navigation of the Opawa River had been so far improved as to permit of small cutters coming up for several miles, the sheep farmers naturally sought the nearest point at which they could ship their wool. This spot was found at what is now the foot of High Street, and necessitated the establishment of a store to receive the wool. Further, where there were bullock-drays there must be a blacksmith's shop, and where there were bullock-drivers there must be a "pub," and so to supply these public wants there sprang up Wynen's store, Taylor's blacksmith shop, and the old "Gin Palace" which was built by Mr. Wynen, largely out of the remains of gin cases, the red paint upon the boards acting as a beacon to guide the thirsty souls to its Bacchanalian revels. This famous "palace" stood on what is now the site of Messrs. Clouston & Co.'s coal-yard, in Wynen Street, and was officially known as the Beaver Hotel, Mr. Andrew Lang being its first landlord. But "the Beaver" was not the initial house of its kind established in the miniature community, for Mr. Sinclair had already erected the Victoria Hotel on the banks of the Opawa River, and had placed Mr. Richard Reid in charge of it. The "Victoria" stood almost

where Mr. W. B. Parker's grain store now stands, and when a few years ago it was deemed prudent to pull it down it still remained in the service of the public, a picturesque though dilapidated old structure.

Mr. Joseph Taylor, "the village blacksmith," came to the Beaver in 1855, and was induced to start business in High Street, part of his shop being occupied by Mr. William Wrigley, the village shoemaker. In the following year Mr. James Tucker Robinson came down and opened the first wheelwright's establishment next door to them, while over in Wynen Street Mr. Richard Kenny was the proprietor of a general store, his rival in trade being Mr. William Simmons, who catered for stray customers in a little building close to Mr. Alfred Rogers' office, and from these simple beginnings the ancient Beaver and the modern Blenheim took their rise.

The legend regarding the origin of the term "Beaver," as applied to this early settlement, is that while the land was being surveyed one of the periodical south-east floods occurred, and the survey camp, which was pitched on the banks of the Omaka, in common with the whole plain, was inundated. For some time the surveyors were compelled to roost up in their bunks out of reach of the water, and in describing their misfortunes Mr. Joseph Ward

afterwards declared that they "sat there like a lot of beavers in a dam." An attempt was subsequently made to give the township the more euphonious name of Beaverton, but the locality was always popularly known amongst the "old hands" as "the Beaver."

In 1857 Dr. Muller was sent down from Nelson as magistrate and postmaster* in succession to Mr. Gouland, and with him came Messrs. Joseph McArtney and W. B. Earll as police officers, while Mr. John Barleyman acted in the capacity of clerk of the court, the courthouse being a small wooden building standing on the banks of the Opawa River, which frequently served

* At first the postal department was unofficially under the charge of Mr. John Bagge, upon whom the appointment of postmaster was conferred in 1862, and the mails were brought overland from Nelson by Mr. Blick, and Mr. Joseph Taylor carried them through to Picton on foot. At a later period Mr. Lewis Lewis ran a well remembered mail coach through the Waitohi Valley, and many strange stories are told by passengers of their experiences with Peter and Paddy, the faithful coach horses, whose harness was so profusely patched with flax and string that it was sometimes difficult to tell where the fibre ended and the leather began. Some conception of Mr. Lewis' methods may be obtained from his original idea of how to secure a change of horses. About half way through the valley he had a rough stable, which constituted a stopping place, and when he reached this stage in his journey he would take the horses out and reverse their positions by putting Peter on the side where Paddy had been, and then continue his journey as well satisfied as if he had the freshest team in the world. Before the southern coach road was made the mails to Kaikoura were carried by Mr. Blick, and afterwards by Mr. H. Lovel. The Wairau Valley mails were carried by an equally well known character whom everyone called "Old" Ockley. Telegraphic communication was first established in Marlborough prior to 1864, and the first message received in Blenheim was sent from Nelson to Mr. Varley, the electrician, as follows:—1.10 p.m. "You were not long in opening communication. Mr. Sheath arrived here yesterday, he is quite well, weather colder a little, showery yesterday, and last three days rather dull. Are there any persons in the office? I suppose they are quite proud now the office is opened as well as Picton. I hope they will make good use of it."

The following is the first message which passed over the wires between Blenheim and Picton:—"I am glad to speak with Blenheim by wire."

White's Bay was made the transmitting station on 16th August, 1866, and on 12th October, 1873, Blenheim became the transmitting station.



DR. MULLER.



W. B. EARLL.



HIGH STREET, 1867.
EASTERN END IN FLOOD.



MR. SINCLAIR'S HOUSE.
FIRST WOODEN BUILDING IN BLENHEIM.

the purposes of both church and state. Dr. Muller continued to administer the law until 1878, when he retired to pursue those scientific recreations in which his cultured mind so much delighted. In recognition of his fine qualities, and as a mark of respect for his memory, his portrait has been hung in the present S.M. courtroom at Blenheim.

As the town and rural sections were rapidly taken up Beaverton began to forge ahead, and in 1858 Mr. John Symons sent Mr. Frederic John Litchfield down to assume the management of the business originally started by Mr. Wynen, and which that gentleman had sold to a Mr. Dale to enable him to open a new store at Mr. Stafford's township. Mr. Dale in turn sold to Mr. Symons, who some years after joined Mr. Nathaniel Edwards, of Nelson, and thus originated the well-known firm of N. Edwards & Co. Mr. Litchfield remained as Mr. Symons' manager until 1861, when he was succeeded by Mr. George Henderson, a gentleman who, though trained as a mechanic, was destined to make his mark in the political and commercial circles of the community with whom he thus early threw in his lot. At this time the general trend of the town was along the banks of the Opawa River, where Mr. Sinclair had erected a string of buildings as a practical answer to the objection against restoring the provincial offices to

Blenheim, on the score that there were no houses there. All of these structures have now been demolished, but the most southerly of them was the old Victoria Hotel. Then came a building in which the Bank of New Zealand* first opened business at Blenheim. Adjoining the Bank were the old Provincial Chambers, a little further on a building in the form of a six-roomed cottage. This was afterwards used as offices by the Town Board†, a body established by Act of the Provincial Council in 1864 for the purpose of managing the local government of the town. Next to the Board offices came a bonded store, and near to it was Mr. Sinclair's residence, the first wooden building in the Wairau, which was located between the river and the present railway goods shed. On the bank of the Opawa, exactly opposite this, was the wharf at which the "Gipsy," "Mary," "Necromancer," and "City of Nelson" discharged their cargoes. Some distance higher up,

* The chief branch of this bank was opened in Picton in 1860 by Mr. Bridges and the Blenheim branch was simply an agency until 1865, when the chief branch followed the removal of the provincial offices. Up to this time the Blenheim branch had been under the control of Messrs Arthur Knowles, C. F. Allen, and T. M. Wright as agents and in 1865 Mr. William McDonald arrived to take charge as manager. As illustrating the primitive ideas some of the settlers had regarding finance, a story is told of a tradesman who, when the Bank opened, purchased a cheque book and wrote out a big cheque in his own behalf. On presenting it at the Bank payment was of course refused, as there was "no account," whereupon he indignantly enquired "what the deuce is the good of a bank if it is not to help poor people?" Just about the last thing a bank was ever started for.

† The first members of the Board were Messrs. George Henderson, William Collie, Caleb Davies, William Nosworthy, and James Sinclair (Chairman). The first meeting was held on July 25, 1864. Messrs. William Nosworthy and George Henderson were its subsequent chairmen, and the last meeting was held on July 9th, 1868. Mr. John Bagge was Clerk to the Board.

where the Nelson Street bridge now spans the river, Mr. Sinclair had another wharf, and a large wool shed, but the growth of the town along the river bank was checked by the high price asked for the land, and the re-action tended to concentrate the business of the little community around the present Market Place. One of the first to break away from the beaten track was Mr. William Collie, who arrived in 1858, and erected a canvas booth in which he commenced business as a bookseller and photographer, in High Street, on what is now the Railway Reserve. Shortly afterwards he removed to the Square, where he built his studio over an old watercourse, which has always been known to succeeding generations as "Collie's Hollow." In 1859 the first Marlborough Hotel was built by a Mr. Ralston, and in the following year Mr. James Smith Carroll, who for some time had been "mine host" of the "Beaver," built the Royal Oak on the corner now occupied by the Bank of New Zealand. This section had only a short time previously been purchased by Messrs. Eyes & Empson, for 100 sheep, but the price paid by "Jimmy Smith" was £150. The "Oak" was a very well known hostlery in its time, and many amusing tales are told of the sayings and doings of its genial landlord, not the least of which is his alleged

instruction to his son to "whitewash the skittle alley *green*."

The year after the Royal Oak appeared Mr. Litchfield left the employ of Mr. John Symons, and built a general store of his own on the spot occupied by Messrs. Miller & McKay, this being the first shop in what is now the well formed macadamised Market Place, but which in those days was simply a wilderness of flax and *toe-toe*. His enterprise was rewarded with an extensive connection, and before long he was able to import direct from England.

When the township was originally projected by Messrs. Fell and Seymour they made liberal reserves for educational, religious, and other public purposes, and these were speedily taken advantage of. Ever since the departure of the Rev. Mr. Ironsides from Port Underwood there had been a great dearth of religious ministrations in the districts around Cloudy Bay, but in 1853 the Rev. Thomas Dickson Nicholson, of the Presbyterian Church, began to make flying visits to the various settlements in the province, and on these occasions he saw sufficient to convince him that the valley had a splendid future before it. It was therefore in keeping with his own wishes that, after the death of his devoted wife, he should leave the scene of his bereavement, and make his home

in an altogether new field, which he believed was open to great possibilities. Thus it came about that in 1857 he severed his connection with the Nelson church and went to reside at Renwicktown, where a church and manse were soon built for him. The whole country at this time was practically in its virgin state, but nothing daunted Mr. Nicholson walked over its lonely and boggy tracks, holding services at the Awatere, at Picton, at Mr. Sinclair's house on the banks of the Opawa River, and at Mr. Hutcheson's store at Grovetown, where his congregation was often composed of the blue shirted sawyers* who were then employed at the Big Bush. A few years of these fatiguing journeys completely undermined Mr. Nicholson's health, and he died at Picton on July 16, 1864, leaving behind him the unique historic record of being the first Presbyterian minister to preach in Dunedin, the second in Wellington, and the first resident clergyman in the Wairau. During the months that elapsed between Mr. Nicholson's death and the arrival of the Rev. Mr. Russell from Scotland, the church was temporarily ministered to by the Rev. David Bruce, of Auckland, but in the meantime settlement had increased around Blenheim to such an extent that the congregation was able

* On the principle that "the hope of reward sweetens labour," it was the custom of the sawyers to place a bottle of gin on the end of the log, and as soon as they had cut the full length of the slab, and the saw came into contact with the bottle, they duly refreshed themselves with its contents.

to provide a manse for their new pastor in "Manse" Road, and Blenheim, and not Renwick, became the centre of his ministrations. The outbreak of the Wakamarina diggings greatly increased the magnitude of Mr. Russell's labours, as his parish then extended from Kaikoura to Deep Creek, but it also brought the population that enabled the managers to enter upon the liability of a new church. The work of its construction had proceeded so far that the frame had been reared upon the piles when one of the big floods came down and carried the building bodily down the Omaka River until it stranded at the bridge. This misfortune was a great blow to the little congregation, but they pluckily set to work to retrieve lost time, and on May 24th, 1868, Mr Russell had the extreme pleasure of opening the first St. Andrew's Church. This was his last public act in the service of his Master, for a few days after he was seized with diphtheria, which was then raging in the district, and claimed him as one of its victims.

Within a month of Mr. Nicholson leaving Nelson the Ven. Archdeacon Butt resigned his cure there, and came down to the Wairau. In the absence of a church the Anglicans joined the Presbyterians in the use of the small building, erected by Mr. Sinclair as a courthouse, but within a year the Archdeacon

had built the first Church of the Nativity, partly by subscriptions from the members of his communion, and partly by a grant from the Diocesan Board. Here regular services were held, but neither flood, nor trackless waste prevented the good Archdeacon from visiting the scattered settlers, in sickness and in health, and until the day of his death no figure was so well known, and none so universally welcome in all parts of the province as that of Pastor Butt.

Although the Wairau has always been thickly peopled with adherents of the Latin faith, it was not for some time that they had either a consecrated church or a permanent priest. But this does not mean that they were neglected, for at intervals the Rev. Father Garin used to ride over from Nelson and hold services in the dwelling-house of some member of his flock. Then came the Rev. Father Tressallet, who remained for six months, living and holding services under the roof of the late Mr. John Fitzgerald, who then resided in the Maxwell Road in a house which is still partially extant. Father Tressallet was followed by Father Seauzeau, a French priest of very genial disposition, whose Christianity was a pleasure to himself and to everyone with whom he came in contact, for he bore the spirit of the "Gentle Nazarene" wherever he went. His genuine good humour

and homely ways made him as great a favourite amongst other denominations as with his own people, and when he left the district to labour in other fields, he took with him the good wishes of Catholics and Protestants alike. Under his administration the first church, now used as a portion of the Convent School, was built in 1866, and he remained long enough to see the congregation increase to such an extent that the present handsome church, which was built in 1878, became an imperative necessity.

From the very first the cause of Methodism had been strong in the Nelson settlement, and it was only natural that a proportion of its disciples should find their way down to the Wairau amongst the earliest of the pioneers, every one of whom carried their faith into the wilderness with them. The Davies, Tatleys, Jacksons, Hewitts, Dodsons, Giffords, Hammonds and Hoopers laid the foundation of Wesley's creed in the Wairau, but it was some years before they were able to organise themselves into a church communion. In the meantime their spiritual needs were ministered to by devout local preachers, and in 1859 they were encouraged by a visit from the Rev. Mr. Warren, who was the first clergyman to conduct a Methodist service at the Beaver. The meeting-place of the little congregation at this early stage was Mrs.

Reid's cottage, which stood where the Victoria Hall now stands, and with the exception of the stores and public-houses along the river-bank it was the only building in the town. Subsequently the services were held in the schoolhouse, and by 1864 their prospects were such that they felt justified in proceeding with the erection of a church and the invitation of a minister. Within six months both these ends were achieved, for the Rev. J. W. Wallis arrived in November, and had the intense satisfaction of opening the new church, which was erected at the lower end of Grove Road, for divine worship on April 9th, 1865. After labouring for two years amongst the Marlborough Methodists, Mr. Wallis volunteered for mission work in the Friendly Islands, and he was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Lee, who soon found that the building was neither large enough nor favourably situated. The population seemed to be centreing around the Market Place, and so it was decided to enlarge and shift the church to where it would be more convenient to the majority of the worshippers. Accordingly it was brought to where the railway station is now located, and there fulfilled the duties of a sacred edifice until the march of progress again made its removal imperative, when it was purchased by the Government and transported back to Grove Road to provide scope for

railway purposes. A new church was accordingly started in High Street, but it was burnt to the ground on March 25th, 1881, when almost completed, and it was not until March 19th of the following year that the present church was opened by the Rev. Mr. Carr, the proceeds of the day's services being £76 os. 6d.

In the wake of the church came the school, for, as the population was ever on the increase, there was in the natural course of events a little army of juveniles growing up whose mental training had to be attended to, and so the elder ones put their heads together and made application to the Nelson Education Board for the services of a teacher, and late in September of 1859 Mr. James White came down to take charge of the new school. The little schoolhouse stood in the midst of high fern and tussocks where the Borough School now stands, and was by no means an imposing structure. Neither were the scholars very numerous or their educational equipment very complete, for it did occasionally happen that when their stock of penholders ran out they were compelled to use the stem of the "dock" weed as a substitute. The first children entered upon the school register were the three sons of Mr. James Sinclair, and most of the other "boys" of those days have since developed into well-known residents of the district. At its inception the school was, of course, con-

trolled from Nelson, but after separation all this was changed, and on August 1st 1860 the Provincial Council appointed the superintendent (Mr. Adams), Dr. Muller and Mr. James Sinclair a committee of management, giving them a vote of £300 to spend in the best interests of the school, which has had a long and useful career under the mastership of many able teachers. At first the school was maintained by a household tax of £1 per annum, and the secular nature of the instruction imparted, even at this time, came sharply into conflict with the doctrines of the Catholic Church, some of its members refusing to pay the tax as a protest against the undenominational and irreligious character of the teaching, and as a consequence their goods were sometimes seized and sold to satisfy the claim. A well remembered instance of this kind occurred when a constable was sent to capture a bullock belonging to Mr. Con. Murphy, whose religious scruples would not permit him to contribute towards a system of education in which he did not believe. The bullock evidently entered into the spirit of his master's objection, and refused to be taken, and being of an athletic temperament he kept the man in blue chasing him for hours up and down, through flax and swamps, until the "bobbie," blown, beaten, and thoroughly exasperated exclaimed, "Confound the blanky

bullock, I'll pay the fine myself." And pay it he did, and thus the difficulty was overcome to the satisfaction of all parties. Shortly afterwards the Road Boards were constituted Boards of Education, with power to levy a rate and impose attendance fees for educational purposes, and on this basis the schools were maintained until they were re-organised under the present national system of education.

As already pointed out, the medical profession was well represented amongst the first land-holders in the province, but with the exceptions of Drs. Allison and Vickerman, none of them ever practised in the district. Even these gentlemen were not in regular practice, but lent their services to their fellow-settlers as occasion required while they were engaged in their pastoral pursuits. The first actual practitioner was Dr. Stewart, who lived in a *whare*, belonging to Mr. Eyes at the Fairhall, on what is still known as "Doctor's Flat." He, however, did not remain long, and was followed by Dr. L. K. Horne, who, with Mrs. Horne, arrived in the Beaver in 1857 and took up their residence on the banks of the Opawa River, from which point the good Doctor for many years prescribed for the real and fancied ailments of his patients, who were sometimes scattered far and wide over the plains and sheep stations, and many a weary ride he had at every hour of the day

and night to be present at the bedside of some unfortunate sufferer. The devotion of Dr. Horne to his patients won for him the affection of all classes of the community; his bluff, straightforward manner was the foundation of many a good story, while his simple habits and unassuming demeanour created such a wide respect for him that most of the pioneers felt they had lost a personal friend when it was known that he had perished in the disastrous fire, which originated in the Criterion Hotel on June 30th, 1886. The purchase of a farm in the Lower Wairau, and the active prosecution of agriculture by Dr. Horne, opened the way for other medical men, and many came and went, but none ever filled the place in the heart of the community that Dr. Cleghorn enjoyed. The peer of the rich, the friend of the poor, he was as kind as he was skilful, and on the day of his departure from Blenheim he deservedly received the most flattering send-off ever accorded to anyone by the people of Marlborough.

Having got their religious, educational, and judicial institutions fairly established, it is clear that the little community was making appreciable progress. But there was one serious drawback which greatly retarded the social and commercial interests of the people. This arose from the intersection of the town-

ship by the Omaka River, and the absence of proper facilities for crossing it. The first contrivance was a box, appropriately named the "Execution dock," on account of one man having been drowned while attempting to ferry his way over in it. This box was attached by chains to either bank, and by this means the travelling public pulled themselves across; but as the "dock" invariably had from two to three inches of dirty water in it, and had also acquired an unpleasant habit of sinking in the middle of the stream, and soundly ducking its confiding passengers, it can be easily understood that this unseaworthy craft was used more from necessity than from choice. In course of time, however, it was discarded for a more permanent structure called the "Crinoline" bridge, which was by no means free from its drawbacks. This was a narrow footway thrown across the river at the site of the present Alfred Street traffic bridge, but it was so narrow that no lady who dressed in the fashion of the time could cross it, for in those days it was considered the correct thing for the ladies fair to wear crinolines, and the problem the maids and matrons of Blenheim had to solve in the year of grace 1860 was how to get a three-foot hoop through a two foot bridge; hence the name "Crinoline" Bridge*.

* The first traffic bridge was built over the Omaka River at Alfred Street in 1862, in substitution for the old ford, which was higher up the river, behind the Presbyterian Church.

But whatever their drawbacks may have been, the days of the Crinoline Bridge were happy times. Then the little community was simply like one large family, entering readily into each other's joys and sorrows, and living a life largely Bohemian in its character. There were no luxuries, but a plentiful supply of substantial necessaries, the vagaries of fashion in dress gave little concern to the women, and so long as the men got plenty of work, meat and drink, it did not trouble them whether consols were up or down. The restrictions which hedge around the life of the people in larger centres had not begun to cramp the conduct of the individual, and a freedom of action was indulged in which nowadays would be considered shocking breaches of etiquette. Thus if the ladies wished to have a little picnic on their own account they would sometimes borrow Dr. Muller's cart and send it round to all the houses to collect the week's washing, which would then be taken up to the Taylor River, where a general washing day would be celebrated with considerable jollity, and no small amount of skylarking, a proceeding which it is not possible to conceive in these straight-laced times, but in those days no one was the worse for the outing. Due respect was always paid to those in authority, but there were few social distinctions, Jack was generally as good

as his master, and frequently told him so; neither were there any false notions about dignity, for almost everyone went to church in a bullock dray, and it was by no means an unusual thing to see the first official of the place carrying home the family dinner, in the shape of a leg of mutton, slung on a stick across his shoulder. The butcher, by the way, was a tradesman who worked upon safe lines, for before he would kill a sheep he rode round to the various housewives and acquainted them of his intentions, but if he did not secure sufficient orders to dispose of the whole carcass he simply waited until he did, and then proceeded to the slaughter. Of amusements there was no lack, shooting, riding, and horse racing furnished outdoor sport, while amateur theatricals supplied the place of the professionals, and often provided a good deal of entertainment that was not in the programme. "These were thy charms sweet village; but all these charms are fled," for the march of progress has banished the old order, and ushered in the new, under which social distinctions have become more marked, manners more formal, and the workers' life a struggle for existence rather than the good old "go as you please" of forty years ago.

By the year 1860 the village of Blenheim, as it was now called, began to grow and



MARKET STREET, 1870.
LOOKING TOWARDS MARKET PLACE.



MARKET STREET, 1884.
LOOKING TOWARDS MARKET PLACE.



DR. HORNE.



JOSEPH TAYLOR.

expand into a well organised town with a population of 300 souls. At all events it was sufficiently advanced to require its newspaper, and on January 6th of that year Messrs. Coward and Millington published the first issue of the *Marlborough Press*, in a little office situated on the corner of Alfred Street and Grove Road. Mr. T. W. Millington, a gentleman of the highest standing in the journalistic profession, acted as its editor, and the paper was brought out weekly until the removal of the Provincial Government to Picton, whither the *Press* followed the makers of politics. For a time an effort was made to meet the convenience of the subscribers in both towns by printing the one part at the seaport, and the other at the Blenheim office, but this arrangement was found to be so unsatisfactory that it was soon discontinued, and the *Press* became the journalistic mouth-piece of Picton.

But the exigencies of party politics demanded that the Wairau should also have an advocate, and a medium through which its grievances could be ventilated, and so on November 2nd, 1864, Mr. Coward brought out the *Wairau Record* from what had formerly been the *Press* office. Mr. Elijah Tucker filled the editorial chair of the new journal for two years, during which it kept Blenheim in touch with the outside world in an erratic

and uncertain sort of way, for although Tuesday was its nominal day of publication, no one could ever tell to a day or two when it would appear, and so it twinkled on for a time, until it twinkled out altogether. Mr. Millington then came through from Picton, and started the *Marlborough News*, the literary columns of which were frequently illumined by articles written by Mr. Collie. This gentleman was a member of the advanced school of politicians, and he used his position to advocate the claims of the Liberal party, and to promulgate socialistic doctrines, frequently causing a flutter in the Conservative camp by the radical nature of his views, and the forcible and fearless language in which he expressed them. In educational and municipal matters he was also very active, particularly in the agitation to have the name of the township changed from Beaverton to Blenheim, and when Governor Gore Browne paid the first vice-regal visit to the new province in 1859 Mr. Collie presented the citizens' petition praying that the nomenclature of the town might be brought into harmony with that of the province, a request which was gracefully and immediately complied with. The *Press* and the *News* were thus supplying the journalistic wants of the province when the Johnson Brothers arrived in Blenheim, and announced their intention

of starting a new weekly journal, which, according to the prospectus issued on April 21st, 1866, was calculated to fill "a long felt want in the district." The measure of support accorded to the new paper seemed to justify the truth of this assumption, for its regular appearance, its copious and accurate reports, at once secured for it a wide circulation, and aided by a monopoly of Government advertising, it was quite evident before long that the *Marlborough Express* had come to stay. At first it was published from a little office at the lower end of Grove Road, later on in Alfred Street, and subsequently, about 1879, it was removed to its present place of publication. Editorially it was controlled by Mr. Samuel Johnson, who had come to the colony as one of the Albertland settlers, and in provincial politics it supported the Eyes party. Of colonial politics it took but little notice, so long as the provinces lasted, but upon their abolition Mr. Johnson followed the natural bent of his mind, and took up the cause of Sir George Grey, and the "unborn millions." At this time the burning question in the province was to have the railway, which terminated at the Opawa River, brought into the centre of the town. The *Express* facetiously styled it the Picton to ——— Railway, and in season and out of season hammered at the member for the

district to get the missing link filled in. Mr. Seymour was then in opposition to the Grey Government, and it seemed hopeless to expect the Government to do anything for the district while the district did nothing for the Government. An effort was therefore made to induce Mr. Seymour to change his views, but that gentleman took up no parochial attitude in politics, and politely declined to leave the party he had worked with for so many years, for the sake of one and a-half miles of railway. The Railway League of those days, headed by Mr. Johnson, then changed their tactics and went direct to the fountain head; they invited Sir George Grey to visit Blenheim, and when he came he conquered. From the platform of Ewart's Hall he delivered one of those eloquent and emotional speeches in which he laid the foundation of New Zealand liberalism. During his remarks he promised Blenheim its railway, and gave the populace a lesson in democracy they have never forgotten, and the result of which has been seen at every general election since. The policy of the *Express* in seeking to change the politics of the people from ultra - conservatism to liberalism did not escape the notice of the dominant party, and as a result of the election of 1879 Mr. Johnson was threatened with no less than five libel actions. Under these circumstances

he concluded that life was too short to live in a place like Blenheim, and as his health was failing under the strain of the bitter party feeling which had sprung up, he sold his paper, and shook the dust of the Wairau from his feet. Up to May 12th, 1874, the *News* had continued as the provincial and political opponent of the *Express*, but on that date it was purchased from Mr. Millington by a company of local politicians, and run as the organ of the anti-Eyes party, Mr. Millington continuing to manage it, and Mr. H. C. Pirani acting as its editor until its demise. For about a year no *Times* was published, but then another journal of that name, owned by Mr. John Tait, arose, phoenix-like, from its ashes, and has since been continuously published under many different auspices.

From 1864 until July 9th, 1868, the local government of Blenheim had been managed by the Town Board set up by the Provincial Council, but in the latter year there began an agitation to have the township raised to the dignity of a Borough. On this question Messrs. Henry Dodson and James Sinclair, who had fought so many provincial battles together, were ranged against each other, but finally Mr. Dodson's party carried the day, Blenheim being constituted a Borough on March 6th, 1869, and on May 15th Dr. Muller held the first election for Borough Coun-

cillors, when the following gentlemen were returned in the order named :—Messrs James Tucker Robinson, Frederic John Litchfield, Henry Dodson, William Nosworthy, William Collie, John Mack Hutcheson, James Sinclair, Elijah Bythell, and James Edmund Hodson.

Under the Municipal Corporations Act of 1867 the right of electing the Mayor rested with the Councillors and not with the rate-payers, and therefore, when the newly-elected Council met for the first time there was considerable speculation as to who would have the honour conferred upon him of being Blenheim's first Mayor. If one of the two strongest men in the Council was to be chosen then either Cr. Sinclair or Cr. Dodson would be elected, but their supporters were evidently so evenly divided that neither of them cared to put himself in nomination, and so a compromise was arranged by which a neutral councillor was proposed, and on Cr. Sinclair's motion Mr. F. J. Litchfield was elected to the Mayoral chair without opposition. At the adjourned meeting Mr. John Tucker Robinson was elected to be the first Town Clerk. The following year the Council elected Mr. Henry Dodson to the position of Chief Magistrate, but the mode of his election was not at all in keeping with his notions of representative institutions. His contention was that the Mayor should derive his authority from a

wider constituency than the eight men sitting round the council table, and so he proposed that the Mayor of the Borough should be elected by the ratepayers. To this the City Fathers agreed, but as there was no legal provision for such a course it was arranged, at Mr. Dodson's suggestion, that a poll of the burgesses should be taken, and that the Council should pledge itself to elect the candidate to whom the ratepayers gave the greatest number of votes. Thus for several years the Mayors of Blenheim were unofficially chosen by the people, and so favourably was the innovation regarded that a Bill was introduced into Parliament in 1875 intitled "The Blenheim Mayors' Bill," giving to the ratepayers of the town the right to elect the head of their Council directly at the ballot-box. The Bill never became law, but the Government were so impressed with the idea that they included the provision in the Municipal Corporations Act of 1876, and so the measure of reform which Blenheim asked for itself was given to the whole colony.

It will be needless to follow in detail the more modern growth of Blenheim, or to trace its fortunes through flood and fire. Three times it has been consumed by flame, and more times than one can tell it has been submerged by flood. Still it has flourished steadily, if slowly, and after each conflagra-

tion it has been re-built upon more substantial lines, until to-day it resembles nothing so much as a miniature Christchurch.

. RENWICK-TOWN.

It is many years now since Renwick-town was represented by a single dwelling, but there was a time when "Bagnal's *whare*" was the only habitation upon this portion of the plain. This building had been a surveyor's hut, and a gruesome hut it was, for under one of the bunks there was a pile of Maori skulls, relics of "Bloody Jack's" encounter with Te Rau-paraha at Lake Grassmere, the collection of some enterprising chainman, and here they lay kicking about the floor like so many footballs, to be made playthings of by every traveller who made the hut a halting place. But the township had in reality its origin not in the whim of the surveyor, but in the choice of the bullock drivers, for in travelling up and down the valley they found this a convenient camping place owing to its central position. The locality also had the remarkable advantage of being exceedingly free from the poisonous *tutu* plant which proved so destructive to the cattle of the early settlers, and it was probably this guarantee of safety to their teams that made the spot so popular with the hardy bullock punchers, whose personal wants were soon ministered to by Mr. John Godfrey, who built a sort of "half way house," sometimes

called the Wairau Hotel*, but more often the "Sheepskin Tavern," for the simple reason that where timber was lacking, the pelt of the merino acted as a substitute in its construction. At this time there was practically no township, but in 1855 Dr. Renwick acquired the Delta run from Mr. Green, of Nelson, and laid out a portion of it as a town, which afterwards became a Scotch settlement, named after himself. The Lakeman Brothers then opened an hotel some distance from Mr. Godfrey's and speedily acquired considerable trade and fortune. The site of their house, which was called the Woolpack Inn, is now only to be discovered by the excavation that once fulfilled the duties of a cellar, but which at present acts as a receptacle for all the odds and ends of the township. But Renwick was not entirely composed of "pubs," for there was shortly afterwards a school under the charge of Mr. Moore, and it was here that the Rev. Mr. Nicholson had his manse and the first church in the Wairau, the latter edifice being still used as a Sunday school.

It was at Renwick that the first horse races were run in the district, this event taking place on 10th and 11th January, 1854, in one of Mr. Brydon's paddocks, when the following steeds carried their owner's colours to victory. I. Wairau Jockey Club's Plate, Mr. I. Freeth's

* The Wairau Hotel stood on the site of the Renwick bakery, and it was here that the first meetings in connection with the separation movement were held.

“Kick up the Dust”; 2. Wairau Turf Plate, Mr. I. Freeth’s “Deceiver”; 3. Handicap Hurdle Race, Mr. T. Redwood’s “Wild Harry”; 4. Selling Stakes, Mr. V. Hewitt’s “Strop”; 5. Handicap Hack Race, Mr. Johnson’s “Primus”; 7. Hack Race, Mr. J. Wilson’s “Blunderbuss.”

PICTON.

Waitohi Bay was selected as the site for a town in the year 1848, by the settlers under the New Zealand Company, who decided to call it Newton, and as such it appears on the early maps of the colony. This settlement arose out of the necessity of the company to compensate its emigrants to the extent of £50,000 for the failure to supply town sections as agreed upon before they left England, and as the company was either unwilling or unable to pay the recompense in cash they agreed to allow the settlers to select the site for another town in which their sections would be surveyed for them. The spot chosen under this arrangement was Waitohi Bay, and on the 28th December Sir George Grey and Mr. Dillon Bell proceeded to the head of Queen Charlotte Sound in H.M.S “Fly,” and two days later were able to complete the purchase of the necessary land from the natives, who agreed to remove to Waikawa, where a new village similar to Otaki was to be laid out. In addition to the payment of £100 in cash the

company agreed to plough up a similar area of land at Waikawa to that which the natives already had under cultivation at Waitohi, they were to find seed wheat for the first crop, and to build a wooden church in the centre of the new *pah*, "as a place of prayer to our Saviour."

Although thus early established, Picton did not acquire any degree of importance in the province until 1861, when it became the seat of the Provincial Government. It also received an immense impetus during the "boom" of the Wakamarina diggings, when it is estimated that it had a permanent and a floating population of fully 3000 people. The exhaustion of this goldfield, and of the timber in the Waitohi Valley, together with the removal of the Government offices, so undermined the prosperity of Picton that now it has to look to its reputation as a truly beautiful seaside resort, and the prospect of its becoming the Dover of the South by one day being made the northern terminus of the Main Trunk Railway through the South Island, as the two things that will bring it into colonial importance. On two occasions Picton has just missed achieving more than this distinction, once when Mr. Stafford had almost persuaded Parliament to make it the seat of government on account of its central position and easily defensible harbour, and

again during the Wakamarina rush, when the discovery of coal was made at Shakespeare Bay by some diggers, who were prospecting for gold amongst the neighbouring hills. Little attention was paid to the find at the time, as it was considered that the mineral had been left there by some passing steamer, but in 1883 Messrs. Williams, Nichols and Renfrew took the matter up and started prospecting on the hill between Picton and Shakespeare Bay, and while sitting down to lunch one day they discovered a huge lump of coal of several tons weight. This led to the formation of the Picton Coal Company, but after a few hundred tons had been taken out of the shaft, the company suspended operations. Shortly afterwards Mr. Pugh made another discovery of coal on the peninsula, but when about thirty tons had been obtained, the cost of working the drive became too great for the return, and again operations were suspended. Subsequently Messrs. Hunt and Swanwick made spasmodic efforts to develop the deposits, but so little coal was found that their work was neither profitable to themselves or particularly beneficial to the community.* The failure of these coal deposits was a serious blow to Picton, for no harbour in New Zealand is so well adapted for the business of a coal port, and had the

* Altogether, in the various enterprises, some 375 tons were hewn out, at a cost of £7000.

mineral been as easily obtained as on the West Coast, her shipping would have been unrivalled in the colony, instead of being confined to a few wool ships in the year and the usual visits of the Union Company's steamers.

To Mr. John Holmes, of Wellington, is due the honour of being the father of direct shipping from Picton. In 1884 he was one of Blenheim's most influential merchants, and being a keen business man with large ideas and an abundance of energy to carry them out, he saw that to let the produce of the district filter through the hands of a host of middle men, was a pecuniary detriment to the farmer, and a loss of prestige to the province. With such a splendid harbour as Picton at their very doors, he considered it a suicidal policy to consign wool and hemp via Wellington, and so, amidst considerable opposition both in New Zealand and in London, he promulgated the doctrine of direct shipping, and to demonstrate the sincerity of his convictions and the soundness of his conclusions, he chartered the sailing ship "Lyttelton" on April 22nd, 1884. She arrived in Picton on June 17th, and sailed on August 21st with a full cargo of frozen meat, thereby inaugurating the frozen meat trade of the province by taking 10,184 sheep and lambs for the Home market, as well as wool, hemp and tallow. In a series of addresses delivered throughout the district at the

time, Mr. Holmes predicted that New Zealand would be able to ship upward of 2,000,000 sheep annually, but he was met on all sides by keen opposition. Authorities were quoted to show that if we shipped annually 40,000 sheep out of New Zealand, it would ruin the country. Mr. Holmes has, however, lived to see the full realisation of his hopes, for this colony is annually shipping now upwards of 3,000,000 carcasses of frozen sheep and lambs, while at the same time we are increasing our flocks. The "Lyttelton" was followed in quick succession by other ships, and in subsequent years the development became so pronounced that Mr. Holmes introduced the large ocean-going steamer "Maori" to Picton, which has since been followed by the famous ocean liners "Gothic," "Ionic" and "Waimate."

The town of Picton was constituted a Borough on August 11th, 1876, and Mr. T. Williams was its first Mayor, with the following gentlemen as his Council:—Messrs. James Smith, George James, Thomas Philpotts, James Heins, William Dart, Donald McCormick, John Godfrey, and Alexander Duncan. The first Town Clerk was Mr. James Alexander.

KAIKOURA.

As already indicated, the little settlement of Kaikoura, like those at Te Awaiti and Port

Underwood, grew out of the necessities of the whalers, but there is not in this case the same accurate information as to the precise date at which the first station was established. In all probability it was at least contemporaneous with the beginning of the industry at Cloudy Bay in 1840, while it is certain that in 1847 there were three stations there employing in the aggregate eighty men. These were conducted by Messrs. Ames, Fitzherbert, and Captain Robert Fyffe, of whom the latter appears to have been the most prominent, as he is credited with being the first white settler in the district, and possessing a schooner of his own, the "Fidelle," besides other property, he enjoyed the respect which wealth always commands. His station was situated on the point of the peninsula in the immediate vicinity of the present wharf, and judging from the evidence which came under the notice of subsequent settlers as late as 1858 his operations must have been conducted on rather an extensive scale. This Kaikoura pioneer unfortunately lost his life in 1854 when returning home from Wellington in the "Fidelle." She was caught in a severe gale of wind between Cape Campbell and the Clarence River, and the chance of getting off the lee shore being apparently hopeless, he successfully beached his little craft, but a heavy sea following closely in her wake struck

her with such violence that she turned over and Captain Fyffe and his man, the only persons on board, were drowned. He was succeeded in the charge of his whaling station by his nephew, Mr. George Fyffe, who is described as a man of most genial temperament, and hospitable disposition. His house was that now occupied by Mrs. J. Goodall, and it was while excavating for its foundations that he came upon a remarkably fine specimen of a moa's egg*, lying close beside a Maori's skull. Here Mr. Fyffe, with his manager, Mr. White, and his housekeepers Mr. and Mrs. McInnes, received and entertained the few strangers who, towards 1857, began to find their way into the Kaikoura district in search of pastoral country. Amongst the earliest of these were Mr. William McRae†, who settled at Waipapa, and Mr. Joseph Ward, whose exploration of the inner Clarence in 1858 induced him to become one of its first European occupiers as the licensee of the Warden run. In close succession to him came the Keene Brothers, who stocked Swyncombe in the same year, and it was by them that the first silver grey rabbits were turned out. A pair

* This egg, which was the first found in New Zealand, was taken to England, and there purchased for one hundred guineas. Its dimensions are a little over nine inches in length and seven inches in breadth.

† Mr. McRae died at Waipapa, and was buried in the garden at the station. His successor in the occupation of the run in 1868 was Mr. Walter Gibson, one of Kaikoura's best known and most public spirited pioneers. Mr. Gibson, was at various times the occupier of large areas of country, he represented the district in the Provincial Council, and subsequently was chairman of the County Council.



JOHN GIBSON



VEN. ARCHDEACON BUTT.



OLD PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH.
FIRST CHURCH IN THE WAI'AU.



FIRST WESLEYAN CHURCH.
GROVE ROAD.

of these innocent-looking creatures were presented to Captain Keene by a Mr. Harwood, and for a year or two the glossy pets were protected with the greatest care in the hope that they would one day provide good shooting for the proprietors. It is said that Captain Keene threatened with most rigorous penalties anyone who was guilty of poaching upon his cherished preserves, for rabbit pie was a dish which in those days was considered the exclusive right of the aristocracy. But bye-and-bye there came a time when rabbit pie was no longer a delicacy, but something nauseating to the nostrils of every landowner, for "bunny" soon increased beyond the capacity of the proprietors to shoot or even poison, until there was hardly a station in the province which was not so riddled with their burrows that their destruction was no longer a matter of sport, but a very serious business. The "silver grey" and all his near relations were branded as outlaws, with a price upon their heads, and so far from the killing of a rabbit being suggestive of poaching it became an offence against the law if every reasonable means was not taken to extirpate them from the face of the earth.

In November of 1859 Mr. William Smith, of Ludstone, arrived at Kaikoura, having journeyed over Mount Cookson and the Whale's Back. He was about to make an

examination of the Tytler run, a sub-lease of which had been offered to him by Mr. C. F. Watts, who held the country under license from the Nelson Government, but had not as yet stocked it. At that time Mr. Joseph Ward's shepherds were almost the only inhabitants of the Clarence Valley, and having received from Mr. George Fyffe an indication of their whereabouts, Mr. Smith set off with his "billy" and "bluey" to climb Mount Clear, which separated him from the promised land. On descending into the valley he was fortunate in finding Mr. Robert Palmer tending Mr. Ward's sheep near his little grass hut, situated on a spur of the Warden Hills, and as this lonely shepherd had been buried for many months amidst the solitude of the mountains, far, indeed, from the madding crowd, it is almost needless to say that he gave the prospecting pastoralist a hearty welcome. Together they went over the Tytler country to ascertain its carrying capacity, and found it well covered with native grasses; but they also saw by the compressed and flattened state of the vegetation that a great depth of snow must have lain upon the hills and valleys during the previous winter. This fact, together with the knowledge that the whole region for miles around was infested with wild dogs, and that no trees larger than the *tumatukuru*, or "wild Irishman" of the early

settlers were visible as far as the eye could reach, were considerations that weighed very seriously with Mr. Smith, and it was not until February, 1860, that he took possession of the country and 1500 sheep under a five years' lease from Mr. Watts. At the termination of this tenancy Mr. Smith took up the Cleverly run in the Amuri district, and in 1865 he acquired the freehold of the Ludstone farm. In 1859 his neighbours on the north bank of the Clarence River were the Williams Bros., who occupied what was known as Fell's run, which they had stocked simultaneously with Mr. Ward's advent to the Valley, and which was managed for them by Mr. Robert Wilkie. These pioneers, in common with all the early settlers, experienced the greatest difficulties in the matter of transport, for so far from the northern road being, as it is now, one of the finest coach drives in New Zealand, it was only a track, which the Maoris had made barely passable for horses. In one place they had to be forced through a long cave in a rocky point, a task not easily effected if the traveller happened to be alone, for the roof of the cave was so low that it was necessary to take the saddles off tall horses, while at the middle of the passage the light from the other end came suddenly into view, causing the frightened animals to throw up their heads violently against the roof of the

cave, and then, half stunned, they would back out with a determination that nothing could arrest. In another place the horses had virtually to climb a ladder composed of two long saplings laid against the face of a smooth rock, with crossbars lashed on with supple-jacks, and fortunate was the steed that sustained no injury while performing this compulsory acrobatic feat, which might have done credit to the highly educated equines of the circus ring. Everything for the use of stations had to be packed in this way from the Wairau, and as there was practically no timber in the neighbourhood, the *tumatukuru*, which frequently grew to a height of ten feet, had to serve for fuel, fencing, and various other purposes, while the poles for roofing the "cob" houses were carried on the settlers' shoulders from every part of the hills and valleys where a stick could be found.

For the first six years in succession from 1859, the Tytler and Warden flocks were driven over the Seaward Kaikoura range to be shorn at the Kaikoura fishery, a charge of 1d per head being made by Mr. Fyffe for the limited accommodation provided. The place at this time bore the appearance of a veritable "bone yard," for everything was bone that the eye could see or the hand could touch. The shearing shed was built of whales' ribs placed in upright rows round the walls, with

a thatch of *toe-toe*, and the sheep yards were made of various shorter bones set in upright positions in the ground; it was positively difficult to get about, so thickly were the crown bones, fin blades and other remains of these leviathans of the deep scattered in the neighbourhood; even the seats in the cottages were sections of the whales' vertebra, so that sitting or standing the frequenters of the fishery were ever in the midst of a wilderness of bone. During shearing operations the sheep were kept on the Peninsula, which was then stocked with goats, and this arrangement was continued until 1865, when the proprietors of the Warden and Tytler runs built a shearing shed on the Reserve, where the flocks were subsequently shorn. From the first the wool was freighted to Wellington in small schooners, whose charges were often £1, and sometimes more, per bale. The first trader to engage in this lucrative business was the "Randolph," sailed by Captain Kempthorne, and Captain Davidson, who owned and commanded the "Ruby," made Kaikoura a regular port of call in 1859. Here he settled in 1867, and became a citizen who bore his share of public burdens, and who on his death in 1898 was sincerely mourned by all who knew him.

In 1861 Mr. Ward began the survey of the town and rural sections of the Kaikoura dis-

tract. To him is due the credit of excluding all this fine stretch of agricultural land from Mr. Fyffe's run, and so keeping it available for closer settlement, for when that gentleman was taking up his area of pastoral country from the Nelson Provincial Government, he wished to include what is now known as "the Swamp," but to this Mr. Ward strenuously and successfully objected, with the result that years after the nucleus of a prosperous settlement was established under the Superintendency of Mr. Carter. With the laying off of the township, the old Maori *pah*, which stood on the site of the present state school was, by arrangement, removed to its new position at Maungamanu. The leading chief at this time was a well known native named Kaikoura Wakatu, a man of immense stature, who was so far a believer in domestic comforts that he still maintained two wives as late as 1866. His relations with the settlers were always of the most friendly nature, and very general regret was felt, in 1869, when he met his death through falling from his horse while riding up a rocky steep at the Amuri Bluff.

Kaikoura soon began to pass through the usual evolutionary stages of a colonial town, and these evidences of progress were largely due to the fact that the first land sales in the riding were held by the Provincial Govern-

ment in February of 1864, giving an impetus to settlement in this outlying district, which has now become a centre of much comfort and happiness, amply verifying all Mr. Ward's predictions*.

HAVELOCK.

Havelock is quite the latest addition to Marlborough's old towns, practically dating from the initiation of sawmilling in the Pelorus, and the outbreak of the Wakamarina diggings, for in January, 1864, the only building at the head of the Sound was an accommodation house kept by Mr. Corckrill. It was just about this time Messrs. Dive and Gabie, Duncan and Brownlee began to cut timber for the market, and when the gold rush came the head of the Sound proved so convenient for shipping that it was not long before a town was established, to which, in keeping with the military nomenclature of the province, the name of Havelock was given.

* The local government of Kaikoura was originally under the Kaikoura Road Board, which met for the first time on December 1st, 1870, with the following gentlemen as its members:—William Smith (Chairman), C. R. Keene, A. W. Inglis, C. Evans, and C. Palmer. The County Council was made a governing body in 1876, and its first meeting was held on January 4th, 1877, when it was constituted as follows:—William Smith (Chairman), G. F. Bullen, A. W. Inglis, G. R. Keene, H. W. Parsons, F. Flint, and A. F. Teuney. The post office was opened on April 1st, 1867, by Mr. S. J. Macilister, and the first church was built in the township in 1868.

CHAPTER IX.

THE NEW PROVINCE.

Rise from every plain and valley,
Mountain top, and cottage door.
Every man amongst you rally
From our centre to the shore.
Let's be true to one another,
Unity is power, and strength,
Hand to hand each man and brother,
We shall conquer then at length.

From the 17th of June, 1840, the day when Major Bunbury and Captain Nias first proclaimed the Queen's Sovereignty over the Middle Island, until the Provincial Councils Ordinance was passed in 1848, no very definite form of constitutional government had prevailed in Marlborough, but when the Provincial institutions were finally set up by Governor Grey, in 1853, the whole of the northern portion of the Middle Island was included in the Province of Nelson. Under the system of representation then existing the Wairau was entitled to one representative in the Provincial Council, and Mr. Joseph Ward had the honour of being its first member. In 1858, out of a council of twenty-four, it

was represented by Messrs James Balfour Wemyss, Charles Elliot, and John Tinline, a proportion by no means large enough to secure anything more than the most cursory attention to the ever increasing wants of the district, but as a solatium to its settlers Mr. Wemyss was given a place in the Executive of Superintendent Robinson. For five years then, the whole of the eastern territory accepted its government with more or less cheerfulness from across the range, but towards 1858, both the fear and the sense of injustice, gave rise to an agitation which culminated in Nelson losing her fairest daughter, and in the establishment of a new province. Strange to say this agitation arose not within the district most directly affected, but within the very heart of Nelson city itself, and it was conducted to a successful conclusion not so much in the interests of the resident settlers, as for the benefit of the absentees. As may be judged by the list of pioneers published in the previous chapter, the bulk of the country in the Wairau and Awatere valleys was originally taken up by a class of cultured and educated men, whose old world surroundings had thoroughly imbued with the idea that the right to occupy the land was an inherited privilege of a few, and whom the liberalising influence of colonial life had not mellowed into even partially accepting the democratic

doctrine of "the land for the people." Although, metaphorically speaking, these men held the two great valleys in the hollow of their hands, they were for the most part absentees, residing in Nelson, where they formed the backbone of the Stafford party, and imparted a tone of respectability to the conservatism of Sleepy Hollow. So long as Mr. Stafford occupied the position of Nelson's Superintendent there was little danger of their political serenity being disturbed by any land legislation of a radical nature, but upon that gentleman resigning to accept the premiership of the colony they received a rude awakening when the electors rejected their nominee, Dr. Monro, and elected Mr. J. P. Robinson to the highest office within their gift; the violence of the shock being greatly accentuated by the knowledge that Mr. Robinson was a democrat and that he was surrounded by democrats who made no secret of the fact that they regarded the sheepfarmers as "fair game." That Mr. Robinson intended to place fresh imposts upon the pastoralists there is little doubt, for he raised the 1858 assessment of pastoral land from 5s. 8d. to 5s. 10d. per acre, and the prospect of "another turn of the screw," resulting in a still higher assessment of their lands, filled them with such alarm, that they at once set to work to devise some scheme by which the

country where their chief interests lay should be removed beyond his power to tax, or interfere with.

A New Provinces Act, under which their estates would be severed from Nelson and raised to the importance of a separate province, was the plan determined upon, and their party being at that time all powerful in the Colonial Parliament they had little difficulty in engineering it through both branches of the Legislature. Nominally the Act was intended to give relief to other parts of the colony as well as to the Wairau and Awatere, but that it was specially designed to enable the landed proprietors of Nelson to place themselves beyond the reach of a radical Superintendent and his followers, is forcibly suggested, if not entirely proved by the fact that Clause 1 gave them a concession that was denied to residents in every other part of the colony. Sub-section 4* granted them permission to bring the boundary of their new province as near to Nelson city as they pleased, whereas no other new province could be established unless its boundary was at least thirty-five, and in some cases sixty miles distant from the old provincial capital.

* The wording of the sub-section was as follows:— 4. No Point of the boundary line of any such district shall be within sixty miles, measured in a right line, of the capital town of any province already, or hereinafter to be established; except the province of New Plymouth, nor within thirty-five miles of the town of New Plymouth. *Provided always that this condition shall not apply to any boundary line dividing territory drained by rivers falling into Blind Bay from the adjacent territory to the eastward thereof.*

The importance of this concession was that without it there could simply have been no separation from Nelson at that time, because the country thirty-five miles eastward of Blind Bay did not then possess the requisite population of one thousand souls—one hundred and fifty of whom were to be enfranchised electors—which the Act stipulated as the minimum number of inhabitants necessary to constitute a province, and therefore the difficulty was overcome by pushing the boundary sufficiently close to Nelson to include people who were perhaps better satisfied to remain as they were. In this way the object of the sheep-farmers was attained, and by this means they secured the legal power to make their own assessment of land, and to administer taxation in doses to suit themselves. That there was a selfish motive underlying their actions was amply demonstrated within a few weeks of the provincial institutions being set up in Marlborough, and it is doubtful if even after they had accomplished the passing of the New Provinces Act, they would have been successful in inducing a majority of the smaller settlers to avail themselves of its provisions but for one great factor, which in itself was sufficient to justify separation, and which was astutely kept in the forefront of the agitation by the leaders of the movement.

This was the deep sense of injustice under which the resident settlers were smarting, in consequence of the continued neglect of the Nelson government to give them roads, and the callous indifference with which that body treated all their petitions for the expenditure, upon public works, of even a reasonable portion of the revenue derived from the sales of the waste lands, which, under the new constitution, had been handed over to the provinces. The Nelson Government had at once commenced a policy of extensive land sales in the Marlborough district, by which it is estimated they realised no less a sum than £157,000 before separation took place. As compared with this, they only sold £33,000 worth of land in the present Nelson Province. Under equitable conditions this sum of £157,000 would have been spent in roading and opening up the land sold ; but with the exception of about £200 spent on making an apology for a road through the Taylor Pass, every penny of it was expended for the benefit of Nelson city and its immediate neighbourhood. The Nelson authorities even added insult to injury by coolly informing the settlers that if they wanted roads they must form a Road Board and rate themselves, a course which they ultimately adopted, the Wairau Road Board, under the chairmanship of Mr. James Sinclair, levying a rate of 1d. in the £ for a

number of years. But this was not the whole extent of Nelson's iniquity, for not only did they rob Marlborough of her land fund and her customs duties, as will afterwards be explained, but they failed for a long time to give her residents the protection of the police or the benefits of even a primary school, nor did they think it worth their while to spend a single farthing on the advancement of the moral or social welfare of the people. Thus it may be justly said that through her connection with Nelson, Marlborough lost £247,000 of revenue, and therefore a corresponding loss in roads and bridges, to say nothing whatever of her loss in educational and commercial advancement. Under these circumstances it is small wonder that the settlers, of whom there were now a considerable number, became dissatisfied with the administration of the Nelson Provincial Council, and sought relief by the drastic process of separation.

In determining to take this step the pioneers were face to face with a serious position, for they were without roads, bridges, or ferries, and now that a large part of the lands had passed into the hands of private individuals, the provincial revenue was likely to be all too small to provide these necessary public works, without which there was little hope of attracting a population large enough to make a

prosperous district. Yet the fact that the smaller settlers almost to a man readily accepted this enormous responsibility, shows how clearly they were convinced that nothing was to be gained by continuing as a part of Nelson; their feelings being cogently expressed in a speech delivered by Mr. Cyrus Goulter at the Beaver courthouse on March 29th, 1859, when he said that "even if after paying the ordinary expenses of Government there was no surplus for public works, a position he could not conceive, it was at least preferable to have that money spent in their midst than to be compelled to transfer it to Nelson." Thus it came about that for the moment the opinions of the large and small settlers were in perfect accord; the one because they were afraid of injustice, and the other because they felt they had suffered it long enough, and having once determined that separation was to be their salvation, they bent all their energies to obtain it.

This line of action was first suggested by Mr. Charles Watts and Mr. Pasely, who was then occupying Hillersden, but the agitation in favour of the movement was chiefly conducted by Mr. William Adams, a colonist who arrived at Nelson in the barque "Eden" in the year 1850. He had come over to the Wairau and settled on the Redwood run in the Avondale Valley, and as he was a man

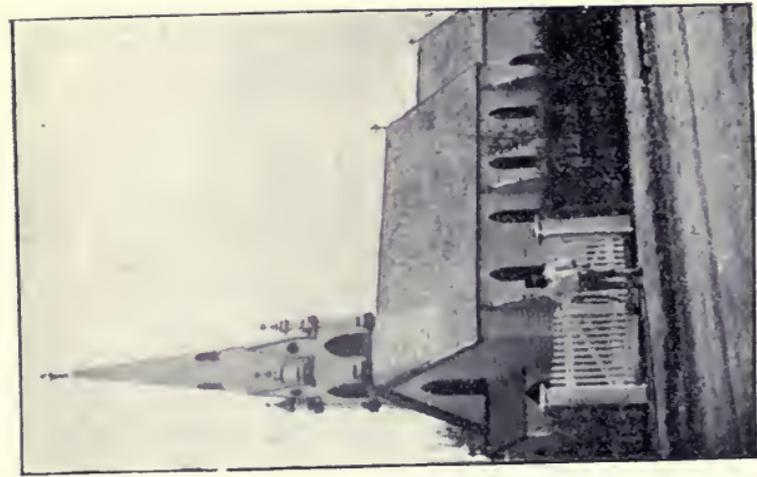
of considerable individuality he led the campaign for reform with great vigor and success, but the first petition he drafted was for some reason never presented, in consequence of which the province lost an additional £27,000 of land fund. The passing of the New Provinces Act in 1858, however, gave the friends of separation fresh hope, and again a public meeting was held at Mr. Godfrey's old Wairau Hotel, at which a committee was formed with Mr. Joseph Ward as chairman, for the purpose of drafting a petition on the basis of the document which shortly before had gained separation for the province of Hawke's Bay. The settlers were canvassed for their signatures by Mr. W. B. Earll, who entered into the movement with his whole heart. He had received his first political ideas from the London Chartists, and as a consequence his mind was ready to embrace any proposal to give the people greater liberty. So thoroughly was his work done, that only six of the residing settlers refused to sign the petition, and in after years Mr. Earll always spoke with justifiable pride of the part he played in securing the independence of the province. The presentation of this petition to the Governor was entrusted to Mr. Adams, who went to Auckland for that purpose, and on October 4th, 1859 the establishment of the new Province of Marlborough was gazetted to



MARKET PLACE, 1867.



MARKET PLACE, 1876.



FIRST CATHOLIC CHURCH.



REV. FATHER SEAUDEAU.

take effect from the following November 1st. In the selection of a name for the province the residents were not consulted by the Government. The name was gazetted in Auckland before Mr. Adams' return, but doubtless the authorities considered that as Wellington and Nelson were on either hand, it was only consistent that they should honour another hero, and call it Marlborough. That being decided upon, it followed as a natural sequence that the capital town should be named after one of Marlborough's great achievements, and the seaport was named in honour of Sir Thomas Picton, who was Wellington's chief lieutenant at Waterloo, as Hardy had been to Nelson at Trafalgar.

In his History of New Zealand Mr. Alfred Saunders has severely censured the methods by which separation was obtained, alleging that the legal number of signatures were only secured to the petition presented by Mr. Adams by appending those of dead men and absentees, and further, that no opportunity was given to the old province to point out the deception, or to refute the allegations made in the petition. But it must be remembered that Mr. Saunders is nothing if not Nelsonian, and that as the petition was a practical protest against the administration of his friend Superintendent Robinson, it is not to be expected that he would look upon it

with a very kindly eye. But the objections raised by Mr. Saunders are not new, they have only been resurrected by him, for at a complimentary dinner tendered to Mr. Adams on December 20th, 1859, that gentleman answered each of these very charges, which were then current, by showing that attached to the petition were the names of 180 men who were, as he expressed it, "very much alive," and that so far from taking the Nelson Government by surprise, he had left a copy of the petition with His Honor the Superintendent while passing northward on his way to Auckland. Under these circumstances, whatever motives some of them may have been actuated by, no stigma can rest upon the Separationist fathers in respect to the methods pursued by them to attain their end, and had the Nelson Government only acted as honourably towards them as they conducted themselves towards it, it may have been that Marlborough as an independent province would never have existed. At all events there was ample evidence to justify the Colonial Executive in granting the prayer of the petition, and although her public estate was scarcely better treated after separation than before it, it was more satisfactory that the money of which the province was deprived should go into the pockets of her own settlers than to enrich those living in Nelson. The elections to constitute the

newly-created Provincial Council were held early in the year 1860, and resulted in the return of the following gentlemen, all but three of whom were runholders :—

William Adams	...	...	Wairau Valley.
William H. D. Baillie	...	...	Wairau Valley.
Cyrus Goulter	...	...	Upper Wairau.
John Godfrey	...	...	Upper Wairau.
William Henry Eyes	...	...	Lower Wairau.
Henry Dodson	...	...	Lower Wairau.
James Sinclair	...	...	Blenheim.
Arthur Penrose Seymour	...	...	Picton.
Charles Elliott	...	...	Awatere.
Joseph Ward	...	...	Clarence.

These legislators were called together for the first time at the Blenheim courthouse on May 1st, and after the formal and official business had been disposed of by Dr. Muller, the Returning Officer, Mr. Adams was chosen Speaker, and immediately afterwards, on the motion of Mr. Goulter, he was elected to the coveted position of Superintendent, Messrs. Eyes and Dodson alone dissenting from that proposition. Mr. Goulter was then elected to fill the Speaker's chair just vacated by Mr. Adams, and thus commenced his remarkable official career, during which, with the exception of a few weeks, he never ceased to hold some public office until the provinces were abolished. Mr. Adams having accepted the Superintendency, it became necessary that he should seek re-election for his constituency, and an adjournment for three weeks then took place

to enable this formality to be gone through. Upon the Council resuming, His Honor delivered an address, in which he briefly but forcibly stated one of the reasons why they had decided to take the serious and important step of separating from Nelson. After declaring that he would not hold office unless completely supported by the Council, but would resign and return to his farming pursuits, he went on to say, "I very reluctantly left them, but when I saw year after year our district drained of its resources for the benefit of Nelson and its neighbourhood, I joined with others to gain what we now possess—the management of our own affairs." But Mr. Adams did more than this. He also outlined the policy which he considered it their duty to follow in administering the affairs of the province, two features of which alone call for special attention at this date. The first of these was modesty in government, and the second, a reassessment of the waste lands. He accordingly announced that, for the purposes of economy and simplicity, he would not appoint an executive, stating that the enormous expense and the absurd assumptions of the Provincial Councils were two of the main arguments against that form of government. He therefore thought it better to retain the entire executive power in the hands of the Superintendent, but shortly

after he found the inconvenience of this arrangement, and took Messrs. Seymour and Ward into his counsels. Concerning the second feature of Mr. Adams' official deliverance, more must be said, because in announcing his land policy he showed how convenient it was to those in authority to have "the administration of their own affairs." Prior to separation the assessment of land in the Wairau and Awatere districts had stood at the following averages per acre:—Town lands, £17 10s.; Surburban, 16s.; Rural, 10s. 8d.; Pastoral, 5s. 10d.; but now Mr. Adams made a proposal, the essence of which was that the pastoral land should be reduced in price to 5s., and that rural land should be increased to anything between 10s. and 20s. per acre; that is to say, that while the sheep-farmer was to enjoy cheap land, the difference was to be made up by compelling the agricultural farmer to pay more than he would have done had the province still remained as part of Nelson. The sophistry employed to support this extraordinary position was simply remarkable, and one wonders that a man of Mr. Adams' strong common-sense and worldly experience could have committed himself to such flimsy arguments, but the fact remains while he admitted that all the pastoral land in the province was not of the same value, he rejected the idea of a proper assessment

because it "entailed a personal inspection of the runs, and was therefore inconvenient." Under the circumstances he "considered it fairer to all parties" to fix an upset price at the minimum figure permitted by law, and which would apply all round, irrespective of differences in quality. The inconsistency of this reasoning was exposed when Mr. Adams came to deal with the small farmer's land, for here no amount of trouble was allowed to stand in the way of a detailed valuation being made, "and therefore," he said, "the only land I shall advise an assessment to be made upon is the timber or superior agricultural land, and this may vary between 10s. and 20s. per acre." But Mr. Adams in the rôle of a sophist was completely outdone by his Council, who, in their "address in reply," entirely concurred with him in his views regarding the uniform price of pastoral land, arguing that "it would greatly retard the growth and prosperity of the province," unless as much land of that class as possible was sold at the lowest price the law allowed them to take for it. But the opposite principle applied in the case of the small farmer, and in the concluding paragraph of their address they gave expression to this generous sentiment: "Superior agricultural lands, on the other hand, should be assessed at the maximum price, *and even that, in most*

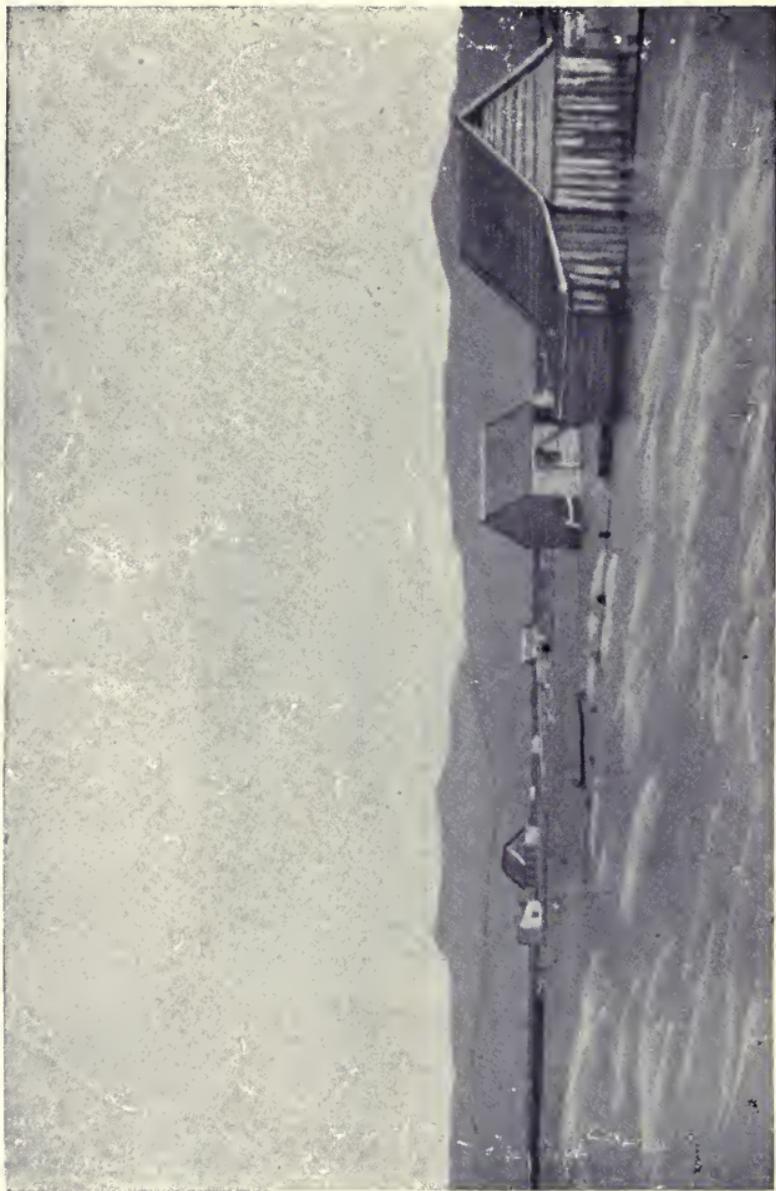
cases, we opine to be far below its real value." After such an expression of opinion from the Council Mr. Adams had no difficulty in getting his land regulations passed, for at no stage of the proceedings was a dissentient voice raised. Even the three members who were not directly concerned in pastoral pursuits were silent, thus the first result of separation was to enable the sheep-farmers to escape taxation at the hands of the Nelson democrats, and the first requitment the small settlers received for assisting these gentry to obtain "the management of their own affairs" was an extra impost of 10s. per acre on their land, accompanied by a gentle hint that they were sorry they could not make it more.

Amongst the first legislation which the Superintendent asked the Council to take into its consideration were Bills dealing with cattle branding, stock regulations, dog nuisance, education, and roads, while upon the estimates were sums of £2880 for bridges over the Tua Marina, Omaka, and Pelorus Streams, and £1828 for roads through the Taylor Pass, and to the Wairau River. Some conception may be formed of the difficulties to be met with in constructing this latter road, when we state that in the mile and a quarter between Grovetown and Spring Creek there were no less than eighteen

bridges required to provide an adequate passage for the flood waters.

On May 29th the Council adjourned from the courthouse to a small building on the bank of the Opawa River, which Mr. James Sinclair had built for the purposes of Provincial Chambers, and here the sittings were held for the remainder of the first session. Up to this time there had been no serious signs of division amongst the Councillors, in fact their proceedings had been marked by a unanimity which was altogether too angelic to last. But it was not long before the half concealed rivalry between the Superintendent and Mr. Eyes, together with the jealousy of the provincial towns, divided them into well defined parties, and brought about a change in the seat of Government*, as well as creating a municipal hatred which to this day has never

* The origin of the quarrel between Blenheim and Picton shows out of what small things mountains may be made. On May 23rd, 1860, Mr. Eyes asked the Superintendent if he intended to adjourn the Council next day in recognition of Her Majesty's birthday? Mr. Adams replied that, as he was anxious to push on with the business, he did not intend to adjourn. Next morning, when the hour for opening the Council arrived, the Superintendent was in an adjoining building attending an Executive meeting, and when Messrs. Sinclair, Eyes, and Dodson walked into the Chamber the only person in the room was Captain Baillie. Mr. Eyes at once called his attention to the fact that it was 11 o'clock, and in a spirit of something akin to cussedness he proposed that the Captain take the chair, and immediately afterwards moved the adjournment of the Council. There being a quorum present the carrying of this motion was perfectly in order, and just as the three conspirators were walking out, the Superintendent and his Executive walked in, and when they realised the position of affairs Mr. Adams gave Mr. Eyes a bit of his mind, and threatened, amongst other things, to remove the seat of Government away from Blenheim, notwithstanding that the petition on which separation had been granted stated that Blenheim was to be the capital town and Wairau the port of the province. Mr. Seymour's motion was the sequel to that threat.



MARKET STREET, 1860, IN FLOOD.

THIS VIEW IS TAKEN FROM THE DOOR OF MR. MACEY'S STUDIO, LOOKING TOWARDS THE CHURCH OF THE NATIVITY, AND IS PROBABLY THE OLDEST PHOTOGRAPH OF BLENHEIM.



SIR DAVID MUNRO, K.B.

been completely extinguished. The originator of this Picton *versus* Blenheim movement, which for many years was the keystone of Marlborough politics, was Mr. A. P. Seymour, who put the brand to the bush on June 7th when he moved, "That it be an instruction to His Honor the Superintendent to have buildings erected in Picton suitable for the reception of the Council and its officers." Mr. Eyes, who led the Blenheim party, at once moved as an amendment, that the step proposed was inadvisable under the circumstances in which the province was placed, but that if the Council was anxious to spend money upon buildings, the most profitable expenditure would be upon a gaol at Blenheim. This amendment was lost by 3 to 5, and after another amendment by Mr. Dodson had been similarly disposed of, the Blenheim representatives saw that their only hope was in delay, and so they astutely succeeded in getting the debate adjourned for a month. During this interval the question of removing the Provincial Buildings to Picton was actively canvassed in the constituencies by both parties; and amongst other forms of protest the Blenheimites held a monster meeting in an unfinished room in the Royal Oak Hotel, which was then in course of erection, at which they were harangued by their champions, and the fol-

lowing extract from Mr. Henry Dodson's speech on that memorable occasion will serve to show how bitterly his party resented this attempt to deprive their town of its political precedence. Mr. Dodson said:—"The object of the sheep farmers was to draw off the population from Blenheim to Picton so that a few scabby sheep might run on this plain, and the advance of small agriculturalists be retarded in the vicinity of their runs. They did not want a population near them, and it was well known that it was impossible for a small capitalist to buy land; he would be 'outbid if he attempted it.'" This vehement denunciation seems to suggest that Mr. Dodson was beginning to suspect that the sheepfarmers were not entirely disinterested in seeking separation from Nelson, but whether he was right in accusing them of such unworthy motives towards Blenheim is doubtful, for if there was any ulterior object behind Mr. Seymour's motion it is just as probable that the real scheme was not "to draw off the population from Blenheim," but to create an interest at Picton antagonistic to Blenheim, upon which they could rely for support in their future policy as a *quid pro quo* for keeping the Provincial Government at the sea-port.

The debate upon this momentous question was resumed on July 24th, when, as an

evidence that the electors had freely taken the matter into their consideration, Mr. Eyes presented a petition against the proposed removal of the buildings, signed by 260 persons, but he was outdone by Mr. Seymour, who brought with him eight separate documents, bearing 293 signatures, and the member for Picton was further backed up by Captain Baillie, who came down from the Wairau Valley with the names of 38 settlers favourable to the proposal. The presence of Mr. Elliott in the Council betokened that the Blenheim party were going to record every available vote against the threatened injustice to their town, and Mr. Elliott not only voted against it, but in a very sensible speech denounced the absurdity of spending a large sum of money upon buildings when there was so much need of better lines of communication between one part of the province and another. But all his eloquence and his arguments fell upon unprofitable ground, for the mind of every man was already made up as to how he should vote, and when the inevitable division was taken, it was found that Messrs. Ward, Baillie, Seymour, Adams and Godfrey favoured Picton becoming the capital of the province, while Messrs. Elliott, Sinclair and Dodson were Blenheim's disconsolate minority. For some reason Mr. Eyes declined to

record his vote, but the decision of the Council aroused his vehement and uncompromising hostility towards Picton, which displayed itself in many ways during the remainder of his public career; in fact, so marked was this antipathy at times, that Dr. Monro was, on one occasion, constrained to declare that the only explanation he could give for such conduct was that "the name of Picton operated on Mr. Eyes like a red rag upon a bull." To have the seat of Government brought back to Blenheim, was ever the main idea on which Mr. Eyes and his party concentrated all their thoughts and all their energies, and it seemed to them that any compact was justified, any opposition legitimate which might harass their opponents, or bring about a dissolution of the Council, so that in the chances of an election, fortune might favour them, and they would go back with a majority sufficient to turn the scales against Picton. If this fact is borne in mind it will furnish an explanation as to why there were so many dissolutions of the Marlborough Council, and why the various Superintendents held office for so short a time.

After the battle of the capital had been lost and won, the session proceeded in comparative peace until its close on September 18th. Then came a period of political quiescence for a few weeks, until the general election was

thrown as a bone of contention amongst the settlers. Since the granting of the constitution the Wairau had been worthily represented in the General Assembly by Mr. Weld, who was already recognised in the House as a man of commanding ability and great promise. His merits had justified Colonel Wynyard in associating him, in 1854, with the colony's first premier, Mr. James Edward Fitzgerald, and at the particular date at which our history has arrived he was serving as Minister for Native Affairs in Mr. Stafford's cabinet. Considering the prestige that was attached to Mr. Weld, his honesty of purpose, and untarnished record, it may appear surprising that on November 23rd, 1860, a requisition was in course of circulation for signature, asking Mr. Eyes to become a candidate for parliament in opposition to him, but the explanation was this. Owing to the enlargement of the Colonial Legislature the province had now become entitled to two representatives, and as a large section of the Wairau people desired to be represented by a resident settler, they suggested to Mr. Weld the propriety of standing for the new district, which had been created at Picton, but as the Stafford party were anxious to capture both seats, he declined to accede to the request. The Wairau electors then determined to put Mr. Eyes in opposition to

him, and although the matter was at first treated somewhat lightly by Mr. Weld's friends, the result of the poll proved that the desire to be represented by a local man outweighed Mr. Weld's colonial reputation, and he was defeated by the narrow majority of four votes*.

At the same time that Mr. Weld was defeated at the Wairau, Dr. Monro was elected, unopposed, to represent Picton, but only after Mr. Adams and other prominent residents had withdrawn their opposition on the understanding that the Doctor would not accept the Speakership of the House if it were offered to him. This stipulation was made because, on the retirement of Sir Charles Clifford from the chair, it had been freely stated in the press of the colony that Dr. Monro would be the Government candidate for the vacancy and the suggestion caused considerable opposition to his candidature in Picton, for it was felt there that a district represented by the Speaker was practically disfranchised, and in view of the fact that the Railway Bill would be coming before the House, the province could not afford to lose the benefit of its most influential member's advocacy. In conducting his election campaign Dr. Monro

* The Wairau thus lost the distinction of being represented by the Premier of the colony, for Mr. Weld was shortly after elected for Cheviot, and became Premier on the 24th of November, 1864, and held office until the 16th of October, 1865. Mr. Eyes supported the Fox party in the House, and it was on his vote that the Stafford Government were turned out of office.

appreciated the wisdom of meeting this objection, and consequently, when addressing the electors at Picton on the 29th of January, he took an early opportunity of referring to it, explaining that he had informed Mr. Stafford, who had approached him on the subject, that he would not put himself in nomination for the Speakership, and concluded by saying that "although the position was an honourable one, it would not suit his views, and therefore the province would not lose his vote if he were elected." On this understanding no other candidate was brought forward, but when Parliament assembled on June 3rd it was found that unforeseen circumstances had arisen which placed everyone concerned in a very embarrassing position. As a matter of fact no one so well qualified to fill the chair as Dr. Monro had been elected, and at the earnest solicitations of all parties he agreed to occupy the position which his constituents were given to understand he would not accept. This action on the part of Picton's representative has been most unreservedly condemned by some of his critics, and as the matter is one that directly concerns the province it is only due to the deceased Speaker that the whole of the facts, and not merely a part, should be clearly and explicitly stated. A careful survey of all the circumstances makes it abundantly evi-

dent that Dr. Monro was by no means unmindful of the promise he had given, and, short of actual resignation, he did all in his power to put himself right with his constituents, for on the day he was elected to the chair he despatched a letter to them, which was published in the *Marlborough Press* on June 22nd, wherein he describes the pressure brought to bear upon him from various quarters, and explains why he yielded to that pressure, and then proceeds to say :—

“ Now it is clear that the understanding upon which you elected me has been departed from by my acceptance of the office of Speaker, and this I cannot but regret. I believe, in the position which I occupy, I shall be able to serve you efficiently as a representative, but should you think otherwise and be dissatisfied with the step I have taken, I think it is but due to you to place your seat once more in your hands, and accordingly, if a majority of the Picton electors should signify to me their wish that I should retire from the representation of the district, I shall, so soon as this session is over, tender my resignation.”

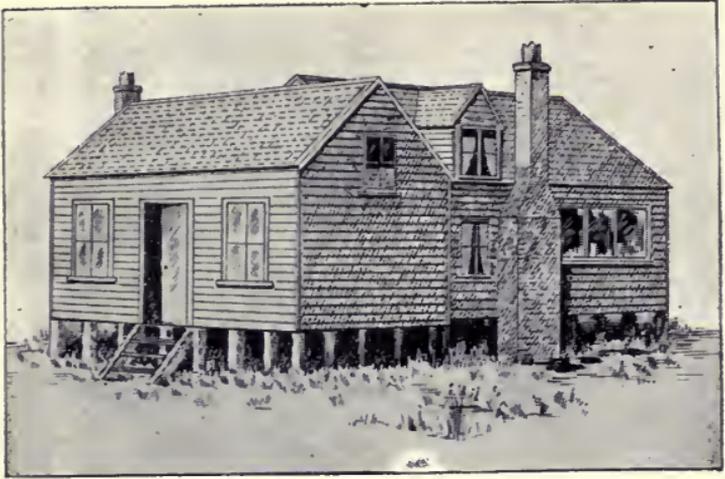
In the same issue of the *Press* in which the above appeared, the Editor bitterly assailed the Doctor for what he characterised as “ an unceremonious breaking of a pledge,” urging that by his action the province had been deprived of any advocate in the Assembly of the measures recommended by the Provincial Government and Council, amongst which by far the most important to the community was the Railway Bill. Four days before, a public



JAMES WHITE.



F. J. LITCHFIELD.



FIRST BOROUGH SCHOOL.
FRONT VIEW.



FIRST BOROUGH SCHOOL.
SIDE VIEW.

meeting had also been called, over which Mr. T. W. Downes presided, and at which it was resolved to request Dr. Monro to resign his seat forthwith, but whether this expression of want of confidence emanated only from a small section of the community, or whether the publication of the Speaker's letter forestalled the intentions of its promoters, does not appear, but no further steps were taken, and nothing was done to force the hand of their representative until he returned from Auckland at the termination of the session. Then he himself took the initiative by asking the electors to meet him on October 18th, when he proposed to discuss with them the events of the session. Over this meeting Mr. Downes also presided, and in the course of a very lengthy address Dr. Monro went fully into the circumstances that led him to accept the Speakership. His extenuation of his conduct was that when he had given them the pledge not to go into the Speaker's chair, he was under the impression that a certain gentleman would be returned for an Auckland constituency, and that the office would be conferred upon him. Unfortunately that gentleman had not been elected, but even then, as he had previously informed Mr. Stafford that he would not be a candidate for the Speakership, he did not expect to be again approached on the subject upon his arrival in Auckland.

“However, he was so approached, not only by the Ministry, but by members of all parties and by influential persons outside the House, and the matter was placed before him in such a way that on grounds of public duty he did not think it right any longer to refuse.”

He then proceeded to show that the interests of the district had not suffered by his occupancy of the chair, arguing that :

“While it was true he could not take part in the debates of the House, those who knew anything of the working of parliament were well aware that as many, if not more, questions were settled out of the House than in it, and the position of Speaker gave him access to official personages and a weight to his representations that an ordinary member did not possess.”

At the close of his address, which dealt exhaustively with the stirring political topics of the time, Dr. Monro again referred to his acceptance of the Speakership, and concluded by saying :

“He trusted they were satisfied that their interests had not suffered from the fact of his having been Speaker. At the same time he still admitted what he had never denied, that in taking that step he had violated a promise given when they had elected him, and he accordingly repeated that if it appeared to be the wish of a majority of the electors he would return into their hands the trust which they had done him the honour to repose in him.”

The candid and straightforward manner in which the Doctor dealt with the whole position is rather refreshing reading in these days of political fencing, and evidently it had its effect upon his audience, for at the termination of the speech Captain Baillie rose and

moved, "That having heard the explanation made by Dr. Monro respecting his taking the office of Speaker of the House of Representatives, this meeting feels fully satisfied with the course pursued, and now tenders to Dr. Monro sincere thanks for his valuable services." This motion was seconded by Captain Kenny, and on being put to the meeting, which was one of the largest ever held in Picton, it was declared by the chairman to be "carried unanimously."

From correspondence which was subsequently published in the *Press* it would appear that a section of the community were not satisfied with this mode of disposing of the matter, and a requisition was prepared for signature asking the Doctor to tender his resignation, but in the face of the complete and constitutional vindication tendered by the public meeting the agitation was a barren and abortive one, and Dr. Monro continued to represent Picton during the remainder of that Parliament. At the following general election, in 1866, he submitted himself to the choice of the Cheviot electors, by whom he was returned, and when the House assembled on June 30th, he was again elected to the Speaker's chair, a post which he honourably filled until September 13th, 1870.

While representing Picton the dignity of Knighthood was conferred upon him in re-

cognition of his services as Speaker, and when it was found that the circumstances of the Motueka petition precluded his occupancy of the chair for a third term, the House placed on record its appreciation of his integrity and impartiality, and presented an address to the Governor requesting that Her Majesty might be moved to confer upon Sir David some mark of Imperial approbation. After twenty-five years of active political life in the service of the colony, Sir David Monro retired to his home at Nelson to enjoy his hard earned rest, and ended his days there on February 15th, 1877, with all the laurels of an honoured and well tried public servant.

With the defeat of Mr. Weld and the arraignment of Dr. Monro, the year of 1861 was full of political interest for Marlborough, but it was also remarkable for the development of political intrigue, which was often responsible for the subordination of the public weal to private and party aims. This manifestation of local and personal bitterness evinced itself freely during the second session of the Provincial Council, which opened in the new chambers on April 17th. The address delivered by Mr. Adams dealt with many matters of importance, and satisfaction was expressed that schools had been opened at Picton and Renwick, but by far the most striking feature of the speech was the able

and elaborate manner in which the Superintendent argued out the advantages to be derived from the connection of Picton and Blenheim by rail, and the earnest manner in which he advocated the immediate prosecution of this work. All the members of the Council, except the Blenheim party, cordially endorsed the scheme propounded by Mr. Adams, and after the expert evidence of Mr. Dobson had been taken, Mr. Ward moved, "That the Superintendent be authorised to take the necessary steps for carrying out the undertaking." In accordance with this resolution Mr. Adams, shortly after the close of the session, proceeded to Auckland to promote the interests of the Picton Railway Bill, and in order to give that measure tangible form a select committee, consisting of Dr. Monro (Speaker), Messrs. Jollie, Eyes, Kettle, Carter, Wood, Wilson, A. J. Richmond, Saunders and Brandon, was set up in the House of Representatives on June 26th, 1861, to enquire into and report on the subject. Their report was favourable, and on August 6th Mr. A. J. Richmond, on behalf of the Speaker, moved the second reading of the Picton Railway Bill. In doing so he explained that it was a measure empowering the Superintendent, with the sanction of the Provincial Council, to construct the line, provided the work was not begun until the Government Auditor was

satisfied that ample provision had been made for defraying its cost. To overcome this difficulty the Provincial Council had, during its recent session, passed a Loan Bill for £60,000, and as a further indication of the public desire for the work, he referred to the petition which had been presented to the House, containing the names of 325 residents of the province, likewise to the magnificent harbour of Picton, and begged the House to think twice before they rejected the Bill, "as the settlers would consider the railway a very great boon in affording them facilities for getting their goods to and from the port." As the measure had emanated from the Picton party, Mr. Eyes, as a member for Blenheim, was duty-bound to oppose it, and his opposition took the form of an amendment that the Bill be read that day six months. In support of this view he found fault with the composition and the report of the select committee, as well as with several irregularities which he alleged had disfigured their proceedings. He then went on to urge the unjustifiable nature of the work, contending that a road sufficient for all purposes could be made for £10,000, as against an expenditure of £60,000 required for the railway, and he objected to the province being saddled with this liability, as there was neither population or trade sufficient to justify the outlay, there being only about

1700 persons in the province, and the export of wool was not more than 2000 bales, nor likely to exceed 2500 for many years to come. Parliament, however, was in a more progressive mood than Mr. Eyes, and by August 28th the Bill was passed through all its stages. For what followed it is difficult to say who was most responsible, but the fact remains that the Fox Government "disallowed" the Loan Bill, and reserved the Railway Bill for the Royal assent, at the same time "not recommending" that this assent be given. It may be that in pursuing this course the Ministry were performing what they conceived to be their duty, but as Dr. Monro, who was in charge of the Bills, was their strong political opponent, and Mr. Eyes was as strongly their supporter, they were very generally credited at the time with a greater anxiety to please a political friend by killing the Bills* than to oblige an opponent by allowing them

* The Railway Bill was not assented to by Her Majesty, and in 1863, on the motion of Sir D. Monro, the sum of £487 11s. 6d was voted to reimburse the province for the expense incurred in passing it. Sir David strongly commented upon the conduct of the Government, questioning their right to advise the Imperial authorities to "disallow" the Bill. Mr. Fox, in reply, stated that the Provincial Government had not complied with the conditions laid down by the Colonial Office. In 1863 another Provincial Loan Bill was passed, and again "disallowed," and an indignation meeting was called at Picton to protest against such ungenerous treatment. In 1865 the Last Railway Bill was passed, and a loan was sanctioned by the General Government, provided a sufficient quantity of land was set aside by the province, the disposal of which would be sufficient in itself to insure the reimbursement of the loan within a given period. The only other condition imposed was a satisfactory proof that the work could be completed for the amount asked for. The line was not constructed under this arrangement, but everything having been prepared in the meantime by Mr. Dobson, C.E., it was, at the solicitation of Messrs. Seymour and Eyes, the first work put in hand under the Public Works Policy of 1876, Mr. Eyes having relinquished his opposition since the cost of construction was no longer to be a provincial charge.

to acquire the force of law. But before Mr. Adams' favourite project had been sanctioned by a friendly Parliament and killed by a hostile Government, his career as Superintendent had come to an end under circumstances which must have been exceedingly annoying to him and equally exasperating to his enemies. When he was in Auckland in 1859 presenting the petition praying for separation, he had accepted the office of Commissioner for Crown Lands, and the fact that he held this place of emolument in conjunction with the Superintendency excited the displeasure of the Fox Government, who were secretly making arrangements to confer the office upon one of their own friends, the position being a colonial appointment, although the salary was provided by the province. It is said that the new certificate of appointment was actually engrossed, but before it could be issued Mr. Adams became aware of what was going on, and promptly wrote to the Governor, explaining that as he understood the Government considered it incompatible that he should be both Superintendent and Commissioner of Crown Lands he would resign from the former position forthwith, and on July 20th the office of Superintendent of Marlborough was vacant. In this way Mr. Adams cleverly circumvented the scheme of his opponents, and kept the most desirable

office to himself. In deciding to take this step Mr. Adams abandoned a position for which he was eminently suited, possessing as he did a comprehensive grasp of the principles of government, and a practical mind to apply them to local circumstances. He had no fancy ideas about the administration of public affairs, but he looked upon the province simply as a huge estate which should be managed on sound business lines, and in the discharge of this duty he brought to bear considerable commercial knowledge, as well as an honesty of purpose which not even his most virulent opponent could impeach. His mistakes were due to his surroundings rather than to an inherent desire to be unfair, and if we except his administration of the Crown Lands, it will be found that the province had received a wonderful incentive under his guidance, and that there had been an immense improvement in all directions compared with the condition of affairs under the Nelson Government, and for this reason Mr. Adams' resignation was an event deeply to be regretted.

As the province had now been enjoying its independence for nearly two years, it is fitting that we should here briefly summarise the chief results of separation, with a view to showing how far the anticipations of its projectors had been justified. When Mr. Adams

was stating his case to the Colonial Executive, in 1859, he was sanguine enough to estimate that the annual revenue of the new province would amount to £18,125, and the expenditure he computed at £17,432. These calculations were more than borne out by actual results, for the financial year, which expired on June 30th, 1861, closed with a revenue of £25,904 4s. 1d., while the expenditure only amounted to £18,946 16s. 2d., or a genuine surplus of nearly £7000, of which £500 had been saved on the official departments alone. Thus every prospect seemed bright, and there were none who bemoaned the change, for while the revenue kept up, public works were vigorously pushed on, a sum of £16,835 being spent in improving the lines of communication throughout the district. It is only when we come to analyse the sources from whence this overflowing revenue was derived* that we see the other side of the picture, and realise to the full the disastrous and unfair nature of the land policy which was being pursued. The official returns of that day speak in unmistakable language, and show that since separation all classes of land, except the pastoral country, had risen in average value, some slightly, and some enormously. Town acres, which

* As showing how the public estate was being parted with it is worthy of note that from November 1st, 1859, to June 30th, 1861, the revenue derived from territorial sources amounted to £24,221 11s. 8d., while from the ordinary sources only £1,682 12s. 5d. was collected.

were formerly assessed at £17 10s. by the Nelson Government were now valued at £97 7s.; suburban land had risen from 16s. to £2 14s. 8d.; rural sections were advanced by only 2s. 2d., but the pastoral runs dropped from 5s. 10d. to 5s. There is also a curious feature to be noted with reference to the apparent advance in the price of rural land, of which some 9,021 acres had been sold, 4,021 acres to small settlers, and 5000 on the Awatere and Kaikoura runs. Of this latter area not an acre was sold at more than 10s., the minimum price allowed by law, but to the agricultural farmers the maximum of 20s. per acre was charged on more than half the land they purchased. During Mr. Adams' Superintendency 109,500 acres of pastoral country were alienated to sheep-farmers at less than had previously been paid to the Nelson Government, and if we make even a moderate computation of the difference between the Nelson and Marlborough prices for rural and pastoral land, it is only too clear that one of the chief results of separation up to this time was that the pastoralists had benefitted to the extent of £4700, while the agriculturalists had been penalised to the tune of £1100.

On the resignation of Mr. Adams, Mr. Cyrus Goulter, who was Speaker of the Council and treasurer in the Executive, acted *ex officio* as Superintendent until the next

sitting of the Council, which took place on the 28th of the following August. After reading the proclamation calling them together, Mr. Goulter informed the members of what had happened since they last met, and announced that the first business was the election of a Superintendent. The followers of Mr. Adams were naturally anxious that one of their own party should succeed him; but when the Council assembled, owing to a sudden disorganisation in their ranks, they were not prepared to put their man in nomination, and an adjournment was therefore arranged, during which an understanding was arrived at, with the result that when the Council re-opened Mr. Adams rose to his feet, and after referring to the "soldier-like bearing" of Captain Baillie, proposed him as a fit and proper person to act as Superintendent. This was duly seconded, and in a few minutes Captain Baillie found himself elected as the second Superintendent of Marlborough. Captain Baillie was a descendant of an old Scottish family, who many generations before had settled in County Down, Ireland, and whose members had seen considerable service in the Imperial Army. His father had been at Waterloo with the 23rd Fusiliers, his grandfather at the battle of Minden, and Captain Baillie, as an ensign, had been through the Indian Mutiny with Lord Gough and Sir

Colin Campbell. After the battle of Chillian Wallah, at which his regiment was fearfully cut-up, Ensign Baillie returned to England and obtained his captaincy in 1854, sailing in 1857 for Nelson in the ship "Oriental." In the same year he commenced sheep-farming at Erina, and it was while living there that he entered upon his long political career* as one of the representatives of the Wairau Valley in conjunction with Mr. Adams.

The third session of the Provincial Council was opened on September 24th, but beyond appointing Mr. Adams as legal adviser to the Council, attempting to raise the Superintendent's salary by £200, and passing an Education Act, it was practically barren of results, and was brought to a sudden termination partly by the resignation of the Blenheim trio, because they could not carry a vote for improving the accommodation at Gouland's Ferry, and partly because a serious flood came down which necessitated the remaining Councillors leaving their legislative duties to attend to their temporal affairs. After a recess of a few days the Council was again summoned for the transaction of business on October 15th, and although Messrs. Sinclair, Eyes and Dodson had previously tendered their resigna-

* Captain Baillie was called to the Legislative Council on March 8th, 1861. He has been Chairman of Committees for over 16 years, and is now the senior member of the Council.

tions, they again appeared in their places in the Council, and straightway began to get even with Mr. Adams for removing the seat of Government from Blenheim by indulging in some extraordinary cross voting, which resulted in a reduction of that gentleman's provincial emoluments by £160, and an increase in Mr. Goulter's by £40. In consequence of this ungenerous treatment Mr. Adams resigned from Captain Baillie's Executive, and in August 1862, realising that serving the public was a somewhat thankless task, he retired from the Crown Lands Office and went to Nelson to establish the legal firm of Adams and Kingdon, and thus the province lost the services of a gentleman* who was one of the most far-seeing, broad-minded and upright administrators of its public affairs. His successor as Commissioner of Crown Lands was Captain Kenny, a gentleman of very high character, and now a member of the Legislative Council. But the event for which the Superintendency of Captain Baillie was most remarkable was the opening of what is known as the Opawa Breach. Before the end of 1861 the Opawa River as we now see it did not exist, and where it is crossed by the extensive railway bridge, it was spanned by a structure about forty feet

* Long prior to his retirement from office, Mr. Adams had acquired a pastoral run on the north bank of the Wairau River, where he afterwards died in 1884. His grave, hewn out of the solid rock, on the site of an old Maori fighting *pah* at Langley Dale, is one of the most picturesque spots in Marlborough.

long, built of white pine saplings with slabs pegged on top of them for a decking. Some idea may be formed of the size and importance of this work when we mention that it was originally built by Mr. Attwood, one of the earliest settlers in the Wairau, at a cost of £11, at a time when the wages of a mechanic were over 20s. per day. There are many theories advanced as to the origin of this unfortunate breach, and tales are told of how a shepherd cut a trench to keep his sheep back, and of another who led the water of the river into a sheep-dip. The true cause is more likely to have been the burning and removal of scrub from the flats, thus giving the water a clear course over the level land, when it rose above the ordinary bank. The rush of water soon scoured away the soft sandy surface, and once obtaining a hold upon the shingle, cut out the present river-bed with terrific rapidity. But whatever may have been the primary cause, the result was that the waters of the Wairau broke through and invaded the lower portion of the plain, which has ever since been periodically flooded. Reference was made to this misfortune in the Superintendent's speech to the Council on its opening in March, 1862, and the measures taken by the Executive to grapple with this new difficulty appeared to be the best that human ingenuity could devise. They em-

ployed the highest engineering talent to be obtained in the Australasian colonies, and when Mr. Fitzgibbon, the engineer selected, came from Queensland, he suggested that the most likely method by which the water could be turned back into its original course, was to place upon the river-bed a line of "crib" work composed of logs, and filled with large stones. This system of protection was carried out under the supervision of Mr. Dobson, the Provincial Engineer, according to the plan suggested by Mr. Fitzgibbon, at a cost of between £13,000 and £14,000. Before the work had been completed many days, it received its first and last great test. The river rose in flood, it mounted over the top of this pile of logs and stones, it undermined the foundations, and in a few hours the whole structure was demolished. Such was the ignominious end of one of the greatest engineering enterprises ever undertaken in the province, an end which, it is needless to say, has shaken the public faith in the skill of engineers ever since. The failure to check the inrush of water down the Opawa was a two-fold disaster. Not only did floods follow fast upon each other, but this enormous drain upon the provincial exchequer had a fatal effect upon the public works of the province, and there are settlers to-day, as there were then, to whom this ex-



BOROUGH SCHOOL.

DESTROYED BY FIRE, SEPTEMBER 26, 1888.



HIGH STREET, 1870.



J. MACK HUTCHESON.



GEORGE HENDERSON.

penditure would be welcome in the construction of roads and bridges.

Towards 1862 it was evident that an appreciable increase in the provincial population was taking place, the electors on the rolls numbering 516 as against 164 in 1859, and in view of this increase Mr. Seymour, on the last day of the fourth session, moved for leave to introduce a Bill to enlarge the number of representatives in the Council, but the measure was not pressed beyond its second reading, its further consideration being deferred "to give time for a careful analysis of the roll, and to enable members to apportion the extra number of representatives according to the electors in each district." The sequel to this was that property and not people received representation in the Council, for the Blenheim party saw in this re-distribution of seats an excellent opportunity to increase their strength in order that they might be able to turn the tables against Picton, and so they set assiduously to work to secure greater, even if unfair, representation for the southern districts. As the Bill was introduced by Captain Baillie, it proposed to give the Wairau Valley, Awatere and Clarence one representative to every twenty-four electors, and in the other constituencies one to every forty-one. But liberal as this treatment seemed to be, it did not satisfy Mr. Eyes, who declared

during the debate that "he did not think the number of electors only should be regarded ; property should also be represented." With this as their cue Messrs. Sinclair, McRae and Ward each in turn demanded an additional member for the pastoral districts, and, aided by Mr. Dodson, in committee, they gave the Awatere, Wairau Valley and Clarence the absurd proportion of one representative to every twelve electors, Blenheim and the Lower Wairau one to every thirty-six, and the districts nearer Picton one to every forty-five. In thus conferring such unequal representation upon the pastoral constituencies, we do not believe for a moment that Messrs. Sinclair and Dodson did so because they acquiesced in the policy of the sheep-farmers to secure cheap land for themselves, for their natural inclinations and political interests were all the other way, but their connection with the incident was simply one of those curious coalitions which were constantly being formed in the hope of filling the Council with men who would desire to see the seat of Government removed back to Blenheim, and who would vote according to their desires. Nor were they long before they had an opportunity of testing the efficacy of their scheme, for Mr. John Godfrey was so annoyed at the desertion of the Picton party by Mr. Ward that he there and then decided to adopt a

course which he hoped might result in a judgment upon the member for Clarence. Mr. Eyes was approached by Mr. Godfrey, another of these curious compacts, with the suggestion that if he and his party would support a motion to add the cost of surveying Crown Land to the upset price paid by the purchaser, instead of being paid out of the provincial funds, he, on his part, would assist them to bring about a dissolution of the Council, and so precipitate a general election in which he charitably hoped Mr. Ward might be defeated. Having got the representation question settled to his liking, an election was the only thing Mr. Eyes required to make him supremely happy; he therefore agreed to Mr. Godfrey's terms, Mr. Dodson moving the motion relative to the survey fees, which was carried*, and next day the estimates were upset and a resolution adopted requesting the Governor to dissolve the Council at the same time that he gave his assent to the Council Enlargement Bill. As this was practically a vote of "no confidence," the Superintendent and his Executive tendered their resignations, but the Governor refused to accept Captain Baillie's resignation on the grounds that the public convenience required his retention of office until his successor was elected; and so the Councillors went to the

* The result of this change was to add about £1200 per annum to the provincial revenue.

country to once more fight out the all-important question of Blenheim *versus* Picton.

The constitution of the Council was now enlarged to seventeen members, and its *personnel* was considerably changed by the introduction of nine new politicians, most of whom seemed to favour a change in the seat of government, but they were not yet to reap the full fruits of their victory, for although all the members had been declared "duly elected" Captain Baillie had the best of reasons for supposing that the election of Messrs. Sinclair and Williams for the Upper Wairau was somewhat irregular, and he decided not to give his opponents a chance of carrying their point until a Judge of the Supreme Court had an opportunity of saying whether these elections were valid or not. But apart from the issue of where the provincial capital should be, there was another cause operating to bring Captain Baillie's Superintendency to an end. Having lost his old Executive through Mr. Ward's coalition with the Blenheim party, and Mr. Goulter not being re-elected, he appointed Messrs. John Godfrey and Keene in their stead. The result was a great blow to the sheep-farmers, for Mr. Godfrey at once attacked the "convenient system" of assessing all pastoral land at a uniform value, and before the next land sale was held a proper assessment was

made by Messrs. Baillie, Kenny and Godfrey, which resulted in a handsome increase to the revenue and a corresponding benefit to the public. But this policy naturally gave offence in certain quarters, because if it was allowed to continue, the days of cheap land were numbered, and when the new Council met on September 20th, 1862, it was clear that any hostile motion would be carried against the Superintendent. But Mr. John Godfrey, who was now a co-representative of Picton with Mr. Seymour, had carefully studied the Constitution Act, and there he found that the Superintendent had power to prorogue the Council at his own pleasure. This point he placed before his chief as a means by which he could hold the enemy at bay until the validity of the Upper Wairau elections could be tested. Accordingly, when the formal business of opening the Council had been disposed of, Captain Baillie astonished his friends and confounded his enemies by reading from a document that in pursuance of the powers vested in him by Clause 16 of the Constitution Act, he declared the Council prorogued. This step was as a "bolt from the blue" to those members who had come with appetites keen for a change of administration, and for a time they allowed their feelings to get the better of their judgment. Hotly resenting the action of the Superintendent

they proceeded with great ceremony to elect Mr. Gouland, Speaker, and Mr. Eyes, Superintendent, but when they returned next day they found the door of the Council Chamber locked and a notice on the door: "No admittance except on business," and as the constable in charge was a staunch Pictonite, they could not persuade him that their business was either pressing or legitimate, and so they adjourned to the bar of James' Tasmanian Hotel, where they harangued a crowd upon their own provincial virtues and their opponents' political vices; but although shut out from the place and symbols of office, Mr. Eyes asserted himself by publishing a Gazette and issuing his instructions to the provincial servants; but after a month's ineffectual effort to convince them that he was master, he called his party together at the Blenheim courthouse, and there on October 23rd he announced that owing to his peculiar and anomalous position he had been unable to bring any measures before them for their consideration, and under the circumstances he thought it better to prorogue the Council and seek their remedy in the Supreme Court. Thus their infant Council expired almost as quickly as it had been born, but for months the machinery of the law was kept busily in motion. Documents were passing between the contending lawyers in Picton and Wel-

lington, and, in the absence of other means, they were often sent from Te Awaiti across the Strait in a whale boat. At length, after six months' delay, during which time the provincial officers received no salary, and all public works were stopped, Judge Johnston delivered his judgment in favour of Captain Baillie, but as the Blenheim party threatened to appeal against His Honor's decisions, it was felt that the intolerable state of affairs which had prevailed for so long could not continue, and to terminate the deadlock the Governor once more dismissed the Council, and sent its members back to their constituents. The result of the election which followed in 1863, was a reverse to the Blenheim party, they being in a minority of five, but it was not deemed expedient that Captain Baillie should continue as Superintendent, so he quietly passed into the serenity of the Speaker's chair and left the Council to wrangle over the choice of his successor. During his term of office 51,410 acres of pastoral land were sold at an average of 5s. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. per acre, which, compared with the Nelson price of 5s. 10d., means that the province lost £1660, a result for which Captain Baillie was not so much responsible as the party with whom he worked during the greater part of his administration; for he made an honest effort to bring about more equitable conditions so soon as he

secured advisers whose ideas were mutual with his own, and to him belongs the credit of first establishing a proper assessment of land irrespective of the class of settler who was to occupy it. His fitness for the office of Superintendent, and the public esteem in which he was held have been admirably epitomised by a writer in the *Marlborough Press*, and we cannot do better in closing this reference to Captain Baillie, than by quoting the correspondent who says of him: "His honourable and gentlemanly conduct on all occasions, with his soldier-like firmness in standing to a point of duty, recommended him as one to whom we could well trust the office of greatest responsibility amongst us."

The staff of provincial officers at this time was not very large. At the inception of the province Mr. Alfred Dobson had been Provincial Engineer and Chief Surveyor, but this arrangement was found inconvenient, and in 1861 he was given his choice of offices, when he decided to retain that of Provincial Engineer. The vacancy thus created was filled by Mr. H. G. Clarke, the late Chief Surveyor and Commissioner of Crown Lands, assisted by Mr. Pickering. The clerk in the Land Office was Mr. John Allen, the present Stipendiary Magistrate; who, on the retirement of Mr. Adams from the Commissionership of Lands, was appointed Collector of

Customs at Picton, and his position was filled by the promotion of Mr. J. J. White, who virtually held the same office until his retirement in 1891. The clerk to his Honor the Superintendent was Mr. Jeffray, and, afterwards, Mr. Leonard Stowe, now Clerk of Parliaments and Clerk to the Legislative Council, acted in this capacity.

In casting about for a new Superintendent, the Council looked for one who was known to be sound on the question of retaining Picton as the provincial capital, and ultimately their choice fell upon Mr. Thomas Carter, a comparatively new politician, who had been returned to represent the Wairau Valley, where a few years before he had taken up the Hillersden run. Mr. Carter took office on March 25th, 1863, with Captain Baillie, Mr. Goulter and Mr. H. Godfrey as his Executive, Mr. Goulter being once more appointed to his old portfolio as Provincial Treasurer. When Mr. Carter came into power, the farming industry was in a very backward state, mainly from two causes. The provincial revenue had risen to £40,000, and a great deal of this money was spent upon public works. The prices obtained by contractors were high, and naturally men preferred to work upon the roads, where the pay was large and sure, than to follow an avocation so uncertain in its results as farming. Amongst

other items, there was a sum of £4000 spent in completing the work at the Opawa Breach. Against this expenditure the Superintendent forcibly protested, believing that the work would never stand, but he was outvoted by the Council, who considered that the scheme would not get a fair trial unless it was completed according to Mr. Fitzgibbon's plans. To put a check upon what he regarded as a reckless waste of money, and to restrain the clamour for public expenditure upon this breach, Mr. Carter passed what was called the Opawa Breach Bill, whereby all moneys spent in future upon this work were to be charged upon the land benefitted, and the owners had to pay a special tax by way of interest thereon. This was virtually the principle of the more recent Betterment Bill, and it effectually put a stop to the expenditure by which a few men would have rapidly amassed large sums of money. Another circumstance which militated against the active prosecution of the farming industry, and which also contributed towards the high prices paid for contract work, was the breaking out of the Wakamarina diggings in April, 1864. From odd pieces of gold which had been found in some of the creeks as early as 1860, it was suspected that there might be a considerable gold-bearing area of country north of the Wairau River, and with the knowledge

before them of what had been done in Otago by the discovery of gold, the Provincial Council offered a bonus of £500 to anyone who could discover a payable field. A few parties had been out prospecting, but as yet with no appreciable result. But one morning as the Superintendent was riding through the Pelorus Valley on his way to Nelson, he met Messrs. Wilson and Rutland preparing a "Long Tom," by which the gold in those days was saved. They informed him that they had tried the bed of the Wakamarina River with satisfactory results, and they believed that with more improved appliances they could make excellent wages. About half a mile further on Mr. Carter met Mr. Cleyne and party felling trees and widening the road. They said nothing to him about looking for gold, and this fact had an important bearing upon the claims they afterwards made for the bonus offered by the Council. On his return from Nelson the Superintendent was informed that an exceedingly rich field had been discovered, and already signs of a "rush" on a considerable scale were making themselves apparent. There were, of course, no tracks to the scene of operations, but a good road was soon made, and everything was done by the Council to develop the field; Mr. Carter, who had the advantage of some practical experience

on the Californian diggings, attending to many of the details on the field in person. Lieut. Kinnersly, a retired naval officer, was appointed Warden, and Inspector Morton, of the Otago police, supervised the observance of law and order. The news of the discovery soon spread, and attracted diggers from all parts of New Zealand, and even from Australia, until the population had reached the number of three thousand souls. The field proved to be one of the richest ever discovered in the colony, and at the same time it was essentially a "poor man's" diggings, as most of the gold was picked up out of the crevices in the rocks. No absolutely complete statement can be given of the amount of gold won from the bed of this river, as many of the successful miners left the field, taking their treasure with them; but this much is certain, that in the month of June, 1864, the "City of Hobart," the "Otago" and the "Albion" left the harbour of Picton with 3393 oz. on board. In the following month the "Auckland" took away 2256 oz., and in the next September the "Claud Hamilton" shipped 961 oz., the total export of gold from the field in the first year being 24,838 oz., and in the following year an additional 8000 oz. were sent away, the total value of which has been computed at over £130,000.

Owing to the influx of diggers, and those

dependent upon them, the population of the province doubled itself in 1864, reaching the total of 5519 souls, while the agricultural and pastoral industries had so far improved that there were now 8189 acres in crop, of which the Wairau alone supplied 5846. There were also in the province 2735 horses, 7483 head of cattle, and the sheep despasturing upon the runs numbered 456,374. The Wakamarina field was soon deserted by the majority of the miners, who migrated to the West Coast, but ever since a few persons have been "fossicking" about, and company after company have expended their capital in trying to bottom the "Gorge," one of the most remarkable claims in New Zealand. It is estimated that fully £30,000 have been spent in these attempts to test the value of this claim, about which there has been so much speculation, but the profitless nature of the undertakings may be judged from the fact that the company which did succeed in bottoming it secured 34 oz. at an expenditure of £9000. Both Wilson and party and Cleyne and party claimed the Council's bonus for the discovery of the field, but from what Mr. Carter saw and knew of the two parties on the morning that he went to Nelson, he concluded that Cleyne and his mates, having become aware of Wilson's luck, had slipped over the hill and started work in the river bed higher up. Under these circum-

stances the bonus was granted to Wilson and Rutland, but some concessions were extended to Cleyne.*

After the subsidence of the gold rush, the questions of the "unemployed" and provincial finance began to give the Superintendent and his Executive serious concern. Relief was found for the former by the formation of a road over the Avondale Saddle, and considerable improvements were made in the line of communication between Blenheim and Spring Creek on what was then called the "Sand Hills" Road, in front of Mr. Louis Dodson's present house. The question of finance, however, was more complicated, for the sources of revenue were extremely limited and to some extent precarious. They consisted mainly of the proceeds derived from land sales, which of course was a fluctuating amount, publicans' and auctioneers' licenses, which returned about £600 per year, and a proportion up to three-eighths of the total Customs duties collected at their own ports. At this latter point there was a considerable leakage in the Marlborough revenue, for which the province has never received proper consideration. During the time this arrangement was in existence, there was no direct

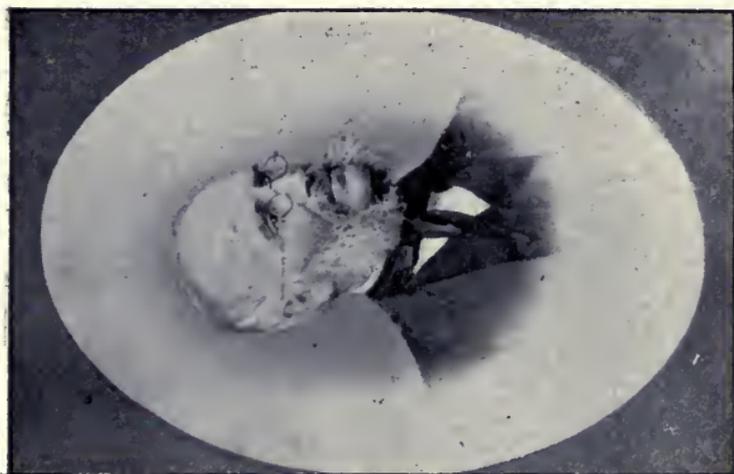
* On the 25th of May, 1888, the Warden reported to the Minister for Mines that payable gold had been found in Cullen's Creek by Jackson and party, the discovery resulting in the rush to Mahakipawa. Shortly afterwards gold was found in the Waikakaho Creek on the Wairau side of the range, but except in Hart's Claim no gold of any consequence was found.

shipping to Picton, and consequently nearly all the dutiable articles used by Marlborough people were landed and paid duty either at Nelson or Wellington. Thus these centres, being the first ports of call, received nearly the whole of Marlborough's rightful Customs revenue, roughly estimated at £90,000. Later on, this system was abolished by Mr. Stafford, who, on having the anomaly pointed out to him, agreed to pay Marlborough's share of Customs duties on a population basis. The subject of revenue, however, was one of increasing anxiety to the provincial authorities, and Mr. Carter saw that before long something must be done, or a crisis must be faced. Yet another question had also to be considered, into which that of finance was firmly dovetailed, and that was the insecure tenure enjoyed by the occupants of the pastoral country. A freehold was their only safe title, and if a sheep-farmer could not afford to buy the whole of his run, he was in constant dread that someone with more capital than himself would come in and buy the land over his head. In self-defence the pastoralists adopted the injurious but natural policy of buying their runs, and most of them ruined themselves in the attempt, while others "gridironed" the frontage in such a way as to protect the remainder of their country. How to give the sheep-farmers a

class of tenure in which they could feel confidence, without compelling them to sink their all in the purchase, and at the same time to secure to the province an assured revenue, was the dual problem that Mr. Carter felt it his duty to solve. This he attempted to do by drafting a new set of land regulations, giving the occupier the right to lease for a long term of years. For the purposes of greater secrecy, these regulations were printed in Nelson, but by some means their purport had been ferreted out by Mr. John Godfrey, who delighted in dethroning one king and setting up another. By the time the printed copies had reached the hands of the Executive he had succeeded in raising such a storm of indignation against this policy of leasing on the terms proposed by Mr. Carter, that the Government deemed it prudent not to ask the Council to seriously consider it. The project was thus allowed to lapse, and Mr. Carter, finding his political troubles increasing and his private business growing more pressing, resigned the Superintendency on July 30th, 1864. But although Mr. Carter no longer led the Council, he did not relinquish all political responsibility, continuing to represent his district, and was seldom off the Executive until the abolition of Provincial Government. He was a man who in public affairs was slow of thought and deliberate of action, but he



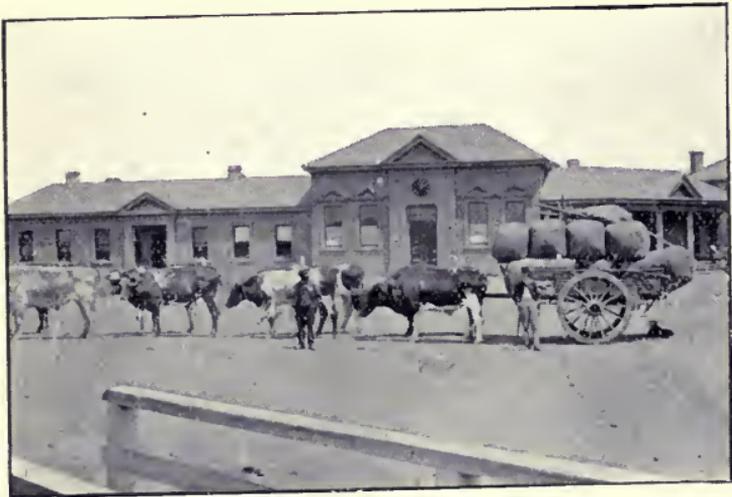
HENRY DODSON.



JOSEPH WARD.



FIRST PROVINCIAL BUILDINGS.



PROVINCIAL BUILDINGS, 1876.

was most thorough in his attention to the work of administration, and displayed that carefulness, shrewdness, and insistence on detail that, no doubt, went to assure his success as Superintendent, as well as to make him the largest landholder and the wealthiest man in the province at the time of his death.

The choice of the Council for the new Superintendent fell upon Mr. Arthur Penrose Seymour, who had come to the province as a young man. He had first settled on the Wakefield Downs in the Awatere, and then took up the Tyntesfield run. He had also been a member of all the previous Councils. His troubles as Superintendent began almost as soon as he took office, for he had taken into his Executive some men who, either personally or politically, were distasteful to a great many of the Council. The feeling of irritation caused thereby made itself manifest in many ways, and it required all the tact and skill of Mr. Seymour to hold his own.

In addition to this, there was a new trouble from an old source. The Opawa River, which had been flooding the district since the outbreak of the "breach," threatened to leave its bed and commit fresh havoc at a place now known as "Leary's Breach." The Council saw that if this occurred it would result in great disaster to the town of Blen-

heim and the agricultural district surrounding it, and they at once set to work to check its course. Their first scheme, carried out under the supervision of Mr. Sullivan, was to build up wooden crates, composed of birch saplings securely bolted together and filled with coarse gravel. These were set at different points of the river bed, and the remainder of the distance was covered by a wattle fence three feet high, backed up on both sides by big boulders. But this shared no better fate than the "crib" work recommended by Mr. Fitzgibbon at the Opawa Breach. They were either washed away in the flood or smothered over with the shingle, the net result being that about £1500 was spent, and the depredations of the water were still unchecked. The most disastrous flood ever experienced in the valley took place during the month of February, 1868. At the time many people supposed that this phenomenal deluge was due to the bursting of waterspouts far back in the ranges, but the clearing away from the hillsides of the vegetation, which previously held the water in check, together with the unusual severity of the rain storm, are sufficient to account for the inundation without supposing any such exceptional combination of the elements. For twenty hours the rain descended in increasing torrents from the South East, and then, as

sometimes happens, the wind suddenly changed to the North West, and for another day the leaden clouds poured out their contents upon the saturated plain. By Sunday morning the rivers were full, and by evening the valley was flooded. From hill to hill there stretched an unbroken sheet of water, which swept on towards the sea, carrying upon its bosom the dead and drowning sheep, the ripened corn sheaves, and even the goods and chattels of the water-logged farmers. These were afterwards strewn upon the beach as far as Robin Hood Bay, together with huge trunks of black birch trees, which had been torn up by the roots and hurled into the surging flood. Prior to this no black birch wood had ever been found amongst the furniture of the beach by the early settlers who went to the shore of Cloudy Bay to collect their fuel; but the vast quantities of it deposited many miles from the localities where it grew, is a startling evidence of the devastation wrought by the 1868 flood.

After the failure of the crib and crate work to curb the rivers, the next experiment was an idea of Mr. Seymour's, namely, to fill iron tanks with stones and build them up after the fashion of a breakwater. To carry out this conception the "Lyttelton" was chartered to bring a cargo of tanks from Wellington, the local supply not being sufficient; but after another

considerable expenditure of labour and money, this system of protection proved to be as valueless as its predecessors. These tanks were placed near the mainland, and to illustrate the havoc the Opawa River was creating at this point, we may mention that a few years after, when the stream had been turned by Mr. Redwood's dam, they were discovered a quarter of a mile out in the river-bed. Finding that all these efforts had failed, some of the settlers approached the Council and offered to build an embankment to protect their properties on condition that they were subsidised either in land or money. The result of these negotiations was the erection of the "Seymour Embankment," settlers receiving £500 worth of land on the Tynesfield run, which they afterwards sold to Mr. Seymour. This embankment was the last protective work undertaken by the Provincial Council. On March 25th, 1874, the Spring Creek Rivers Board was formed, and in the following May the Lower Wairau Rivers Board received its constitution. Then Mr. William Douslin came upon the scene with his "log dam." Mr. Douslin was a gentleman of great energy, of an inventive turn of mind, and possessed an implicit faith in the merit of his own inventions. He had conceived the idea that a log chained between two piles firmly driven into the bed of the

river would successfully turn the water in any direction desired, and it is needless to say that he lost no time in bringing the invention under the notice of the newly-formed Rivers Board. One of these dams had been tried at the Hutt River, and Mr. Douslin had received an encouraging letter from Sir James Hector on the subject, and this, together with Mr. Douslin's own sanguine opinions, induced the Rivers Board to try the experiment, and they put in dams at Rock Ferry and Leary's Breach, spending altogether £1200 on this class of work. The result was as disappointing as all previous efforts to control this natural force. Huge holes were gouged out of the river bed, but the water still pursued the even tenor of its way. For many years river matters went on in this unsatisfactory manner, and the problem was as far from being solved as ever, when Mr. Charles Redwood propounded a scheme of pile and wire dams. Then the battle of the dams was waged with Trojanic force. Mr. Redwood, in true Redwoodian style, denounced the log dam as an unmitigated farce, and Mr. Douslin replied in terms equally scathing, but so desperate had the situation become that the Board was ready to try any new proposal, in the hope that something beneficial might be the outcome. Mr. Redwood obtained permission to spend £300 upon

his pile and wire dam at Leary's Breach. At this time the disposition of the water was such that the Opawa River had to carry more than its full share, but the first flood after the erection of this dam effectually changed the situation. So complete was the success that where an irresistible current had carried all before it, a bank containing thousands of tons of shingle had blocked the channel, and from that day the problem of diverting the water was solved. What the wire dams have done can be witnessed by anyone who chooses to visit the site of Leary's Breach. The land they have reclaimed, the old channels they have stopped, are still to be seen, and although it cannot be claimed for them that they have abolished floods, they have at least put an effectual check upon the disastrous inroads of the river. Other smaller dams were tried at various places along the river bank with equal success, and when the Rivers Board was confident that it had at last command of something that would effectually serve its purpose, it again turned its attention to the original Opawa Breach. It commenced constructing a dam in the river-bed, which, if completed, would have effectually closed the breach, and diverted the water into its original course—the Wairau River. The settlers in the Spring Creek district saw this, and, as Mr. Isaac Gifford quaintly put it to the Board, "If we

don't stop thae, thae'll have every sup o' water down on top o' we." This fear galvanised the Spring Creek River Board into active opposition to the proposed dam, and on July 17th, 1879, they moved the Supreme Court to issue an injunction preventing its erection. This injunction was granted in the following September, mainly on the evidence of the Chairman of the Lower Wairau Rivers Board, who indiscreetly but candidly admitted that it was the intention of his Board to put all the water back into the Wairau River. Finding themselves baffled at this point, the Board next sought to give the district relief by cutting what is now known as Forster's Channel in the year 1881, but this scheme has not been the success that was anticipated, owing more to faulty construction than anything else. Later phases of the rivers problem is a scheme to cut a relief channel at Rose's Overflow at an estimated cost of £15,000, and an agitation for the amalgamation of the two existing River Boards, this latter question being the subject of a very careful investigation by a Parliamentary Committee during the session of 1895, the report being in favour of the proposed amalgamation.

For the moment we have digressed from the course of political events, mainly for the purpose of keeping the leading facts concern-

ing the conservation of the rivers as compact as possible. We will now return to Mr. Seymour, whom we left trying to restrain his Executive, and to placate his dissatisfied supporters in the Council. In neither of these departments of diplomacy did he appear to have the required success, and at last his old friend and ally, Mr. Joseph Ward, gave him to understand that if his Cabinet did not mend their ways, he and his immediate friends would go over to the Opposition, and the seat of Government would be lost to Picton. With this division in the camp, the Blenheim party seized their opportunity. They again coalesced with the free-lances of the other side, and on the second day of the session Mr. Henry Godfrey moved the following resolution: "That the Council do now adjourn until Thursday, 29th inst., at 3 o'clock p.m., and hold its next and subsequent meetings at the courthouse, Blenheim, and that His Honor the Superintendent be requested to make the necessary arrangements for carrying out this resolution." Upon this motion there arose a debate of heroic proportions. To the Picton representatives the result was almost a matter of life or death, for should the day go against them, Picton would be shorn of her glory, and what was more important, she would lose the opulence derived from a liberal expenditure

of Government money. On the other hand victory to the Blenheim party meant the realisation of a hope deferred for years, but never lost sight of. It meant an increase of dignity to their district, and it would also give them the supreme satisfaction of dishing their rival town at last. With these considerations to animate them, both parties lent their whole heart to the task. For days the battle raged with unabated vigour, but at last it resolved itself into a stolid "stonewall" by the Picton party, who now began to talk in self-defence, hoping against hope that in the delay they might convert some of the weakest of their opponents. Conspicuous amongst the sturdy champions of Picton was Mr. Arthur Beauchamp, who brought to the assistance of his party a verbosity worthy of the occasion. Hour after hour he held the fort, with a dogged devotion that would have done honour to Sir Thomas Picton himself; and when he had been speaking for the best part of a day, he struck terror into the hearts of those weary ones anxiously waiting for a division, by explaining that "with these few preliminary remarks he would now proceed to speak to the subject under discussion." But physical endurance has its limits, and after sustaining a single-handed combat for ten hours and forty minutes, Mr. Beauchamp had to succumb. The fatal division could not

now be long averted, but before it took place, as a last expiring effort, Mr. John Godfrey handed in the following protest against his brother's motion :—

“To W. D. H. Baillie, Esq., “Speaker of the Provincial Council of Marlborough: I give you notice that I protest against your putting to the vote of this Council that part of the motion adjourning the sitting of the Council to the courthouse at Blenheim, the same being contrary to the 15th clause of the Constitution Act. (Signed) John Godfrey.”

The Speaker respectfully declined to take any notice of this protest, and at last the momentous question was put from the chair, the division taken, and the Council decided by a majority of three to restore the seat of Government to Blenheim. The resolution thus passed was duly forwarded to the Superintendent, who immediately replied that the course pursued by the Council was contrary to the Constitution Act, and to the proclamation issued by him, fixing that session of the Council at Picton; he would, therefore, decline to make any arrangements as requested, and expect that the Council would remain where it was for the remainder of the term. This action of the Superintendent caused grave dissatisfaction, and several motions censuring his conduct and calling upon him to resign were tabled, and these were only defeated by his friends leaving the room and depriving the Council of a quorum. But

the great battle of Blenheim *v.* Picton was virtually over, for a few years later a treaty was entered into between the party leaders, embracing some important considerations, one of which was that there should be no further attempt to remove the seat of Government. The Council continued to hold its sittings in Picton until the dissolution in July, when Mr. Seymour's first Superintendency came to an end.

About this time Mr. Seymour had the honour of a call to the Legislative Council, where he remained an honoured and respected member, until he resigned to contest the Wairau seat in the Lower House in 1872.

The population of the province had been gradually increasing, and spreading in the direction of Wairau and Kaikoura, so that with every alteration of the electoral boundaries these districts obtained additional power in the Chamber; consequently, when the new Council met in Picton on October 23rd, 1865, there was an assured majority to carry into effect the resolution of the previous Council. After the Returning Officer had performed the formal business of reading out the names of elected members, on the motion of Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Cyrus Goulter was again elected Speaker, and he was also treasurer in the Executive. The bitter feeling prevailing between the two opposing parties had not

been entirely dissolved by the victory of the Blenheim section, and the last episode in the struggle was the handing in, by Mr. Beauchamp, of a protest against the Council proceeding to elect a Superintendent. Nevertheless, Mr. W. H. Eyes was proposed by Mr. H. Godfrey, and duly elected on the voices, the Picton representatives showing their contempt for the proceedings by leaving the chamber in a body. Within the next three weeks, the seat of Government was transferred from Picton, and that little town suffered a relapse from which she has never recovered. The provincial officers were quartered in temporary offices in Blenheim until more permanent provision could be made for them in the new buildings which were afterwards destroyed by fire.

Mr. Eyes opened the first important session of his Council in the courthouse, at Blenheim, on November 14th, 1865. In his "speech from the throne," he dealt most ably and exhaustively with the financial position of the province. In moderate but decisive language he rebuked the extravagance of his predecessors in office, pointing out that, although the revenue had barely come up to the authorised expenditure, a sum of £11,945 had been spent in excess of the appropriations. This would necessitate an increase of the bank overdraft to £6500, and

also a vigorous policy of retrenchment. The cost of the provincial service was by this means to be reduced by £2000 per year, and all public works were to cease. The Superintendent also informed the Council that, with a view to economy, he had amalgamated the office of Provincial Secretary with that of Commissioner of Crown Lands. Captain Kenny, who had held the latter office since 1862, had found it inconvenient to remove to Blenheim, and he accordingly tendered his resignation to His Excellency the Governor. His successor to this important office was Mr. James Balfour Wemyss, who had represented Marlborough in the Nelson Provincial Council previous to separation. Mr. J. R. Gard, who had been acting as Chief Postmaster at Picton, also resigned, and his appointment was conferred by the General Government upon Mr. John Bagge.

As Mr. Eyes was a man of great executive capacity, he began his administration by endeavouring to restore the provincial exchequer to a healthy condition by giving settlers power to rate themselves for the formation and maintenance of the roads in their own locality, and so reduce the strain upon the general revenue. But notwithstanding the fact that the Superintendent had assured the Council that there were absolutely no funds available for public works, we find members

giving notice to move that various sums be spent on a road through the Kaituna Valley, on a bridge at Picton, and on the wharf at Blenheim. In vain did the Superintendent point out that if this course was to be pursued it must lead to further complications, and the only way he could succeed in repulsing these attacks upon the treasury was to move the adjournment of the debate whenever a member brought his pet grievance before the Council, but even in these tactics he was not always successful. Nominally for the purpose of keeping in touch with the views of the representatives, but really for the purpose of exercising his personal influence in the Chamber, Mr. Eyes did not follow the precedent set by previous Superintendents in withdrawing from the deliberations of the Council, but he decided to conduct the debates upon his measures in person. Being a fluent and easy speaker, trained by a long experience in the General Assembly, his services in this respect were invaluable to his party. He was also a man of great force of character—a man whose will would be dominant wherever he was. Beginning his life in the province in 1846 as manager of Richmond Brook Station he worked on, always asserting himself, until he virtually became its king. As Superintendent his energies were mainly directed to finan-

cial reform, and this he sought to bring about in two directions. It has already been shown that the chief source of revenue was the proceeds derived from the land sales, but the amount to be realised was exceedingly precarious. Mr. Eyes was convinced of the desirableness of having the revenue certain and assured. He therefore resuscitated the scheme of land settlement originally conceived by Mr. Carter, under which the waste lands of the province were to be leased for a long term of years. He accordingly submitted to his Councillors a set of new land regulations, which he induced them to pass. These he afterwards had embodied in an Act of the General Assembly, thus originating the Marlborough Waste Lands Act, 1867. The effect of this measure was to give the province an assured territorial revenue of from £2000 to £4000 per annum, and after that the financial machinery ran with comparative smoothness. Mr. Eyes had also constantly impressed upon Mr. Stafford the unfairness of paying Marlborough her share of the customs revenue proportionately, instead of on a population basis, and this change was at last brought about, thus further assuring the provincial finance. Amidst a variety of difficulties, Mr. Eyes held his party together for four years, chiefly by his overpowering will and his un-

ceasing energy, but towards the end of his term his troubles began to thicken. The policy of establishing Road Boards to take over the main thoroughfares was viewed with disfavour by a section of the community, who preferred to lean upon the public chest rather than rely upon their own resources. In addition to this, there was a more powerful influence at work in the public love for change. Every Government will in time accumulate sufficient enemies to wreck it, and it could scarcely be supposed that a leader so strong in his personality as Mr. Eyes would fail to make enemies. On May 4th the Council began its last session prior to its expiry by effluxion of time. This sitting was chiefly remarkable for the fact that the Superintendent, in his opening address, foreshadowed the abolition of Provincial Governments, and the Council, on his motion, slightly amended by Mr. E. T. Conolly, actually passed a resolution recommending the General Government to abolish the system in Marlborough. Following upon this, a general election ensued, and possibly the bold suggestion made by Mr. Eyes had not been favourably received by the public*. This, together with that mysterious want of confidence which often grows up in the elec-

* The all-absorbing topic of conversation in Blenheim about this period was politics, and the favourite spot for holding these discussions was what is now "Girling's Corner." At that time it was not built upon, but was surrounded by a stout post and rail fence, on which the debaters used to sit and "argufy," and in consequence it became known as "Politic Corner."



FIRST FERRY HOTEL.



SECOND GROVETOWN HOTEL.



HON. CAPTAIN KENNY, M.L.C



ARTHUR BEAUCHAMP.

torial mind, but why no one can tell, caused the political balance to turn against him, and when the new Council met on December 22nd, Mr. Eyes and his party were in a minority. But, prompted by his combative nature, Mr. Eyes would fight so long as there was a possible chance of success, and he did not despair even now. That experienced politician and astute critic, Mr. Joseph Ward, proposed that he should again be elected Superintendent, but evidently this was not much to the taste of the Council, and it required a good deal of skilful engineering to save the proposal from defeat. On the second day of the session, Mr. Eyes, finding that he could make no progress in the good graces of the Councillors, but yet reluctant to give up the reins of power, followed the drastic precedent set by Captain Baillie in 1862, and prorogued the Council in defiance of the Council's wish. In this high-handed way did he set aside public opinion and avert for a time the inevitable defeat; but his self-constituted authority could not be of long duration. He was without supplies, and without the power to obtain them, for the system established under the Provincial Audit Act, prevented the Superintendent paying any money without the certificate of the Provincial Auditor, but this could only be given for the payment of moneys sanctioned

by the Appropriation Act, and as Mr. Eyes had failed to get such an Act passed, no certificate authorising expenditure could be given. In this condition the Superintendent remained for some months, like a king without a crown. He was afraid to call the Council together, because he knew that would only end in defeat, and in his dilemma he turned to the Governor and asked for a dissolution of the Council. This was granted to him on the condition that if the election went against him, he would resign and not again prorogue the Council. The writs were issued and the election was desperately contested. Every elector was canvassed, and neither side left a stone unturned; but the fiat had gone forth, and the verdict was against Mr. Eyes. On the meeting of the new Council on March 24th, 1870, he saw that his own election was an impossibility, but still he was determined that the Opposition should not carry their man in if he could prevent it. His opponents fell back upon their old leader, Mr. Seymour, who was proposed by Mr. Conolly, but, as might easily be imagined, Mr. Seymour did not, at this time, meet with the approval of Mr. Eyes, and he suggested Mr. Goulter to his friends. He knew that a section of the Council, led by Mr. Carter, were favourable to Mr. Goulter, and when heads were counted, he found that, with the

assistance of another vote, they could elect him. This calculation was based upon the assumption that three of Mr. Seymour's supporters must refrain from voting on account of an informality in their elections, but the Council refused to adjourn to allow the invalidity to be tested, and in the discussion that ensued the Superintendent and Mr. Ward had a sharp passage at arms, during which the former threatened that if the latter's "taunts and upbraidings" did not cease, he would again prorogue the Council, in spite of his pledge to the Governor not to do so. Being unable to force or cajole the Council into line, Mr. Eyes and his party systematically devoted their attention to obstructing the progress of business by talking about everything under the sun except the question at issue and by moving innumerable motions that the Council should adjourn for all sorts of indefinite times. In this way they succeeded in prolonging the struggle for four days. Once the friends of Mr. Seymour managed to bring the question to a vote, but as the majority was only one, and not a majority of the Council, it could not take effect. But on the fourth day Mr. Carter announced that Mr. Goulter desired to withdraw his nomination, and that under the circumstances he himself would vote for Mr. Seymour. In addition to this Mr. Walter

Gibson arrived from Kaikoura, and then Mr. Seymour's election was assured. As an expiring effort a prominent supporter of Mr. Eyes moved that the Council adjourn for a month, but the motion was lost by 5 to 7. This was a clear indication of what was about to follow, and when the division was taken on the question that Mr. Seymour be Superintendent the voting was: Ayes, 11; Noes, 4. But evidently Mr. Eyes was not disposed to permit his defeat to interfere with his prospects of holding office, and if his own party was not strong enough to elect him he saw no reason why he should not make a convenience of his enemies and get a place from them. Up to this time Mr. Seymour and he had been political opponents of the purest character; there was no compromise of any sort about either of them, and their parties in the country were clearly and well defined. Every elector had to declare himself either one way or the other, and patronage and public favours oscillated backwards and forwards with each successive Ministry. Under these circumstances, one would scarcely expect to find a *rapprochement* of the contenting leaders within so short a period of their last great contest. Eighteen months, however, had scarcely passed away, when an event occurred which gave them an opportunity of effecting what looked like a little

arrangement highly pleasant and profitable to both. The uncle of Mr. J. B. Wemyss, who had been Provincial Secretary and Commissioner of Crown Lands for six years, died, leaving his estates in Scotland to his nephew, who was required to go Home to take possession of them. This necessitated his resignation from the offices he held, and then Mr. Eyes saw his chance. He had represented the district in Parliament ever since he defeated Mr. Weld, and was therefore in touch with all the political heads of the colony, so that with the aid of Mr. Stafford he had little difficulty in persuading Mr. Gisborne to confer the Commissionership of Crown Lands upon him, the understanding being that Mr. J. C. Richmond would receive Mr. Eyes' influence in his candidature for the Wairau. That gentleman, however, declined to be nominated, and Mr. Seymour, who had been a member of the Legislative Council since July, 1865, was prevailed upon to resign that more or less honorary position and contest the seat in the Lower House, rendered vacant by the resignation of Mr. Eyes, who apparently agreed to let bygones be bygones in consideration for his appointment as Provincial Secretary in Mr. Seymour's Executive, for the fact remains that the Superintendent appointed him to that position without any adequate explanation as to how it came

about that the man who for years had been his most vigorous political opponent had suddenly become such a trusted friend as to be considered worthy of the most important office* in his Executive. In his contest for the Wairau, Mr. Seymour was opposed by Mr. Joseph Ward, who made no secret of the fact that he believed a compact had been entered into between his opponent and Mr. Eyes, but the electors did not regard the matter as a very grave breach of political morals, and elected Mr. Seymour by a majority of 39 votes. By way of comparison with present-day elections, it may be interesting to quote, in full, the result of this poll.

	Seymour.	Ward.
Blenheim ...	145	88
Renwick ...	9	24
Wairau Valley ...	1	8
Flaxbourne† ...	6	2
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Totals	161	122

Mr. Seymour remained in the House until May 1875, when he resigned to pay a visit to England, and the election to provide a member to fill the vacant seat was admittedly the hardest fought contest that has ever taken place in the Wairau, which is saying a good deal. Into this fight Mr. Joseph Ward again entered with the spirit of an old war-horse, and Mr. Sefton Moorehouse, an ex-Superin-

* Mr. Eyes at various times held no less than twelve public offices, ranging in importance from a Member of the House of Representatives to Sheriff.

† The votes at these booths at recent elections have aggregated over 2000.

tendent of Canterbury and then Mayor of Wellington, came over as the representative of the Seymour party. Only by reading the local papers of that date can one get an idea of the height to which party feeling ran, and doubtless much was said and done that has since been heartily regretted. Mr. Ward was elected by a majority of 25 votes, mainly from local considerations, and he sat in the Parliament that decided to abolish the Provinces, and voted against that measure. Captain Kenny, who at this time was member for Picton, voted for the abolition of the Provinces.

During Mr. Seymour's absence the duties of Superintendent were carried out by his deputy, Mr. James Hodson, with dignity and dispatch, and upon him devolved the duty of conducting the public function at the opening of the Picton-Blenheim railway. It will be remembered that as early as 1861 this proposal had been first formulated by Mr. Adams, but it was not until November 17th, 1875, that it became an accomplished fact; having been one of the first works undertaken by Messrs. Brogden and Co. under their contract with the New Zealand Government. The opening ceremony was simple and appropriate, and was commenced at Blenheim by Miss Goulter, daughter of the Provincial Secretary, and Miss

Gwynneth, daughter of Brogden's representative, christening the two engines "Waitohi" and "Blenheim" respectively. A crowded train then left for Picton, where an archway had been erected, across which a silken cord was stretched, and when the engine passed through and broke the cord, the Deputy-Superintendent declared the line open for traffic. In the afternoon a luncheon was given, and a brilliant ball was held in the evening, at which the *elite* of the province celebrated the important event.

On his return from England, Mr. Seymour was again elected Superintendent, but this time on a popular franchise, and not by a vote of the Council. This election he contested with Captain Baillie. He also had to contest his Parliamentary seat with Mr. George Henderson, a self-made man, who by genuine ability had forced himself into a prominent position in the public life of the province, but who, unfortunately, had not the knack of attracting the people to him. Had the franchise been as widely extended as it is now, the probability is that Mr. Henderson would have been successful, but the electors were few, and belonged for the most part to the landed proprietors, of whom Mr. Seymour was a typical representative. As it was, his victory was a narrow one of 22 votes, the figures being Seymour 201, Henderson 179.

Mr. Seymour had always been a quiet and unobtrusive member of the House, but his gentlemanly demeanour won for him the respect of members generally, and when the present Speaker was elevated to the chair, Mr. Seymour was, on the motion of Mr. Fox, seconded by Sir George Grey, appointed to succeed him as Chairman of Committees, and this important parliamentary post he held until 1881, when he was defeated by Mr. Henry Dodson, the erstwhile lieutenant of Mr. Henderson. Prior to his resignation from Parliament in 1875, Mr. Seymour had voted to abolish the provinces in the North Island, because he believed that they were no longer able to carry on their administrative duties without considerable assistance from the General Government. On his return he found the whole of the provinces had been abolished, and the present system of centralisation decided upon. As Superintendent, he accordingly set himself to put everything in order for the day when his office would pass away, but never dreaming that it would have such a sensational termination. November 1st, 1876, was the date fixed for the abolition of the provincial institutions, and on the early morning of that day a mysterious fire occurred in the provincial offices, which spread with fearful rapidity, and demolished the whole of the business portion of the town,

and thus Marlborough's system of provincial government expired amidst fire and smoke, exactly seventeen years after its institution.

The abolition of the provinces, however, did not abolish the intensity of party feeling. Everything was still conducted on party lines, and there was little chance of rosy billets, or even casual employment, unless the applicant happened to be of the approved colour. But a great external influence was at work to terminate all this political narrowness and bigotry. Sir George Grey had appeared as the tribune of the people, advocating the extension of the franchise, and when this liberal reform was accomplished, it became impossible for any party to tyrannise over the electors as had previously been done. There was then a much more independent spirit, and a much freer hand enjoyed when Mr. Dodson entered the field against Mr. Seymour in 1881. Mr. Dodson was one of Marlborough's veteran politicians, and he had been a most consistent advocate of liberal principles in days when it was not popular to be anything but conservative. These advanced views he had imbibed when amongst the diggers of Ballarat, and although he was not a polished speaker he had a rude eloquence that often carried conviction where more flowery language might have failed. It is true that in later years he

seemed to hold rather elastic views upon some important public questions, but his extensive experience, gained in many a provincial contest, made him one of the most skilful election engineers the Wairau has ever produced, and this may account for his being able to subsequently accomplish several radical changes from his oft advocated policy with comparatively little injury to his reputation or popularity. But whatever estimate we may have of Mr. Dodson as a parliamentarian there can be no doubt that his election was an invaluable boon to the Wairau, as it broke the bad old spell, and cleared the way for a period of greater toleration, in which men are able to look upon each other's opinions with perfect good feeling, and if their differences are irreconcilable, "agree to differ." The Picton seat this year was contested by Messrs. E. T. Conolly (now Judge Conolly) and Mr. W. H. Eyes, the former Superintendent. Mr. Conolly was then a well known and highly esteemed lawyer who had seen service as a Provincial Councillor, but he was rather a difficult candidate to run, as he scorned to use the devices of the huckstering politician, and when the poll closed his majority was only 41.

In March, 1884, Mr. Dodson was opposed by the old campaigner, Mr. Joseph Ward, and was elected by the substantial majority

of 237 votes. This was Mr. Ward's last political contest, and with it closed a long life in the public interest. His connection with the district as explorer, surveyor, and runholder dated from 1845, and from that time until within a few months of his death, he identified himself with all the Wairau's public movements. He was a witty speaker, a keen critic, and an uncompromising adherent to principles he believed to be right, and when he died in September, 1892, he went to his rest honoured and respected by all who knew him.

At the following election Mr. Dodson was again successful, against Messrs. George Henderson and S. J. Macalister, owing to the Liberal votes being split by his opponents. Mr. Conolly* continued to represent Picton until 1887, when he retired from political life, and was succeeded by Mr. A. P. Seymour. In 1884 Mr. J. D. Lance entered Parliament in succession to Mr. McIlwraith, as the representative for Cheviot, which then included the town of Kaikoura.

1890 was the year of the labour troubles, and the rebound of the great maritime strike was felt even in quiet Marlborough, where, in common with the Labour Unions in other

* Mr. Conolly was appointed Minister for Justice in the Whitaker Ministry, on October 11th, 1882. He was confirmed in this position and appointed Attorney-General in the Atkinson Ministry on September 25th, 1883, holding both positions until August 16th, 1884. He was appointed a Judge of the Supreme Court on August 15th, 1889.

parts of the colony, the workers determined to be represented by one in sympathy with their claims. Accordingly the author of this book was nominated against Messrs. S. J. Macalister and A. P. Seymour, who, on the retirement of Mr. Dodson, again decided to woo the electors of the Wairau. The contest was an exceedingly good-natured one, and the result something of a surprise to the old Conservative party in the province, Mr. Buick being returned by a majority of 77 votes, a victory mainly due to the organising abilities of Mr. Charles Ferguson, Chairman of his Committee, and the indefatigable exertions of his supporters. At the time of his election Mr. Buick was the youngest member of the House and the youngest man who up to that date had been elected to the New Zealand Parliament. In this year the Hon. C. H. Mills first appeared in Parliament as member for the newly-created district of Waimea Sounds.

The writer having now reduced the history of the province to a period when he himself became an active participator in public events, he deems it becoming that some other pen, more free from personal interest, should continue the narrative. But while hesitating to analyse comparatively recent events, it is with pleasure that he takes a retrospective view of the past forty years, which demon-

strate the fact that Marlborough has a political record of which she has no reason to be ashamed, for as she was served at home by many able men, she has also sent to the counsels of the colony others who have obtained, because they deserved, the respect and confidence of their fellow-members, for amongst her parliamentary representatives there can at least be counted a Speaker, two Deputy Speakers, three Ministers and an Attorney-General; while the gentlemen who fill the responsible offices of Clerks to both Houses were former residents of the province.

THE END.