

132, 1910) (see, for example, Fig. 26). Collieries were still present at the mouth of the Bannockburn Creek and alongside Shepherds Creek (SO 132, 1910).

A number of small blocks were further surveyed off Kawarau Station between 1910 and the mid 1920s. The tenure remained a mix of Crown land (held on lease) and small freehold blocks in the township area (see SO 356). One local informant stated that two c.1000 acre blocks on Cairnmuir Station (just outside the study area) were used for commonage grazing, but were later taken over by the Jocelyns, and brought back into Cairnmuir Station in the 1980s. He thought there had been earlier community commonage grazing unsuitably high on the Carrick Range, and that this had been exchanged for the lower blocks, with the Holloways at Cairnmuir Station gaining the 8000 acres on the Carrick. This information has not been checked against land title records.



Figure 26. Hancock's house, c. 1910. Source: R. Murray, Cromwell, *P. Crump Collection*.

4.5.3 Small farming and orcharding

The subdivisions gave security of title and enabled families to work towards an alternative to mining income. Farming and orcharding developed on a small scale, possibly often associated with other off-farm work such as shepherding, rabbiting, or coal mining.

The 1915 *Stone's Directory* gives an indication of the changing community structure by this date. There were around 86 entries in the directory, of which 37 indicated mining as their occupation (either coal or gold); only two described themselves as either farmers or orchardists; and 11 had occupations

associated with the big stations. This shows a still mixed population probably dependent on a variety of income sources (*Stone's* 1915)

Irrigation was essential for making the land productive, and the water races built for gold mining provided a ready infrastructure, although many were by now in disrepair. In 1922/23 a group of Bannockburn farmers raised a loan from the Vincent County Council to reconstruct the Carrick race from Coal Creek to Smiths Gully for irrigation purposes. The race is now run by a group of local users (Hamel 1988).

By the end of the 1930s, there was still a mix of miners, farmers, and station workers. In 1939, there were 13 miners (probably coal now rather than gold) out of a total of around 66 entries. The main station occupations were rabbiters and musterers (*Stone's* 1939).

The downturn and scarcity associated with World War II and the Korean War had a physical effect on the historic remains at Bannockburn. Many old huts lost their tin roofs, and metal equipment was taken for scrap during the Korean War. The loss of weathertightness meant that the sod and mud huts deteriorated quickly after this time.

Orchards were more prominent by the 1950s. The *Stone's Directory* of 1955 has only two miners, and the majority of workers are associated with either the stations (including 7 rabbiters) or are listed as farmers or orchardists (51 entries). Access to water was important, with water rights and renting water an important part of continued survival on the land. The water races constructed for mining proved to be essential for the new uses of land.

One informant recounted the type of farming characteristic of the small blocks on the outskirts of Bannockburn. Miners started off with a small block on which to run a cow and a horse. Later they may have extended their holding, leasing a larger block (not necessarily adjacent to their old one). Mixed small farms and orchards developed. None of the orchards was very big, and most were mainly producing apricots, with a few apples. A number of farms had small dairy herds (12–15 cows) providing cream twice a week. They also ran sheep and had a few pigs. Other farmers grew carrots to supply the Pest Board for bait. A 1958 aerial photograph confirms the pattern of scattered mixed holdings, with around 13 orchard plantings evident, the largest being Jimmy Hodson's on Domain Road.

For many years, orcharding combined with small farming provided the backbone of local life, in addition to pastoral farming. Orchards were small compared to the large growing areas of Alexandra and Cromwell. In Bannockburn in 1961, there were 10 growers with an average of 505 trees per orchard—3810 apricot trees, 290 apples, 90 pears, 175 peaches, 310 European plums, 140 Japanese plums, 65 nectarines, and 175 cherries—a total of 5055 trees. One example of a smallholding was the Lynn family's orchard in the vicinity of Stewart Town. William Lynn, described as a fruit grower, had gained an occupation lease for around 21 years from January 1914. A description of the holding indicates that an orchard (around 450 trees) was developed on site as well as a cow paddock. The orchard passed to Mary Gordon in 1935 and to Archibald Beaton in 1950 (occupation lease 154/73; 256/61, 101/72e). Irrigation water came from the Long Gully race.

Orcharding remained on a small scale. Kemp & Wilson, writing in 1965, note that Bannockburn was ‘of very minor importance’ for orcharding, with 35 acres in fruit—less than 2 percent of the Alexandra–Cromwell district total. The average size of holdings was some four acres. Most individual orchards were too small to provide a living for their owners, so fruitgrowing was combined with other forms of farming and sometimes with off-farm work as well. It was a predominantly stonefruit area, with the shortage of irrigation facilities limiting further expansion (Kemp & Wilson *in* Lister 1965: 140–147).

The impression gained of Bannockburn from the 1920s through to the 1970s is one of stability. There is a common view amongst long-term residents today that no major changes happened in those years. The stations continued to be farmed, small farmers and orchardists lived a modest existence on their landholdings, and community life revolved about the school, store, post office, pub, hall and sporting activities (bowling being particularly important). The population gradually dropped, as lack of employment meant young people moved elsewhere for work, and abandoned dwellings became derelict. Newcomers in 1967 had an impression of a small, relatively unchanged rural community: there were no new houses, coal mining had stopped, and some small farms were reverting to briar. There were no sealed roads and a limited water supply.

The permanent bridging of the Kawarau River from 1878 made access to Cromwell easier than to Clyde over the Cairnmuir Range. Also the decline of mining at the Nevis meant that traffic over the Carrick Range had greatly reduced by the 1920s. Despite the short distance, it was still not easy to drive to Cromwell as the road ran over sand flats, and cars often bogged down in the sand (local informant). Still, the primary movement of people was towards Cromwell and beyond, which remains the pattern today.

The early 1970s saw what could have been the death-knell to the settlement—within a few years the school, store, and post office had all been closed or, in the case of the school, changed to a school camp. The pastoral stations were all still in existence, but the remaining population was largely reliant on small farming and station work. Of the forty entries in *Wise’s Directory* (an indication itself of the small population base), thirty-five were on-land occupations including farmers, orchardists, and farmhands (*Wise’s* 1971: 119). A few places were owned as holiday homes, but many of the buildings associated with the mining era were derelict (local informants).

4.6 ECONOMIC STIMULUS 1980s - 2003

4.6.1 The beginning of change

Hydro-electric power schemes sowed the first seeds of change. The Clutha River was dammed at Roxburgh in 1956 and studies began on other potential dam sites on the Clutha in the 1960s. Public concern at the predicted drowning of Cromwell was first aired publicly in June 1964. The Ministry of Works (MoW) began reporting on its investigations and alternatives for the Clutha dams in 1967, assessing various options into the 1970s.

A Labour Cabinet approved a scheme which included a high dam at Clyde in September 1975. Work began on this dam amid local and national division and conflict (Powell 1978: 164, 232). MoW argued at the time that the dam and the hydroelectric schemes would generate greater and more long-lived wealth than the goldrushes of the 1860s. The Ministry promoted associated irrigation schemes (which did not eventuate) and a new tourist attraction in the tranquil and slow-moving waters of the to-be-formed Lake Dunstan. The Bannockburn Arm, they imagined, would be a landscaped, tree-lined oasis, a quiet and secluded picnic and swimming area (MoW 1982: 10) (see Fig. 27).



Figure 27. The Bannockburn Arm of Lake Dunstan (occupying the likely location of the first Bannockburn settlement). Janet Stephenson 2003.

Whatever the merits or otherwise of the Clyde Dam, the scheme and its associated employment began a fundamental change not only to the landscape, but to the local population and economy. The opportunity for off-land occupations brought an influx of new people to the Bannockburn area, and a return of some of the descendants of old resident families. The new occupations and steady incomes reached beyond the newly constructed town of Cromwell, as workers settled in the more outlying areas such as Bannockburn, and for the first time for half a century there was demand for land in the area. One long-time crib owner noted that from around the early 1980s people started to become interested in Bannockburn as a holiday destination, perhaps related to the Clyde power project. Some new orchards were also developed in the 1970s and

1980s. Other less successful economic paths were travelled, notably the goat boom (and bust) of the mid 1980s.

With the changes came some recognition of the importance of the district's past. An area of around 125 hectares, which included sluicings, the Menzies Dam, and Stewart Town, was given formal protection as an historic reserve in 1981 (NZ Gazette 1981: 3823).

The hydro-electric schemes also resulted in a range of scholarly work and publications looking particularly at soil types and climates to identify land suitable for horticultural developments. These studies were to form a crucial basis for the economic redevelopment of the Bannockburn area on a scale not seen since the goldrushes—the viticulture boom of the late 1980s and 1990s.

4.6.2 Subdivision

During the 1970s, the Vincent County Council also investigated the potential of Bannockburn as a residential community. A 1976 report discussed the need for land for tourists and holidaymakers, and for workers associated with the Clyde Dam project. It recommended that land should be zoned to allow it to be developed for residential recreational use but not to allow it to become a dormitory suburb of Cromwell. The unique physical setting of the settlement should be retained:

On the way from Cromwell the only two buildings which catch the eye are the Church and Hall, so well tucked below the skyline are all the others. This sense of surprise and visual containment is sufficiently inherent in the character of Bannockburn that future development should be designed to maintain and enhance it. (Paterson 1976: 4)

The report also noted the 'singular attraction' of the sense of history provided by the old randomly spaced buildings coupled with the unspoiled rural landscape and groupings of mature trees (Paterson 1976: 5).

The resulting planning provisions need not be described here: suffice to say the area did begin to see significant growth of subdivision and new housing from the mid 1980s. By this time, the settlement had a sewerage scheme, and in the mid 1990s it was linked to the Cromwell water scheme. These infrastructural changes opened the area up, allowing for development at an intensity previously impossible.

New residential development initially occurred primarily within the area which had been surveyed as the 'Town of Bannockburn' in 1878, but later started to expand to the east (Fig. 28). Larger 'lifestyle' blocks also proliferated, both on the existing small-farm titles and on newly subdivided blocks. A few of the new residents were associated with the Clyde Dam project; others bought land to build holiday cribs or to retire, while others chose to live at Bannockburn and commute to work elsewhere. Some of the dwellings associated with the mining era were also purchased to use as cribs or homes, while others languished and fell into disrepair or were demolished (Local informants).

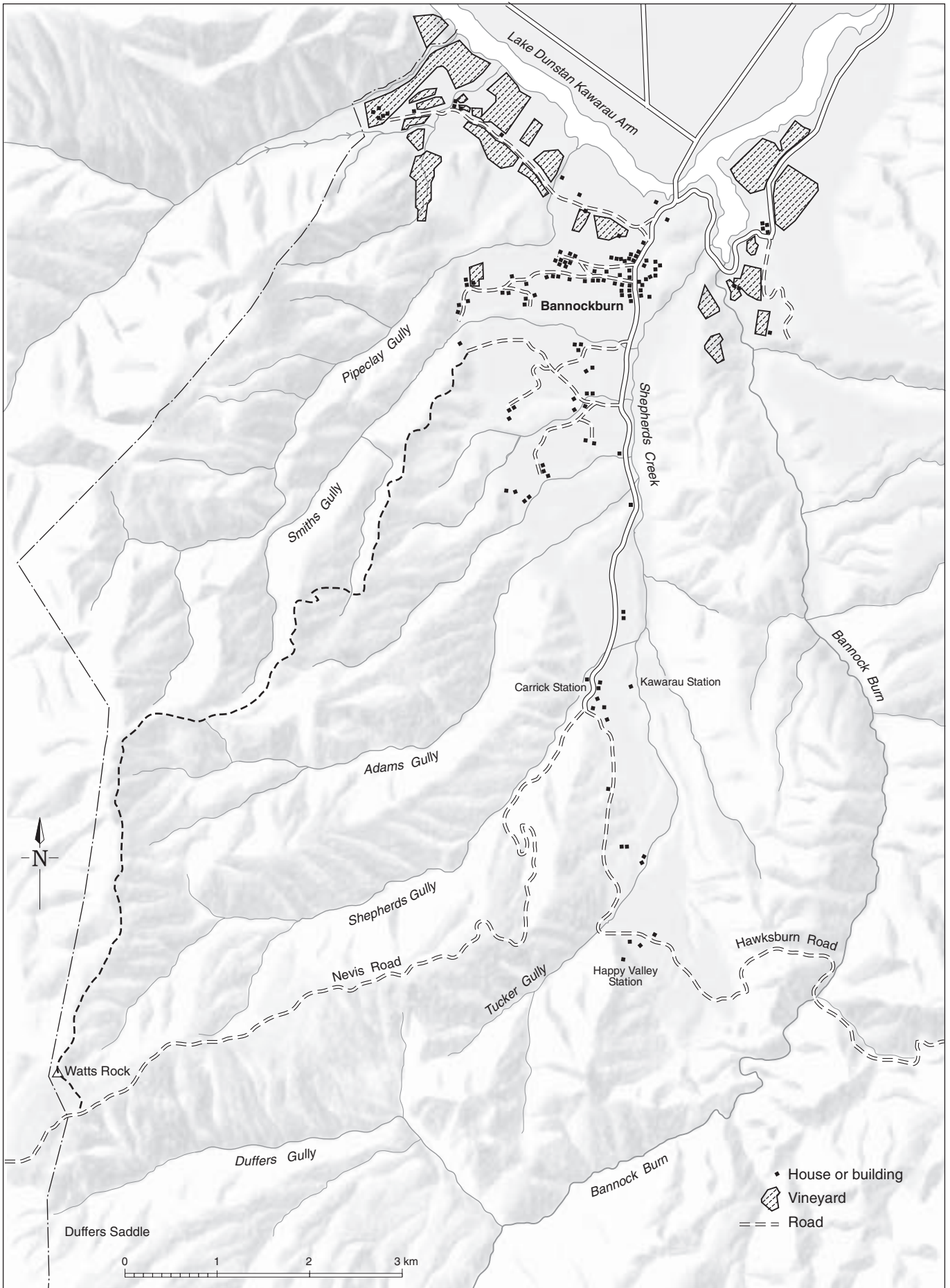


Figure 28. Settlement and vineyards at Bannockburn, 2003.

4.6.3 Viticulture

The viticultural potential of Central Otago, and the Bannockburn area in particular, was noted as early as 1903. D'esterre reported vine expert Signor Bragato as saying that the soils at Queensberry, Bannockburn, Cromwell, Clyde, and Alexandra were

...eminently favourable for the cultivation of the vine for wine-making and distillation purposes, provided that irrigation is adopted in the lighter soils.

(D'esterre 1903: 19)

Bragato thought that thousands of acres could be planted, providing employment and improving the value of the land. He thought that enough grapes could be grown to supply the local market, as well as the Australian and 'home' markets. D'esterre pointed to the 'enormous dormant resources' of Central Otago and a need for the Government to address the irrigation question (D'esterre 1903: 45).

The viticulture boom was in part fuelled by research work carried out associated with the Clyde Dam project of the 1970s to 1980s. The dam was to flood large areas of orchards in the Clutha River Valley. As part of mitigation for the loss of horticultural land, detailed studies on climate and soils were carried out throughout the Central Otago area.

While the studies were not particularly directed at viticulture, the new information together with an industry looking for new plantable areas led to an explosive growth of interest in acquiring land for vineyards. On a regional basis, commercial vineyard planting in Central Otago began in the 1980s, increasing in the 1990s. By 2000, there were 23 wineries and 71 vineyards in Central Otago. The majority of vintners were newcomers to the area, this contrasting strongly with orchardists, many of whom had farmed in the area for several generations. The industry increased the Central Otago population, and the associated land boom has led to an increasingly diverse population living in a rural residential setting (Hort+Research 2000: 5, 20, 48).

The studies showed Bannockburn to have particularly good growing conditions in certain areas. These studies were used by interested parties to pick the prime sites for viticulture in the Bannockburn basin, some of which were grazed and some in orchards. Land was also becoming available at this time from freeholding of the Cairnmuir and Mt Difficulty station pastoral leases.

Vines were first planted in the most climatically favourable positions at Felton Road, Cairnmuir, and Mt Difficulty. The first vineyard was planted by viticulturist Robin Dicey, who planted 11 acres of the Bannockburn flats in 1991. It gained momentum from 1995 onwards, and although a 2000 report suggested that the majority of areas initially identified as suitable had been planted, the expansion continued (Hort+Research 2000: 48). Water scarcity was no longer the limiting factor it had been: the filling of Lake Dunstan in 1994 meant a number of properties were able to draw water from the lake for irrigation, while others continued to draw from the water races. By 2001, some 60 percent of the 520 hectares of vines planted in Central Otago were found in the Bannockburn area, an indication of its relative importance at the time. This compared with 27 percent in the Queenstown/Gibbston area and 4 percent at Wanaka (Cody 2001: 312). Today, the majority of Bannockburn vineyards are on

the flats near the Kawarau River, on Felton Road, and in the Cairnmuir area to the east, although they are also expanding further inland. Many of the wineries use the romance of the gold mining past to promote their wines, some using local names such as Pipeclay Terrace and Tenpence Hill to name their vintages (Cull 2001: 48).

A number of orchards have been removed and replanted as vineyards, but at least one is expanding, and a few small olive groves have also been planted, adding to the perception of Bannockburn as a boutique producer. Viticulturists and their workers have settled in Bannockburn and the surrounding rural areas, boosting the local population still further.

By 2003 viticulture had become a prominent feature of the Bannockburn terraces, often planted adjacent to areas sluiced during the gold era (Figs 28, 29). The contrast between the new large-scale land use and the older gold workings is remarkable:

The tormented wasteland of scoured clay and denuded gullies....In stark contrast, immediately below, neat rows of grapes ... are berded by lines of poplars. (Cull 2001: 44)

The decade from the mid 1990s has seen huge changes in the population demographics, land use, and in the nature of the Bannockburn settlement and environs. However, these changes have been almost entirely limited to the terrace country at the north end of the study area. Vineyards vie with gold mining remains for visual impact on the land, and the vision for the more urbanised future of Bannockburn sometimes collides with the remains of the past.

Further up the Bannockburn Valley, and in the Carrick Range and other hills encircling the area, there has been little change. In these areas, pastoral farming continues much as it has for the past 145 years.

Figure 29.
Vineyards and sluicings,
Felton Rd, Bannockburn.
Peter Petchey 2003.



5. Contemporary cultural values

An important aspect of this study was to discover how the area was valued by people in the Bannockburn community and those who have a particular interest in the area. This section therefore seeks to describe the contemporary cultural values, which includes perceptions, practices, traditions, and stories.

Contemporary values relating to the landscape were elicited through interviews with community members and those with associations with the area, through the personal maps drawn by community members, and through feedback during the Open Day held in Bannockburn.

We are aware that we did not interview a random selection of community members; those interviewed were either those who were suggested because of their interests or expertise, or those who approached us for similar reasons. It is possible therefore that the results are not representative of the community as a whole. However, a broad range of people were interviewed, from long-term residents to relative newcomers, from farmers to ‘cribbies’, and both Maori and Pakeha. We consider, therefore, that the findings below represent the views of a broad cross-section of the community.

5.1 ASSOCIATIONS WITH THE AREA

People living in the study area range from those whose families have been in the area for several generations to those who have only recently arrived. A number still carry on activities relating to the land, with traditional activities such as farming and orcharding showing declining numbers, and viticulture and associated wine-making showing increasing numbers. There are also increasing numbers of ‘lifestyle’ blocks on which owners may graze a few sheep, plant a few trees, or carry out small-scale horticulture (e.g. olive trees, saffron). Many residents commute for work from Bannockburn to Cromwell and beyond. Others are retired. A number of owners are also ‘cribbies’, i.e. those with holiday homes in the area, some of which are historic buildings. A few cribbies have a long association with the area (20–40 years).

Tangata whenua for the Bannockburn area (and Central Otago generally) include people associated with Te Runaka o Otakou, Kati Huirapa Runaka ki Puketeraki, and Te Runaka o Moeraki. Key informant Huata Holmes is not only tangata whenua but also had lived with his family under canvas in Bannockburn and other parts of Central Otago during the 1930s when his father was a Depression miner. There were no known tangata whenua resident in the study area during the interview period of this study.

There is also a growing tourist and recreational interest in the area. The DOC reserves and the heritage features of the area attract visitors. Those who enjoy walking can do the sluicings–Stewart Town loop or can climb up the Carricktown track to Carricktown and the Young Australian reserve. There are two campgrounds, one at the Bannockburn Domain and one just outside the study area at Cairnmuir. Bannockburn Arm offers safe water recreation. The

wineries attract visitors for tasting and some also offer restaurant facilities. In recent years, mountain bike races and triathlons have been held (usually on the Nevis Road), attracting large numbers of participants.

5.2 CULTURAL VALUES

5.2.1 Tangata whenua

Maori have had associations with the Cromwell Basin and Bannockburn area for many hundreds of years. The stories and meanings associated with the landscape, as described in Section 4.2, bear witness to this. Additionally, the land as a whole is the embodiment of Papatuanuku, who descended from spiritual beings and from whom sprung many gods and the ancestors of humans. Maori are therefore connected to the natural world through their genealogy; there exists a whanaungatanga (familial) relationship between Maori and the land.

Interest in inland areas is determined through ownership of Maori land, place-names, burial sites, traditional uses of seasonal resources, and ancestral links. The practice of kaitiakitanga embodies concepts of guardianship, care, and wise management of resources (Kai Tahu ki Otago n.d.: 10, 37). Even though tangata whenua no longer live in the area, these close associations and kaitiaki relationships are still carried through the generations.

5.2.2 Why people came to live in Bannockburn

Interviewees were asked why they came to live in Bannockburn. Most had a pragmatic reason, such as coming here for farming, orcharding, viticulture, commuting to work elsewhere, holidays, retirement, or married someone who lived here. But many also spoke of something 'special' about the area that drew them to Bannockburn. These reasons included:

- beauty of the landscape
- open space and broad sky
- sense of history in the area
- family connections
- dramatic seasons
- relatively cheap land
- small safe community
- ability to roam freely through the landscape

5.2.3 What residents value about the landscape

Interviewees often spoke at length about what was special about the landscape to them. Comments included:

- breadth of the sky and the quality of light
- combination of mountains, sky and weather, and particularly the seasonal and weather-related changes
- a spiritual quality about the landscape; a connection between people and the land which was not easy to put into words

- the visible and intangible sense of history in the landscape
- the hills surrounding Bannockburn:
 - their starkness, wildness, colour, changeability, sense of enclosure
 - combination of tors and tussock
 - the folds of the hills
 - a place to walk, explore and enjoy
 - lack of visible development
- the lower country:
 - contrast to the mountains above - green and in autumn touched with gold
 - places of special beauty or interest within the lower country
 - creeks and rivers for swimming, fishing
- the pleasure of exploring the land and coming across historic features
- seeing landforms and features that related to the past
- finding out about the past through talking to older people, research, finding artifacts, and comparing historic photographs to the present landscape
- sense of continuity with the past in the landscape
- roaming—being able to wander freely on foot through the landscape

5.2.4 Personal maps

The people we interviewed were also subsequently invited to draw their own maps of the Bannockburn area showing heritage places that are important to them, on the understanding that their names would remain confidential. The four maps produced (Figs 30–33) show four quite different aspects of the landscape, all of which are concurrent with comments recorded above.

5.2.5 Awareness of historic features in the landscape

All interviewees were aware of aspects of the history of the area. All mentioned specific historic structures or places in the landscape, and many told stories and related pieces of history, or had photographs of people or places from the past. The visible and intangible sense of history in the landscape was widely appreciated. Interviewees referred to the pleasure of exploring the land and coming across historic features (usually to do with mining); seeing landforms and features that related to past activities (Fig. 34); finding out about the past through talking to older people, research, finding artifacts, and comparing historic photographs to the present landscape. One interviewee referred to the sense of continuity in the landscape—in particular the combination of natural and 19th century/early 20th century features. Those with a longer association with the area tended to have a greater knowledge of the history of the area, and many of these referred to the loss of heritage features. They knew of many features which had disappeared, or had deteriorated significantly. There was a concern about the cumulative loss over time, and that people today had no idea of how rich the area previously was in historic features.

There was a great apparent variation in how well people knew the history of the area and the heritage features in the landscape. Some knew it intimately, while others knew relatively little although some of these would have liked to know more.

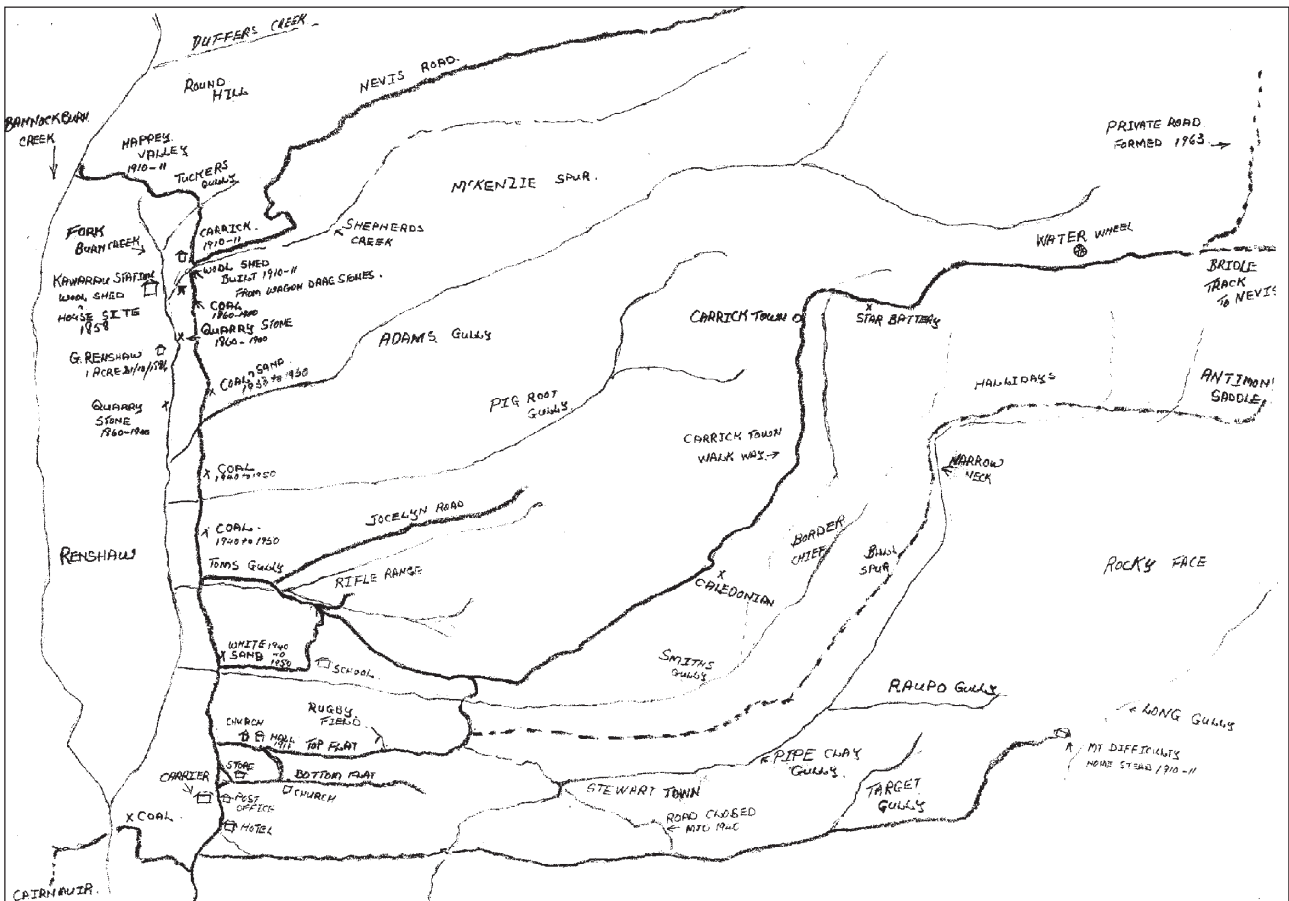


Figure 30. Personal map A shows the entire study area and is filled with names of places, activities and historic features known to the respondent, who has lived here all his life. Gold mines and other mining features are shown up on the Carrick Range. A number of coal mines (and their dates of operation) are shown up the Shepherds Creek valley, as well as sand mines and a quarry. Some of the names of places are the old names (e.g. 'Top Flat' for Hall Road, and 'Bottom Flat' for Domain Road). Station homesteads and their dates are shown, as are some of the important buildings in the settlement (store, post office, hotel, churches, hall).

Historic places and features spoken of during interviews included:

- Mining shafts and tunnels at Miners Terrace (Deep Lead)
- Evidence of alluvial mining on the terraces and up various creeks
- Settlements which no longer exist—Quartzville, Stewart Town, Carricktown, Halliday's (up Pipeclay Creek), Bannockburn (in its original location at what is now Bannockburn Arm of Lake Dunstan).
- Antimony mine and smelter
- Various coal mines including at Adams Gully and Bannockburn Creek
- Chinese occupation and mining at Bannockburn Creek, Shepherds Creek, Adams Gully
- Various sluiced areas and sluice faces, including the area included in the DOC reserve
- Dams associated with water systems
- Sludge channels
- The Carrick water race
- Other water races including Long Gully, Pipeclay Gully, Quartzville Race, Cairnmuir Race (some of which no longer run)

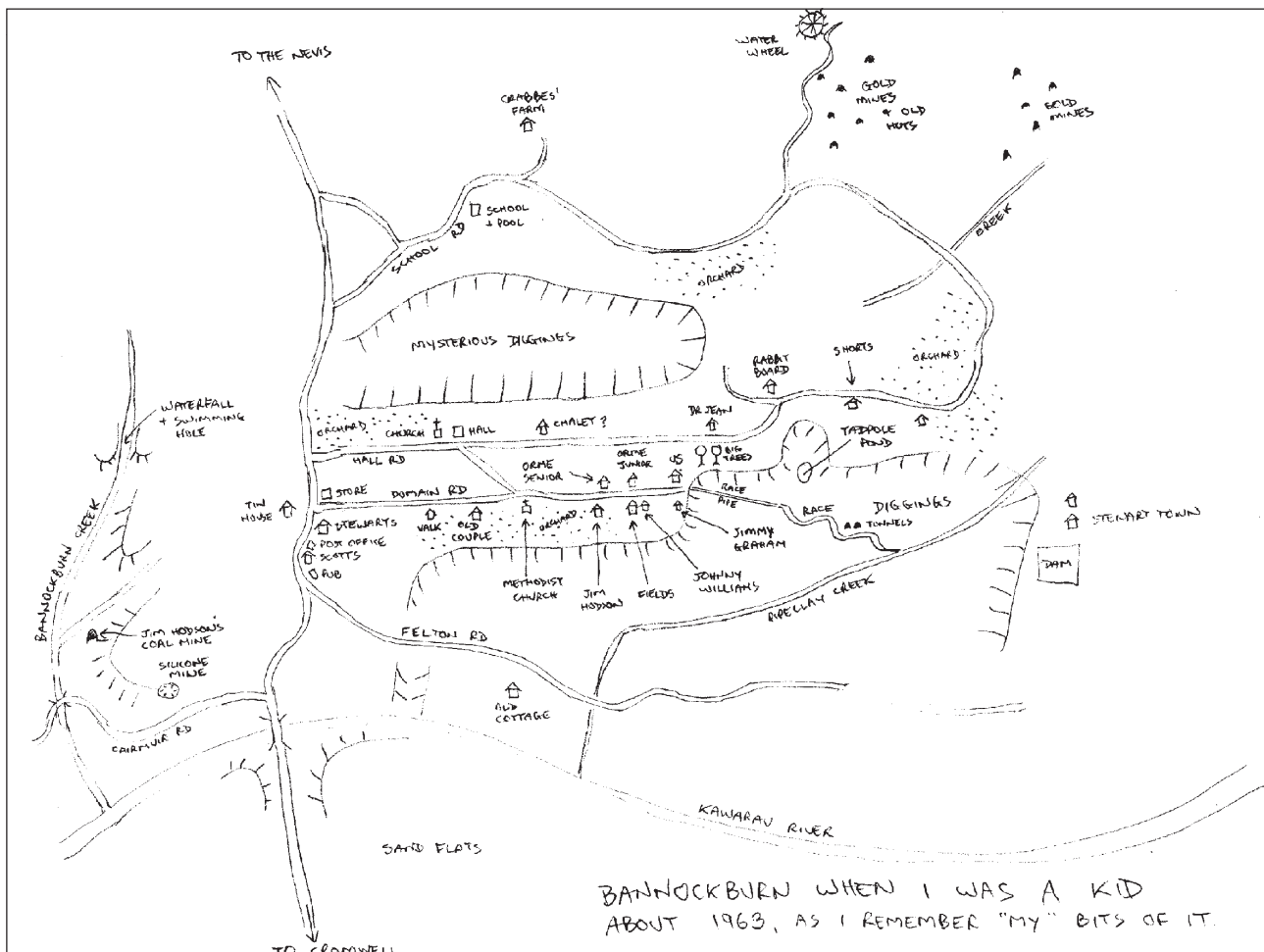


Figure 31. Personal map B shows Bannockburn recollected at about 1963 when the respondent was a young boy. It shows a Bannockburn of a few old houses, orchards and mining remnants. Various mines, huts, dams and diggings are features. Bannockburn Creek is still unflooded. It shows a quiet community where nothing much happens, and everyone knows everyone.

- Quartz mines up on the Carrick Range
- Various pieces of machinery associated with quartz mining
- Early smallholdings
- Cluster of miners huts around Miners Terrace
- Trees planted in earlier times which are typical of the area (e.g. lombardy poplars, fruit trees) particularly where these were ageing or under threat
- Presbyterian church
- Methodist church (now a private house)
- Bannockburn store (now a private museum)
- Bannockburn Post Office (now managed by DOC and used for accommodation)
- Bakery building (now a private house)
- Various buildings constructed in the local style - corrugated iron, mud-brick, sod
- War memorial
- Slaughteryard Hill (where cattle and sheep were slaughtered for the miners on Saturdays)

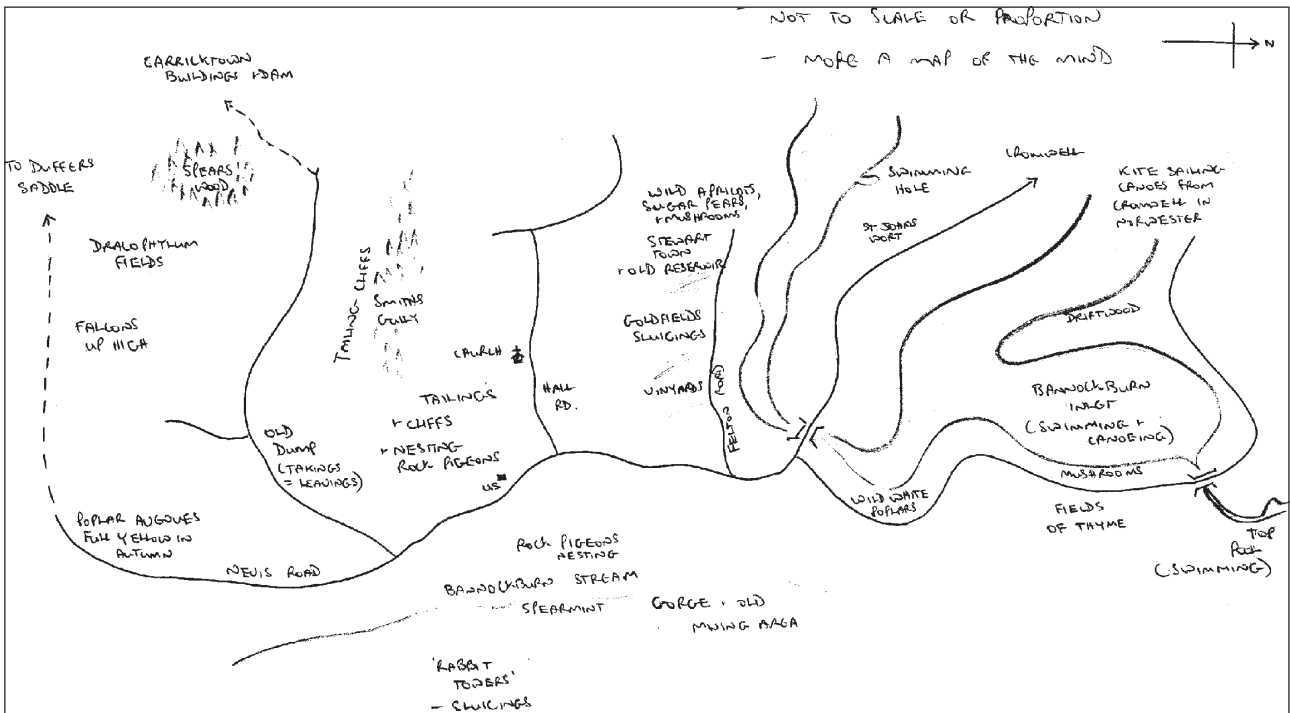


Figure 32. Personal map C shows the 'special places' in the landscape for a family which has been holidaying in the area for at least 22 years. This map is more sensual—it shows the places where mushrooms and wild fruit can be picked, fields of thyme and dracophyllum, spearmint, and St Johns wort, and the yellow and white poplars. The nesting places of rock pigeons are shown, and the falcons on the Carrick Range. Some old mining places—sluicings, Stewart Town, Carricktown—are shown. Recreation places are also important: the swimming holes, places to canoe, and kite sailing.



Figure 33. Personal map D is drawn by a long-term resident and shows aspects of Bannockburn landscape which it was felt need to be protected. Included here are the open arid landscape (rocks and tussock) devoid of buildings and public access to open spaces. The school camp, Presbyterian church, old store, post office and bakehouse are specifically indicated.