

Before the Queenstown Lakes District Council

Under the Resource Management Act 1991

In the matter of a submission under clause 6, Schedule 1 of the Resource Management Act 1991 on Stage 3B of the Queenstown Lakes Proposed District Plan

Between **Wayfare Group Limited**

Submitter

Statement of Evidence of Ailsa Margaret Cain

28 May 2021

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Introduction

- 1 My name is Ailsa Margaret Cain.
- 2 I am the owner of Kauati Limited; a policy and research consultancy based in Queenstown that has specialist skills in cultural heritage, environment and Te Ao Māori. I established Kauati in 2015 and we work with iwi/hapu, government departments, Crown Research Institutes and private clients predominantly on conservation and resource management matters. Our projects tend to have a strategic and intergenerational focus that acknowledge the interconnections between nature and culture.
- 3 I have Bachelor of Arts (History and Politics) from the University of Otago, and a Post Graduate Certificate in Heritage and Museum Studies from Victoria University of Wellington. I have 20 years' experience working in New Zealand cultural heritage. I am a member of ICOMOS New Zealand and am currently the co-chair of its Māori Heritage committee. I am also a member of the ICOMOS Ad-hoc International Committee on Indigenous Heritage.
- 4 In preparing this evidence I have reviewed:
 - (a) The reports and statements of evidence of other experts giving evidence relevant to my area of expertise, including:
 - (i) Statement of Evidence of Helen Mellsop, 4 Mach 2021.
 - (ii) The draft Independent Hearing Panel (IHP) report 20.7.
 - (iii) Statement of Evidence of Steve Skelton 28 May 2021.
 - (iv) Statement of Evidence of Fiona Black 28 May 2021.
 - (v) Statement of Evidence of Paul Norris 28 May 2021.
 - (vi) Statement of Evidence of David Bridgeman 28 May 2021.
- 5 I have read the Code of Conduct for Expert Witnesses in the Environment Court Practice Note. This evidence has been prepared in accordance with it and I agree to comply with it. I have not omitted to consider material facts known to me that might alter or detract from the opinions expressed.

Scope of Evidence

- 6 I have been asked by Warfare Group Limited to prepare evidence in relation to the cultural heritage of Walter Peak as it relates to landscape and provide

a historical context in which to consider the proposed rezoning and development.

- 7 This includes:
 - (a) Heritage practice and the thematics approach
 - (b) A historical context for the evolution and development of Water Peak Station
 - (c) The cultural heritage of Walter Peak, focusing on pastoralism and tourism.

Executive Summary

- 8 Walter Peak has many heritage layers and has undergone continued development and modification since the native bush was burnt for pasture and the sheep run established. Early in its development, Walter Peak became a place to visit and undertake leisure activities. This practice evolved over the decades into what we now refer to as 'rural tourism'.
- 9 Heritage is dynamic and ever evolving with each generation. In considering the heritage of a place, intangible and tangible features need to be identified and assessed. Primacy is not given to features visible on the landscape purely by virtue of them still being there. Conflicting values, perceived or otherwise, need to be managed in a sustainable way for present and future generations.
- 10 Heritage is not a block to development nor a reason for stagnation. It is much more effective to manage heritage if it is kept 'warm' and has an income stream to enable it to thrive. The cultural heritage of Walter Peak includes pastoralism and tourism.

HERITAGE PRACTICE

- 11 The ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance (1999) states that heritage is a:

broad concept and includes the natural as well as the cultural environment. It encompasses landscapes, historic places, sites and built environments, as well as biodiversity, collections, past and continuing cultural practices, knowledge and living experiences. It records and expresses the long processes of historic development, forming the essence of diverse national, regional, indigenous and local identities and is an integral part of modern life. It is a dynamic reference point and positive instrument for growth

and change. The particular heritage and collective memory of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation for development, both now and into the future.

- 12 I have included this quote as it succinctly draws on key points in heritage practice such as the recognition of the dynamic nature of heritage and its tangible and intangibility. Heritage is often regarded as static or sealed by a moment in time when in fact, it comprises of many memories and layers that evolve with each generation. These memories build the collective connection to place as well as the associated cultural heritage and identity.
- 13 In considering the heritage of any site, an assessment is required of what is absent and present and the layers of the site. The 'rule of thumb' for heritage professionals is first to identify the heritage of the site, record it, interpret then assess. This approach is incorporated by 'thematics', a framework used in internationally and in New Zealand by heritage professionals.
- 14 International experience has shown that a thematic approach to identifying heritage places successfully broadens survey outcomes by analyzing historical contexts and linkages. Such an approach ensures that thematically related places are identified, rather than focusing on chronological analysis alone or on architectural styles or sites that are simply visually or historically prominent.¹
- 15 This thematic framework identifies the principal social, technological, political, and economic drivers that shaped and reshaped the world... It [thematic framework] provides a list of the types of sites and places that are indicative of these historic themes as an avenue to prompt reflection and research that will inform heritage surveys and analysis.²
- 16 It is always challenging to consider how to develop and evolve heritage sites, especially with the multitude of opinions, associations and biases held by the owners, site managers, local and wider communities.
- 17 It is my experience that heritage is innately emotional and subjective, and the public attitude to heritage management tends to be either risk adverse/conservative or to champion a single period in time, usually focusing only on its built fabric. This point is evidenced by the over representation of Victorian buildings on heritage lists around the country for

¹ Marsden, S., Spearritt, P. (2021) *The Twentieth-Century Historic Thematic Framework: A Tool for Assessing Heritage Places*, p. 5

² Marsden, p. 5

aesthetic reasons and/or the building's association with the early colonial period.

- 18 Development of heritage sites always comes with a risk of irreversible damage to the tangible heritage features currently on a site. Damage can include demolition by negligent, unsympathetic additions, and disregard of hidden or forgotten layers. Development of heritage sites also comes with a duty of respect for the heritage values, interests and equity of the present-day host community, indigenous custodians or owners of historic property and for the landscapes and cultures from which that heritage evolved.³
- 19 I think the ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter alongside heritage thematic frameworks are integral to considering the rezoning of Walter Peak and interpreting the associated policies in the Otago Regional Policy Statement and Chapters 3 and 6 of the proposed Queenstown Lakes District Plan as they relate to cultural, historical and heritage values of landscape.
- 20 Rural landscapes, such as Walter Peak and wider the Whakatipu Basin, encompass an increasing accumulation of tangible and intangible heritage which is in constant adaptation to environmental, cultural, social, political and economic conditions. Worldwide, rural landscapes are the most common type of continuing cultural landscape.⁴

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

- 21 I have included in my evidence the historical period from the mid-1800s to link into the matters raised by Ms. Black in her evidence regarding Walter Peak, that of hers and Mr Norris for Real Journeys. Mr Skelton looks mostly at the contemporary landscape with my evidence giving some context as to how that landscape has evolved regionally and locally.
- 22 The reason for me including this context is that this period is marked by large scale land use change and Crown ownership of the high country which is often forgotten in considerations. It demonstrates the rapid deforestation to convert land for pastoralism and a shift from Ngāi Tahu ahi kā to the Kemp Deed that resulted in Crown ownership and pastoral leases. This context helps set the scene for how and why Walter Peak Station⁵

³ ICOMOS International Cultural Tourism Charter: Managing Tourism at Places of Heritage Significance (1999)

⁴ <https://www.icomos.org/en/77-articles-en-francais/56836-18-april-2019-theme-rural-landscapes>

⁵ Walter Peak Station refers to the runholding, not just the area that is now known as Walter Peak High Country Farm.

came into existence and draws attention to the heritage layers that prelude the large scale clearing and modification of the landscape.

- 23 As part of this context, matters relating to Ngāi Tahu will be lightly touched on but I will not be forwarding an opinion on the impact or interpretation of those events by Ngāi Tahu, except for what is already published and released into the public domain by Ngāi Tahu.

SURVEY AND 'SALE'

- 24 The first Europeans into see Whakatipu Waimāori / Lake Wakatipu were guided into the interior by Ngāi Tahu in the 1850s.⁶ Ngāi Tahu regularly navigated the region using oral maps, place names, nohoanga (temporary/seasonal campsites), pūrākau (stories) and tikanga. Caches of tools were stored alongside known resources to be consumed in situ and enable ease of travel over large areas.



Figure 1: Pākehā exploration of the South Island 1840-1870, New Zealand Historical Atlas, Plate 34

- 25 It is often said that Ngāi Tahu settlement inland was extensive rather than intensive and as such, large scale land modification and development had not happened in the Whakatipu region. While intermittent fires from previous centuries had altered the biodiversity in some areas, the lands had been left to regenerate and restore with no continuous, permanent human

⁶ McKinnon, M. ed, (1997) New Zealand Historical Atlas, 'Exploring: Pākehā gain knowledge of Te Wai Pounamu', Plate 34

occupation.⁷ This point regarding modification is noted in *Historic heritage of high-country pastoralism: South Island up to 1948* which I will refer to later in my evidence.

- 26 With the survey of Otago in the 1850s and 60s, came appropriation of the landscape by colonial settlers (remembering that the Colonial Settler government was just in its infancy during this time) and the renaming of geographical features, often using names of European settlers. I noted that Kā Kamu a Hakitekura was renamed Walter Peak by William G. Rees in honour of his son, Cecil Walter Rees.⁸ Additionally, James McKerrow's 1859 map of the Meridional Circuits of Otago created a state register of 'indefeasible' titles to land, which relies on the precise delineation of plots of land.⁹ Plots of land were therefore, able to be sold.
- 27 The purchase of inland Otago from Ngāi Tahu through the Kemp Deed is controversial and not a matter I am going to discuss in my evidence except to note that it was the means in which the Crown asserted ownership of the South Island high country, contradicting the views of Ngāi Tahu. *The area between the foothills and the Main Divide became known to Ngāi Tahu as "The Hole in the Middle", to reflect the Ngāi Tahu opinion that this high country land was never sold.*¹⁰ From this point, Ngāi Tahu were alienated from the area and use of its resources, as well as land management (arguably, until recently).

PASTORALISM

- 28 After the Crown asserted ownership of the high country, it established non-freeholding grazing licences in 1858. These licences were for Crown-owned land that was leased for pastoral farming for various fixed terms. The 1948 Land Act created a special category of pastoral land and offered more secure fixed-term leases, to be leased in perpetuity subject to certain conditions. The rationale was to incentivise greater investment into the land by providing increased security of tenure.¹¹
- 29 Removal of native vegetation was common place to modify the landscape for pasture and had a significant impact on mahinga kai, biodiversity and

⁷ While Ngāi Tahu did reside and practice mahinga kai in the area for centuries, occupation by Ngāi Tahu tended to be seasonal or for a few generations to enable the resources to recover.

⁸ Beattie, H (1948) *Otago Place Names*, p. 31

⁹ McCrystal, J (2020) *Singing the Trail: The Story of Mapping Aotearoa New Zealand*, p. 174

¹⁰ <https://www.kahurumanu.co.nz/cultural-mapping-story/protecting-ngai-tahu-history>

¹¹ <https://www.kahurumanu.co.nz/cultural-mapping-story/protecting-ngai-tahu-history>

for some, the aesthetic beauty of the place. Native species were targeted for removal; prized species to Ngāi Tahu such as taramea/speargrass and tutu were regarded as pests by farmers.

30 The Acclimatisation Societies encouraged the introduction of plants, birds, fish and mammals from Europe with rewards given for the removal and destruction of native species, such as tuna/eels and kōau/shags that hindered the establishment of introduced species. Donald Keith made the local newspaper in 1883 when he valuably 'robbed bird nests between the Island and Walter Peak Station to the extent of 75 young shags and 50 eggs.'¹²

31 Following the establishment of the run-holdings, the aesthetic and biodiversity juxtaposition between the pastoral lands of the Lower Whakatipu and the Upper Whakatipu (being Glenorchy, Pikirakatahi/Mt Earnslaw, etc) increased and is referenced in an 1892 travel article:

*The Lower Wakatipu, with all its majestic grandeur, is naked and severe, owing to the absence of bush; but the rich birch forests, together with the sheeted drapery of the eternal snow gives the upper lake scenery a different character and greatly enhances the rich beauty with which the Creator has adorned His wondrous works in these Antarctic Highlands.*¹³

32 Hence, I find the references made to the landscape of Walter Peak being 'natural' very challenging and confusing, as the land went through major modifications to look the way it does now. I regard Walter Peak as it is today to be a heavily modified landscape. Walter Peak, as a high country station, is reflective of what was happening across New Zealand in the late 1800s and early to mid-1900s.

33 By 1930 about half of the forest area, and a large part of the tussocklands – totalling 39% of New Zealand's land area – had been transformed into pastures. 85% of wetlands were drained by the Second World War. This figure is high compared with countries such as the Netherlands or Great Britain, where about 60% have been drained. European settlers carried out this extraordinary conversion by:¹⁴

¹² Lake Wakatip Mail, Issue 1355, 7 December 1883, Page 2

¹³ NATURE'S GLORIES IN THE UPPER WAKATIPU, Otago Daily Times, Issue 9373, 12 March 1892, Page 5 (Supplement)

¹⁴ Julia Haggerty and Hugh Campbell, 'Farming and the environment - Early changes', Te Ara - the Encyclopedia of New Zealand, <http://www.TeAra.govt.nz/en/farming-and-the-environment/page-2> (accessed 27 May 2021)

- (a) clearing forest, mainly through burning
 - (b) draining swamps and wetlands, removing most of the lowland forest in the process
 - (c) burning hill and high country tussock grasslands.
- 34 This point is furthered in Walter Peak in Mr Skelton's evidence regarding Associative Attributes.
- 35 Establishing the high country stations was hard and many leases were sold. In Canterbury during the 1860s, half the stations passed into other hands, some several times.¹⁵
- 36 W Gardner draws on this point further by noting that:
- the pastoral age in New Zealand spanned the 1850s and 1860s. During these years, the colony's basic economic unit was an efficiently managed sheep-run of 10,000 acres or more [Walter Peak Station was 24,000 acres with 10,000 acres in pastoral lease when sold in 1880¹⁶]... By the mid-1860s shrewd leaseholders had used their credit with merchant or bank, their growing capital, and their pre-emptive rights to freehold all or the strategic part of their runs, achieving for themselves security of tenure.¹⁷*
- 37 Economic pressures have always been present for high country stations, notably with fluctuations in meat and wool prices. In the early 1950s, more than 90 percent of New Zealand's exports consisted of meat, wool and dairy produce, and nearly two-thirds of them went to the United Kingdom.¹⁸ Consequently, agriculture was highly susceptible to international economic changes. Market and price fluctuations hit exports and not only did the agricultural sector provide the most exports, but overseas markets also took most agricultural production.¹⁹
- 38 For example, at the London wool sales in 1950, Walter Peak Station was among the best prices paid on the day when six bales of merino wool were

¹⁵ McIntyre, R. (2007) *Historic heritage of high-country pastoralism: South Island up to 1948*, p. 64

¹⁶ Cromwell Argus, Volume XI, Issue 536, 17 February 1880, Page 4

¹⁷ Gardner, W. J. (1995) *A Colonial Economy*, The Oxford History of New Zealand, p. 64

¹⁸ Hawke, G. (1995) *Economic Trends and Economic Policy, 1938-1992*, The Oxford History of New Zealand, p. 413

¹⁹ Hawke, p. 418

sold to a Scottish buyer.²⁰ Prices were good until 1967 when wool prices started to fall and have continued to do so.²¹ Economic diversity has always been needed by high country stations, if not necessarily embraced by all in the sector. Mr Bridgeman's evidence further explains the need by Walter Peak to develop its tourism operations over the decades as a means of economic revenue.

CULTURAL HERITAGE AND WALTER PEAK

- 39 It is my opinion that the planning and legislative framework in New Zealand unduly prioritises built heritage conservation in its heritage considerations. This approach is a very limited and does not embrace the complexity and diversity of New Zealand's heritage.
- 40 In my experience, many listed heritage sites are inadequate in their assessments with Māori heritage most at risk due to the heritage criteria applied by local authorities or due to an absence of tangible heritage, often because it was destroyed prior to establishment of the 'new' heritage building or the lack of archaeological evidence. This example is also reflective of heritage sites, areas and objects that are overshadowed in assessment and protection of heritage buildings and their fabric and setting.
- 41 For Walter Peak, like all high-country stations, there was a deliberate and supported act to appropriate the land and modify the landscape and biodiversity to enable pastoralism. Therefore, the native species and cultural practices are now absent from Walter Peak. This is why I believe heritage thematics are important to this discussion as it requires intangible and absent features to be considered in any heritage assessment. It also draws out the myths, idealisms and realities which is useful in any conversation.
- 42 Principle 2 of the ICOMOS Cultural Tourism Charter acknowledges that 'the relationship between Heritage Places and Tourism is dynamic and may involve conflicting values. It should be managed in a sustainable way for present and future generations.'

Places of heritage significance have an intrinsic value for all people as an important basis for cultural diversity and social development. The long term protection and conservation of living cultures, heritage places, collections, their physical and

²⁰ N.Z. MERINO MAKES 198½d ON LONDON MARKET, Gisborne Herald, Volume LXXVII, Issue 23424, 1 December 1950, Page 5

²¹ Hawke, p. 419

ecological integrity and their environmental context, should be an essential component of social, economic, political, legislative, cultural and tourism development policies. s. 2.1 of the Charter.

- 43 In my opinion, a former high-country station and its remnant buildings should not be used as an overriding reasoning not to re-establish native biodiversity, especially when that re-establishment has long-term benefits to the physical and ecological integrity as well as the environmental context of Walter Peak. Improving endemic biodiversity reinstates a cultural heritage and its associations, connections and practices that have been removed, for a relatively short period, from the landscape.
- 44 Native biodiversity is a feature of the heritage landscape of Walter Peak and is known to be a key aspect in the cultural heritage of Ngāi Tahu, notably mahinga kai. In the future, the return of the native bush may also be part of the cultural heritage of the local communities and again that of Walter Peak, especially given the high regard locals and visitors place on areas such as the Routeburn and Te Awa Whakatipu/Dart River areas.
- 45 I do not agree with the heritage argument raised by Ms. Mellsop in this case that development could detract from the heritage values of historic buildings in the bay, and the natural and scenic attributes of the landscape.²² The site has evolved and developed as a rural tourism site since it was established as a high country station. Also, she has provided no thematic heritage assessment in her evidence or report to assist me in my consideration, nor explained why the buildings take precedent over all other cultural heritage matters.
- 46 Ms Mellsop talks only of the heritage values associated with 'the original high country farm.'²³ These values are not identified, interpreted or assessed in her evidence. I am unclear as to what she means by this and how they influence her assessment.
- 47 In writing my evidence, I searched for Walter Peak on Te Ara, the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. It came up twice, both times as an example of rural tourism. A similar search of Digital NZ saw Walter Peak come up in tourism images and a wonderful set of amateur photos of the Otautau Presbyterian Parish Bible-class members having tea on the lawn in 1944.

²² Evidence in Chief of Ms Helen Mellsop, 4 March 2021, at [5.18].

²³ Evidence in Chief of Ms Helen Mellsop, 4 March 2021, at [5.10].



Figure 2: Outdoor group photograph of Bible-class members having tea on the lawn during a Bible-class conference at Walter Peak. On reverse: (in ink) "Doc Henderson's Tea at Walter Peak". Related series: P-A47.6-15 to P-A47.6-17

- 48 A search on Papers Past brings up a mixture of local gossip, sheep and run holding matters, and leisure and recreation. When Viscount and Viscountess Craigavon visited the district in 1930, they were taken to Walter Peak Station to witness shearing.²⁴ The annual picnic of St Andrew's Presbyterian Bible School [Queenstown] was usually held at Walter Peak Station.²⁵
- 49 This sample from three commonly used historical research digital sources, alongside the accounts by Ms. Black and the historical context, in my opinion, illustrates that Walter Peak Station, once established, was never regarded just as a high-country station but also as a place along the lake to visit and that regularly hosted visitors. It has long been used as a premier destination for locals, visitors and tourists. The homestead buildings and grounds have undergone modifications since the 1870s to enable these activities to happen. The addition of a tearoom to "Middle House" in 1968 is one example of this.²⁶
- 50 This mixed use is not uncommon. Roberta McIntyre notes in her report *Historic heritage of high-country pastoralism: South Island up to 1948* for

²⁴ Viscount Craigavon, Otago Daily Times, Issue 20925, 15 January 1930, Page 4

²⁵ Presbyterian Picnic, Lake Wakatip Mail, Issue 3011, 28 January 1913, Page 5

²⁶ Teale, B (2019) Walter Peak Homestead Buildings, Beach Bay, Origin Consultants, p. 24

the Department of Conservation Te Papa Atawahi that high country recreation began in the 1880s and grew in popularity over the decades with improvements to transport networks and specialist facilities.²⁷

- 51 I think McIntyre's report is a very useful summary of what was actually happening on high-country stations and looks not just what is on site now but the developments to those places from before the land was balloted for pastoralism to post-World War Two.
- 52 McIntyre's report identifies many of the matters that need to be considered in any heritage thematic approach for Walter Peak. Appendix 1 of my evidence is a table from her report that summarises the general historic features of high country development. I also think her report demonstrates and gives more confidence to the notion that high-country stations, especially Walter Peak, long evolved from just being a sheep station and have been a continuum of development since the first fires were lit to clear the native bush in the 1850s.
- 53 The economic points raised by Mr Bridgeman and Ms. Black provide the reasoning for developing and continuing rural tourism. Walter Peak Station was subject to seasonality and fluctuating international wool and meat prices, and Mr Bridgeman notes that tourism diversification was an economic necessity to broaden the base of this business. For Walter Peak to be industry leading and proactive in its responsibilities, it needs to be financially successful.
- 54 I have long been taught that heritage is best managed by keeping it 'warm' – this messaging is consistent across cultures albeit with different reasoning. 'Warm' encompasses ideas of retaining connections and associations, active transfer of knowledge, continued use, adaptation, as well as its literal meaning. Simply, the management of heritage is more effective when people engage and use it and there is an income stream to provide for this, not just to keep it ticking over but to allow it to thrive. Heritage in glass cases is much harder and very rarely the best or most practical option.
- 55 Therefore, it is my opinion that heritage values should not be used recklessly to block development. New developments and reinstatement of previous features, such as native biodiversity, is an appropriate continuum of development. What is appropriate is greatly assisted by understanding

²⁷ McIntyre, p.129

the layers of heritage that have shaped the site and will continue to shape the site. Heritage is dynamic must be allowed to evolve.

CONCLUSION

- 56 I believe that any heritage assessment requires the identification of tangible and intangible aspects, and what is absent and present. The assessment also needs to consider the future heritage layers yet to come and how the site can evolve. There needs to be provision for development, especially if it provides ongoing benefits to the heritage values and management of the site and connection with place.
- 57 Walter Peak has multiple layers of heritage; some layers distinct from the other, with other layers, such as tourism and pastoralism, happening concurrently. It is a modified landscape primarily due to its deforestation for development as a high country station so it is easy for some to consider its pastoralism layer to be Walter Peak's only heritage as aspects of that period are still visible.
- 58 However, as I have demonstrated alongside the evidence of Ms Black, Mr Bridgeman and Mr Skelton, the cultural heritage of Water Peak is much more complex. Considerations for the future of Walter Peak should not be dominated solely by chronological analysis alone or on architectural styles or sites that are simply visually or historically prominent. The context in which Walter Peak evolved and operates is critical to any development considerations.

A handwritten signature in blue ink, appearing to be 'Bin', followed by a period.

Dated this 28th day of May 2021

Appendix 1 Historic Heritage of high-country pastoralism: South Island up to 1948

General Historical Features

| Pre-Polynesian | Māori Settlement | European Arrival | 1840s-1870s | 1870s-1880s | 1891-1912 | 1912-1935 | 1935-1948 |
|---|---|---|--|---|---|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Luxuriant forests covered much of the South Island • Extensive grasslands were found only in the dry basins of Central Otago and the Mackenzie Country • Parts of the Canterbury Plains were likely to have been open kanuka country • Moa were plentiful • Grazing and browsing animals, except for moa, were absent • A band of lignites extending from Central Otago into northern Southland supported natural fires for thousands of years | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forests were fired • Almost the entire high country was transformed into tussock grasslands and dry scrub • Most deforestation is thought to have occurred from the 12th century onward, and most burning between the 13th and 16th centuries • Fires on the eastern side of the South Island were more devastating than on the west • Moa were hunted • As the forests and the moa disappeared, southern Maori departed from their ancestral inland hunting grounds and exploited the sea, coastal plains and hills more intensively • In the interior, rock deposits for tool making were discovered—of silcrete, quartzite, porcellanite, basalt and argillite • Pounamu (nephrite or greenstone) was found at Nelson, the West Coast, Lake Wakatipu, Lake Wanaka and Milford Sound • Greenstone was carried across high-country passes from the west and south to the east and north of the South Island • Villages were unfortified until around the 15th | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Grazing and browsing animals were introduced • Pigs, potatoes and wheat were produced by Maori for the European market, as well as melons, cabbages and other European vegetables • Much Maori land was alienated • Reserves for Maori were established • Mahika (or mahinga) kai (places where food was gathered or produced) and kaika (or kainga) nohoanga (permanent or seasonal camps) diminished in scale, production and use • Maori worked seasonally for European landholders • Some Maori built European-style houses | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transfer of most South Island land from Maori to European ownership • Widespread destruction of mahika kai and kaika nohoanga • Exploitation mostly of existing natural resources, but Europeans also began to introduce exotic plant species to improve pasture • Small-scale 'Native Reserves' were established • Large-scale grazing of sheep and cattle and amalgamation of land by Europeans developed mainly on tussock lands • Stock numbers increased through extension of pasturage for grazing • Mainly wool produced (little use of meat) • Construction of homesteads and other station buildings from materials available nearby • Near self-sufficiency on the land • Establishment of Crown pastoral leasehold lands on both low- and high-country areas • Provincial government land administration led to land legislation in the different provinces | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increasing pressure on land available for development • Intensification of farming methods • Population explosion and rapid development of the transport grid • Declining land fertility and stock numbers • Centralisation of government land administration (1876) leading to uniformity of Crown pastoral leases • Elimination of scab assisted by central government control of provincial law and its administration • Ascendancy of rabbits • Construction of homesteads and station buildings using materials manufactured nearby or brought in from outside, and erection of grander houses • The advent of refrigeration in the 1880s encouraged cross-breeding of sheep for meat and for wool, sowing of permanent exotic pasture, fencing of paddocks, and growing of supplementary winter crops on low-lying land • Crown pastoral leasehold land mainly confined to the high country • Development of tourist routes, hotels and coach services • Mining and sawmilling | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crown pastoral leasehold land was confined mainly to South Island high country • Environmental problems of South Island high country: exotic grasses invaded it, stock overgrazed it, burning off caused erosion and rabbits reached plague proportions • Most mahika kai destroyed • Destruction of remaining forests continued through burning and sawmilling • Refrigeration stimulated an increase in the number of small farms, some of which were in the high country; more meat, cheese and butter production; diverse sheep varieties bred; and exotic grasses and crops sown • Wealthy runholders lived in grand houses and developed spacious grounds with tennis courts, croquet lawns, lakes, plantations and other features • Great estates were subdivided • State intervention became more intrusive and coercive; the power of the early runholding families diminished • Stock numbers declined • Average flock size decreased • Mixed crop/livestock farming expanded on the plains and foothills • A marked contrast emerged between the size of farms and density of the rural population in the | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Depredation of high-country tussock land by rabbits • Invasion of high-country tussock land by indigenous and exotic plants unpalatable to stock • Spread of pests such as the grass grub • Burning off of mountain tussock • Erosion of mountain slopes and formation of shingle slips because of burning off, depredation by rabbits, over stocking, continuous grazing and short-term leases • Desertification of driest high-country areas • Declining sheep returns • Development of crossbred flocks and relative decline in the merino • Declining productivity from the 1920s • Planting of orchards and plantations on depleted areas • Construction of irrigation systems and use of old mining water races for irrigation • Irrigation schemes made dairying possible in some areas • Expansion of close settlement • Establishment of soldier settlements after the First World War | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Extensive areas of depleted and eroded high country resulted from decades of burning off, overstocking, grazing and depredation by rabbits • The spread of introduced weeds continued unabated • Noxious animals infested the high country and denuded the land: wild cattle, deer, pigs, goats and Canadian geese • Wilding trees intruded into the landscape • Sheep numbers declined • Rabbit skins were marketed domestically and overseas • Parts of some high-country stations were regrassed • The Crown resumed control of Molesworth, Tarndale, Dillon and St Helens Runs because they had become ecologically and economically disastrous • The Crown took remedial action to exterminate rabbits and other pests, and to control burning off, stocking and grazing on these stations • The stations taken back by the Crown were restocked with cattle • The High Country Committee was formed in 1940 • The soil conservation movement became a |

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| | <p>century, but as conflict became more frequent, Maori pa (fortified villages) began to appear</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Precision-cut weapons and tools were made from highly prized greenstone | | <p>becoming confusing and inconsistent</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport and communications poor • Animal pests, such as rabbits, and exotic plant species, such as gorse, invaded • Scab spread rapidly, with increasingly stringent legislation to control it, but provincial variations undermined these efforts • Fencing was absent or limited at first, but became more widespread from the late 1860s • Mining, especially for gold, quarrying and sawmilling | | <p>steep hill country, and the flat, rolling lowlands</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Railways expanded and more bridges were built, facilitating and speeding up transport of high-country produce to markets and ports • Freezing works were situated near railways and ports • Evolution of the motorcar encouraged construction of better roads • Telephone network expanded and communications improved • Population drifted to the North Island • Stock numbers in the North Island exceeded those in the South Island • Scientific farming developed • Maori ownership and association with the land continued to decline | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Setting up of experimental plots and plantations by the State and private enterprise to assist the farming industry • Sowing of exotic grasses • Initiation of hydroelectric power network • Cultivation of crops such as oats, turnips and lucerne for animal feed and/or to replenish the soil • Continuing expansion of road and rail grids, and metalling of some roads • Increasing use of traction engines, water-powered mechanical devices, internal combustion engine and electricity • Further subdivision of high-country estates • Growing State involvement in high-country recreation, and construction of huts, hotels, tracks and bridges • Declining importance of extractive industries | <p>force in the 1940s and the Soil Conservation and Rivers Control Act 1941 was passed</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There was a shortage of manpower during the Second World War • 'Killer' rabbit boards were established • High-country stations were increasingly mechanised, e.g. motor lorries began to replace packhorses • The rural population declined partly because of increased Mechanisation • The number of merino sheep declined in the high country, while that of Romney sheep rose throughout New Zealand • The price of wool was controlled during the Second World War • Heavy machinery and wartime armaments were manufactured at Irishman Creek Station in the Mackenzie Country • Guide Platoons were formed in the high country as part of the Home Guard during the war • The Ngai Tahu Claim Settlement Act 1944 authorised payment to Kai Tahu as compensation for Kemp's Purchase • Catchment boards were established in 1944 to control flooding • The price of wool escalated in the post-war period • A period of prosperity ensued for the high country • There was much post-war construction of station buildings, fences and hydroelectric plants • Soldier settlements were established |
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| | | | | | | | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Mustering continued along traditional routes• Light aircraft began to be used for dropping rabbit poison, to assist with mustering and for emergencies• A radio telephone network began to emerge• Other formerly subdivided runs that had proved to be uneconomic were amalgamated• Coal mining, gold mining and lime quarrying continued on some stations• Transport became increasingly streamlined: roads, railways and air services expanded, new bridges were built, and more private motorcars and other motorised vehicles appeared on the road• An increasing number of tourists visited the high country• The Royal Commission on the Sheep Farming Industry was appointed in 1947 and provided interim reports in 1948• The Rabbit Destruction Amendment Act 1947 was passed• The Land Act 1948 was passed giving security of tenure to runholders, taking into consideration soil conservation as a factor, and introducing new land management practices |
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