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**The Liberal Government's Purchase and
Settlement of the Langdale Estate,
Wairarapa (1900-1921)**

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

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2005

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Acknowledgements

Many people have contributed to this thesis, some deliberately and others by accident. I would like to thank my wife, Jocelyn, for map drawing skills, many hours of editing, and patience. I have enjoyed the support of my supervisor, Basil Poff, especially his advice on secondary sources and reviews of my drafts. I have been ably assisted by Gareth Winter of the Wairarapa Archives; Gareth suggested the topic, and many of the primary sources. I am in debt to the Tinui District Historical Society for having had the foresight to preserve such a useful array of historical records. I am also grateful to my friends and neighbours who farm the former Langdale settlement, and, over the years, allowed me to 'walk their land'; unbeknown to all concerned that this would contribute to a history on the origins of their farms.

Abbreviations

| | |
|-------|--|
| AJHR | Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives |
| ATU | Alexander Turnbull Library |
| JP | Justice of the Peace |
| lb | Pound (weight) |
| L&S | Lands and Survey Department |
| LINZ | Land Information New Zealand |
| MHR | Member of the House of Representatives |
| NA | National Archives |
| NZOYB | New Zealand Official Yearbook |
| TDA | Tinui District Historical Society Archives |
| WA | Wairarapa Archives |
| £ s d | Pounds, shillings and pence |

Imperial to Metric Conversion Table

Imperial weights, measures, and currency used in the text.

| | |
|----------------|-----------------------------|
| Acre | 0.4046 hectares |
| Hectare | 2.471 acres |
| Chain | 20.31 metres |
| Mile | 1.62 kilometres |
| Square foot | 0.095 square metres |
| Square metre | 10.56 square feet |
| Pound (weight) | 455 grams (0.455 kilograms) |
| Kilogram | 2 pounds 3¼ ounces |

Maps

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Introduction

Langdale Station is a 40-minute drive east from Masterton. This Wairarapa sheep, beef and grain farm is the remnant of a large estate owned by an English family until 1901. It was a four-hour coach trip from Masterton in those days.¹ Modern travellers can journey down the picturesque Mangapakeha valley oblivious of the infamous swamp, and the role it played in the Liberal Government's purchase and settlement of Langdale.

It seems incongruous in a colony founded on British principles of individual property rights that a government should embark on a programme of land redistribution. The Liberal Government purchased, by compulsion if necessary, large estates, and leased the subdivided land to settlers without right of freehold. Although the tenure strictures were relaxed, land-for-settlements remained in the New Zealand ethos and was later used to settle returned servicemen. Subsequent governments spent taxpayers' money settling 'productive people' on farms.² Ironically, the 1980s' neo-liberal revolt ended government involvement in land settlement.

This thesis examines the Liberal Government's purchase and settlement of Langdale. Although this was a voluntary transaction, and successfully settled people onto an allegedly empty estate, it harboured a political agenda. The Langdale purchase reflected many characteristics of land-for-settlements: it may have relieved the cities from overpopulation, but only indirectly; its associated economic activity benefited Masterton, as intended; but it failed to rebalance county politics, and this was the main intention.

Langdale is in the east coast summer-dry zone. Here, it is normal for the hill-country pastures to turn brown over the summer. Occasionally the summer extends into the autumn and becomes a drought when even the heavy flats become parched. Then there are those summers when it rains incessantly causing visitors to mistake the area for Waikato dairying country. The subdivision promotion identified dairying as a potential land use.³

Langdale's topography was mixed. The Mangapakeha stream was on the estate's western side, while the Whareama river formed its north-eastern boundary. Although the Whareama that flowed past Langdale was a creek most of the time, it served a large catchment area and flooded

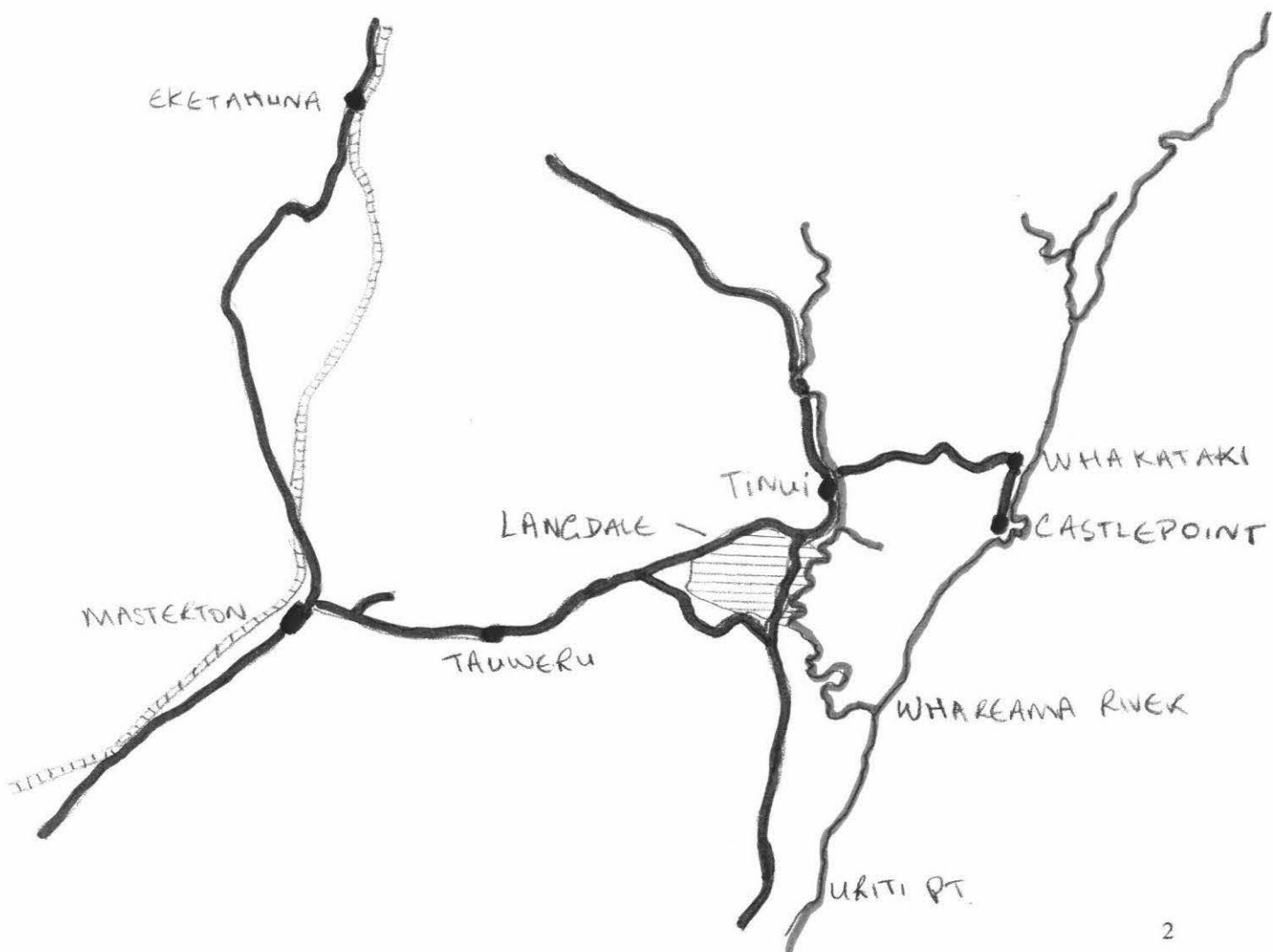
¹ *The Langdale Settlement, Wellington, New Zealand*, Wellington: T.Y. Duncan, Minister of Lands, 1901, p. 7.

² *Economic Management: Land Use Issues*, Wellington, Minister of Finance, 1984, pp. 60, 67-68.

³ *The Langdale Settlement*, p. 7.

the low-lying flats in times of heavy rain. The Whareama side of Langdale bordered the Ica estate of the Anglican minister, Parson Andrew. The southern side of Langdale was hill-country with limited areas of road frontage, and a boundary with the Blairlogie estate. The Mangapapokia stream touched the south-eastern corner of Langdale. Between the small area of flats through which the Mangapakeha meandered and the larger area of Whareama river flats, Langdale was dissected by hill-country. This ranged from easy slopes to typically broken North Island hill-country, but almost in the middle was a spectacular outcrop of very steep and rocky hills, the Mangapakeha Taipos sat like a citadel overlooking the estate. The hill-country on the Mangapakeha side was exposed to the frequent and dry northwest wind, while the generally easier eastern slopes were more sheltered, but still prone to the summer-dry. Although surrounded by rivers, the central hills lacked adequate water in the dry summers. Three connecting roads enclosed the pastoral estate, and this made it an attractive proposition for subdivision.

Map 1: Langdale's location relative to Tinui, Castlepoint, and Masterton



In 1900, Langdale was more closely identified with Castlepoint than Wairarapa. Castlepoint beach was one of the many landing points on the North Island's east coast. Tinui, a village that included several churches, two shops, a hotel, post-office, and school,⁴ serviced the Castlepoint district. Tinui peaked in the 1880s,⁵ but stagnated in the fashion of other rural villages lacking a rail siding.⁶ In the days of horse-drawn vehicles, Langdale's occupiers generally shopped at Tinui.⁷

The evolution of the Langdale estate was typical of Wairarapa sheep-runs. In the early 1840s, pastoralists pushed their sheep around the rugged coastline from Wellington and founded New Zealand's wool industry. These pioneers recognised Maori as owners of the land and leased their coastal runs directly from them.⁸ Naturally, they clung to the coast, as sea travel was more efficient than overland even after the Maori trail through the Rimutaka range was opened for carriage traffic in 1853.⁹ From these beginnings, the pastoralists developed a culture of independence.

The Colonial administration disliked the arrangement between Maori and the pastoralists,¹⁰ and preferred to buy the land, then lease or sell to settlers at a profit.¹¹ Prising the land from the Wairarapa Maori, who were enjoying market rents and trade with the pastoralists, was hastened with the intervention of Governor Grey.¹² The Wairarapa land sales left only a small area reserved for Maori, and the Government failed to fulfil its promise of returning a 5% share of the subsequent sale proceeds on specific tracts of land to Wairarapa Maori.¹³ From this point until the Treaty of Waitangi was revisited late in the 20th century, Maori ceased to be involved in the tussle for Wairarapa real estate.

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 1.

⁵ A.G. Bagnall, (ed.) *Early Castlepoint: First Years in a Pioneer Settlement*, Castlepoint: Castlepoint Historical Committee, 1948, p. 48.

⁶ S.H. Franklin, 'The Village and the Bush', in *Social Process in New Zealand: Readings in Sociology*, John Forster (ed.), Auckland: Longman, 1969, pp. 102-144, pp. 104, 121.

⁷ 'Langdale Budget' (1894), p. 3, Castlepoint and Tinui Historical Records, 93-57/105.R4B3S6, WA.

⁸ A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa: An Historical Excursion*, Masterton: Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1976, p. 56.

⁹ *ibid.*, pp. 52, 62.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, p. 85.

¹¹ Barbara Gawith, 'Land Purchase Methods in the Wairarapa: The Five Percents', Hons Research Exercise, Massey University, 1997, p. 27.

¹² Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, pp. 99-100.

¹³ Gawith, p. 38.

The Government purchases left two disparate groups of settlers vying for Wairarapa land: pastoralists and farmers. The pastoralists were 'gatherers' who did not work the land but gathered its produce, in this case wool. Farmers were 'cultivators' and traditionally had a greater claim to ownership. While pastoralists were Wairarapa's first settlers, farmers were the first freeholders.

The Wairarapa farmers originated from the Wellington Small Farms Association. These were workingmen whose ideal for New Zealand was a society of small landed proprietors, a popular sentiment in mid-19th century England; strongly supported by Grey.¹⁴ The founder, Joseph Masters, proposed that possession of property 'makes men set a higher value on his own character [sic]....'¹⁵ Underlying the peasant-proprietor sentiment was the desire for enfranchisement, limited in the Anglo-Saxon world to property owners; although from the outset in colonial New Zealand, the property qualification was exceptionally liberal.¹⁶ When Joseph Masters led an exploratory committee into the Wairarapa, there were fears of a hostile reception from the incumbent pastoralists. Although unfounded, these fears represent an early awareness of the potential conflict between the two groups of colonisers.¹⁷ The Small Farms committee persuaded Governor Grey to delay the private sale of Wairarapa land until they had established Greytown and Masterton in 1854, thus they were first to secure freehold title in the Wairarapa.¹⁸ When this injunction ended, Provincial Superintendent Featherston let or sold large grazing runs to a core of 50 pastoralists at allegedly discounted prices.¹⁹ The pastoralists became Wairarapa's large landowners.

Refrigeration opened up export markets, and made Featherston's preference for pastoralism appear extravagant. This new technology not only boosted the viability of farming, but also blurred the demarcation between pastoralists and farmers. Pastoralists cultivated crops to fatten surplus stock, and landholding size became the surrogate of cultivation in the delineation. Pastoralists were those with land to waste, and pastoralism took on a pejorative meaning.

¹⁴ Alan Henderson, *Fortuitous Legacy: The Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1872-1997*, Masterton: Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1997, pp. 10-11.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 12.

¹⁶ Neill Atkinson, *Adventures in Democracy: A History of the Vote in New Zealand*, Dunedin: Otago University in association with the Electoral Commission, 2003, p. 35.

¹⁷ Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, pp. 140-142.

¹⁸ Henderson, pp. 40, 47.

¹⁹ Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p. 190.

From the outset, Wairarapa politics reflected the divergent interests of small farmers and large landowning pastoralists. Masters gained election to the Wellington Provincial Council in 1856 advocating a land tax to prevent land monopoly.²⁰ However, his tenure was short-lived and large landowners represented the region in central government until the pivotal 1890 election when Alexander Hogg wrested the Masterton electorate from the pastoralist, George Beetham, by 17 votes; he held the seat for the next 21 years.²¹

Alexander Hogg migrated with his family from Scotland via Australia to New Zealand. His unpublished memoirs recount his childhood experiences in Glasgow where his family worked in a dye-works; Hogg blamed the system, and not the factory owner, for the harsh conditions and low wages. Hogg's recollection of an outbreak of cholera inflamed his hatred of cities and the land monopolists who forced people to live in them. The closure of Loch Lomond, which denied his uncles the opportunity to supplement their incomes as tourist guides, features in his short autobiographical notes.²² Like John Ballance, Hogg was a journalist and became proprietor of the *Wairarapa Star* in 1881; he was also president of the Masterton Knights of Labor and had organised labour in the Australian goldfields.²³ Although Hogg described himself as a 'land nationaliser',²⁴ his enthusiasm was constrained by his liberal ethos of allowing people the choice of tenure.²⁵

The antithesis of Alexander Hogg was large landowner and Wairarapa South MHR Walter Buchanan. Buchanan was a trader and reputedly accumulated his wealth as a livestock dealer in the Otago and West Coast gold-rush days. Within four years of purchasing the Tupurupuru estate, he gained the Wairarapa parliamentary seat. During the Liberal era, J.T.M. Hornsby interrupted his tenure in Parliament on several occasions. Buchanan was prominent in opposition to the Liberals and the bitterest of Seddon's opponents.²⁶ Although history labels

²⁰ *ibid.*, p. 240.

²¹ David Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power, 1891-1912*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, p. 36.

²² A.W. Hogg, *Papers and Photographs*, 01-60, WA.

²³ Hamer, p 175.

²⁴ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, June 19 1909, p. 6.

²⁵ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 72 (1891), p. 503 (A.W. Hogg).

²⁶ Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, pp. 318-319.

Buchanan a conservative, he had strong support from Wairarapa Maori,²⁷ and publicly castigated John Ballance for treating them like children.²⁸

The division between the farmers and the pastoralists was geographical as well as philosophical. The pastoralists were on the coastal perimeter and preferred the sea for trading and transport. Local government boundaries reflected this division. When the 1876 Counties Act stimulated a rush for counties, the pastoralists prompted an east-west division of the Wairarapa, lest the more numerous valley farmers, notwithstanding the plural voting, outvoted them.²⁹ The Counties Act sought to blot out the numerous road boards, but many shipping points fragmented the East County, and the road boards continued as practical divisions. In 1881, an enlarged Wairarapa electorate split on a north-south alignment and the two counties followed suit five years later.³⁰

The 1890 sheep-owner returns amplified the disparity between pastoralists and farmers. The two Wairarapa counties contained 501 sheep-owners and 1,000,000 sheep; almost half these sheep were concentrated in the hands of 28 estate owners. The remaining 95% of sheep-owners had an average flock size of 1,086 sheep while the top 28 farmed an average of 17,827 sheep. In 1890, Langdale with 18,441 sheep was the eighth largest estate in the Wairarapa.³¹

Langdale, then known as Whareama, was sixteenth on the list of properties distributed by Featherston, and was secured by Mrs Mary Buxton for her son Henry.³² Because of its proximity to the coast, Buxton established the estate infrastructure for trade through Castlepoint. The house, sheep-yards and woolshed were sited at the farthest point from Masterton, adjacent to the Ica ford; this was a solid crossing point of an otherwise muddy Whareama. Access to Castlepoint was through the neighbouring Ica estate, the original road from Masterton to Castlepoint.³³ It was the mid-1870s before the Masterton-Tinui connection to Castlepoint superseded the road through the Ica ford.

²⁷ *ibid.*, p. 317.

²⁸ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Sept. 24 1887, p. 4.

²⁹ Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, pp. 397-401.

³⁰ *ibid.*, p. 401.

³¹ *The New Zealand Gazette*, 1890, Vol. 2, pp. 1266-1269.

³² Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p. 350.

³³ Early Castlepoint Pioneering Life on the East Coast, Castlepoint and Tinui Historical Records, p. 5, 93-57/105.R4B3S6, WA.

Little is recorded of the Buxton tenure at Whareama other than it ended when Henry drowned while crossing the Ica ford in 1868.³⁴ The selling agents promoted the Whareama estate as suitable for closer settlement; it comprised 18,000 acres of freehold and 7,000 of leasehold land, and carried 5,000 sheep and 100 cattle. Buxton had taken advantage of the wool-boom to freehold much of the property. John Morrison purchased Whareama in 1870 for £8,000, and within six years increased the carrying capacity to 14,000 sheep and 400 cattle.³⁵ He sold the then 17,000-acre freehold property with livestock and plant to A.L. Elder and Company in 1878 for £37,000.³⁶ Although Elder purchased the estate sight-unseen, he concurrently purchased a mansion in London at a similar cost, and may have seen Whareama as comparatively cheap.³⁷

Alexander Lang Elder was the founding proprietor of the purchasing company, hence the name Langdale. Elder made his fortune in South Australia with some assistance from his merchant family in Scotland. In 1853, he left his substantial Australian business in the hands of his brothers and established A.L. Elder Company, a London-based merchant bank with extensive Australian and New Zealand contacts.³⁸ The Elder family held the renamed Langdale estate until it was purchased by the Government in 1901 for closer settlement.

Wairarapa was a microcosm of settler politics and the land debates. An examination of the Langdale settlement shows Liberal land policy motivated by social, economic, and political agendas. The most distinctive feature was the attempt to use crown tenants as a means to reform dysfunctional county politics. This farmers' settlement fulfilled the Government's economic expectations and transformed a wool-producing pastoral estate into intensive meat-producing farms. The decisive factor was the willingness and competence of the farmer tenants. The political objectives failed because the Liberal Government misunderstood the realities of county politics.

³⁴ Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p. 350.

³⁵ James Andrew, 'Notes Concerning the Morrison Family', p. 3, P Box q929.2 MOR AND 1975, ATU.

³⁶ Bagnall, *Castlepoint*, pp. 40-41.

³⁷ Jean Kenyon Elder, *The Elders of Langdale*, Queensland: Bald Knob, 1988, p. 3.

³⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 1-3, 6.

Ch. 1 Liberal Land Policy

Land ownership was a core political issue in New Zealand's age of liberalism.¹ For both European and Maori, land held magical qualities. For Maori, land had a spiritual value; for Europeans, land ownership symbolised independence, was morally uplifting, and offered material benefits. Land ownership was a sure path to upward social mobility.² Although land prices had fluctuated, its fixed supply in face of rising populations gave certainty to the prospect of increased values; it was a popular means of storing wealth. Colonial governments were also vitally interested in land. The purchase of Maori land at a discount and sale at market value provided revenue, some of which was applied to infrastructure development. Governments used the anticipated increases in land values on proposed rail routes to finance rail construction.³ The subdivision and settlement of land was a fiscal stimulus, and one of the few economic levers available to colonial governments. The distribution of land offered governments the opportunity to shape New Zealand society.

The 1880-1900 economic depression sharpened the land debates. Liberal party politicians were frequently newspapermen, with an awareness of local political trends.⁴ They were also alert to economic currents, as their advertising revenues magnified economic changes. Land settlement provided a fiscal stimulus to rural communities: the money settlers spent on improvements multiplied in a similar vein to the investment multiplier made famous by John Maynard Keynes. Newspapermen would readily recognise the positive economic effects of land settlement on local communities, and their enthusiasm for it deepened with the long depression.

Although land policy was the main subject of debate in colonial New Zealand, there were areas of consensus. No one wanted the old world evils of the industrial cities, and closer settlement of land was seen as a means of avoiding this. John McKenzie, when trying to steer his uncompromising 1891 Land Act through Parliament, labelled his measures as:

¹ David Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power, 1891-1912*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, p. 12.

² Tom Brooking, 'Use it or Lose it: Unravelling the Land Debate in Late 19th Century New Zealand', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 30, No. 2 (Oct. 1996), pp. 141-161, pp. 141-142.

³ James Watson, *Links: A History of Transport and New Zealand Society*, Wellington: Ministry of Transport, 1996, pp. 148-149.

⁴ Hamer, p. 152.

‘a step in the right direction...that will assist in driving out...the people from the great cities of the world, and out of the dark dens and the dark receptacles of those cities, and will send them to the valleys and straths of the uplands, where their happy voices will sound with gladness and energy....’⁵

Alexander Hogg argued in the same debate that failed land policy was responsible for unemployment and the Charitable Institutions Act, and that: ‘Our land is capable of maintaining every man woman and child in a state of independence....’⁶ The conservative *Wairarapa Daily Times*, although no friend of Hogg, shared his disdain of industrial cities:

‘We don’t want little smokey Manchesters or small smokey Sheffields....In the manufacturing towns of the old country are to be found small stunted specimens of the human race....There is ample outdoor employment for every man women and child in the colony.’⁷

New Zealanders had good reason to avoid the blight of Britain’s large industrial cities. Although an emerging middle class was making material progress, the plight of the vast majority of city dwellers in Britain was appalling. In industrial cities, the average height of people declined between 1830 and 1880; this was compelling evidence of inadequate nutrition and an unhealthy environment. The growth of the cities allowed landlords to command high rents, exacerbating the difficulties of the industrial workers. The response of the poor to those rents was overcrowding resulting in dreadfully unsanitary conditions.⁸ The plight of the multitude was well publicised in contemporary literature.⁹ The condition of the great cities would not have been a revelation to the colonists: most were either immigrants or children thereof, in addition to a constant stream of new immigrants bringing updated information on the world they had left. Many of the immigrants, like Hogg, had come via Australia and knew that the evils of large cities were not confined to the old world. Hogg, in the 1894 land-for-settlements debate, reinforced his argument with an extract from a Melbourne paper on the plight of the new world’s urban poor.¹⁰ McKenzie, Hogg and the conservative *Wairarapa Daily Times* shared the ruralist ideology identified by Miles Fairburn as the ‘rural myth’: the country

⁵ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 72 (1891), p. 379 (J.S. McKenzie).

⁶ *ibid.*, p. 504 (A.W. Hogg).

⁷ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Aug. 22 1894, p. 2.

⁸ A.N. Wilson, *The Victorians*, London: Hutchinson, 2002, pp. 443-446.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 442.

¹⁰ *NZPD*, Vol. 84 (1894), p. 205 (A.W. Hogg).

was a better place to live than the city, especially for families.¹¹ Although late in the 19th century New Zealand was already highly urbanised by international standards,¹² its low population precluded overcrowded cities. The 'land debaters' can be excused for not predicting New Zealand's ultimate population, and their concerns were genuine and rational.

Although there was consensus on the need to construct a rural society, the shape of that society was contentious. The *Wairarapa Daily Times* referred to 'ample outdoor employment....' This was the conservative model for rural New Zealand. The editorial attacked New Zealand's trade protection. The tariffs were a charge on rural New Zealand and encouraged people into big city industries. While the conservative faction favoured the opening of crown lands for settlement, they preferred an unregulated land market. McKenzie was certain that the economies of scale would prevail in an unfettered land market.¹³ Land was different because of its fixed supply: 'because capitalists can afford to lie [sic] out their money for a considerable time when it is in land, until the growth in population makes land valuable.'¹⁴ Land monopoly was feasible in an open market.¹⁵

Liberal land policy rejected the unregulated land-market model, not for socialist reasons but because land concentration resulted in land lying idle. The primary purpose of land was to support people. Land was productive when filled with people. Hogg, like McKenzie, had witnessed the effects of the highland clearances where people were displaced with pastoralism, and forced into the cities.¹⁶ Closer settlement may have been a less efficient land use in terms of labour productivity, but smaller holdings meant more houses, fences, and other improvements; the economic activity impacted positively on the small rural towns. The awareness that large tracts of land were concentrated in the ownership of a few caused concern, especially in the South Island.¹⁷ Land monopoly was forcing people into the cities.¹⁸

¹¹ Miles Fairburn, 'The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier: An Approach to New Zealand Social History, 1870-1940', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (April 1975), pp. 3-21, pp. 4-5.

¹² *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 1990, pp. 132-133.

¹³ *NZPD*, Vol. 72 (1891), pp. 377-378 (J.S. McKenzie).

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 372 (J.S. McKenzie).

¹⁵ Hamer, p. 64.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p. 175.

¹⁷ Brooking, 'Use it or Lose it', p. 143.

¹⁸ Hamer, p. 171.

Land Policy: 1877 to 1890

Liberalism's cornerstone land policy was evident before the pivotal election of 1890. There was always consensus on the need for a land policy, and widespread support for closer settlement. There was unity between the freehold and leasehold factions over the role of leasehold in enabling those with limited capital to participate in closer settlement.¹⁹ The divergence was over the right of crown tenants to buy the freehold: once it was purchased, the crown could not prevent the aggregation of this land.

There was an underlying momentum to land legislation from the end of provincial government to the 1890 election. The legislation centred on the disbursement of crown land to as many people as possible, and conditions for those with limited means were made easier. Initially, a deferred payment option was offered with 10- and 15-year terms for agricultural and pastoral land respectively. Only the landless were eligible, and mandatory residency and improvement conditions applied.²⁰ This was augmented in 1882 with a perpetual lease for agricultural land: an initial term of 30 years and a perpetual right to renew at valuation (excluding lessee improvements); rent was set at 5%.²¹

Lands Minister, John Ballance, gave closer settlement of pastoral land impetus with the introduction of the small-grazing-run tenure in 1885. This leasehold tenure was limited to a 21-year term with rights of renewal, but the crown retained the right of resumption for further subdivision. The small-grazing-run tenure was inferior to the perpetual lease, but the rent was discounted to 2.5%.²² The discounted rent lowered the fixed costs allowing closer settlement of these pastoral lands. Provision remained for further subdivision should the wool market recover.

The 1887-91 Atkinson administration was responsible for progress and retrenchment in land policy. The right to freehold perpetual lease land was granted, easing the path to aggregation of these lands. However, the same administration replaced the auction system of selling crown

¹⁹ *ibid.*, p. 74.

²⁰ W.R. Jourdain, *Land Legislation and Settlement in New Zealand*, Wellington: Minister of Lands, 1925, pp. 26-27.

²¹ *ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

²² *ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

lands with allotment by ballot. This prevented selectors from impoverishing themselves by bidding to unsustainable levels. Rents on deferred payment and perpetual lease lands allocated by auction were also reduced in response to deteriorating produce prices.²³ Successive administrations were progressively easing the path towards closer settlement of crown land.

The resumption of private land for settlement preceded the 1890 Liberal Government. John Ballance, as Lands Minister, promoted a policy of land-for-the-landless, and his 1885 Land Act introduced the village-homestead special-settlement system: this allowed groups of landless families to petition a landowner to sell; the state then purchased the land, settled the petitioners on it under the perpetual lease tenure, and provided finance for housing.²⁴ This theoretically provisioned the landless with a small landholding for sustenance in times of seasonal unemployment. The concept of a 'cow and three acres' was popular with conservative interests, as it put a casual labour force into rural areas; this softened conservative opposition to land-for-settlements. Ballance attempted to introduce a compulsory purchase clause in his 1887 Land Acquisition Bill, and this served as a political manifesto for the 1890 election.²⁵

Liberal Land Policy: 1890 to 1893

The defining feature of Liberal land policy was its focus on the large estates. There was a perception that crown land available for settlement was rapidly diminishing. The Liberals proposed to open up a new source of idle land for closer settlement: land suited to grain and fat lamb production on the east coasts of both Islands was held in large estates.²⁶ The change that accompanied the Liberals in 1890 was the direct measures taken to open these large estates for closer settlement.

The Ballance Government instituted two measures to dismantle large estates: a graduated land tax and the resumption of large estates. The 1891 Land and Income Assessment Act replaced the existing property tax. A land tax of 1d/£ (0.4%) was levied on all estates valued over £500;

²³ *ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p. 29.

²⁵ W.J. Gardner, *A Pastoral Kingdom Divided: Cheviot, 1889-94*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992, pp. 76-77.

²⁶ Tom Brooking, *Lands for the People? The Highland Clearances and the Colonisation of New Zealand: A Biography of John McKenzie*, Dunedin: University of Otago, 1996, p. 99.

the vast majority were exempted.²⁷ The land tax was bolstered with a graduated tax starting at 1/8d/£ for estates with a value of £5,000, rising in regular steps to a maximum of 1¾d/£ for properties valued at £210,000 or more. Those absent from the colony were levied a 20% surcharge on the graduated tax. The graduated tax was not tiered and the combined impost on the largest estates was 1.15%. Initially, improvements over £3,000 were subject to the land tax. While this exemption covered most property owners, the large estates had improvements well in excess. Mortgages up to £1,500 were also exempt from the land tax, but not the graduated tax.²⁸ Relief came in 1893 with the exemption of all improvements,²⁹ and large estates with a high ratio of improvements paid less than under the property tax regime. Impoverishing the large estates to the point of exacerbating unemployment was too high a price to pay.

Initially, the new tax laws may have discouraged land aggregation by darkening the future prospects for large estate owners. In 1891, F.H.D. Bell used the threat of increased land tax to persuade a fellow Cheviot estate trustee to sell: 'This is the thin edge of the wedge. Sooner or later they will increase and increase until Cheviot and other large estates become impossible.'³⁰ However, D.D. Macfarlane expressed the same sentiment in 1898 when deciding to offer part of his large estate to the Land Purchase Commission.³¹ Seven years had elapsed since the tax was introduced and threats of further increases must have seemed increasingly hollow, especially in light of the 1893 reforms; Macfarlane was using the putative threat to justify his desire to sell.

The second measure aimed at the great estates was the land-for-settlements legislation. This proposed to purchase, by compulsion if necessary, estates for closer settlement. The first Land for Settlements Act passed easily through the House of Representatives in 1891, but lapsed through delay in Legislative Council.³² McKenzie cited the Public Works Act as a precedent for compulsory purchase, and both William Rolleston and Sir John Hall accepted the state's right to resume large estates; George Richardson was opposed, but only on the grounds that compulsory

²⁷ NZOYB, 1893, p. 419.

²⁸ *New Zealand Statutes*, 1891 (No. 18), Land and Income Assessment Act, Schedule A.

²⁹ NZOYB, 1894, p. 245.

³⁰ Gardner, *A Pastoral Kingdom Divided*, p. 48.

³¹ W.J. Gardner, *The Amuri: A County History*, Culverden: The Amuri County Council, 1956, p. 335.

³² Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury & Otago 1840 - 1914*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2002, p. 110.

purchase was unnecessary.³³ The most strident opposition came from the Maori representatives who, unlike their European counterparts, were inherently opposed to the compulsory purchase of land.³⁴ Opposition to land-for-settlements may have been tempered by a belief that financial constraints would prevent the wholesale resumption of privately held land.

A tamer, but largely unworkable, version of the 1891 Act passed through both chambers in 1892, sans the compulsory acquisition clause. The unworkable features included the annual budget of £50,000 and the 320-acre maximum lot size.³⁵ The maximum lot size effectively limited purchases to high quality land, but the annual budget and lack of a compulsory purchase provision precluded this. One of the first estates purchased under the legislation, Pomahaka in South Otago, was a disaster. The estate owner successfully manipulated the Land Purchasing Commission into paying a premium for poor quality land; this rendered the 320-acre sections uneconomic, and less than half were leased.³⁶ Land-for-settlements was off to a shaky start, but all changed with the Cheviot purchase.

Although the 1892 Land for Settlements Act proved unworkable, some features endured. Notably, the scheme was designed to be self-financing. The settlements were financed through debentures that paid 5% interest or less. All settlement land was leased-in-perpetuity at 5% of capital value; this included all costs of purchase, survey, additional roading, and administration. Land purchasing commissions were established in each district to discover, value, and recommend properties suitable for purchase. These were composed entirely of public servants, unlike the land boards administering crown lands; the district commissioner of crown lands was ex officio on both boards. The final decision to purchase lay with cabinet.³⁷ From 1851, a third of crown land sales proceeds, and a quarter of rents, were passed to the local authority, whose territory the land was in, for roading.³⁸ The land-for-settlements disposals were exempted from this as this land had already been through the crown lands system. More importantly, the

³³ NZPD, Vol. 74 (1891), pp. 437-438 (J.S. McKenzie); p. 439 (W. Rolleston); p. 442 (Sir John Hall); p. 451 (G.F. Richardson).

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. 451 (H. Taipua).

³⁵ Jourdain, pp. 35-36.

³⁶ Brooking, *Lands for the People?*, pp. 191-192.

³⁷ Jourdain, p. 131.

³⁸ Graham W.A. Bush, *Local Government and Politics in New Zealand*, Auckland: George Allen & Unwin, 1980, p. 25.

scheme could not be self-financing if a portion of the proceeds were assigned to local authorities.

The lease-in-perpetuity tenure came with the benchmark 1892 Land Act. This had a 999-year term without revaluation; rent was set at 4% for crown lands, but the right to freehold was foregone. However, there was provision in the Act for those preferring freehold to occupy with the right of purchase; the occupying rent was set at 5%.³⁹ Although key Liberals such as Ballance, McKenzie and Hogg opposed the sale of crown land, the liberal ethic was to let the people choose by offering a spectrum of tenures.⁴⁰ Hogg opined that lease-in-perpetuity was so good that no one could possibly prefer freehold;⁴¹ this was the Liberal's way of protecting crown land from aggregation.

The Cheviot Effect

Although the Cheviot estate was neither purchased nor administered under the Land for Settlements Act, it shaped future land-for-settlements policy. The 1892-93 Cheviot purchase was politically popular and gave momentum to land-for-settlements.⁴² The 1894 revamp of the land-for-settlements legislation allowed for compulsory purchase of large estates and increased the annual budget to a more threatening £250,000; the maximum interest on borrowings to finance the settlements was lowered to 4%, reducing the possibility of the settlements drawing on public revenues.⁴³

The sale of the Cheviot sections was modelled on the crown lands disposal system, and the outcome determined future land-for-settlements subdivisions. The agricultural land was offered for lease-in-perpetuity, and the pastoral land as small-grazing-runs; freehold sections were also offered, but there were no offerings for occupation with right of purchase; the maximum section size was aligned with the crown land system. Both lease-in-perpetuity and small-grazing-runs carried a rent of 5%. Only six of the 45 freehold sections sold, while 650 selectors contested the

³⁹ Jourdain, p. 32.

⁴⁰ *NZPD*, Vol. 72 (1891), p. 378 (J. McKenzie).

⁴¹ *ibid.*, Vol. 84 (1894), p. 204 (A.W. Hogg).

⁴² Hamer, p. 107.

⁴³ Jourdain, pp. 132-133.

after acceptance, the scheme was useful as a negotiating lever with private lenders.⁵⁰ This state lending to settlers was designed to help the smaller landholders, and its significance was amplified by a budget six times larger than land-for-settlements. This legislation was an important part of Liberal land policy and showed a Government unconvinced by free market ideology.

Ideologies of Liberal Land Policy

Between 1890 and 1912, a group of men who called themselves the Liberals governed New Zealand. They were opposed by people who also claimed to be liberals, and were finally ousted by the Reform party, which asserted that they were the true liberals.⁵¹ In short, liberalism was the dominant political ideology of this age. Liberalism is synonymous with property rights and appears antagonistic to land-for-settlements, in which a Government purchased freehold land, against the wishes of the incumbent owner if necessary. Although Liberal land policy had a socialist ambience, it was compatible with liberal ideology.

Generally, political beliefs are uncritically absorbed.⁵² Liberalism as such was not debated in colonial society, but debates were conducted within a liberal framework. Liberal ideology was constructed by John Locke, a wealthy supporter of the Whig cause in 17th century England.⁵³ Locke's *Second Treatise of Government* was the basis of the American Revolution and contemporary liberal democracy.⁵⁴ Although seldom referred to, Locke's ideas are readily discernible in New Zealand's age of liberalism.

Lockean liberalism rests on two principle tenets: the function of government was to protect individual property rights, and its legitimacy rested on majority consent. Consent implied equality, and, in a judicial and political context, liberalism was an egalitarian philosophy;

⁵⁰ Government Advances to Settlers Office Report, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1900 (B-13), pp. 1, 3.

⁵¹ W.J. Gardner, 'The Reform Party', in *Ends and Means in New Zealand Politics*, 6th ed., Robert Chapman (ed.), Auckland: University of Auckland, 1972, p. 25.

⁵² Michael J. White, *Political Philosophy: An Historical Introduction*, Oxford: Oneworld Publications, 2003, p. 10.

⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 144-145.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, p. 147.

59 lease-in-perpetuity and small-grazing-run sections. When reoffered under lease-in-perpetuity, the former freehold sections were keenly sought.⁴⁴ The freehold sections had failed to sell because they were overpriced, and their saleability was only secured through a tenure that attracted a wider bench of buyers. In 1894, the Liberals decided on lease-in-perpetuity and small-grazing-runs for land-for-settlements disposals. Subsequent legislation gave district land boards the power to interview and reject applicants. In 1897, the land-for-settlements budget was further increased to £500,000.⁴⁵

The Cheviot story also contributed to the Government Advances to Settlers legislation. The financing of Cheviot was five times the 1892 land-for-settlements budget. This large amount of borrowing conflicted with the Liberal's cornerstone policy of self-reliance, yet the public were unfazed.⁴⁶ This public endorsement opened the door for the Liberal administration to address a major area of market failure in rural finance. The lending institutions, notably the Bank of New Zealand, were holding significant portfolios of non-performing assets in the form of large estates they had foreclosed. To cover these losses, lending rates between 7% and 9% were charged and were usurious when compared to deposit rates of 5%.⁴⁷ Furthermore, settlers seeking small mortgages paid high establishment fees, and those with leasehold tenure were excluded. The widespread failure of small farm settlements was attributed to a lack of capital.⁴⁸

The Government Advances to Settlers Act remedied these deficiencies. The Government proposed to borrow £1,500,000 annually on the London market at 4%, and lend to settlers at 5% on 36-year table mortgages. Loans of two-thirds of freehold value and one-half of lessees' interest were available. Mortgages were limited to £2,500 per borrower, with preference to those applying for less than £500. Mortgage establishment costs were so tightly prescribed that A.K. Newman MHR described the legislation as: 'A Bill to smash lawyers of the colony....'⁴⁹ By 1900, 7,488 settlers held mortgages with Advances to Settlers, of which one-third were leaseholders; 20% of applicants were declined, while a further 10% withdrew their applications

⁴⁴ John Wilson, *Cheviot: Kingdom to County*, Cheviot: Cheviot Historical Records Society, 1993, pp. 97-98.

⁴⁵ Jourdain, pp. 134-135.

⁴⁶ Wilson, *Cheviot*, p. 86.

⁴⁷ M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand to 1939*, Auckland: Collins, 1970, p. 156.

⁴⁸ Hamer, pp. 68-69.

⁴⁹ *NZPD*, Vol. 85 (1894), p. 696 (Dr Newman).

privilege was its antithesis. Locke used property as a catchall for life, liberty and possessions.⁵⁵ There was an antagonism between government and individual liberty, and this demarcated the two groups of liberals. The Liberals emphasised consent while their opponents, whom they successfully tagged as conservatives, gave greater weighting to liberty. However, much of the colony's progress from a ratepayers' democracy to universal male suffrage occurred under conservative administrations; Sir John Hall is credited as the 'numbers man' for female suffrage, although his motives are questioned.⁵⁶ Liberalism's democratic sentiment had widespread support.

Majority consent was the trump-card of Lockean liberalism, and this underpinned land-for-settlements policy. Locke's argument that residency was acceptance of the body-politic,⁵⁷ while subject to criticism, was especially strong in colonies where people were geographically mobile. The *Wairarapa Daily Times*, although opposed to land-for-settlements, accepted the verdict of the voting public.⁵⁸ The Liberal Government's confidence in the popularity of the settlements was conspicuous in its hurried purchase of the large Waikakahi estate immediately before the 1899 election.⁵⁹ This strong democratic sentiment sanctioned land-for-settlements in New Zealand.

Liberal ideology harbours a friction between egalitarianism and the unequal endowment of possessions. Locke resolved this by reconciling disparities in wealth with a common and equal right to exploit the earth's resources: everyone had a right to the product of their labour, and could therefore equally share the earth's bounty.⁶⁰ Locke argued that the invention of money allowed individuals to store wealth in a manner that did not 'spoil'. Spoilage or waste violated the property rights of others as it precluded their rightful use of the earth's resources; it 'robbed others' according to Locke.⁶¹

⁵⁵ John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government, (An Essay Concerning the True Original, Extent and End of Civil Government)*, 3rd ed., J.W. Gough (ed.), Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1976, Ch. VII, Sec. 87.

⁵⁶ McAloon, p. 176.

⁵⁷ Locke, Ch. VII, Secs 95-97, 119-121.

⁵⁸ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Dec. 11 1900, p. 2.

⁵⁹ John Wilson, *Waikakahi: Fulfilling the Promise*, Waimate: Waikakahi Centennial 1999 Incorporated Society, 1999, p. 67.

⁶⁰ Locke, Ch. V, Sec. 27.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, Ch. V, Secs 46-50.

While some may support Locke's contention that wealth held as money did not impact on the property rights of others, his argument can be turned on its head if wealth is held in a form that could spoil; this was the genesis of Liberal land policy. If individuals were holding their surplus possessions in the form of land, and failed to exploit its productive capacity, they were violating the right of others to draw sustenance from that land. The rejuvenated assault on Maori land in the 1890s was also justified in those terms.⁶²

The injunctions and remedies that successive American administrations imposed on monopolies has striking similarities with land-for-settlements legislation. Monopolies extract higher prices by restricting the output of the monopolised resource. This deliberate wastage was unacceptable, and the resulting anti-trust legislation predated concerns over social inequalities. American anti-trust legislation compelled the monopolist to divest, whereas land-for-settlements assisted the divestment of the idle land; compulsory purchase was the exception. Neither confiscated wealth: the objection was to unproductiveness, not wealth. The Liberals accused the large landowners of land monopoly. Their opponents accepted that land monopoly could exist, and that it was a legitimate function of the state to remedy such a situation, but maintained that action was premature and an intrusion on property rights.

Land-for-settlements ideology was rooted in liberal egalitarianism, but was not socialist. There was no intrinsic objection to wealth, provided it remained in the colony; everyone abhorred absentees. The owners of the purchased estates were paid in full;⁶³ their possessions were not reduced. The poor were not subsidised into the settlements, and often were excluded because they lacked sufficient capital.⁶⁴ The settlement subdivisions catered for differing socio-economic classes of tenants. The replacement of the owner and a few shepherds from the resumed estates with a much larger number of people was proof the land was idle; taxpayer assistance to the new occupiers would discredit this claim.

Liberalism exuded individualism, and this ethos was costly to Maori. Locke reinforced Protestant and Augustinian beliefs that God had given each person a unique function. For that reason, individuals should be free of interference so they could fulfil their function; this was

⁶² Brooking, 'Use it or Lose it', pp. 161-162.

⁶³ Jourdain, p. 36.

⁶⁴ Jane Alexandra Donald, 'The Man Upon the Land: The Land For Settlements Act in the Wellington Land District', Hons Research Exercise, Massey University, 1976, p. 23.

Locke's justification for individual property rights.⁶⁵ This culture of individualism effectively excluded Maori from the benefits of Liberal land policy. Accommodating communal Maori structures would have perpetuated what were seen as inferior cultural practices and been a disservice to Maori; their exclusion was not an act of malice.⁶⁶

Yeomanry was the highest order in liberal society.⁶⁷ The self-reliant individual cultivating his own land conveyed two qualities synonymous with liberalism: improvement and work. Within the technologies of the day, cultivation was one of the few avenues available for improving the land. To hold cultivatable land in a pastoral state was to waste that land. Cultivation also connoted work. The work ethic was an important part of liberalism, and ploughing was unequivocal evidence of work. Those who did not produce violated the property rights of others by living off their labour; the work ethic had an egalitarian flavour. Pastoralists, like rentiers, appeared to gather a profit without physically working for it.

When discussing the origins of property rights, Locke posited that the claim to title rested on cultivation whereas the 'gatherer' could claim only the produce 'gathered', not the land on which it was gathered.⁶⁸ The yeomen cultivator had a prior claim to the land over pastoralists, who were 'gatherers'. Liberal land policy recognised this in the structure of its tenure options. The perpetual-lease and lease-in-perpetuity tenures were available for agricultural land only; both irrevocably ceded ownership to the tenants, subject to their meeting the conditions. In contrast, the state retained the right, at the end of each 21-year term, to resume small-grazing-runs; ownership was not ceded. The sentiment that pastoralists, as 'gatherers', did not have a moral claim to the land smoothed the path for land-for-settlements, especially the powers of compulsory purchase.

There was more to Liberal land policy than simply alleviating big-city evils with closer settlement of idle land. Walter Buchanan MHR, when speaking to the 1894 Land for Settlements Bill, challenged McKenzie's assertion of a diminishing supply of land and observed

⁶⁵ Locke, Ch. II, Sec. 5.

⁶⁶ Tom Brooking, 'Bursting Up the Greatest Estate of All: Liberal Maori Land Policy, 1891 to 1911' in *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 26, Issue 1 (April 1992), pp. 78-98, pp. 94, 97.

⁶⁷ Hamer, p. 71.

⁶⁸ Locke, Ch. V, Secs 31-35.

there was plenty of land for sale, but not many settlers with the means to buy.⁶⁹ 1894 editions of the *Wairarapa Daily Times* listed numerous properties of all types for sale; despite generous offers of vendor finance, these were slow to sell. Most of these farms did not have dwellings and were 'empty'.⁷⁰ Buchanan accused the Liberals of harbouring a political agenda by targeting the property of their political opponents. The opportunity existed for the state to buy unoccupied land on the open market, then re-tenure it to enable settlers whose means precluded freehold to occupy it. Furthermore, the power of compulsory purchase was limited to estates in excess of 1,000 acres of first-class agricultural land, or 2,000 acres of second-class agricultural and pastoral land, or 5,000 acres of pastoral land.⁷¹ The criterion for compulsory acquisition was not the idleness of the land, but the size of the estate.

'If the bill only achieves the disintegration of the great estates then that is enough justification,'⁷² said Liberal MHR for Avon, W.W. Tanner, unambiguously revealing his reasons for supporting the 1894 Land for Settlements Act. The large landowners appeared politically powerful and were a target for the Liberals' abhorrence of class interest.⁷³ The problem for the Liberals was the public's ambivalence towards large landowners. As a class, they were widely despised as evident in the acknowledged popularity of land-for-settlements, but as individuals they were admired. In 1890, Alexander Hogg squeezed out large landowner and incumbent MHR, George Beetham, by just 17 votes; Buchanan was re-elected in Wairarapa. There were only 28 large landowners among the 6,633 enrolled voters in these two electorates;⁷⁴ notwithstanding the generic unpopularity of large landowners, Buchanan and Beetham had widespread support. Stories of large landowners coercing their staff into voting conservatively may be a myth, but their influence was real.

Although New Zealand did not have a landed aristocracy as Britain did, there were similarities in rural social structures. In a rural community, even with a scattering of small farmers, the

⁶⁹ *NZPD*, Vol. 84 (1894), p. 174 (W.C. Buchanan).

⁷⁰ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Saturday editions 1894, p. 2. Specifically July 2 1894, p. 2. Only three of the 17 properties advertised listed a dwelling.

⁷¹ Jourdain, p. 132.

⁷² *NZPD*, Vol. 84 (1894), p. 181 (W.W. Tanner).

⁷³ Hamer, pp. 41-43.

⁷⁴ The General Election, 1890, *AJHR*, 1891, Sess I, (H-2), p. 1. There was a 50% voter turnout in the Masterton electorate, compared to 71% in Wairarapa.

large landowner provided employment, was frequently the arbiter for a church or common amenity to be built, and organised social and sports activities.⁷⁵ Such a structure created dependency and gave the large landowner an aura of benevolence. Although the British system of rural JPs administering law and order, roading, labour codes and the Poor Law was never replicated in New Zealand,⁷⁶ an embryonic 'deference society' was observable; 'squire towns' did exist.⁷⁷ County politics was the preserve of large landowners.⁷⁸ Such was the inevitability of the large landowning county chairman, in order to placate conservative opposition to the 1894 Land for Settlements Act, it was proposed that they be appointed to the land purchase commissions.⁷⁹ The large landowners were taking on the appearance of a politically privileged class; privilege was the antithesis of liberalism.

The high standing of large landowners troubled the Liberals. North Island Liberals, Hogg excepted, were less likely to confront this problem and showed commensurately less enthusiasm for land-for-settlements. By promoting closer settlement of rural areas, the Liberals risked empowering their political adversaries; but by breaking up the great estates, they were dispatching them. The power of the Liberal Government to acquire a great estate demonstrated its supremacy over an imagined aristocracy. The spectacle of the multitudes crowding onto an estate previously occupied by a few constantly demonised the large landowners. Premier Seddon, when discussing in Parliament prospective acquisitions in the Wairarapa, mentioned Brancepeth as a possible contender.⁸⁰ This was the power of the land-for-settlements: Brancepeth may have stood tall in the Wairarapa, but Seddon casually demonstrated that its future as an estate was in his hands. It was not as though the Liberals coldly calculated the dispatch of the great estate owners, but rather their natural aversion to privilege that shaped their land policy. Liberal land policy attacked the two enemies of liberalism: waste and privilege.

⁷⁵ M.D. Campbell, 'The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society 1850-1914', PhD. Thesis, Victoria University, 1972, pp. 261, 363.

⁷⁶ *ibid.*, p. 367.

⁷⁷ *ibid.*, pp. 361-364.

⁷⁸ A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa: An Historical Excursion*, Masterton: Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1976, pp. 535-536. The early county chairmen, in those counties with large estates, were large landowners: Akitio – F. Armstrong; Castlepoint – J. Austin; Wairarapa East and then North – G. Beetham; Wairarapa West and then South – R. Barton, W. Booth, C. Pharazyn, H. Bunny; Featherston – A. Mathews.

⁷⁹ Brooking, *Lands for the People?*, p. 123.

⁸⁰ *NZPD*, Vol. 108 (1899), p. 512 (R.J. Seddon).

Ch. 2 The Langdale Estate

In 1900, the Elder family offered Langdale to the Government. Their modest asking price reflected the idleness of the land. The Government purchased the estate for closer settlement because it was strategically located between Masterton and Castlepoint. Masterton would benefit from the development of the small farms, and the diversion of trade from Castlepoint. Alexander Hogg also hoped that crown tenants would enlighten the Wairarapa-North County, allegedly darkened by conservative interests.

While John Locke endorsed money as a store-of-wealth because it did not spoil,¹ New Zealand's pioneering entrepreneurs preferred land and accordingly acquired large estates.² For the entrepreneurial Alexander Elder, Langdale was a store-of-wealth, and an indulgence to four of his sons who wished to live in New Zealand. The Elder brothers came to New Zealand seeking colonial experience. The eldest, Thomas, took charge of Langdale in 1878, but left New Zealand five years later when Austin and Harry arrived; Malcolm joined his brothers in 1890.³ In 1893, Harry and Malcolm left Langdale to farm at Waikanae and Otaki respectively, and Jack Austin, a cousin, joined Austin Elder on the estate.⁴ Austin Elder died in Masterton in 1896, and Jack Austin managed Langdale until its sale in 1901.⁵

The Elders of Langdale exchanged newsletters with their family in England. A copy of the 1894 'Langdale Budget' remains.⁶ This portrays an articulate family exchanging news and

¹ John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government, (An Essay Concerning the True Original, Extent and End of Civil Government)*, 3rd ed., J.W. Gough (ed.), Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1976, Ch. V, Secs 46-50.

² Roberta McIntyre, *The Canoes of Kupe: A History of Martinborough District*, Wellington: Victoria University, 2002, p. 157.

³ Jean Kenyon Elder, *The Elders of Langdale*, Queensland: Bald Knob, 1988, p.6.

⁴ The Annual Sheep Returns, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1900 (H-23), pp. 60, 62. H.R. Elder and M.B. Elder owned 2,988 and 1,972 sheep respectively.

⁵ Elder, Appendix 'Update of History of Elders of Langdale', April 23 1988.

⁶ 'Langdale Budget' (1894), Castlepoint and Tinui Historical Records, 93-57/105.R4B3S6, WA. The 'Langdale Budget' comes from papers preserved by the descendents of the neighbouring estate owner, Parson Andrew. Although undated, the description of the children states that Paul Elder, born Oct. 6 1893, was nine months old so it must have been written July 1894. The copy comprises ten A4 pages of closely typed script. It appears to be the first edition and was in reply to the 'Campden Mercury' from England. It is quite conceivable that the family at Langdale had a typewriter. The 'Budget' was penned by Ida Austin and Austin Elder, with a paragraph by Malcolm Elder from Otaki.

views on a wide range of topics, including financial data from the estate, the children's progress, poetry, politics, and a critique of Tolstoy's 1894 publication: *The Kingdom of God is Within You*. The political section conveys a sense of vulnerability as Parliament debated the revived land-for-settlements legislation. Government with the money and mandate to acquire large estates was disturbing, and described as, 'unjust in the extreme.' The Elders supported the ruralist ideology of closer settlement, but objected to 'the nationalisation of the land'. The financial implications touched a raw nerve: 'It will mean increased taxation which will of course fall most heavily on the large holders.'⁷

The 'Budget' criticised trade protection and promoted a conservative solution to unemployment: the encouragement of wealthy people into the colony rather than deterring them with threats of land nationalisation and tariff protection.⁸ The report of swagmen appearing at the estate every night, up to 12 at a time, shows the Elders were aware of the effects of the long depression. However, they were not entirely sympathetic as the 'Budget' observed that the swaggers arrived too late in the day to work.⁹

When opening the Masterton Post Office in May 1900, Alexander Hogg announced the Government's acceptance of the Elder brothers' offer of Langdale.¹⁰ However, the Elder brothers did not control Langdale. Alexander Elder had purchased Langdale through his London-based merchant bank; on his death in 1885, Austin and Harry Elder inherited one-sixth each with the remaining two-thirds held by London domiciled trustees.¹¹ Harry Elder held registered powers-of-appointment from 1887 to 1894,¹² when control returned to London.¹³ Harry Elder opposed the sale of Langdale to the Government, but could not prevent it.¹⁴

⁷ 'Langdale Budget', pp. 6-7.

⁸ *ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

⁹ *ibid.*, p. 10.




¹⁰ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, May 10 1900, p. 2.

¹¹ Probate, A.L. Elder, Whareama Block, Section 276, Index 21, Vol. 6W, Folio 649, Land Information New Zealand (Wellington).

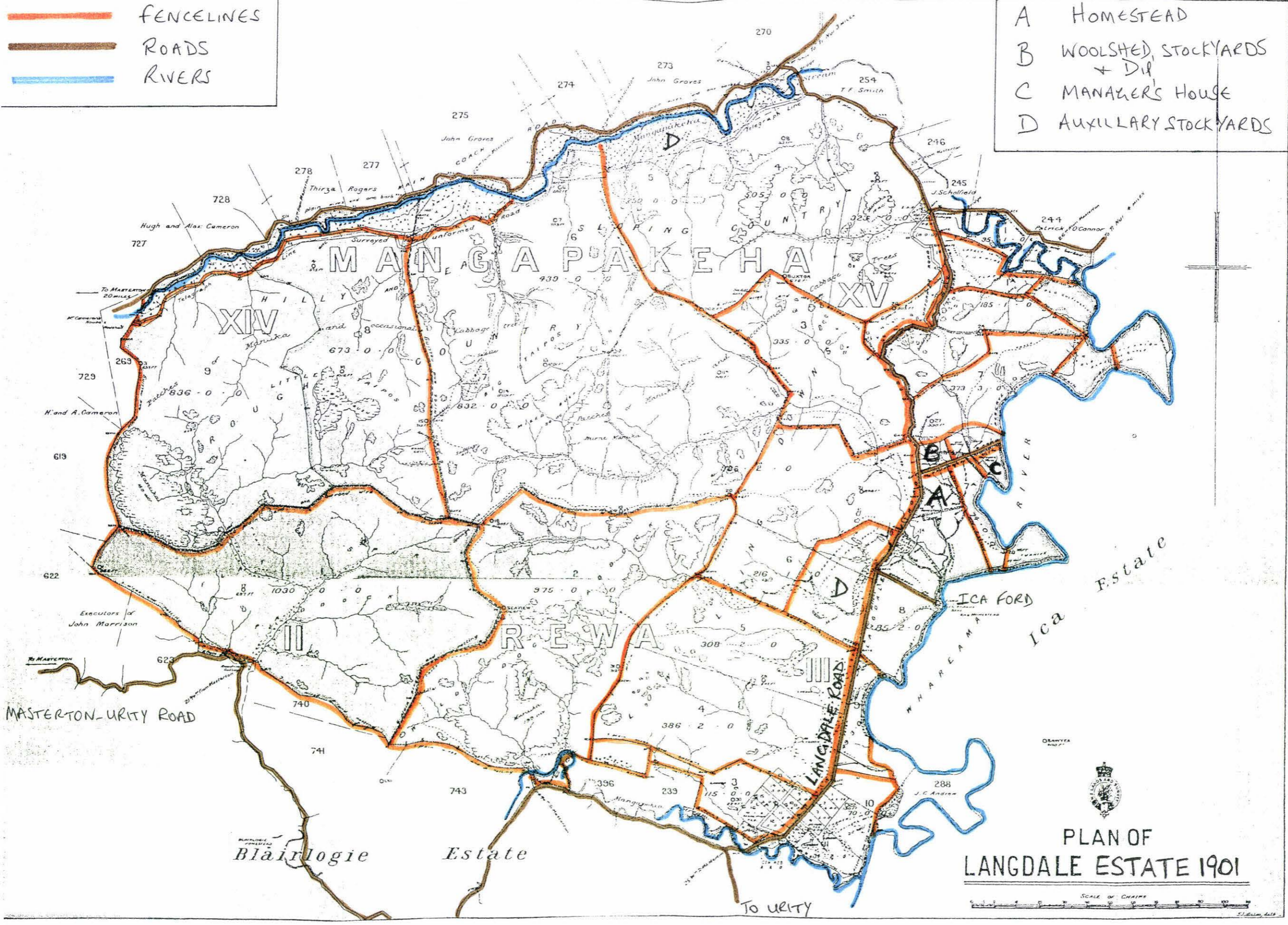
¹² Conveyance, Whareama Block, Section 726, Index 21, Vol. 99D, Folio 154, LINZ (Wellington).



¹³ 'Langdale Budget', p. 1.

¹⁴ H.R. Elder to D.B. Longhouse (March 5 1901), H.R. Elder Letter Book, March 27 1894 - March 1905, MS-Papers 0699-21, Ref. 113, ATU. H.D. Bell (Crown Solicitor), Lands and Survey Head Office, File 19223/44, NA.

 FENCELINES
 ROADS
 RIVERS

A HOMESTEAD
 B WOOLSHED, STOCKYARDS
 + Dip
 C MANAGERS HOUSE
 D AUXILLARY STOCKYARDS




 PLAN OF
 LANGDALE ESTATE 1901
 SCALE OF CHAINS


The Pastoral Enterprise

Alexander Elder had made a poorly timed investment in the New Zealand land market. His 1878 purchase of Langdale coincided with the peak in land prices. An analysis of Canterbury land values shows prices rising 750% in the eight years preceding 1878, and then steadily falling by 20% to a trough in the 1890s.¹⁵ The Assets Realisation Board wrote down the value of its (Bank of New Zealand foreclosed) large estates by 65% in 1896.¹⁶ In 1878, the average gross export price for New Zealand wool was at a peak of 13½d/lb, but this fell steadily and averaged 8¼d/lb in the 1890s; prices did not return to the 1878 peak until 1915.¹⁷ The falling wool prices were partially offset by the emerging frozen meat and dairy trades, which small farmers were more inclined to access; this explains the much larger fall in the values of pastoral estates.

The 'Langdale Budget' provides detail on how the estate was coping with the long depression in 1894, and comments: 'On the whole we think the station affairs, though not quite on the right side yet, have a hopeful look, and there is still a good time to come.'¹⁸ Initially, the Elders appeared to imitate English aristocracy by leasing land to small holders. An 1880 Castlepoint property valuation book shows Langdale with five such tenancies.¹⁹ The concept of an estate surrounded by satellite tenancies gave way to sales, and this reduced the estate from 18,000 to 11,890 acres by 1894. Sheep numbers were reduced from 23,000 in 1884 to 16,500 in 1894.²⁰ The Elders alienated a further 2,605 acres of land in 1896.²¹ The alienated land was on the western side of the Mangapakeha-Tinui road; the country towards Tinui had significant areas of

¹⁵ M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand to 1939*, Auckland: Collins, 1970, pp. 155-156.

¹⁶ Assets Realisation Board, *Comparison of Actual Profit for 11 Years*, *AJHR*, 1906 (B-15A), p. 2. This table compares the foreclosed estates' return on capital at cost price and at the Assets Realisation Board manager's valuation. The write-downs range between 65% in 1896 and 51% in 1905, because the estates sold over the period were omitted. The 1896 figure includes all the estates taken over by the Assets Realisation Board, hence its use here. The manager had an interest in writing down the value of the estates as it boosted his theoretical return-on-capital, but some of the estates were acquired compulsorily by the Government at prices below the manager's valuation.

¹⁷ Lloyd Prichard, pp. 409-410, 425.

¹⁸ Langdale Budget, p. 10.

¹⁹ Wairarapa-North County Council Income and Property Assessment Book, Shelf 5, TDA.

²⁰ Robin M. Startup, *Wairarapa Sheep-owners & Flock Numbers 1861-1915*, 03-53/1.R7B2S6, WA.

²¹ Conveyance, Whareama Block, Section 276, Index 21, Vol. 127, Folio 123/748, LINZ (Wellington). The land was leased to John Groves in 1896, and sold to him in 1898.

flat, while the balance was mainly hill. Most of the land was sold as medium-sized farms, and the Elders financed the purchasers.²² The Elders may have purchased Langdale with subdivision in mind. Alternatively, the land sales were filling an income gap and financing improvements to the estate. The Elders built several houses, including a new homestead, and a meat-rendering plant (destroyed by fire in the 1880s).²³

The main business of Langdale was wool-production. The 'Langdale Budget' highlights wool-weights and prices, but makes only a passing reference to the sale of fat sheep and provides no details of lambing percentages or livestock prices. The wool weights were 6¾lb per adult sheep and 2½lb per lamb. The average gross price of 8½d/lb reduced to 7d/lb after shipping and selling commissions. There is a self-conscious rider indicating that the results were commensurate with other stations.²⁴ The interest shown in the lamb wool weights, which were high when compared to the adult sheep, indicates Langdale was changing sheep breeds in 1894. The 1901 Langdale clearing sale shows the estate with a Lincoln-cross flock and some older fine-wool ewes.²⁵ Lincolns were the preferred wool-producing breed in the early 1890s,²⁶ and the change portrays the Elders as still backing wool as the path to recovery. In 1894, Langdale's wool income would have been about £3,540. By comparison, the same weight of wool in 1878 would have yielded £6,195.²⁷ A return to the wool prices of former years, with weights boosted by the new breed, would have restored Langdale's prosperity; but this did not happen.

One area where Langdale gained financial benefit was rabbit control. The 'Budget' records an extensive poisoning policy. The sale of rabbit skins offset most of the poisoning costs, but not

²² Conveyance, Whareama Block, Section 276, Index 21, Vol. 99D, Folio 154-165, LINZ (Wellington).

²³ A.G. Bagnall (ed.), *Early Castlepoint: First Years in a Pioneer Settlement*, Castlepoint: Castlepoint Historical Committee, 1948, p. 34.

²⁴ 'Langdale Budget', p. 10.

²⁵ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Feb. 19 1901, p. 3. The sheep are catalogued as Lincoln-Romney cross but the rams in the catalogue were Lincolns and this was reinforced by 50 pedigree Lincoln ewes. The presence of four-tooth wethers and the significant number of maiden four-tooth ewes also indicates a predominantly Lincoln flock. In the change from Merino-based sheep to crossbreds, the estate may have experimented with Romneys or the selling agents attempted to enhance the market appeal of the flock by claiming a Romney background, for it.

²⁶ Crossbreeding of Sheep, *AJHR*, 1893 (H-2), pp. 30-34. This was the proceedings of an Australasian sheep-breeding conference. The consensus was that Lincolns were slow-maturing sheep and less suitable to the frozen meat trade than Romneys or Border Leicesters.

²⁷ These calculations assume 16,500 adult sheep and 4,000 lambs shorn. The net wool price for Langdale in 1894 at 7d/lb was 1d/lb less than New Zealand's average gross export price. The 1878 calculation is based on the same sheep numbers and deducts the same 1d/lb from the 1878 average gross export price 13¼d/lb.

the opportunity cost of the stock displaced by rabbits.²⁸ The rabbit problem was widespread, and there was a raft of legislation from 1876 to form rabbit districts with inspectors and enforcement powers.²⁹ By 1900, these remedies appeared successful, in general and in the Castlepoint district.³⁰ Langdale sheep numbers fell dramatically to 11,849 in 1895 before recovering to 14,569 by 1900,³¹ despite the disposal of 2,605 acres in 1896. While sheep numbers were below 1894 levels, the stocking rate had increased from 1.5 to 1.9 per acre, reflecting the remission of the rabbit menace.³²

Although the per-acre carrying capacity had increased, the estate failed to take advantage of the meat producing opportunities. The estate's clearing sale gives an insight into its farming system. The sale was held on March 1 1901, three weeks before the settlement ballot, discounting the possibility of the selectors as purchasers. Holding the sale a month before possession date did give the vendors latitude if the sale failed, but if the selectors were potential buyers the sale would be unlikely to fail. The timing of the clearing sale acknowledged that the crown tenants farmed differently to large estate owners. In 1901, Langdale remained focused on wool-production, with only 40% of the adult sheep producing lambs.³³ The estate bred its own Lincoln rams, and sold the male sheep as four-tooth (two-year-old) wethers. Although this was a wool-producing estate, a significant proportion of income came from livestock sales. A smaller livestock sale held at Langdale, after the crown tenants took possession, comprised breeding ewes, lambs, and Romney rams;³⁴ the type of stock that farmers pursuing meat production opportunities would prefer.

²⁸ 'Langdale Budget', pp. 3-4.

²⁹ *New Zealand Statutes*, Rabbit Nuisance Act 1876 (No 63), Secs 11, 20; 1882 (No. 66), Secs 9-12.

³⁰ *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 1901, p. 133. This attributes the decline in rabbit skin exports to successful eradication. *NZPD*, Vol. 116 (1901), pp. 256-257 (A.W. Hogg, T.Y. Duncan). *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, Vol. 1, Wellington: New Zealand Cyclopaedia Company, 1897-1908, p. 998.

³¹ Startup, Wairarapa Sheep-owners.

³² 'Langdale Budget', p. 10. Startup, Wairarapa Sheep-owners. *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Feb. 19 1901, p. 3. The 'Budget' gives sheep and cattle numbers for 1894, while Sheep-owners (Startup) gives sheep numbers only, so cattle numbers in 1900 are based on the estate's clearing sale (1901). A conversion ratio of five has been used to convert cattle into sheep-equivalents; horses have been excluded.

³³ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Feb. 19 1901, p. 3. The number of two-tooth ewes and wethers is a good indication of lambs retained; the number of rams indicates the proportion of ewes mated.

³⁴ *ibid.*, March 26 1901, p. 3.

From 1883, Wairarapa had a burgeoning meat export trade centred on the Wellington Meat Export Company. However, the list of Wairarapa directors indicates that this was the preserve of the estates within easy reach of the rail.³⁵ The rapid growth of New Zealand's meat exports did not result from changing price relativities between meat and wool. On a weight-for-weight basis, wool prices were substantially higher than meat prices and this margin remained largely unchanged well into the 20th century, yet meat production grew at a much faster rate than wool. From a standing start in 1883, meat export production equalled wool by 1890 and was 64% higher by 1914.³⁶ The source of this dramatic increase was the low opportunity cost to wool of meat production.³⁷ The impediments to meat production were the capacity of the processing industry and markets to absorb rapid increases, the isolation of outlying areas from rail and processing facilities, and the landowners' unwillingness to change.

Langdale was idle. There was an incomprehensible failure to capitalise on the large area of cultivable flats. Of the 1,300 acres available, only 400 acres had ever been cultivated, with 60 acres in mainly green crop at sale date;³⁸ the opportunity for large-scale finishing of stock was unrealised. Best practice would have been to produce and fatten the maximum number of lambs, and farm the remainder until two-tooths. There was a useful margin between a store lamb and a two-tooth wether, but no margin beyond that.³⁹ There were two unexploited avenues of fat lamb production open to the Langdale estate. A 1919 diary from N.W. Groves of Bushgrove records the sale of fat lambs weaned from ewes on similar hill-country to Langdale's, and under similar farming technologies.⁴⁰ Groves used specialist fat-lamb sires, notably absent at the Langdale clearing sale. The second avenue was to finish the remaining lambs on green crops, a luxury Groves did not have. The Elders chose to ignore these profitable options.

³⁵ A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa: An Historical Excursion*, Masterton: Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1976, pp. 457-458.

³⁶ Lloyd Prichard, pp. 409, 425.

³⁷ A breeding ewe needs more grass than a dry sheep, but the increased feed demand coincides with the spring flush and the opportunity cost is, in most cases, negligible.

³⁸ *The Langdale Settlement, Wellington, New Zealand*, Wellington: T.Y. Duncan, Minister of Lands, 1901, pp. 14-31. The 1,300 acres of flats and 400 acres previously cultivated excludes 79 acres of cultivated flats leased to J. Taplin.

³⁹ *New Zealand Farmer*, Feb. 1900, p. 83; Feb. 1901, p. 79. These are two Masterton stock sale reports and show price relativities between store lambs and two- and four-tooth wethers.

⁴⁰ N.W. Groves, Diary, Jan. 4 1919, Shelf 8 (file 6), TDA. Bushgrove bounded the western side of Langdale.

Langdale was constrained by its isolation from Masterton, but this was remediable. The estate infrastructure reflected the wool-boom years, and pointed towards Castlepoint where Langdale sourced its inputs and sent its produce. Surfboats lightered the freight between the jetty and the larger boats anchored further out. This system limited outwards freight to wool and dry goods.⁴¹ To access the fat lamb trade, Langdale needed a basic set of stockyards and a quality holding-paddock at the Masterton end of the estate.⁴² The Masterton-edge of Langdale was a third of the journey between the finishing country and the Masterton rail; from there, the stock-drive to Masterton was only a day and a half. The undivided estate could shift lambs to a holding-paddock at the Masterton-end before putting them on the road. The crown tenants would need to put the lambs on the road from their farms; this meant an extra day on the road for those at the Whareama-end where most of the finishing country lay.⁴³ An undivided Langdale could access the fat lamb trade more efficiently than its subdivided successor.

In 1901, the general manager of the National Mortgage Association, J.M. Ritchie, noted the different strategies of small and larger farmers; the small farmers were less dependent on wool.⁴⁴ James Bellich explains the small farmers' willingness to access the refrigerated trades in terms of family labour: 'Family labour was the cheapest available'.⁴⁵ Family labour was more significant on dairy farms, where the wife and older children milked the cows in lieu of milking machines, than on meat-producing farms where the labour requirement was substantially less. The shift to meat production entailed a higher proportion of adult sheep producing lambs, and increased cultivation. To make the change, Langdale needed more labour.

Langdale was not constrained by labour shortages. In the mid-1880s, the Annedale estate (north of Tinui) employed 500 men for two years clearing bush;⁴⁶ relative to a district population of

⁴¹ S.D. Waters, *Richardsons of Napier, a Century of Coastal Shipping 1859-1959*, Napier: Richardson and Company, 1959, pp. 56-61.

⁴² *The Langdale Settlement*, pp. 15-17. The paddock nearest Masterton was 108 acres of swamp on Sections 8 & 9 (XIV) Mangapakeha SD. This would be ideal were it drained and cultivated; lambs ready to go could have been shifted from the Whareama side, rested and refreshed with good quality feed before the final drive to Masterton.

⁴³ *ibid.*, pp. 14-31. Lambs do not thrive on the poor quality roadside grass, and deteriorate exponentially with each day; that extra day on the road was significant.

⁴⁴ Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury & Otago 1840-1914*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2002, pp. 50-51.

⁴⁵ James Bellich, *Paradise Reformed: A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland: Penguin Books, 2001, p. 127.

⁴⁶ Bagnall, *Castlepoint*, p. 48.

around 600, this was a significant import of casual labour. Furthermore, the Castlepoint County records show no labour shortages from its inauguration in 1901 until the wartime shortages emerged in 1916.⁴⁷ This leaves the 1890s, but if labour was available in both the 1880s and the early 20th century, a labour shortage in the intervening years was unlikely, especially as this was the depth of the long depression. Roberta McIntyre reports rural unemployment in South Wairarapa in the 1890s.⁴⁸ M.D. Campbell links labour shortages with poor employment practices, and cites a popular Porangahau station owner as overloaded with staff.⁴⁹ John Grigg employed 150 men on his intensively farmed Longbeach estate (near Ashburton).⁵⁰ Langdale employed eight men,⁵¹ and it is difficult to imagine that this could not have been doubled.

The lack of finance was a potential constraint in the transition from extensive pastoralism to intensive lamb production. There was a cost in changing tack, especially draining the flats and accommodating an increased labour force. However, Langdale was not mortgaged,⁵² and the estate of A.L. Elder held a large portfolio of assets including mortgages on the land they had sold.⁵³ Langdale, like many of the estates purchased under land-for-settlements, was not financially stressed.⁵⁴ Even if the Elders were reluctant to put new capital into Langdale, development could have been financed with further subdivision.

A large developed farm had advantages over smaller farms. Large areas of arable land, essential to fat lamb production, allowed for larger cultivation equipment giving better labour utilisation. The same applied to droving the stock to the rail: a large farm would shift larger mobs with lower unit costs of droving. The specialisation of labour worked in favour of a large farm where

⁴⁷ Castlepoint County Minute Books (January 1 1901 - June 6 1906; June 6 1906 - November 1 1910; November 30 1912 - May 24 1919), April 25 1916, Shelf 3, TDA. This is the first reference to a labour shortage in the County records.

⁴⁸ McIntyre, pp. 112-114.

⁴⁹ M.D. Campbell, 'The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society 1850-1914', PhD. Thesis, Victoria University, 1972, pp. 239-241.

⁵⁰ P.G. Stevens, *John Grigg of Longbeach: A Biographical Essay*, Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs, 1950, p. 34.

⁵¹ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Oct. 4 1901, p. 3.

⁵² Certificate of Title under Land Transfer Act, Application 3094, Registration Book, Vol. 115, Folio 6, Nov. 28 1901, LINZ (Wellington). This is a consolidation of the various sections of Langdale purchased by the Government and shows a lease, and an easement, but no mortgage; nor do the sections registered under the Whareama Block under Elder ownership record a mortgage.

⁵³ Appointment of Trustees, Whareama Block, Section 276, Index 21, Vol. 5W, Folio 252, LINZ (Wellington).

⁵⁴ McAloon, p. 130.

a core of skilled shepherds, rabbiters, and ploughmen, could be augmented with a pool of semi-skilled workers. A large farming enterprise had greater negotiating strength with meat companies, and was less dependent on a meat-buyer amalgamating mobs for droving. The amalgamation of mobs for droving meant the options of selling on schedule or 'owner's account' were lost.⁵⁵ It was easier for a financially strong farm to withstand the six-month delay in payment of 'owner accounting'. In short, the economies of scale and financial strength of the large developed farm more than offset the lack of cheap family labour, real or imagined. John Grigg's Longbeach estate was testimony to the viability of large intensively farmed estates.⁵⁶ Unlike Grigg, the Elders chose to remain in wool-production.

A shift to intensive lamb production would have compromised the lifestyle attractions of the Langdale estate. Sheep farming, before the days of the frozen meat trade, was known as the profession of gentlemen.⁵⁷ N.W. Groves' diary illustrates the attraction of pastoralism. Bushgrove had a negligible area of flats, and apart from the specially-bred fat lambs sold at weaning, the property was by necessity a wool-producing entity. The 1919 diary records a heavy concentration of work around shearing from October to December, but work was discretionary for the remainder of the year and Groves was able to pursue his many sporting and social interests. A lamb-producing farmer had the added workload of green-crop cultivation and the ongoing sale of stock as they became ready for slaughter. By contrast, Groves was able to sell 2,300 sheep surplus to his wool-producing flock on a single day;⁵⁸ Langdale would have done the same. A feature of Langdale was its 16-stand machine-powered woolshed.⁵⁹ By any comparison, this was a large shed and its machine-powered plant increased the speed of shearing, further concentrating the workload, hence the rationale for the capital investment. Pastoralism was a lifestyle of concentrated work and long periods of inactivity.

⁵⁵ 'Schedule selling' meant the producer was paid on a weights and grades basis rather than negotiating with the buyer on the farm. 'Owner accounting' allowed the producer to be paid the realised value of the stock, less costs. Although this entailed a market risk, 'owner accounting' was popular when the meat companies were inundated with stock and could purchase stock below true market value. Cooperative meat works and stock agencies were established by small farmers because of their weak negotiating position with proprietary companies.

⁵⁶ Stevens, pp. 41-49.

⁵⁷ McAloon, p. 19.

⁵⁸ N.W. Groves, Diary, Feb. 25 1919.

⁵⁹ Photograph of 16-stand Langdale woolshed powered by steam, N7/1, TDA.

Pastoralism offered the integrity of work, but also allowed discretionary leisure time. John Morrison left his Blairlogie estate to his two sons, with the caveat that they worked the land and did not lease any part of it for more than 12 months; his wife and daughters received an annuity. Morrison precluded his sons from idleness.⁶⁰ Work was integral to liberalism. Bellich's assertion that most sheep-meat farmers worked on their farms implies that the larger runholders did not.⁶¹ Large landowners worked their estates, but constructed their systems to accommodate liberalism's work ethic and their preferred lifestyles. When threatened with a freezing works' strike in 1913, the Wairarapa Farmers' Union chairman, Hugh Morrison, affirmed that the small or indebted farmers fattened the lambs, while he as a large landowner had already sold all his surplus stock. Morrison could afford to send men from his station to staff the freezing works, but: 'The small farmer cannot leave his farm and family for long...and kill at the works.'⁶² Farmers worked all year round while pastoralists did not, hence the attraction of pastoralism. Morrison categorised the 'newly bought in farmer' with the small farmers because they depended 'on their fat lamb cheques.' Farmers fattened lambs because they could not afford the idle land implicit with the pastoralist lifestyle.

Estates purchased for settlement had to have capacity for improvement; otherwise, they would prove too expensive. McAloon found that 80% of the Canterbury estates purchased were not heavily mortgaged.⁶³ There is symmetry in the comfortable financial position of most of the estates purchased under land-for-settlements: the land was idle because the owners had no imperative to change.

The Decision to Sell

The 1894 'Langdale Budget' proposed a telephone connection between the two main houses, 'after the turn to prosperity is passed.'⁶⁴ This passive tone suggests the writer, Austin Elder, was waiting for prosperity. Wool or meat prices did not recover between 1894 and 1900,⁶⁵ and

⁶⁰ Frank Fyfe & Bebe Douglas, *Morvern to Glenmorven*, Masterton: Morrison Book Committee, 2000, pp. 188-189.

⁶¹ Bellich, pp. 148-149.

⁶² Wairarapa Farmers' Union, Minute Book, Jan. 21 1913, 93-90/7.R4B5S1, WA.

⁶³ McAloon, p. 130.

⁶⁴ 'Langdale Budget', p. 9.

⁶⁵ Lloyd Prichard, pp. 409-410, 425.

Langdale, having alienated further land and carrying less stock, was almost certainly earning less income. The failure to adjust to the changing economic circumstances left Langdale as a poorly performing asset in the Elder family's portfolio.

The Elder family had held Langdale for the pleasure of the Elder brothers. After the death of Austin Elder in 1896, neither of the two brothers remaining in New Zealand returned to Langdale. The split of the three brothers in 1893 coincided with the change in sheep breeds, and looks to have been over the direction of the estate: Harry and Malcolm Elder chose to farm at Waikanae and Otaki, both in easy reach of the rail and the frozen meat trade. Their failure to return to Langdale may have reflected a perception that a large farming enterprise was impracticable, or a lack of confidence in the London-based trustees. Jack Austin was left in control of Langdale, and, as an engineer, did not have the requisite experience in farming to make the change.⁶⁶ Even if the trustees had identified Langdale's potential as a large intensive farm, they would have had to replace Austin, a close family relative; it was easier to sell.

The graduated land tax did not contribute to the decision to sell. Langdale had a high ratio of improvements to unimproved-value,⁶⁷ and benefited from the 1893 exemption of improvements from the graduated land tax. Langdale's land tax impost in 1900, at £92 16s 3d, was 0.3% of capital value,⁶⁸ less than what would have been paid under the former property tax regime of 1d/£ (0.4%). The concern, expressed in the 1894 'Budget' over increased taxation for large estates was unfounded.

By 1900, the Elder family's hostility to the 1894 land-for-settlements legislation had turned to acquiescence: the Government was a cash buyer. Selling Langdale piecemeal could have gone on for years. Private subdivision was the preserve of entrepreneurs, which the Elders no longer were. Under these circumstances, it made sense to offer the estate to the Government.

⁶⁶ Castlepoint County Minute Books, Feb. 9 1901. Austin applied to the Castlepoint County for work as an engineer.

⁶⁷ Names of Freeholders of Areas of 10,000 Acres and over of Country Land, *AJHR*, 1892 (B-20A), p. 7. The high ratio of improvements to unimproved value does not reconcile with the valuations at settlement when the improvements were valued at £9,565 and the unimproved value at £23,426. The Ica and Blairlogie estates had similarly high ratios in 1892, suggesting that the criteria for assessing values may not have been uniformly applied across New Zealand.

⁶⁸ Land for Settlements, *AJHR*, 1901 (C-5F), p. 1.

The Decision to Purchase

Although Alexander Hogg's hatred of 'land monopolists' originated from his childhood in Scotland,⁶⁹ and Wairarapa had many large estates, he waited seven years from the inception of land-for-settlements in 1892 before advocating an acquisition in the Wairarapa. In the interim, settlers were filling the bush-land north of Masterton. In August 1899, Hogg announced to Parliament that, 'nearly every inch of bush country had been taken up and well settled'; and the only available lands were the large estates on the coastal perimeter. Hogg then reported that the roads and bridges in that area had fallen into decay; he described the Castlepoint to Masterton road as:

'in a frightful state...at the Mangapakeha swamp, the representative of the D.I.C. only a week ago had to be virtually dug out. Then there was a river not very far from Tinui where a bridge had been washed away and had not been replaced...for the last six years....The only way this state of affairs could be remedied is by cutting up some of the large holdings and allowing settlers who were willing to become crown tenants to take up the land.'⁷⁰

Premier Seddon responded to Hogg's request by noting the recent lack of progress in the Wairarapa towns and the remedies that land-for-settlements held for this. He also reiterated the importance of price, so that the tenants 'would be able to pay their way.'⁷¹ This parliamentary exchange illustrates the multi-faceted nature of land-for-settlements: demand for small farms in the Wairarapa could only be satisfied with the resumption of a large estate; a new settlement would give a financial boost to the Wairarapa towns; the settlement would only be viable if the purchase price reflected the idleness of the resumed estate; a body of crown settlers in a conservative area would alter the balance of county politics.

Hogg was the classic rural Liberal who, like Seddon, recognised the interdependence of town and country.⁷² His concern over the Masterton-Castlepoint road was that the coastal landowners were ignoring Masterton and directing their trade through Castlepoint. This was not only bad for Masterton, but also for the large estate owners who were excluding themselves from the

⁶⁹ David Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power, 1891-1912*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, p. 175.

⁷⁰ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 108 (1899), p. 512 (A.W. Hogg).

⁷¹ *ibid.*, (R.J. Seddon).

⁷² Hamer, pp. 169-170, 173.

developing meat export trade. The Mangapakeha swamp, within the Castlepoint Road district, was a barrier to trade between Masterton and the coastal region. It was on the doorstep of Langdale, and the 'Langdale Budget' provides a colourful account of its hazards (Appendix I);⁷³ Hogg was not exaggerating. The poor condition of this road caused the *Wairarapa Daily Times* to discount the prospects of the proposed Langdale settlement benefiting Masterton.⁷⁴

Hogg's hopes of opening the coastal perimeter to trade with Masterton rested on the premise that crown tenants would behave differently to large landowners. These small farmers with high debt servicing could not afford the pastoralist lifestyle; they would need to adopt best land use and, be that dairy or meat production, the trade would go to Masterton and not Castlepoint. Hogg anticipated that the small farmers would need a better road between Masterton and the coastal perimeter.

By breaking up a large estate for closer settlement, Hogg was also reshaping the political landscape. The crown tenants would dilute the political power, underpinned by plural voting, enjoyed by the few large landowners. Hogg attempted to boost these numbers by recommending to the Minister of Lands that the parts of Langdale suitable for dairying be subdivided into small sections (between 100 and 150 acres).⁷⁵

The 1894 'Langdale Budget' gives an insight into the dynamics of rural politics when it records: 'Austin [Elder] has been elected a member of the Castlepoint Road Board in place of Harry, retired...it is important our property should have some representative to "fleece" the public rates for Langdale interests.'⁷⁶ This unapologetic display of self-interest paints the election of a Langdale representative as a formality. If improving access to Masterton did not benefit the Elders, the Langdale representative would block it. The Langdale representation did not end with Austin Elder, as Jack Austin was the inaugural chairman of the Castlepoint County in 1901.⁷⁷

⁷³ 'Langdale Budget', pp. 1-2.

⁷⁴ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, May 11 1900, p. 2.

⁷⁵ A. Hogg to T.Y. Duncan (Minister of Lands), Nov. 18 1900, Hogg Letter Book, Ref. 98.

⁷⁶ 'Langdale Budget', p. 8.

⁷⁷ Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p. 535.

While ‘fleecing the rates in the interests of Langdale’ could be taken as a boastful jest to family in England, the same ‘Budget’ edition reveals an indifference to the concept of public interest. Austin Elder admired the neighbouring Parson Andrew’s resistance to the mandatory rabbit-control programme and readiness to suffer the many fines, even though this uncooperative stance exacerbated Langdale’s rabbit problem. Hogg’s hopes rested on crown tenants instilling cooperation into county politics, allegedly controlled by large landowners.

One of the defining differences between Liberal-leaning and conservative towns was the provision of public amenities. Conservative towns were austere and depended on large landowner largess.⁷⁸ Conversely, Liberal towns had a life of their own: debating societies, brass bands, libraries, and other avenues of community entertainment.⁷⁹ Large landowners were materially independent and less reliant on publicly provided amenities; the Elders needed a bullock track to Castlepoint and a stock route to Masterton, hence their resistance to rates. Their philanthropic support of the Masterton Hospital and local swagmen contrasts with their resistance to county rates.⁸⁰ The Elders, like other large landowners, were active within the community, but on their own terms; the Elder brothers played rugby for Whareama, alongside their employees; Jack Austin was prominent in the Tinui Church,⁸¹ and the inaugural chairman of the Castlepoint County.⁸² Plural voting, although blamed for large landowner domination of county politics,⁸³ had little effect as elections were rare.

County politics were rife with particularism; the main aim was to avoid paying for anything another party might use.⁸⁴ The Whareama-end of the Castlepoint Road district seceded to form the Whareama Road district (1886-90). The Elders were among those benefiting from this fragmentation.⁸⁵ The rationale was straightforward: the easy Whareama-Uriti topography

⁷⁸ Campbell, p. 259.

⁷⁹ Hamer, pp. 150-154, 158-159. Rangiora is cited as the prime example of a Liberal town.

⁸⁰ ‘Langdale Budget’, pp. 1-2.

⁸¹ Pauline Stilborn, *Parish of Tinui*, Tinui: Tinui Parish Committee, 2001, p. 11.

⁸² Bagnall, *Castlepoint*, p. 49.

⁸³ Graham W.A. Bush, *Local Government and Politics in New Zealand*, Auckland: George Allen & Unwin, 1980, p. 24.

⁸⁴ W.B. Sutch, ‘Local Government in New Zealand: A History of Defeat’, in *Local Government in New Zealand*, R.J. Polaschek (ed.), Wellington: New Zealand Institute of Public Administration, 1956, pp. 12-13.

⁸⁵ Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, pp. 388, 402.

allowed relatively low roading costs, compared to the Tinui-Castlepoint district. Although the Elders recognised Tinui as their town,⁸⁶ they were prepared to avoid paying for the expensive Tinui-Castlepoint road even though Tinui depended on its link with Castlepoint. The 1900 Public Works Act discouraged this self-serving behaviour by allowing road districts to charge neighbouring districts for the construction and maintenance of through-roads.⁸⁷ The Whareama Road Board became immersed in an expensive dispute over whose land the Uriti road should pass. The ubiquitous Walter Buchanan purchased Waikaraka estate within the Whareama Road district, and reconciled the dysfunctional Road Board with Castlepoint.⁸⁸ The institution of the Castlepoint County in 1901 completed the disintegration of the Wairarapa-North County. To an outside observer, this must have seemed like déjà vu. The 1876 Counties Act proposed 39 counties, but by 1911, there were 119.⁸⁹ ‘Fleecing the public rates’ was not unique to the Elders of Langdale, but ingrained in county politics.

While Hogg had faith in the capacities of enlightened crown tenants to reform county politics, his Premier was concerned with price. In reply to Hogg’s request, Seddon asserted price would determine the final selection of the Wairarapa estates offered to the Government for purchase; price was important because the tenants paid all the costs.⁹⁰ Both Harry Elder and A.G. Bagnall claimed that Langdale was a bargain for the Government.⁹¹ Of the 23 estates offered in the Wellington district, Langdale carried the lowest per-acre price. However, many of these offers were opportunistic, with a wide gap between offer and bid prices. The Elders offered Langdale at £3 10s per acre and accepted the Government’s bid of £3 5s.⁹²

Two large Hawke’s Bay estates (both in the east coast summer-dry zone), purchased for closer settlement in 1901, provide a useful price comparison with Langdale. Hatuma and Mangatora at

⁸⁶ ‘Langdale Budget’, p. 3.

⁸⁷ *NZ Statutes*, Public Works Act 1900 (No 47), Sec. 8.

⁸⁸ Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, pp. 401-402. Langdale returned to the Castlepoint Road district, while properties on the Blairlogie junction-Uriti road became an Outlying District of the Wainuioru Road District.

⁸⁹ Sutch, pp. 23-24, 29.

⁹⁰ *NZPD*, Vol. 108 (1899), p. 512 (R.J. Seddon).

⁹¹ Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p. 365. H.R. Elder to D.B. Longhouse (March 5 1901), H.R. Elder Letter Book, Ref. 113.

⁹² Return of Lands Recommended for Purchase (Table B), *AJHR*, 1902 (C-5), p. 6.

£5 8s and £4 10s per acre were substantially more expensive than Langdale.⁹³ As a measure of land quality, Langdale had a higher stocking rate at 1.7 sheep-equivalents per acre compared to 1.65 and 1.57 on the Hawke's Bay settlements.⁹⁴ The price per sheep-equivalent shows a more dramatic disparity with Hatuma's £3 5s 5d, almost double Langdale's £1 18s 3d; Mangatora was in between at £2 17s 4d per sheep-equivalent. These price differentials were due to proximity to rail: Hatuma was right beside the rail line, while mid-priced Mangatora was 11 miles from the Dannevirke railway. Hatuma was purchased at a 20% premium to its taxable value, with Mangatora and Langdale showing 12% and 6% premiums respectively.⁹⁵ Again, proximity to rail determined the increases in land values.

A local comparison can also be made with the Elder's sale of 2,605 acres at £2 4s per acre in 1898.⁹⁶ This was hill-country without buildings, but comparable to hill-country sections for which the Langdale settlement prospectus gives values exclusive of buildings. Because the land-for-settlements system required the tenants to carry roading, survey, and administration costs, the total value placed on the settlement was 8% higher than the Elders received. The Flatspur, Seaview, and Ngatoka sections were valued at £2 13s 6d per acre, excluding buildings and the 8% loading.⁹⁷ This is 21% higher than the Elders received for the land sold in 1898. Meat and wool prices were stable between 1898 and 1900, but land values may have been responding to a diminished supply, which Hogg referred to in Parliament. The Elders had little cause for complaint: they received in cash a price that was generous when compared to the land they sold two years previously and benefited from the Government's resumption of large estates, a scheme they initially opposed. The purchase proved to be a bargain for the Government and the farmer tenants. This was partly due to improving product prices, but

⁹³ Tom Brooking, *Lands for the People? The Highland Clearances and the Colonisation of New Zealand: A Biography of John McKenzie*, Dunedin: University of Otago, 1996, pp. 278-281.

⁹⁴ Hawke's Bay, Land for Settlements, *AJHR*, 1902 (C-1), p. 8 (Hatuma); 1903 (C-1) p. 16 (Mangatora). Wellington, Land for Settlements, Langdale, *AJHR*, 1902 (C-1), p. 17. The stocking rate comparison is based on the three settlements' (first year) stock tallies. Sheep-owner returns exclude cattle, so using the settlement returns from the Land Board reports gives a better basis for comparison; hence the difference between the 1.9 per acre sheep equivalents carried by the undivided Langdale estate in 1901 and the 1.7 carried by the Langdale farmers in 1902.

⁹⁵ Report showing estates acquired under the Land for Settlements Acts, *AJHR*, 1905 (C-5B), p. 1.

⁹⁶ Conveyance, Whareama Block, Section 276, Index 21, Vol. 123, Folio 123/748, LINZ (Wellington).

⁹⁷ *The Langdale Settlement*, pp. 16, 24, 30. Section 9 (XIV) Mangapakeha SD., Section 2 (III) Rewa SD., and Section 1 (II) Rewa SD.

mainly due to the failure of the Elder family to exploit the income-earning potential of their estate.

The link between Hogg's call for a crown settlement to open up the coastal perimeter for Masterton, and the purchase of Langdale right next to the Mangapakeha swamp, was too strong to be a coincidence. Seddon was sympathetic to Hogg's purpose, and the final choice of the properties recommended by the Land Purchase Commission lay with cabinet. The rationale of the Langdale purchase went beyond closer settlement: the intention was to re-weight the political dynamics in the coastal perimeter with crown tenants attuned to the concept of public interest, and a need to trade with Masterton. The purchase price reflected the value of Langdale as a pastoral estate, but the Land Purchase Commission recognised the potential for improvement.

Ch. 3 The Settlement of Langdale

Land-for-settlements had two parts: purchase and settlement. The number of estates on offer made purchase relatively easy; compulsion was the exception. The second part was more difficult, as the Government had to ensure the success of the settlement without compromising the liberal ethic of self-reliance. Although land-for-settlements had been running for nine years by 1901, an embryonic civil service and conflicting agendas inherent in Liberal land policy conspired to make the settlement process surprisingly tortuous.

When Premier Seddon responded to Alexander Hogg's call for the acquisition of a large estate in the Wairarapa, he reminded Parliament that crown tenants paid their way.¹ The tenants serviced £2,342 more than the Government paid for Langdale. This sum included costs of survey, administration, and advertising; £300 for roads; a contingency fund of £158 6s 8d (0.5% of purchase); and an interest charge of £383 6s 6d to cover the first three months of settlement.² A half-year rent instalment, and a £1 1s lease fee, was payable on application for selection on March 20 1901. As the next instalment was not due until the following January, the tenants had a three-month rent holiday.³ However, the Government extracted a cash-flow advantage from the tenants by charging rent in advance and paying interest in arrears. Because of these loadings, the tenants paid a rental of 5.4% of the market value of the estate, but they were exempt from land tax (0.3% for Langdale as an estate), and were eligible for a rent rebate of 0.25%, subject to prompt payment.⁴ The net effect was the tenants paid between 4.85% and 5.1% of the 1900 market value of the Langdale estate. Had the Elders extracted a similar return, they would not have been such willing sellers.

The settlement plan was primarily the responsibility of Lands and Survey, with some initial advice from the Land Purchase Commission. The Wellington Land Board, which comprised the Commissioner of Crown Lands and three political appointees, including Alexander Hogg,

¹ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 108 (1899), p. 512 (R.J. Seddon).

² Memorandum: Lands and Survey Wellington District Office, Lands and Survey Head Office, File 19223/47, NA.

³ *The Langdale Settlement, Wellington, New Zealand*, Wellington: T.Y. Duncan, Minister of Lands, 1901, p. 9. The small-grazing-run had a longer period of grace with next rent not due until March following, probably on account of a wool-only income stream.

⁴ Minutes of Evidence (J. Strauchon), *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1905 (C-4), p. 1,482.

oversaw the settlement. The Board administered 2,768 tenancies, and completed 346 property transactions in 1901;⁵ the size of its portfolio meant the members relied on recommendations from field staff. Langdale, although small by South Island and Hawke's Bay standards, was Wellington's largest settlement in size and cost when purchased.

The planning process for Langdale was difficult. The initial plan attached 840 acres to the main homestead. The Elders' manager, Jack Austin, requested that this be increased to 1,000 acres and sought a lease-in-perpetuity on the enlarged section, as of right. To circumvent the 1,000-acre limit on this class of land, Austin suggested that section 49 of the 1900 Land for Settlements Act be invoked;⁶ this allowed for aggregation of sections too small to maintain a family. The Land Purchase Commission chairman, James McKerrow, supported Austin.⁷ The legislation allowed allocations of up to 640 acres for employees of resumed estates, and 1,000 acres for owners.⁸ Although Austin was part of the Elder family, he was an employee; McKerrow's support of his claim to an owner's entitlement may have been the result of an informal agreement with the Elders.

The Wellington Land Board presented a draft plan, for 21 rural sections ranging between 45 and 1,200 acres, to a public meeting at Tinui on December 6 1900. The meeting attracted 50 settlers and coincided with a visit to Langdale by the Minister of Lands, Thomas Duncan, and other dignitaries. The plan to allocate over a quarter of the estate to four Langdale employees and an incumbent tenant without competition, received a hostile reception at the meeting. The anger over the allocation of 1,000 acres, including the homestead, woolshed and stockyard complex to Jack Austin, and the manager's house with 500 acres to the Langdale overseer, C.D. Fendall, was fuelled by the disclosure that the homestead's value was discounted with the other selectors carrying that cost; the settlers also suspected that the manager's house was similarly discounted. The Tinui meeting was also hostile to the uncontested allocations to Langdale employee, George Street, of 400 acres and the Willowbank cottage he had lived in for six years, 115 acres to

⁵ Wellington Land Board, *AJHR*, 1901 (C-1), p. 11.

⁶ J.W.A. Marchant (Commissioner of Crown Lands) to A. Barron (Surveyor-General), L&S Head Office, File 19223/7.

⁷ J. McKerrow to J.W.A. Marchant, L&S Head Office, File 19223/7.

⁸ *New Zealand Statutes*, 1900 (No. 52), Land for Settlements Consolidation Act, Secs 56, 57.

George White, the estate's rabbitier of two year's standing, and 95 acres to John Taplin of land he had leased for seven years from the Elders.⁹

The allocation to Taplin was unpopular with the Tinui settlers' meeting and difficult for the Land Board. Taplin was a carrier based at Tauweru, where he had 111 acres of freehold land. The 95 acres he had leased from Langdale since 1894 served as a goods depot, grazing for his horses, and holding paddocks for livestock.¹⁰ On the expiry of his lease, Taplin was entitled to 75% compensation for improvements;¹¹ these included a residence, office, stockyards, stables and wool-store.¹² The residence was used intermittently when goods or stock were in transit. The lease was due for renewal between the dates of agreement-to-purchase and possession. It was almost certain the Elders would have renewed the lease to avoid paying £242 5s for buildings they did not require. The Commissioner of Crown Lands, John Marchant, explained to the Tinui meeting that if the Land Board did not renew Taplin's lease, the crown tenants would bear the costs of his refund.¹³

The issue of these uncontested allocations came before the Wellington Land Board meeting on December 21 1900. The strength of the opposition at the Tinui settlers' meeting prompted Fendall to withdraw his application,¹⁴ but did not deter Duncan. Section 57 of the 1900 Land for Settlements Consolidation Act was intended to protect employees whose homes were threatened by land-for-settlements acquisitions, thus Duncan instructed Marchant to support the allocations.¹⁵ The Land Board rejected Austin's application because it fell outside the maximum 640-acres for employees' uncontested allocations. Hogg and fellow Land Board member, Alec Reese, voted against the allocations to Street and Taplin, forcing Marchant to use

⁹ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Dec. 7 1900, p. 2.

¹⁰ Tauweru was halfway between Masterton and the Masterton edge of the Langdale estate. The land Taplin leased at Langdale was halfway between Tinui and Carson's Hotel, which was at the Uriti/Mangapakeha road junction. Both hotels had holding paddocks.

¹¹ Report: Wellington Land Board Meeting, Dec. 21 1900, L&S Head Office, File 19223/10.

¹² *The Langdale Settlement*, p. 17.

¹³ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Dec. 7 1900, p. 2.

¹⁴ J.W.A. Marchant to A. Barron (Surveyor-General), L&S Head Office, File 19223/7.

¹⁵ J.W.A. Marchant to A. Barron (Under-Secretary for Crown Lands), L&S Head Office, File 19223/10. The Under-Secretary represented the Government while Marchant as Commissioner of Crown Lands represented the Wellington Land Board. Barron was concurrently the Under-Secretary 1891-1902 and Surveyor-General 1900-02.

his casting vote; but surprisingly, Reese supported White's allocation.¹⁶ While Reese's stance appears inconsistent, he may have considered that Street, as a station employee, was unlikely to have sufficient financial resources to sustain a large section.

The planning process for Langdale exposed a struggling bureaucracy. The 1900 Land for Settlements Act consolidated previous legislation, yet had glaring deficiencies. Under sections 56 and 57, applicants for uncontested allocations were required to apply in writing within 14 days of acquisition. Hogg challenged the Langdale allocations because the applicants had not done so,¹⁷ only to have the Solicitor-General rule that the date of acquisition was the date the selectors took possession, making the provision a nullity. The Solicitor-General also ruled that employees were not tenants under the 1900 Act, thus both employees' allocations were revoked, but Taplin's was upheld.¹⁸ This legislative error remained until the 1907 Land Laws Amendment Act allowed employees of five years standing on the resumed estates uncontested allocations.¹⁹

The uncontested allocation to Taplin was a bureaucratic mistake. Taplin's lease was not registered. Notwithstanding this, the Solicitor-General ruled that the lease had legal standing and that Taplin was a tenant under Section 57 of the Act.²⁰ This only applied to tenants in bona fide occupation of a homestead on the resumed estate, which Taplin was not. The most likely explanation is that the Solicitor-General was unaware that Taplin did not live on the Langdale estate, hence the blunder. Langdale also leased land to the Ica estate, albeit one acre; the lease continued under Government ownership until expiry in 1925,²¹ as Taplin's should have.

The handling of Taplin's lease was unsatisfactory for all parties. Hogg argued that Taplin's wealth, and occupation of his Tauweru property, made him ineligible, and believed he intended to sell his upgraded lease-in-perpetuity for profit.²² Marchant also suspected that Taplin's

¹⁶ Report: Wellington Land Board Meeting, Dec. 21 1900, L&S Head Office, File 19223/10.

¹⁷ J.W.A. Marchant to A. Barron (Under-Secretary), L&S Head Office, File 19223/10.

¹⁸ F. Fitchett (Solicitor-General), to J.W.A. Marchant, L&S Head Office, File 19223/31.

¹⁹ *NZ Statutes*, 1907 (No. 51), Land Laws Amendment Act, Sec. 80.

²⁰ F. Fitchett to J.W.A. Marchant, L&S Head Office, File 19223/31.

²¹ T. Brook (Commissioner of Crown Lands 1924) to J.B. Thompson (Under-Secretary 1924), L&S Head Office, File 19223 (Vol. 2).

²² A.W. Hogg to W. Bennett jun., Dec. 29 1900, Hogg Letter Book, Ref. 129, MS-Papers 5983, ATU.

wealth made him ineligible.²³ Taplin sought renewal of his lease for a further seven years on the same conditions promised by the Elders. He did not want a lease-in-perpetuity because it required him to pay one-quarter of the value of buildings he had already paid for.²⁴ The Land Board revoked Taplin's lease in 1904 because he did not comply with the residency and improvement regulations.²⁵

The furore at Tinui was a reaction to privilege. This was a society of equals. The allocations to the Langdale workingmen, Street and White, were as objectionable as those to the managers, Austin and Fendall, or rural businessman Taplin. The *Wairarapa Daily Times* reported these objections: 'Why should shepherds and overseers be provided specially with homesteads? (Applause). All applicants should be treated alike. There were men on other stations equally entitled to homes. (Applause).'²⁶ The Government's purchase of Langdale did not disadvantage the employees. Were the estate sold privately, some employees may have retained their positions but none would have gained a lease-in-perpetuity on land of their choice; the uncontested allocations exuded privilege.

Like Hogg, the Tinui settlers understood the political dynamics of Austin's continued occupation of the Homestead block, with woolshed and stockyard facilities. It was usual for settlement tenants to hold an interim right-of-use of the resumed estate's woolshed, for which they paid rent. This would have placed Austin in a central position, as the administrator of the complex. Hogg and Reese, on behalf of the Tinui settlers, submitted to Marchant that the woolshed complex and 22 acres be reserved for the general use of the settlement tenants, rather than allocated to a specific section,²⁷ thus obviating the settlement tenants being beholden to Austin. Hogg was behind the Tinui settlers' opposition to the uncontested allocations: 'I am opposing it and the people are backing me up.'²⁸ His objection to Austin's continued occupation of the Langdale homestead and the best block on the settlement was understandable:

²³ J.W.A. Marchant to A. Barron (Surveyor-General), L&S Head Office, File 19223/7.

²⁴ Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol. 6, Ref. 377, LS-W, Series 12, NA.

²⁵ *ibid.*, (Vol. 8), Ref. 252.

²⁶ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Dec. 7 1900, p. 2.

²⁷ J.W.A. Marchant to A. Barron (Surveyor-General), L&S Head Office, File 19223/21.

²⁸ A.W. Hogg to Mr. Price, Dec. 10 1900, Hogg Letter Book, Ref. 106.

he was aiming to upset, rather than reinforce, large landowner domination of the Castlepoint County.

Hogg was opposed to station hands acquiring land-for-settlements farms, despite his support of working people: 'It is no use acquiring land if the eyes are to be picked out by the station hands.'²⁹ Station hands were presumed to be influenced by their large landowning employers and the political landscape would be unchanged if they remained on the resumed estate. Hogg expected Langdale to be allocated to farmers' sons,³⁰ and did not see land-for-settlements as a means of social redress. Unlike station hands, farmers' sons had the necessary farming experience to transform the resumed estate from pastoralism to more intensive land uses. Political and practical considerations motivated his injunction against station hands.

The Settlement Plan and Prospectus

The subdivision plan of Langdale was similar to the land-for-settlements format established at Cheviot. The plan divided the estate into 23 farms.³¹ The six largest farms ranged from 673 to 1,030 acres, had capital values between £2,000 and £3,500, and were able to carry between 1,000 and 1,700 sheep. There were ten medium-sized units between 185 and 500 acres, valued between £800 and £1,775, and supporting between 450 and 750 sheep; the seven smallest blocks were between 34 and 95 acres with values below £600, and carrying less than 200 sheep.³² With the exception of the Homestead section, the larger farms had small areas of cultivatable land. The Homestead section needed to be large enough to service the homestead and woolshed payments, but did include some poorer hill-country. The subdivision plan classified three small sections as first-class agricultural (cultivatable) land and 19 as second-class agricultural and pastoral land. The second-class designation was a broad definition with large variations in the ratio of arable to pastoral land.

All the rural sections, except Flatspur, were leased-in-perpetuity for 999 years at 5% rent of capital value; this included improvements to the land, but excluded buildings. The estate had

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ *ibid.*, A.W. Hogg to J.W.A. Marchant, Nov. 15 1900, Ref. 98.

³¹ *The Langdale Settlement*, pp. 12-31. All property details are taken from this reference.

³² Robin M. Startup, *Wairarapa Sheep-owners & Flock Numbers 1861-1915*, 03-53/1.R7B2S6, WA.

two prestige dwellings, two station houses, several huts and a disused cottage, and a large woolshed, dip and stockyard complex. The homestead carried a discounted value of £500 compared to a 1907 County value of £640;³³ the woolshed complex was discounted from £650 to £515.³⁴ The manager's house was valued at £375, the station houses at £140 and the remainder between £25 and £30. The lessees purchased the buildings over a 21-year term at 5% interest, and were required to keep them fully insured in the interim.³⁵

The Flatspur block was the subdivision's only small-grazing-run. At 1,030 acres, this was the largest farm, with a capital value of £3,434, slightly less than the Homestead block. The small-grazing-run was the poor relation of lease-in-perpetuity, especially under land-for-settlements where it did not enjoy the discounted rent of its crown lands equivalent. Flatspur was one of the Langdale estate's paddocks and had only a narrow frontage to the Uriti road; as it was larger than 1,000 acres, it could only be a small-grazing-run. As such, Flatspur was classified as second-class pastoral land, but was given a higher per-acre value than ten of the 19 second-class agricultural and pastoral sections.

The Langdale settlement plan included a township. This had three one-acre urban and ten five-acre suburban sections, all offered under lease-in-perpetuity. The township lay on the southeast corner of the settlement, the farthest point from both Tinui and Masterton. The township included a recreation domain, which still serves the district. The Minister of Lands decreed mandatory residency for the township selectors;³⁶ this was unlike settlements such as Waikakahi,³⁷ but consistent with the Masterton and Greytown Small Farms' rules.³⁸ The township reflected a perception that there was demand for a casual labour force in the district. When it became evident that there was not, the 13 sections were consolidated into four, of which three were leased to neighbouring Langdale tenants.³⁹

³³ Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1907), West Riding, Property no. 71, 01-170/132.R7B7S3, WA.

³⁴ J.W.A. Marchant to A. Barron (Surveyor-General), L&S Head Office, File 19223/21.

³⁵ *The Langdale Settlement*, pp. 33-34.

³⁶ Telegraph: A. Barron (Under-Secretary) to L&S Wellington District Office, L&S Head Office, File 19223/37.

³⁷ John Wilson, *Waikakahi: Fulfilling the Promise*, Waimate: Waikakahi Centennial 1999 Incorporated Society, 1999, p. 109.

³⁸ Alan Henderson, *Fortuitous Legacy: The Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1872-1997*, Masterton: Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1997, p. 66.

³⁹ Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol. 7, Ref. 119.

The Government issued a 45-page prospectus for the Langdale settlement. This contained a detailed description of each section, terms and conditions for tenancies, and sample application forms. It described Langdale as suitable for sheep and cattle, with the flats holding potential for dairying, cropping, and horticulture.⁴⁰ It also detailed the tenants' right-of-use of the estate's main woolshed and sheep-dipping complex; the annual cost to a farmer with 600 sheep was approximately £5.⁴¹ The prospectus instructed selectors to appear at the Masterton Courthouse on March 20 1901 for interview by the Wellington Land Board.

There were significant differences between land-for-settlements and crown lands disposals. Land-for-settlements land was generally better quality and carried improvements:⁴² the pioneering settlers had naturally opted for the best land, which they improved. Land-for-settlements was also more politically sensitive than crown lands disposals, thus the Liberal Government took steps to avoid embarrassing failures like Pomahaka. For these reasons, the selectors were subject to interview by district land boards while crown lands selectors were not. The minimum age of 21 as opposed to 17 reflected an emphasis on experience.

The Wellington Land Board imposed tighter eligibility conditions for land-for-settlements selectors than the 1892 Land Act required. Applicants for agricultural land could not hold more than 1,000 acres including the land applied for;⁴³ this compared to 2,000 acres, of which 640 could be first-class land, under the Land Act.⁴⁴ The 1,000-acre limit determined Flatspur's status as a small-grazing-run, and meant the Homestead section, with 243 acres of cultivatable flats, had to be less than 1,000 acres. Applicants who held land of land-for-settlements origins were ineligible.⁴⁵ A means test also applied, albeit a generous one: the selector's personal property, net of encumbrances, had to be less than three times the capital value (excluding buildings) where the land applied for was less than 100 acres, two times if between 100 and 500

⁴⁰ *The Langdale Settlement*, p. 7.

⁴¹ *ibid.*, p. 11. Dipping was 12s 6d per 100 sheep; shearing, crutching, and dagging was 10s for the first 100, then 2s per 100 thereafter.

⁴² Minutes of Evidence (J. Strauchon), *AJHR*, 1905 (C-4), p. 1,507 (Refs 257-262). Strauchon replaced Marchant as Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Wellington District in 1902.

⁴³ *The Langdale Settlement*, p. 10.

⁴⁴ W.R. Jourdain, *Land Legislation and Settlement in New Zealand*, Wellington: Minister of Lands, 1925, p. 119.

⁴⁵ *The Langdale Settlement*, p. 31.

acres, and one and one-half times if greater than 500 acres.⁴⁶ This was not in the legislation but became standard after 1900, probably in response to criticism that land-for-settlements advantaged the wealthy. In addition, land boards could prohibit any selector they judged to hold land sufficient to maintain themselves or family from competing with landless applicants.⁴⁷ The same eligibility criteria applied for surrendered or foreclosed tenancies reoffered by the Wellington Land Board, but not for tenancies transferred on the open market where the purchaser only had to meet the requirements of the 1892 Land Act.⁴⁸

Although the eligibility criterion was tighter for land-for-settlements, the mandatory improvements were less demanding because the land was already partly developed. Improvements equivalent to 2.5% of the capital value in each of the first two years and a further 2.5% within six years were required on lease-in-perpetuity sections and double that rate on small-grazing-runs; a total of 7.5% and 15% respectively, as opposed to 30% for crown lands selectors. Permanent improvements of £1 per acre on first-class and 10s on second-class agricultural land were also required, but as existing improvements and capital payments on buildings could be included, this clause was immaterial to Langdale.⁴⁹ Personal residency was mandatory within 12 months of selection, but continuous only for the next ten years on the lease-in-perpetuity sections, whereas the small-grazing-run pastoralists were required to reside on their sections for the duration of their leases.⁵⁰ Lease-in-perpetuity tenants were obliged to ring-fence their properties within two years,⁵¹ but their small-grazing-run compatriots were not; this may have been an oversight.

A Crown Lands ranger monitored the residency and improvement conditions for the Land Board. The ranger also scrutinised the maintenance of existing improvements and compliance with the cropping regulations. Only half a farm could be cropped per year; cropping rotations were limited to three years, and were to include one green crop; permanent pasture was mandatory for three years following a cropping rotation and could not be harvested for hay or

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p. 39.

⁴⁷ *NZ Statutes*, 1900 (No. 52), Land for Settlements Consolidation Act, Sec. 49 (11).

⁴⁸ Minutes of Evidence, *AJHR*, 1905 (C-4), p. 1,507 (Refs 254-258).

⁴⁹ *The Langdale Settlement*, p. 33.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, pp. 32, 42.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, p. 33.

grass seed in the first year. Although fertilisers were available, their use was inherently difficult to verify and the regulations were a blunt instrument to protect soil fertility. The ranger could order a drain through any section without compensation to the tenant.⁵² This was significant to the Whareama side of the Langdale settlement, where drainage systems were interlocking.

Selectors were required to complete an application form (Appendix II), and a statutory declaration form signed before a JP to verify compliance with the eligibility conditions. As well as eligibility, the application form centred on the adequacy of the applicant's capital with which to stock and provision the properties, and complete the mandatory improvements. The selectors' farming competency was also vital, and married applicants were required to state their spouses' farming experience. The applicants' marital status, age, and gender of children were included on the form. Four of the 11 questions related to land holdings of the applicant and spouse.⁵³ Land-for-settlements selectors needed to be wealthy enough to finance the establishment costs of the farms, and experienced enough to make a success of them; it was ideally suited to farmers' sons.

While the 1892 Land Act prohibited married women as selectors, land-for-settlements legislation did not.⁵⁴ This indirectly advantaged families as married couples could apply individually for the same section, thereby increasing their chances at the ballot. However, the Wellington Land Board prohibited married women from selecting small-grazing-runs.⁵⁵ This was a moral judgement in two respects. The 1892 Land Act's preclusion of married women selectors was intended to reduce dummyism, a practice where a person secured crown land on behalf of another who did not qualify. The Land Board assumed that those applying for agricultural land were less likely to indulge in dummyism than those seeking grazing runs. Secondly, the Land Board was guiding families towards farms as opposed to pastoral runs. Pastoralism connoted idleness, and was antagonistic to the image of the family working on the farm.

⁵² *ibid.*, p. 33.

⁵³ *ibid.*, pp. 38-39.

⁵⁴ Jourdain, p. 119. *NZ Statutes*, 1900 (No. 52), Land for Settlements Consolidation Act, Sec. 49.

⁵⁵ *The Langdale Settlement*, p. 10.

There was an element of lottery in the land-for-settlements ballot system, and this added to the excitement of the ballot day. Selectors could apply for more than one section, but had to take the first one they drew; if they applied for more than one uncontested section, the choice was theirs. The hopeful selectors had to balance the risk of ending the day without a section against drawing a less desirable section before their preferred choice was balloted.

The Farmers Arrive

Land-for-settlements tenants were called ‘settlers’. While this enhanced their status, it was not a useful description. In early years of colonisation, New Zealand comprised settlers (Europeans) and natives. At the turn of the century, all the Europeans resident in the Castlepoint County were called ‘settlers’: large landowners, small farmers, villagers, first and subsequent generations.⁵⁶ A settler was a rural resident, and this value-laden designation was propelled by the ‘rural myth’. Henry Buxton settled Langdale 40 years before the crown tenants arrived. Buxton and John Morrison had wrested the land from its virgin state and transformed it into a European context. In 1901, Langdale was surrounded by public roads, had 3,600 chains of fence, 32 chains of drains, 395 acres of previously cultivated flats, 7,781 acres of semi-improved pasture, two prestigious houses, several employees’ dwellings and a 16-stand woolshed; isolated pockets of bush remained but the wild pigs and dogs had gone.⁵⁷ The crown tenants who came to Langdale were farmers.

The Langdale settlement was allocated at the Masterton Courthouse. Here the Wellington Land Board interviewed the applicants and held ballots for 11 of the 22 rural sections open for selection. Marchant rejected two applicants and precluded four landowners from competing with landless applicants, to the applause of the 50 attendees.⁵⁸ The successful applicants signed their leases (Appendix III). These recorded: date, term, capital value, rent, and the regulations outlined in the settlement prospectus; but a protocol on the lessee’s rights-of-transfer was notably absent.⁵⁹ The day ended with two rural sections and all the urban sections vacant, but

⁵⁶ Castlepoint County Minute Books (January 1 1901 - June 6 1906; June 6 1906 - November 1 1910; November 30 1912 - May 24 1919), Shelf 3, TDA.

⁵⁷ *The Langdale Settlement*, pp. 14-30.

⁵⁸ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, March 22 1901, p. 2.

⁵⁹ Lease-in-perpetuity (William Bennett), Pauline Stilborn Collection, 96-30, WA.

both rural sections were tenanted within two weeks. Marchant proclaimed a successful ballot for Langdale, with 112 applications from 45 people. He described the 45 people as: 17 farmers, ten station hands, six married women, and a family of nine who applied for two sections. In reality, 28 selectors competed for 22 rural sections.⁶⁰ Marchant's support for closer settlement was evident when he, and other civil servants, steered the Government towards subdividing the Cheviot estate;⁶¹ counting a single family as 18 people illustrates his determination to cast the best possible light on the Langdale ballot.

Langdale's barely adequate number of selectors was normal for the Wellington Land District.⁶² By comparison, the more expensive (1901) Hatuma settlement in Hawke's Bay attracted 909 applications for 51 sections,⁶³ almost four times Langdale's ratio. Langdale reflected the difference between the heavily oversubscribed settlements in the South Island and the dearth of selectors in the North Island, Hawke's Bay excepted.⁶⁴ Based on demand for land, there should have been more settlements in the South Island and less in the North. However, land-for-settlements had economic and political functions: the mandatory improvements delivered an economic stimulus to local communities and boosted the popularity of Liberal party candidates.

Marchant described the applicants as either farmers or station hands. However, the 22 successful application forms detail a wider range of occupations: a single woman, a married woman, a blacksmith, a contractor, five station hands, and 13 farmers (including the two 'looking for a farm').⁶⁵ Most of the farmers were farmers' sons. Marchant may have been using the designation of 'farmers' and 'station hands' as a substitute for 'haves' and 'have nots'. The presence of station hands served to placate disquiet over land-for-settlements advantaging

⁶⁰ Telegraph: J.W.A. Marchant to A. Barron (Surveyor-General), L&S Head Office, File 19223/48. For Marchant's numbers to equal 45, the married women must have been excluded as spouses of other selectors, and the family of nine counted as 18: $17 + 10 + 18 = 45$. The *Wairarapa Star* listed 59 applications only, so must have counted multiple family applications as a single application.

⁶¹ W.J. Gardner, *A Pastoral Kingdom Divided: Cheviot, 1889-94*, Wellington: Bridget Williams Books, 1992, pp. 102-105, 113.

⁶² Jane Alexandra Donald, 'The Man Upon the Land: The Land For Settlements Act in the Wellington Land District, 1897-1906', Hons Research Exercise, Massey University, 1976, p. 18.

⁶³ *New Zealand Farmer*, June 1901, p. 215.

⁶⁴ D.B. Waterson, 'The Matamata Estate, 1904-1959: Land Transfers and Subdivision in the Waikato,' *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 3, No. 1 (April 1969), p. 39.

⁶⁵ Applications for Land, LS-W, Series 15, Vol. 70, Refs 11112-11132, 11137, NA. W. Turner described himself as a shearer, fencer and sawmill worker and N. McRae as a shepherd; both were classified as station hands. O. Nilsson called himself a farmer's son and T. Cripps a settler; both were counted as farmers.

well-off people, rather than the landless.⁶⁶ Using some interpretation to reconcile the stated occupations with Marchant's designations, there were 13 farmer selectors and nine station hands.⁶⁷ Although this looks quite good for the implied landless, their limited means restricted them to the smaller sections and they drew 23% of the estate in value and 19% in area. Irrespective of occupation, the Langdale selectors were people from the land and, with few exceptions, came from the Wairarapa.⁶⁸

Two of the sections went to female selectors, as did Te Awatahi when reoffered in 1905. Alice Street, a former domestic employee of the Elders and wife of George Street, drew a 74-acre section that included a brick house. She applied for six similarly priced sections, and it is likely her husband did also. Elizabeth Dunn, who listed her occupation as a single woman, married the Langdale rabbitier, George White, shortly after the ballot. By a remarkable coincidence, she drew the keenly sought Tamana section originally reserved for White. Miss Alice Schofield drew Te Awatahi in 1905; at the time, she was engaged to Harry Belliss, and both applied for the section.⁶⁹ Marchant did not include married women in his 45 people and did not mention a single-woman applicant; he must have classified Alice Street and Elizabeth Dunn as station hands, their spouse's occupations. The leases were registered and remained in each woman's name. Alice Street and Elizabeth White corresponded with the Land Board while Harry Belliss represented his wife.⁷⁰ The ownership of sheep was the reverse with Messrs Street and White registered as the sheep-owners along with Mrs. H. Belliss.⁷¹ Langdale's three female selectors are examples of the ballot system working to the advantage of families.

⁶⁶ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Dec. 11 1901, p. 2.

⁶⁷ J. Holmes, S. Neilson, A. Nicholson and W. Turner were unequivocally station hands, as were Mesdames E. Dunn and A. Street by virtue of their spouses. J. Douglas and G. Fellingham were self-employed but appeared to be workingmen, hence their categorisation as station hands. McRae has been designated as a station hand but called himself a shepherd and may have been a farmer's son working as a shepherd. These categorisations exclude Taplin because he was not required to compete for his section.

⁶⁸ Most of the application forms do not have the cover page with applicant's name and address. H. Cowin sold a farm in Pelorus so is assumed to have come from the South Island; W.A. Anderson, who took a foreclosed section, came from Wanganui. Most of the remainder can be identified locally, or by the electoral roll.

⁶⁹ *Applications for Land*, Vol. 76, Ref 11831.

⁷⁰ L&S Head Office, File 19223/56; 100, 105, 109, 114, 144. Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol. 10, Ref. 138.

⁷¹ Startup, *Wairarapa Sheep-owners*. 1909: Mrs H. Belliss 132 sheep; George Street 228; G.T. White 215.

The selectors' capital was considered critical in the South Island settlements, but not at Langdale. Histories of the popular South Island settlements of Waikakahi and Otekaike record that the land board interviews focused on selectors' capital, and attempted to ensure it was their own and not borrowed for the day;⁷² the application form did not require that the capital be unencumbered. The Wellington Land Board had few selectors, and Marchant explained the interview process as determining the eligibility of applicants rather than prying into their private business.⁷³ The average Langdale selector declared £392 of capital with which to stock and provision their farms;⁷⁴ about three-quarters was in cash, with the balance in livestock and agricultural equipment. The lessees would need to outlay an average of £323 for livestock and a further £115 to complete the required improvements.⁷⁵ On average, they were capable of meeting these expenses, but there were variations.

In 1903, the Government instigated a review of the land ballot system, and received reports and suggestions from the land boards. John Strauchon (Marchant's successor as Commissioner of Crown Lands), on behalf of the Wellington Land Board, submitted that applicants needed capital equivalent to 25% of the value of the sections they sought.⁷⁶ This was to over-simplify, because the residency requirements compelled the selectors on small sections to build a house that, even at a basic level, would cost substantially more than the mandatory improvements. For example, a single man's house on Langdale's smallest section cost four times the required improvements of £13.

⁷² Bob Hall, 'Land for the Landless: Settlement of the Otekaike Estate in North Otago, 1908', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (April 1985), p. 52. Wilson, p. 77.

⁷³ *Wairarapa Star*, March 22 1901, p. 2.

⁷⁴ This includes T. Cripps and W. Turner who took the two unsubscribed sections shortly after the ballot.

⁷⁵ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, March 18, March 25 1901, p. 2. Stock sale reports showing medium quality ewes at 9s.

⁷⁶ The Land Ballot System, Report from J. Strauchon, *AJHR*, 1903 (C-8), pp. 9-11.

Table 1. Langdale selector capital relative to Strauchon's recommended ratio.

| Selector | Stated occupation | Area (acres) | Capital value £ | Selector capital £ | Surplus (deficit) £ |
|----------------|--------------------|--------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| H. Cowin | Farmer | 335 | 1,061 | 700 | 435 |
| O. Nilsson | Farmer's son | 309 | 1,388 | 700 | 353 |
| N. McRae | Shepherd | 250 | 813 | 525 | 322 |
| J. McLeay | Farmer | 832 | 2,219 | 800 | 245 |
| J. Maxwell | Farmer | 216 | 1,081 | 508 | 238 |
| T. Cripps | Farmer | 70 | 386 | 300 | 204 |
| J. Douglas | Contractor | 439 | 1,207 | 500 | 198 |
| A. McKay | Farmer | 975 | 2,113 | 700 | 172 |
| G. Fellingham | Blacksmith | 85 | 556 | 300 | 161 |
| J. Cameron | Looking for a farm | 673 | 2,019 | 600 | 95 |
| W. Turner | Station hand | 49 | 298 | 120 | 45 |
| J. Lennie | Farmer | 185 | 803 | 235 | 34 |
| E. Carman | Farmer | 505 | 1,136 | 300 | 16 |
| H. Ryder | Looking for a farm | 986 | 3,535 | 900 | 16 |
| Mrs. A. Street | Married | 74 | 500 | 100 | (25) |
| J. Holmes | Shearer, fencer | 374 | 1,775 | 400 | (42) |
| S. Neilson | Station hand | 34 | 173 | 0 | (43) |
| Miss E Dunn | Single woman | 115 | 442 | 0 | (110) |
| A. Nicholson | Station hand | 341 | 914 | 84 | (144) |
| N. McKay | Farmer | 1,030 | 3,434 | 700 | (159) |
| W. Bennett | Farmer | 386 | 1,739 | 0 | (435) |
| E. Udy | Farmer | 836 | 2,647 | 150 | (512) |

There were four forced sales in the first two years of the settlement: three foreclosures and one transfer.⁷⁷ The tenancies of A. Nicholson, S. Neilson and W. Turner were foreclosed. John Holmes could not complete the mandatory improvements, but was able to transfer to the farmer, Don Bennett. This reduced the station hands' share to 16% of the settlement's value. Three of the four, Holmes, Neilson, and Nicholson, fell short of Strauchon's capital adequacy prescription; the fourth, Turner, was on a small section. It took the Land Board six months to re-let the three foreclosed tenancies. The new tenants came with five times the capital resources of the foreclosed tenants.⁷⁸ The foreclosures may have embarrassed the Land Board into a more cautious approach over selector capital. Significantly, the four were station hands, giving some justification to Hogg's preference for farmers' sons.

William Bennett sold within 13 months of settlement. He left the impression that his sale was forced, but this may have been deliberate as he was transferring to a relative,⁷⁹ and the transaction looks like 'dummyism'.⁸⁰ Although Bennett declared zero capital, he completed £242 of improvements, almost three times the required rate; he had access to capital. The transferee, Hugh Jackson, had farmed next to the Bennetts of Fernglen for 20 years, and owned 2,500 sheep in 1900;⁸¹ he was also a contractor and subsequently erected the telephone line along the Uriti road to the settlement.⁸² Because Jackson entered the Langdale settlement as a transferee, he only needed to comply with the 1892 Land Act, thus avoided the means test and the tighter land ownership restrictions of land-for-settlements. Such an obvious loophole invited dummyism.

Four of the 11 application-form questions concerned the land-holding status of applicants. An applicant could be within the 1,000-acre limit, including the land applied for, but already hold

⁷⁷ Ranger Report, L&S Head Office, File 19223/63. Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol. 7, Ref. 368. Holmes' transfer prompted an enquiry from the Under-Secretary; the Land Board replied that he could not pay the rent. Taplin's forfeiture is excluded because it was due to his resistance to the lease conditions rather than insufficient capital.

⁷⁸ Applications for Land, Vol. 70, Refs 11112, 1113, 11154; Vol. 73, Ref. 11455; Vol. 74, Refs 11515, 11516. Memo: J.W.A. Marchant to A. Barron (Surveyor-General), L&S Head Office, File 19223/63. Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol. 7, Refs 336, 358.

⁷⁹ Bennett Family Papers, Shelf 9. Hugh Jackson purchased the lease, and was the father-in-law to Bennett's brother, Henry.

⁸⁰ Ranger report, L&S Head Office, File 19223/63. Bennett complained of losing £300 on livestock.

⁸¹ Startup, Wairarapa Sheep-owners.

⁸² Personal interview, Pauline Stilborn, March 14 2005.

sufficient land to live on. The Land Board determined that J. McLeay and E.W. Udy were not landless. Both were leasing land that they promised to relinquish if successful at the ballot; McLeay and Udy owned 1,100 and 489 sheep respectively in 1900.⁸³ Udy, whose declared capital comprised £150 of agricultural equipment, was hardly a wealthy applicant. Conversely, H. Cowin held no land but had recently sold 700 acres in Pelorus and came to the settlement with £700 in cash. Although clearly better positioned than Udy, he had managed his assets in keeping with land-for-settlements regulations and was free to compete for any section. There was a glaring inconsistency in the means test which welcomed selectors who could easily afford to purchase a farm on the open market, but discouraged those already in possession of land, albeit leasehold and marginally economic. The means test was a later addition to the land-for-settlements system, and was more concerned with mollifying public disquiet over abuse of the system by the wealthy than preventing it.

The Government's 1903 inquiry into the land ballot system was prompted by a perception that wealthy people were obtaining crown leases at the expense of genuinely landless people.⁸⁴ The land board submissions provide an insight into the frustrations of administering land-for-settlements. Strauchon wanted the unofficial preference for families replaced with a legislated hierarchy that gave precedence to married men with children, placed widows with children capable of working the land ahead of similarly situated divorced-women, and put single-men last as they were frequently acting for their parents. He argued that single-women should be barred as they were incapable of working the land alone, and were inevitably acting for a third party. Strauchon wanted the land boards' arbitrary powers to exclude landowners and applicants with insufficient means extended to include inexperience and wealth.⁸⁵

Strauchon's call for an extension of the land boards' arbitrary powers was an admission that legislation could not prevent abuse of the system. Irrespective of a means test, families could easily organise their resources so a particular member could qualify. A farmer's son could comfortably qualify as landless, obtain a land-for-settlements lease, then acquire or inherit his father's farm, thus affecting an aggregation that the land laws were supposed to prevent. Jack Cameron, a 28-year-old single man, drew the keenly sought Murapua section. His family held

⁸³ Applications for Land, Vol. 70, Refs 11115, 11118. The Annual Sheep Returns, *AJHR*, 1900 (H-23), pp. 65-66.

⁸⁴ The Land Ballot System, *AJHR*, 1903 (C-8), p. 1.

⁸⁵ The Land Ballot System, Report from J. Strauchon, *AJHR*, 1903 (C-8), pp. 2, 9-11.

Okar on the Masterton side of the settlement. Within three months of settlement, Cameron was reported as purchasing expensive (£30 an acre) land near Masterton.⁸⁶ By 1909, he was farming Murapua in conjunction with Te Maire (adjacent to the settlement), before selling in 1912.⁸⁷ Although legally landless in 1901, Cameron appeared more advantaged than McLeay or Udy, but suffered no restriction in his selection at Langdale. The Land Board did insist on residency, which Cameron complied with after some delay;⁸⁸ but residency was mandatory for ten years only, leaving a window of opportunity for subsequent aggregation.

Jack Cameron, William Bennett, the McKay brothers, and George Taylor, who purchased Cowin's lease in 1907, all came from families who owned substantial farms. While not large landowners, these families farmed between 1,800 and 3,000 sheep in 1900; their farms were three to five times larger in carrying capacity than Langdale's mid-sized units.⁸⁹ In these instances, land-for-settlements was accommodating farming families who were unwilling to subdivide their own properties. When combined with McLeay and Udy, these people accounted for 54% of Langdale in area and 62% in value; the majority of Langdale went to people who did not need a farm.⁹⁰ Hogg was unconcerned that the sons of local farmers would be the primary beneficiaries of the Langdale settlement.⁹¹ If large landowner hegemony was to be crowded out with putatively liberal farmers, the settlements must succeed, and farmers' sons had the requisite experience and capital for the task.

A feature of the Langdale selectors was their marital status. Twelve were single and only six of the ten married selectors had children old enough to count as family labour; thus, barely a quarter of the selectors had a family labour-force. Although applicants were required to give their marital status and details of dependent children, this was to assess their landlessness. In his submission on the ballot system, Strauchon considered family labour materially significant

⁸⁶ *NZ Farmer*, June 1901, p. 253.

⁸⁷ Startup, Wairarapa Sheep-owners. Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1913), South Riding, Property no. 60, 01-170/89.R7B5S11, WA.

⁸⁸ Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol. 7, Ref. 317.

⁸⁹ Startup, Wairarapa Sheep-owners. In 1900, Henry Bennett farmed 2,496 sheep at Fernglen, H. & A. Cameron 1,900 at Okar, George McKay 2,500 at Burnside; in 1909, Thomas Taylor farmed 3,200 at Beaumaris.

⁹⁰ If Taylor was excluded from this calculation because he was not an original selector, Cowin would be added because he sold a 700-acre property prior to coming to Langdale.




⁹¹ A.W. Hogg to T.Y. Duncan (Minister of Lands), Nov. 18 1900, Hogg Letter Book.

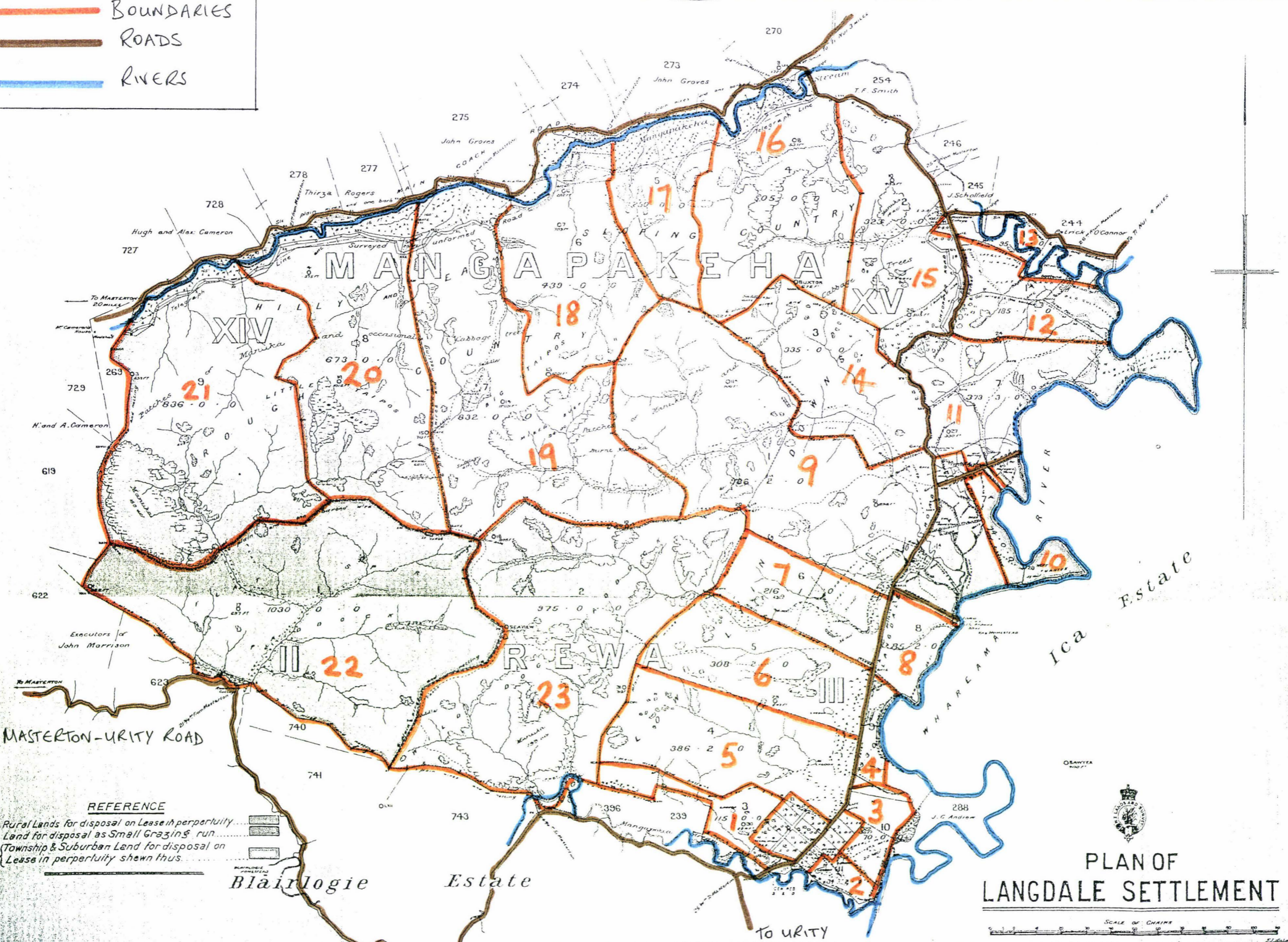
in the case of widows and divorced women, because they could not work the land alone.⁹² While the family farm was idealised, the administrators of land-for-settlements paid less heed to the economic importance of family labour than has been subsequently accorded.

The degree of competition for the settlement farms indicates selector preferences. Flatspur and Seaview, with seven and nine applicants respectively, were the most popular large units.⁹³ This appears surprising, as Flatspur was a small-grazing-run and Seaview a tough block. However, both were ring-fenced, allowing the successful applicant their own farm from the outset. Murapua had an old whare that may have served as an interim residence, and drew six applicants. The 115-acre Tamana block attracted nine applicants, and was by far the most keenly sought small-holding. It came with a completed boundary fence; a disused cottage valued at £30, and bordered the predictably vacant township, so had potential for expansion.

⁹² The Land Ballot System, Report from J. Strauchon, *AJHR*, 1903 (C-8), pp 9-11.

⁹³ *Wairarapa Star*, March 22 1901, p. 2. All references to numbers applying for each section sourced from this.

 BOUNDARIES
 ROADS
 RIVERS



REFERENCE
 Rural Lands for disposal on Lease in perpetuity
 Land for disposal as Small Grazing run
 Township & Suburban Land for disposal on Lease in perpetuity shewn thus

Blairlogie Estate


PLAN OF LANGDALE SETTLEMENT


SCALE OF CHAINS


Table 2. Property features and selector demand

| Ballot day applicants | Farm name | Size (acres) | Area of flat land | Rent per acre | Boundary fencing to complete (chains) | House | Selector ⁹⁴ | Key to map |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------|-------------------|---------------|---------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|------------|
| 9 | Seaview | 975 | 19 | 2s 2d | 0 | | A. McKay | 23 |
| 9 | Tamana | 115 | 28 | 3s 10d | 0 | £30 | E. Dunn | 1 |
| 7 | Flatspur | 1,030 | 25 | 3s 4d | 0 | | N. McKay | 22 |
| 6 | Murapua | 673 | 70 | 3s. | 100 | £25 | J. Cameron | 20 |
| 4 | Southfield | 203 | 100 | 4s 4d | 20 | | J. Lennie | 12 |
| 4 | Meadows | 74 | 71 | 6s 9d | 0 | £150 | A. Street | 10 |
| 3 | Reata | 323 | 23 | 2s 8d | 70 | | A. Nicholson/ W. Douglas | 15 |
| 2 | Willowbank | 505 | 49 | 2s 3d | 140 | £130 | E. Carman | 16 |
| 2 | Ngatarawa | 335 | 44 | 3s 2d | 0 | | H. Cowin | 14 |
| 2 | Hapairangi | 250 | 75 | 3s 3d | 70 | | N. McRae | 17 |
| 2 | Andersons | 34 | 15 | 5s | 20 | | S. Neilson/ W. Anderson | 2 |
| 1 | Langdale | 986 | 243 | 3s 7d | 150 | £500 | H. Ryder | 9 |
| 1 | Ngatoka | 836 | 38 | 3s 2d | 100 | | E. Udy | 21 |
| 1 | Beauley | 832 | 60 | 2s 8d | 190 | | J. McLeay | 19 |
| 1 | Pineview | 439 | 45 | 2s 9d | 150 | | J. Douglas | 18 |
| 1 | Braemore | 386 | 12 | 4s 6d | 75 | | W. Bennett | 5 |
| 1 | Waiawa | 374 | 108 | 4s 9d | 20 | £375 | J. Holmes/ D. Bennett | 11 |
| 1 | Wharetiki | 308 | 13 | 4s 6d | 75 | | O. Nilsson | 6 |
| 1 | Alderford | 216 | 91 | 5s | 50 | | J. Maxwell | 7 |
| 1 | Te Awatahi | 95 | 80 | 6s 3d | 0 | £75 | J. Taplin/A. Schofield | 13 |
| 1 | Riverside | 85 | 85 | 6s 6d | 0 | | G. Fellingham | 8 |
| 0 | Golden Downs | 70 | 40 | 5s 6d | 40 | | T. Cripps | 3 |
| 0 | Hikurangi | 50 | 49 | 6s. | 20 | | W. Turner/W. Oliver | 4 |

⁹⁴ Also listed are the replacement tenants for the initial foreclosures and forced transfers.

Beauley and Ngatoka on the Mangapakeha side and the Homestead section (Langdale) on the Whareama side were the least popular of the large sections. McLeay and Udy had to settle for Beauley and Ngatoka; both required extensive boundary fencing and neither had a residence. The Homestead block also required significant boundary fencing and carried payments 50% higher than any other section. The selectors' preferences showed the significance of boundary fencing. This issue was uncertainty rather than cost: when applying for an unfenced section the selector's neighbour, with whom they would need to co-operate on fencing and common grazing, was unknown.⁹⁵

The settlement process at Langdale was surprisingly inelegant. The civil service struggled to cope with seemingly simple issues such as Taplin's lease. The controversies surrounding the proposed closed-shop allocations attracted a reaction that highlighted hostility to privilege, no matter whose. The selection criterion was ambiguous as the Wellington Land Board equivocated between an innocuous means test and a rigorously applied landless-measure; the less stringent 1892 Land Act left the back door ajar for transferees. The settlement was marginally undersubscribed and the failure of the township to attract applicants confirms the district had an adequate labour force. The average selector was moderately wealthy and farmers' sons predominated; most were single with barely a quarter having a family labour force. The bulk of Langdale went to people who did not need a farm, and were unlikely to crowd the cities. The confusion evident in the settlement process was due to an unpractised civil service and disparate land-policy agendas: the avoidance of overcrowded cities by providing land for the landless competed with the need for selectors to have sufficient capital and experience to transform a pastoral estate into prosperous farms.

⁹⁵ Beauley needed 190 chains of boundary. Fencing cost 14s/chain, of which approximately half was labour. Assuming own-labour was supplied, the cost to the Beauley selector (J. McLeay) was about £33 for his half share.

Ch. 4 The Langdale Farmers

In 1900, the *Wairarapa Daily Times* lambasted Langdale's suitability for land-for-settlements because the land was 'inferior'.¹ Four years later, the same newspaper acknowledged the success of the settlement and attributed this to the reasonable purchase price, the presence of arable land on each section, and the calibre of the farmers.² In other words, a Government agency identified the potential of Langdale, which the market did not, subdivided it with skill, and selected capable farmers. The Langdale farmers gained more from the settlement than the Government.

Although ultimately successful, the farmers got off to an uncertain start. In their first year, they struck an unlucky combination of declining wool prices and drought. In 1900, the average gross export price for wool was 8¼d/lb, in line with the average for the 1890s. Within a year, wool prices fell to 6d/lb, and to 5d the following year; prices did not recover until 1905. Meat prices rose substantially over this five-year period, but only slightly in the first two years.³

A severe drought exacerbated the wool-market slump. The 1901 summer had normal rainfall, but was followed by a very dry autumn and an exceptionally dry spring with long periods of strong northwest winds.⁴ Rainfall returned to normal in 1902, but by then the water table was critically low, and the damage done. Although export meat prices were improving, livestock prices slumped when the drought forced large numbers onto the market.⁵ The Wellington Land Board's 1902 report noted the very dry season and disappointing wool prices, and that few Langdale farmers were meeting budget.⁶ The fall in sheep numbers from 14,600 to 11,010 with

¹ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Dec. 8 1900, p. 2.

² *ibid.*, Oct. 1 1904, p. 3.

³ M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand to 1939*, Auckland: Collins, 1970, p. 415.

⁴ *New Zealand Farmer*, 1901: Oct., p. 451; Nov., p. 526; 1902: Jan., p. 46; Feb., p. 95; March, p. 149. Monthly rainfall as taken at Otahuaio, *New Zealand Gazettes*, 1901-1902.

⁵ *NZ Farmer*, April 1901, p. 201; April 1902, p. 203; May 1902, p. 257.

⁶ Land for Settlements, Langdale Settlement, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1902 (C-1), p. 17.

no compensatory increase in cattle illustrates the season's difficulties.⁷ It is likely these sheep died: the logistics of driving sheep weakened by drought on roads devoid of grass were forbidding. The drought highlighted the disadvantages of farming in isolation from rail transport and livestock-selling facilities. Despite this uncertain start, a community of prosperous farmers emerged.

The Settlement Community

Relationships within the settlement community formed around kith and kin, business connections between farmers, social interaction with the incumbent community, and a tenant/landlord relationship with the crown. As many of the farmers came from the immediate vicinity, family connections were inevitable. The Bennett and McKay brothers, Hugh Jackson, Thomas Cripps and Edward Carmen were related. Jim Douglas' brother, William, took up the foreclosed Reata section in 1903. There were also two White brothers on the settlement: George White and his brother, Frank, the township's only resident;⁸ both married Dunns from Whakataki. Herbert Ryder's marriage to Florence Belliss connected him to Castlepoint's foremost pioneering Belliss and Groves families; his brother-in-law Harry Belliss secured Te Awatahi in 1905. Nehemiah McRae married Effie Tatham of the large Homewood estate in 1902; the large landowner, Hugh Morrison, gave the bride away.⁹

Notwithstanding the family ties, there is no evidence of farming partnerships.¹⁰ However, mutual help and the sharing of facilities were certain. The farmers had a right-of-use of the Langdale woolshed, dip and yards for the first seven years. Ryder, as lessee of the Homestead section administered the facilities, with the Commissioner of Crown Lands responsible for resolving disputes.¹¹ Sharing a single woolshed among so many individuals was potentially difficult, especially the order of use; but the more distant tenants' use of local woolsheds will

⁷ Land for Settlements, Langdale Settlement, *AJHR*, 1903 (C-1), p. 26.

⁸ Lands and Survey Head Office, File 19223/179, NA.

⁹ Pauline Stilborn, *Parish of Tinui*, Tinui: Tinui Parish Committee, 2001, p. 17.

¹⁰ Robin M. Startup, Wairarapa Sheep-owners & Flock Numbers 1861-1915, 03-53/1.R7B2S6, WA. Joint ownership of livestock would show in these returns.

¹¹ *The Langdale Settlement, Wellington, New Zealand*, Wellington: T.Y. Duncan, Minister of Lands, 1901, p. 11.

have reduced this.¹² There is no record of problems over the shared facilities, attesting the farmers' cooperation and Ryder's diplomacy.

By 1909 there were woolsheds on Bealey, Ngatoka, Hapairangi, Willowbank and Southfield on the Mangapakeha side, and Braemore, Waiawa and Riverside on the Whareama side; Neil McKay also had a woolshed, which he most likely shared with his brother.¹³ Thus, the farmers built nine woolsheds to augment the two already existing, and while this appears extravagant, they were sharing facilities in a more manageable manner: two or three sharing a woolshed is relatively calm compared to 22. However, there were exceptions: Riverside and Waiawa were close to the Langdale woolshed; Murapua and Bealey were neighbours, as were Hapairangi and Willowbank; Southfield and Willowbank adjoined Te Awatahi, but there may have been difficulties with Taplin and the change in tenants.

Part of the rationale for the Langdale settlement was to improve roads in the coastal hinterland. The £300 roading fund, capitalised into the tenants' rents, paid for the metalling of the Mangapakeha road. This left the Langdale road, which connected the main Uriti road with the Mangapakeha-Tinui road, un-metalled and barely formed. The entire settlement petitioned for a loan, to be serviced by a special rate, to bring this road up to standard.¹⁴ The Langdale road did not benefit the Mangapakeha-side farmers, but it was equitable, as all had paid for the Mangapakeha road. Nonetheless, self-interest determined who paid for county roads, so there must have been a sense of community among the crown tenants. Although not recorded, it is likely that Lands and Survey negotiated this consensus.

In 1904, the Langdale farmers petitioned the Land Board to waive the cropping restrictions. The petition was organised by Hugh Jackson and presented through Alexander Hogg.¹⁵ All the

¹² It was difficult for the McKay brothers on the Uriti road to use the Langdale woolshed. The sheep would have to be driven around the road as opposed to across country on the undivided estate, held overnight for shearing, and returned the next evening after shearing. Alternatively, the Blairlogie woolshed was just across the road. J.D. Cameron's parents farmed Okar next to Ngatoka, so he would use their shed. There was also a woolshed on Te Awatahi (Taplin's block).

¹³ Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1907), West Riding, Property nos 61-63, 66, 67, 69, 74, 01-170/132.R7B7S3, WA. Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1909), Uriti Riding, Property nos 71, 82, 01-170-131.R7B7S3, WA.

¹⁴ Castlepoint County Rates Books (1907-08), West Riding, Shelf 5, TDA.

¹⁵ Petition, L&S Head Office, File 19223/97.

farmers from the Whareama side signed the petition, but none from the Mangapakeha. Poor drainage constrained cultivation in the earlier years, and this was more pressing on the smaller Whareama-side farms. Although the Mangapakeha farmers had a lower ratio of cultivatable land, apart from the heart of the swamp at Hapairangi, the flats proved cultivatable without drainage.¹⁶

The Langdale prospectus signalled dairying as a potential land use. Hogg supported this, and requested the subdivision of the better land into 100- to 150-acre farms. He also noted that there were local farmers' sons with between £500 and £1,000 of capital,¹⁷ enough to finance a farm and a share in a dairy factory. Although Langdale is in the summer-dry zone, this did not prevent dairying in the district from around 1911 until 1960. This came in two stages. A discernible increase in Castlepoint County's dairy cow numbers from 1911 coincided with the advent of home separators.¹⁸ Castlepoint County records also confirm a cream van operating in the district in 1913,¹⁹ but the only evidence of dairy cows on the settlement is a reference to Frank White grazing his cows on the Langdale Domain.²⁰ In the mid-1920s, milking machines and falling farm returns prompted a dedicated dairy farm at Te Awatahi, and sizable herds at Hapairangi and Bealey. The 1930s depression impelled expansion on the Whareama side, and supply to the Masterton factory continued until 1960. In this later period, most of the district's cows were on the Langdale settlement.²¹

The settlement of Langdale preceded home separators and motorised cream vans. Distance made supply from a local creamery to a Masterton factory unviable, thus the settlement needed its own factory. This was not especially daunting, as the factories were comparatively cheap

¹⁶ Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1907), West Riding, Property nos 56, 58, 60, 62, 65-67, 69, 74. *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Nov. 10 1902, p. 2; Oct. 1 1904, p. 3; Dec. 14 1904, p. 3; May 18 1905, p. 2. *NZ Farmer*, Feb. 1904, p. 119. Hapairangi was the only Mangapakeha property with drainage, but there were numerous reports of crops on the Mangapakeha side of the Langdale settlement.

¹⁷ A.W. Hogg to J.W.A. Marchant (Commissioner of Crown Lands), Dec. 10 1900, Hogg Letter Book, Ref. 106, MS-Papers 5983, ATU.

¹⁸ *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 1907, p. 389; 1914, p. 595; 1918, p. 511.

¹⁹ Castlepoint County Minute Books (January 1 1901 - June 6 1906; June 6 1906 - November 1 1910; November 30 1912 - May 24 1919), Nov. 29 1913, Shelf 3, TDA.

²⁰ Langdale Domain Board Minute Book, p. 14, Langdale Domain, Shelf 20, TDA. The terminology of the day recognised 'cows' as dairy cows and 'cattle' as beef cattle.

²¹ Coie O'Brien, interviewed by D. Kinnell, at Masterton, October 9, 2004, Tape 1 of 2, side A (380-439), WA.

and needed few suppliers: in 1902, Southland's Glenham settlement had a factory complete with plant, piggery and manager's cottage, valued at £700;²² seven suppliers sufficed at the South Wairarapa Dyer settlement.²³ Thus, the Langdale farmers needed a modest amount of capital and a supply base of 250 cows to support their own factory.²⁴ In 1904, the *New Zealand Farmer* trumpeted the success of Langdale, saying the farmers were hopeful of more settlements in the area to support a dairy factory;²⁵ too few Langdale farmers were desirous of dairying.

Before the advent of milking machines, the standard dairy farm needed an appropriately aged family. An article mischievously attributed to Hogg during the 1905 election campaign criticised dairying's dependency on family labour. The farmer's wife and children performed the function of milking machines, morning and night, seven days a week from August to May, which Hogg should have seen as 'worse than slavery',²⁶ were he not endeared to the 'rural myth'. Initially, the Langdale settlement had only six families with appropriately aged children.²⁷ Of those, Fellingham, Udy and McLeay had their farms valued in 1902 and 1903,²⁸ probably to finance a factory. Although 17 of the 23 farmers were married by 1904,²⁹ it would be years before the newly-weds had children old enough to milk. Those without family labour could have milked smaller herds, but this would have necessitated a greater number of suppliers. As discussions continued, meat returns improved obviating the need for dairying.³⁰

²² *The Glenham Settlement, Southland, New Zealand*, Wellington: T.Y. Duncan, Minister of Lands, 1902, p. 11.

²³ Raymond E. Hambly, 'Dairying in the Wairarapa,' MA. Thesis, Victoria University, 1966, p. 88. Dyer and Tawaha were 1905 land-for-settlements subdivisions in South Wairarapa.

²⁴ Eltham Co-operative Dairy Factory: Articles of Association and shareholder list (1892), Massey Dairy Records Archive, Massey University Library. The average and mean herd sizes were 34 and 30, which gives a good indication of an economic dairy farm.

²⁵ *NZ Farmer*, Feb. 1904, p. 119.

²⁶ 'Life on a dairy farm,' by Mr Hogg MHR, a typescript in the Duckett Family Papers, 00-43, WA. This purports to be an article in the 'Wairarapa Times', Nov. 12 1905. There was no such paper as the 'Wairarapa Times' and the November 12 1905 was a Sunday in an age when Sunday publications were illegal. 1905 was an election year, and the exploitation of child labour on farms was an issue. The article was most likely aimed at Hogg, rather than written by him.

²⁷ The six were Cripps, Fellingham, Udy, McLeay, Maxwell, and Holmes. Although Taplin had appropriate land and family, his section was a carrying depot, hence the exclusion.

²⁸ Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1907), West Riding, Property nos 61, 62, 74.

²⁹ A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa: An Historical Excursion*, Masterton: Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1976, p. 367.

³⁰ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, May 18 1905, p. 2.

Notwithstanding this prosperity, James Lennie expressed his disappointment with the settlement's failure to co-operate in dairying.³¹

Stock sales were held on the Langdale settlement until 1904. They started with the Langdale estate's clearing sale and continued for several years under the aegis of Herbert Ryder and New Zealand Loan and Mercantile, a national stock agency. A Tinui district sale of 4,000 sheep and 50 cattle was held at Langdale in January 1902.³² A Langdale sale scheduled for April 1903 failed to attract sufficient entries;³³ the farmers were restocking after the drought. There were two Langdale sales in 1904: the January sale comprised 550 sheep and 54 cattle, while the March sale listed 1,342 sheep.³⁴ The demise of the sales coincided with increased areas of crop, and the Langdale farmers' transition from store to fat-stock selling.

Although there were affiliations between many of the Langdale tenants and the local community, some were outside the social network. Walter Anderson was a railway worker from Wanganui.³⁵ His neighbour, Thomas Cripps, had added the 70-acre Golden Downs section, left vacant after the Langdale ballot, to his own 80-acre farm. To comply with the residency regulations, he built a house at Golden Downs and lived there occasionally. The ranger had ignored this charade, but had to act when Anderson and others complained; Anderson hoped to acquire Cripps' lease.³⁶ The residency regulations caused friction between the Land Board and the farmers, with the many requests for extensions generally limited to three months.

The subdivision necessitated interlinking drainage systems and this caused disputes between neighbours. In 1905, J.T.M. Hornsby MHR wrote to the Minister of Lands on behalf of Hugh Jackson complaining of W.A. Oliver's failure to keep his drains clear, and of the Land Board's

³¹ Letter: James Lennie to J. Strauchon (Commissioner of Crown Lands), May 23 1906, Lennie Papers, Shelf 9, TDA.

³² *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Jan. 29 1902, p. 3.

³³ *ibid.*, April 14 1903, p. 2. A solitary notice soliciting entries for a sale scheduled for April 18 was not followed with a listing of stock for sale.

³⁴ *ibid.*, Jan. 25, Feb. 29 1904, p. 8.

³⁵ Applications for Land, LS-W, Series 15, Vol. 73, Ref. 11455, NA.

³⁶ J. Strauchon (Commissioner of Crown Lands) to W.C. Kessington (Under-Secretary for Crown Lands), L&S Head Office, File 19223/130. The Commissioner represented the Land Board while the Under-Secretary represented the Government.

refusal to enforce the regulations; these required lessees to maintain all improvements and allowed a drainage-right through neighbouring properties. Hornsby's letter emphasised Jackson's importance to the settlement, and threatened he would leave if not accommodated.³⁷ Jackson had purchased William Bennett's lease in 1902, and organised the cropping petition in 1904. Oliver was a labourer,³⁸ and his 49-acre section was the second to smallest on the settlement. Although the Government supported Jackson on several occasions, the Land Board was adamant that Oliver had done all that was required and refused to act.³⁹ The dispute continued for six years.

James Lennie and his wife were recent immigrants from Scotland and naturally lacked social connections with the local community. His requisite capital included £30 of household chattels, and his small property carried 400 sheep.⁴⁰ Lennie left some prose about his wealthy neighbour, Don Bennett:

'...no wonder that my heart turns sour
to slave like this for a bob an hour
when I can see in passing pride
Don Bennett o'er his paddocks ride
and know that both of work and care
the lucky beggar missed his share.'⁴¹

The Langdale farmers proved susceptible to the generosity of their large landowning neighbours. In 1904, the Land Board proclaimed a newly built church on land adjoining the settlement.⁴² The township had reserves for a recreation domain and a cemetery, but not a church. In 1903, Walter Buchanan MHR sought to redress this in a representation to the Government on behalf of 'the Langdale settlers and others.'⁴³ Buchanan's request failed. Mrs Jessie Morrison, of the Blairlogie estate donated the land; her daughter, Katie, was the community fundraiser; all the recorded contributions came from large landowners and the

³⁷ J.T.M. Hornsby to W.C. Kessington, L&S Head Office, File 19223/157.

³⁸ Applications for Land, Vol. 74, Ref. 11515.

³⁹ J. Strauchon to W.C. Kessington, L&S Head Office, File 19223/164, 170. Wellington Land Board Minute Book, Vol. 13, Ref. 75, LS-W, Series 12, NA.

⁴⁰ Applications for Land, Vol. 70, Ref. 11130.

⁴¹ Lennie Papers.

⁴² Land for Settlements, Langdale Settlement, *AJHR*, 1904 (C-1), p. 35.

⁴³ W.C. Buchanan MHR to T.Y. Duncan (Minister of Crown Lands), L&S Head Office, File 19223/87.

clergy; Parson Andrew, of the large Ica estate, laid the foundation stone for the Church of Saint Andrew. The first christenings were children from the settlement.⁴⁴ The crown tenants depended on the largess of their large landowning neighbours for their Church.

The most tangible remnant of the Langdale settlement is the Langdale Domain hall. Although the hall attests a Langdale community that included the Mangapakeha-side farmers,⁴⁵ it also illustrates large landowner influence. Hugh Morrison is remembered for his generosity towards the Langdale farmers, especially the contribution his Blairlogie agricultural team made in ploughing the settlement's fields in the early years.⁴⁶ Although outside the Castlepoint County, the Morrison brothers allowed the County to take metal for the Langdale road from Blairlogie without charge.⁴⁷ This was a considerable saving to the Langdale farmers as metal was a scarce resource throughout the district. From inception in 1905, Morrison chaired most of the Langdale Domain board meetings. In 1907, W. Birkett, Blairlogie's resident carpenter, built the hall; Morrison carted the timber without charge.⁴⁸ Although unquestionably generous, Morrison had the means to determine events: in 1925, he offered to underwrite the Langdale Domain's overdraft subject to acceptance of his preferred extensions to the hall.⁴⁹

A Langdale community emerged, but not in the shape envisaged by Hogg. Many of the crown tenants came from the local community and were related, others married into resident families. Unsurprisingly, there were some disputes and evidence of class-fuelled sentiments. The crown tenants did not disturb the district's social dependency on large landowners. The missing ingredient was a dairy cooperative, as this would have taken the farmers outside existing social hierarchies.

⁴⁴ Stilborn, p. 37.

⁴⁵ Langdale Domain, Summary Sheet, p. 11, Shelf 20, TDA. J. McLeay, the Douglas brothers, and E. Carmen were on the committee.

⁴⁶ James Andrew, 'Notes Concerning the Morrison Family', P Box q929.2 MOR AND 1975, ATU, pp.7-9. Andrew was Hugh Morrison's nephew.

⁴⁷ Castlepoint County Minute Book, Sept. 29 1906.

⁴⁸ Langdale Domain, Summary Sheet, p. 3; Minute Book, 1907.

⁴⁹ Langdale Domain, Minute Book, 1925.

Progress for the Farmers

In 1904, the *New Zealand Farmer* noted the prosperity of the Langdale farmers, and evidence of mortgages confirms this.⁵⁰ In their first five years, crown tenants needed Land Board approval for mortgages.⁵¹ On leasehold land, a mortgage was limited to 50% of the lessee's interest, hence the evidence of progress. In 1904, six farmers had mortgages approved, a further three in 1905, and two in 1906.⁵² Most of the mortgages went to the larger sections, the exception being Elizabeth White (nee Dunn), who gained a £180 mortgage for house improvements. County valuations of Langdale confirm the farmers' progress. Flatspur, Seaview, and seven of the Whareama properties including the township were in the Masterton County, the remainder were in Castlepoint. Castlepoint County valuations exist for 1907 and 1913, as do Masterton County valuations for 1909 and 1921. These records show the farmers, with few exceptions, built good houses, made impressive improvements to their farms, and enjoyed substantial capital gains.

The farmers' houses mark the early prosperity of the Langdale settlement. By 1907, the Langdale farmers within Castlepoint County had built 11 houses with an average value of £259.⁵³ Their Masterton County compatriots, who were generally on smaller farms, had built nine houses with an average value of £197 by 1909;⁵⁴ the average value of these 20 houses was £231. By comparison, the 13-room Langdale homestead was valued at £640 in 1907, and two roadman's cottages built for the Castlepoint County cost £94 each.⁵⁵

There was disparity in the standard of these houses. Small-holders Anderson, Cripps and Frank White lived in £70 houses, while McLeay and Udy occupied £400 and £350 houses respectively. Neil McKay's £280 house was 1,200 square feet with six rooms. Cripps' £70 house, constructed to feign compliance with the residency requirements, was 480 square feet

⁵⁰ *NZ Farmer*, Feb. 1904, p. 119.

⁵¹ *New Zealand Statutes*, 1900 (No. 52), Land for Settlements Consolidation Act, Sec. 54.

⁵² Mortgages, L&S Head Office, File 19223/89, 91, 92, 94, 125, 133, 151, 154, 155, 161.

⁵³ Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1907), West Riding, Property nos 56, 60-62, 64-66, 68-70, 74. This includes the Street's house, which was rebuilt to a much higher standard after being destroyed by the 1902 earthquake.

⁵⁴ Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1909), Uriti Riding, Property nos 71, 74, 82, 84, 85, 89, 90, 282, 298. Properties in Masterton County were 1-6, 22, 23, and F. White's suburban sections on map in Ch. 3, p. 59.

⁵⁵ Castlepoint County Minute Book, Dec. 22 1906.

and comprised two rooms; Anderson's similarly priced house was 216 square feet. H. Cowin's £65 house was the lowest valued on the settlement, and his improvements were equally stark. Cowin, a bachelor, was one of the wealthier selectors and farmed 333 acres. The 1905 sheep-owner records show he was farming additional land,⁵⁶ thus Cowin put his resources into expansion. Apart from the Langdale homestead, the houses were too small to accommodate servants.⁵⁷ However, McKay and McLeay had small low-cost huts suitable as single-men's accommodation. By 1909, Frank White was the settlement's only married resident living in accommodation inferior to that which the undivided estate provided its married employee.

When the farmers took charge of Langdale, the estate's improvements included 3,600 chains of fences and 32 of drains.⁵⁸ The first round of County valuations shows 3,841 chains of new fencing and 273 of drains.⁵⁹ The second round saw the fences and drains extended by a further 3,443 and 552 chains respectively.⁶⁰

The fencing did not entirely represent productive improvement. The need for fences is a function of paddock numbers and paddock size: a larger farm can operate with larger paddocks, and has lower per-acre fencing costs. The effectiveness of fencing was also constrained by water supply. Langdale's water supply was the surrounding rivers, leaving the interior hills reliant on springs of doubtful value in dry periods. It was easier for the undivided estate to align paddocks with water supply than for the farmers, as some sections did not even border the main

⁵⁶ Startup, Wairarapa Sheep-owners. In 1904, H. Cowin had 490 sheep but in 1905 he had 1,025. He sold to G. Taylor in 1907 and the next three returns show Ngatarawa carrying 596, 465 & 561 sheep.

⁵⁷ M.D. Campbell, 'The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society 1850-1914', PhD. Thesis, Victoria University, 1972, p. 234. Generally, houses with more than ten rooms indicated servants.

⁵⁸ *The Langdale Settlement*, pp. 14-30.

⁵⁹ Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1907), West Riding, Property nos 56, 58, 60-71, 74. Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1909), Uriti Riding, Property nos 71, 74, 72, 84, 85, 89, 90, 282, 289.

⁶⁰ Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1913), South Riding, Property nos 56, 58, 60-71, 74, 01-170/89.R7B5S11, WA. Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1921), Uriti Riding, Property nos 71, 74, 72, 84, 85, 89, 90, 282, 289, 01-170/131.R7B5S10, WA. The 1913 and 1921 valuations give value, but not the length of drains. The 1907/9 valuations put cost of drains at 8s 9d/chain; this cost has been adjusted in line with the CPI to 9s 3d in 1913 and 17s 5d in 1921, to give an estimated length.

rivers.⁶¹ Flatspur was in this category, and although McKay fashioned it into eight paddocks with 500 chains of fencing,⁶² this represented little improvement on the undivided estate's 17 main paddocks, especially in dry periods.

Whether on the undivided estate or settlement, drainage unequivocally improved the productive capacity of the land. It made more of the flats available for cropping and allowed for earlier sowing, essential in a summer-dry climate. Cropping on the settlement gained momentum after a slow start, rising from 33 acres in 1902 to over 400 by 1907.⁶³ Most were green crops suitable for finishing stock, but there were also oats to feed the horses used for agricultural work. Poor drainage was an early constraint on the cultivatable area, hence the cropping petition from the Whareama-side farmers. The only drainage recorded on the Mangapakeha side in the 1907 valuations was 20 chains at Hapairangi. Despite this, there were regular reports of crops in the Mangapakeha valley;⁶⁴ the swamp was largely an illusion. Drainage and cropping marked the difference between the Langdale farmers and the pastoralists they displaced.

Although the Langdale farmers completed extensive improvements, most of these were of questionable productive value; the conversion of an undivided Langdale into an equivalent lamb-producing unit was achievable at a significantly lower cost. The 1913 Castlepoint and 1921 Masterton County valuations record that the farmers had spent £9,067 on houses and buildings, £6,997 on fences, and £1,455 on incidental improvements: stockyards, plantations, roads and bridges. Drainage was the essential improvement, but this came comparatively cheaply at £585.⁶⁵ In addition to drainage, the undivided estate would have needed some more houses, good stock-handling facilities at the Masterton-end, and additional subdivision of the six

⁶¹ *The Langdale Settlement*, p. 26. This refers to section 4(III) Rewa SD. that was typical of the sections that did not have river access. The prospectus stated that water could probably be obtained by sinking wells (springs) and that the country was suitable for construction of dams. Such dams, although technically possible, were expensive and would be recorded in the county valuation records if constructed; thus, the farmers relied on the springs.

⁶² Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1921), Uriti Riding, Property no. 71.

⁶³ Land for Settlements, Langdale Settlement, *AJHR*, 1902 (C-1), p. 17; Appendix II, Land for Settlements, Wellington Langdale, *AJHR*, 1907 (C-1), p. 53.

⁶⁴ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Nov. 10 1902, p. 2; Oct. 1 1904, p. 3; Dec. 14 1904, p. 3; May 18 1905, p. 2. *NZ Farmer*, Feb. 1904, p. 119.

⁶⁵ Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1913), South Riding, Property nos 56, 58, 60-71, 74. Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1921), Uriti Riding, Property nos 71, 74, 72, 84, 85, 89, 90, 282, 289.

largest paddocks. It was the farmers' willingness to change, rather than the capital they injected, which transformed Langdale.

While crown tenants were obliged to maintain their properties, the mandatory improvements were not required to be productive. It was the tenants' choice as to whether the improvements enhanced earning-capacity or lifestyles. Settlements were an economic stimulus for rural communities because the tenants were compelled to spend money, and the effect multiplied. In 1902, the Masterton County levied Castlepoint a quarter of the maintenance costs of the road between Masterton and the Castlepoint County.⁶⁶ This demand coincided with Langdale's mandatory improvements, and the increased traffic of building and fencing materials was the likely cause. In 1909, 600 Masterton petitioners sought the Government's purchase and subdivision of the Ica estate for closer settlement.⁶⁷ The borough petitioners did not intend to settle at Ica, but sought to replicate the economic benefits that the Langdale settlement delivered to Masterton.

Rising land values reflected Langdale's transformation. Excluding the township sections, aggregate values rose 51% by 1907, a further 22% by 1909, 16% in 1913 and 65% in 1921; this compounded to a 252% increase over the 1901 settlement values, including the subdivision costs. All the increased values of the properties leased-in-perpetuity accrued to the leaseholder, with the crown's interest fixed at the 1901 values. The leap in values between 1913 and 1921 reflected major increases in produce prices induced by the wartime bulk-purchase agreement. However, the 1921 Masterton County valuations show a marked decrease to prices recorded between 1918 and 1920 when four of the nine properties were sold;⁶⁸ this decrease reflected the 1921 wool-market slump. Thomas Cripps purchased Tamana in 1918; barring the township sections, this was the first aggregation within the settlement.

When Cripps purchased Tamana it was freehold, as were 12 of the 23 Langdale farms by 1919.⁶⁹ Massey's Reform Government granted the right to freehold in 1912; in March 1918,

⁶⁶ Castlepoint County Minute Book, July 5 1902. Section 8 of the 1900 Public Works Act allowed counties to charge neighbouring counties for the use of roads and provided for arbitration in disputed cases.

⁶⁷ Bagnall, *Wairarapa*, p. 374.

⁶⁸ Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1921), Uriti Riding, Property nos 74, 82, 90, 282.

⁶⁹ Langdale Settlement, LS-W, 18/2, NA.

crown tenants received reminder notices that the offer closed in November.⁷⁰ Land-for-settlements tenants could freehold their lease-in-perpetuity properties at the original value, whereas the small-grazing-run tenants paid current value less lessee improvements and the inflation component of capital gain.⁷¹ Neil McKay paid £5,995 to freehold Flatspur, a premium of £2,560 over the original value. The 1921 valuation left McKay with a capital gain of £2,076 net of his improvements, but this was less than half of what would have accrued had he held a lease-in-perpetuity; the prejudice against pastoralists did not change with the Reform Government. Payment could be spread over 19 years at 5%, but only two of the 12 took advantage of this, and then only for two- and six-year terms.

Land ownership had tangible and intangible benefits. Freehold seemed a stronger form of ownership than leasehold, even though freehold title did not carry immunity to compulsory purchase under the Public Works or Land for Settlements Acts. The emotional benefits of freeholding included independence from the lease conditions and inspections by rangers, and the morally uplifting attributes of land ownership described by Joseph Masters.⁷²

While there were compelling reasons for freeholding small-grazing-runs, the material benefits of converting lease-in-perpetuity were less obvious. Small-grazing-runs were subject to possible resumption and almost certain rent increases every 21 years, while lease-in-perpetuity had a seemingly indefinite 999-year term. However, the leases did not specify a right-of-transfer; while the tenure was secure, the freedom to transfer was not. Notwithstanding this, two of the four Masterton County farms sold between 1918 and 1920 were lease-in-perpetuity. The 386-acre section that William Bennett transferred for £247 in 1902 sold for £6,722, and its neighbouring 308-acre property for £5,399; the respective 1921 valuations of £2,792 and £2,897

⁷⁰ John Wilson, *Waikakahi: Fulfilling the Promise*, Waimate: Waikakahi Centennial 1999 Incorporated Society, 1999, p. 181.

⁷¹ *New Zealand Statutes*, 1912 (No. 31), Land Laws Amendment Act, Secs 31, 32; 1913 (No. 24), Land Laws Amendment Act, Sec. 60. Lease-in-perpetuity holders were to pay half the difference between the 5% rental they would have paid had they opted for the right of purchase and the 4% they paid, but land-for-settlements tenants paid 5%, so there was no difference.

⁷² Alan Henderson, *Fortuitous Legacy: The Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1872-1997*, Masterton: Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1997, p. 12.

show the strength of the post-war property boom and the marketability of lease-in-perpetuity properties even though the right to freehold had expired.⁷³

Leverage was the most compelling reason for converting lease-in-perpetuity tenure to freehold. For farmers with limited capital, leasehold was desirable because it allowed them the use of a farm, as evidenced by the preference for leasehold over freehold at Cheviot in 1894. However, greater leverage could be obtained from a freehold property. Government Advances to Settlers lent up to two-thirds the value of freehold property, but only one-half of the lessees' interest. In terms of leverage, equilibrium between freehold and leasehold occurs when the cost to freehold equals the leverage obtainable from the freehold property less the leverage obtainable from the same property under leasehold.⁷⁴ If leverage was the aim, then freeholding was rational. By 1918, Langdale land values had risen to a level that made freeholding economically sensible. James Lennie exercised his right to freehold in 1914, the others waited until the 1918 closing date.⁷⁵ This timing suggests that Lennie was influenced by the emotional values of freehold ownership, while the remainder gave a greater weighting to its economic benefits.

Material Factors in the Farmers' Success

It was 20 years of almost uninterrupted improvement in sheep-farmers' terms of trade that made freeholding economically justifiable for the Langdale farmers. Graph 1 (overleaf) compares the relativity between export prices of meat and wool, and the consumer price index (CPI) with all three indexed at 100 in 1901. When the meat and wool prices were above the CPI, the farmers were winning: their outputs bought more inputs. Most of the time they were winning, the only real exception was in the first three years when the wool prices slumped. Although meat export prices were rising in these initial years, the drought allowed the freezing companies to buy cheaply on oversupplied stock markets and farmers were likely to have received lower returns

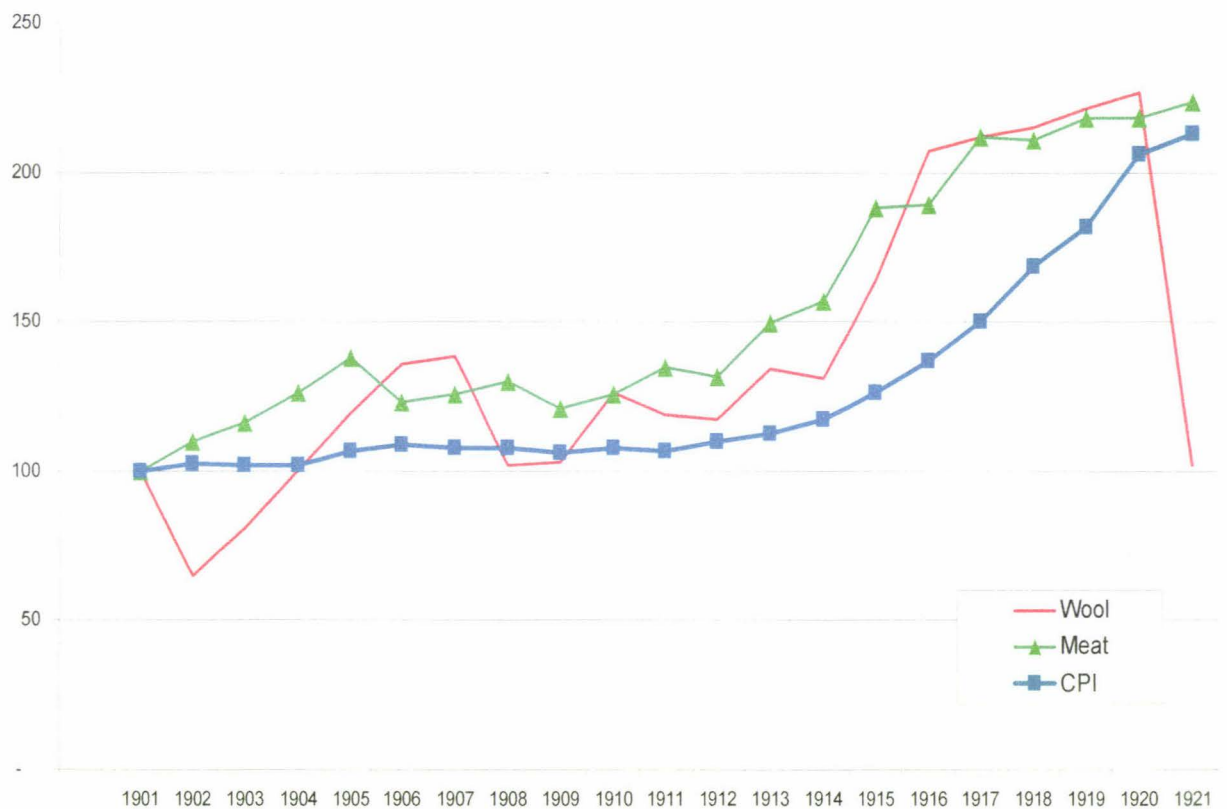
⁷³ Masterton County Valuation Field Book (1921), Uriti Riding, Property nos 82, 282.

⁷⁴ Put simply and using the advances-to-settlers' lending criteria: cost of freehold = £100 & lessee's interest = £200. The lessee could borrow £100 against the lessee's interest and had the use of the £100 lease, effectively giving access to £200 of borrowings. Purchasing the freehold would cost £100, but the property owner now has £300 and the capacity to borrow £200, hence the equilibrium of the freehold leverage less the leasehold leverage equalling the cost of freehold.

⁷⁵ Langdale Settlement, LS-W, 18/2.

from livestock sales than the export prices indicated.⁷⁶ Once past this crisis it was steady progress upwards, the only blemish being a dip in wool prices in 1908 and 1909. When their returns were running ahead of inflation, the farmers were making unanticipated profits and these provided capital for improvements.

Graph 1. Terms of Trade ⁷⁷



⁷⁶ *NZ Farmer*, Jan. 1902, pp. 306-307. This reports farmer dissatisfaction over meat-company pricing, and moves to float a Wairarapa meat co-operative

⁷⁷ Computed from: *NZYOB*, 1990, p. 614 (Price changes over a century); Lloyd Prichard, pp. 409-410, 425. Meat and wool prices are derived by dividing export revenues with export volumes. The base-year for meat and wool prices is set at the average of the previous ten years including 1901 (1892 to 1901 inclusive). Lloyd Prichard uses this system with graphs as it smoothes the effects of one-off fluctuations. Meat prices were quite steady over this period but wool prices fluctuated sharply, and using a single year as an index base could be misleading. Although the meat and wool data does not precisely represent what the farmers received, it does measure the changing relativities between meat and wool and the CPI.

By 1920 inflation had caught up to the meat and wool prices, so in real terms they had returned to the 1901 levels. However, the farmers were still ahead. With the exception of Flatspur, the rents set in 1901 had fallen dramatically in real terms by 1920. The same applied to debt-servicing obligations undertaken over that period. The farmers were debtors: they used other people's money, be it mortgage or lease. Unanticipated inflation transfers wealth from creditors to debtors. Although real meat and wool prices had returned to 1901 levels, real land prices rose substantially over that period: the CPI rose 119% in the 20 years from 1901 while the 1921 valuations, notwithstanding the plummeting wool market, show the settlement property values increased by 252%. In real terms, land values on the settlement had doubled. Part of this gain is attributable to the relatively low pre-settlement land values. The land values rose in response to the changing land use, for which the farmers were responsible. The farmers also made real improvements, financed in part by the advantageous terms of trade, and these added real value to the properties. In real terms, the rents for lease-in-perpetuity sections in 1921 had halved. This inflation-induced rent reduction also added real value to the properties. Inflation delivered an unearned increment to the tenants.

However, prosperity at Langdale preceded the improving produce prices. In 1904, the *Wairarapa Daily Times* noted 'the comfortable homes on this settlement.' The report referred to impressive lambing percentages and the advantage of every section having some arable land.⁷⁸ A year later a *Daily Times* correspondent visited the settlement and praised the extensive use of crops for fattening lambs and older stock.⁷⁹ The composition of the two 1904 Langdale stock sales is further evidence of the early changes. The sales listed 1,080 ewes, 550 lambs, ten Southdown and two Lincoln rams, and 250 wethers, in addition to 55 cattle. The Langdale farmers' cropping petition reinforces evidence of this change.

Cropping distinguished the Langdale farmers from their pastoralist predecessors and their Castlepoint County neighbours. In 1905, the Langdale farmers within the Castlepoint County accounted for 268 of the County's 711 acres of crop; 8% of the County's sheep were eating 38% of the County's crop. In 1907, Langdale's share of the County's cropped area increased to

⁷⁸ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Oct. 1 1904, p. 3.

⁷⁹ *ibid.*, May 18 1905, p. 2.

43%.⁸⁰ The areas under crop within the County fell to 541 acres in 1910 and 479 in 1914.⁸¹ Because the Langdale farmers extended their drainage systems after the 1907 County valuations, it is more likely that their cropped area expanded than contracted over this period, making the decline in the County's crop exclusive of Langdale even more dramatic. This decline is surprising in view of the family-inspired subdivisions of other large estates, notably Ica with 2,200 acres of Whareama river flats.

Further evidence of the singularity of Langdale's intensive farming practices is cited, albeit obliquely, in the Castlepoint County's 1948 centennial publication. This records the displacement of wethers with fat lambs from the early 1900s, and notes that most of the land producing oats before 1920 was producing butterfat in 1948;⁸² oats fuelled the horses used for agricultural work, hence the link between oats and lamb fattening. During the dairying era, most of the milking cows in the Castlepoint district were on the Langdale settlement.⁸³ Part of the reason for the settlement's virtual solitude as a lamb producer was its location on the Masterton edge of the Castlepoint County. However, Ica was just across the Whareama river from Langdale, and Tinui is as close to Masterton as the Whareama side of Langdale. The subdivision of the Langdale estate impelled the change to lamb production, just as the smallness of the Langdale farms pointed them towards dairying in the troubled 1920s and 1930s.

Success for the Government?

The Government purchased and subdivided the Langdale estate because the land was idle. The owner's failure to exploit this resource was unacceptable to liberalism, as evidenced in the absence of intrinsic opposition to land-for-settlements: the opponents denied that the land was idle or blamed the idleness on import duties or land taxes. To prove its case, the Government

⁸⁰ Appendix II, Land for Settlements, Wellington Langdale, *AJHR*, (C-1), 1905, p. 38; 1907, p. 53. *NZOYB*, 1905, p. 410; 1907, p. 402. The portion of the Langdale settlement within the Castlepoint County comprised 83% of the total settlement's flats and farmed 68% of the settlement's sheep.

⁸¹ *NZOYB*, 1910, p. 519; 1914, p. 581. Records of cropping on a county basis ended in 1914.

⁸² A.G. Bagnall (ed.), *Early Castlepoint: First Years in a Pioneer Settlement*, Castlepoint: Castlepoint Historical Committee, 1948, pp. 34-35.

⁸³ O'Brien interview, tape 1 of 2, side A (380-439). Not only were most of the cows on the former Langdale settlement, but most of those that were not were on land unsuitable for grain crops; the most hospitable land including the Whareama flats outside the settlement and the Uriti/Homewood district did not have dairy farms.

needed to replace the few from the large estate with a much larger number of crown tenants. It also had to show that the tenants paid for everything, otherwise the settlement's success would be attributable to Government assistance and not the improvement of idle land; the official premise for land-for-settlements would collapse.

For the Liberals, the primary purpose of land was to support people. Thus, the number of people on the settlements was the Government's benchmark for success. The Wellington Land Board's annual reports to Parliament gave Langdale a satisfactory rating in 1903, most satisfactory in 1906, and very good in 1907.⁸⁴ Although the rating was back to good by 1911, only dairying and horticultural settlements rated better than Langdale.⁸⁵ A higher land use enabled more people to live on the land, hence the higher ratings for horticultural and dairying subdivisions. This emphasis on numbers explains the Government's resistance to the amalgamation of the township sections, and injunction against the Land Board's plan to divide Taplin's section between two neighbouring tenancies.⁸⁶ By 1907, Langdale had 77 residents and 23 houses.⁸⁷ The Church of St Andrew was proof that the Government was putting people into the rural areas, hence its proclamation.

The Government published cash reconciliations for individual settlements until 1907. Table 1 (overleaf) is a copy of the 1903 Langdale Settlement Account. The integrity of this cash-flow reconciliation was the excess of underlying annual revenues over underlying annual expenses, and the implied repayment of the borrowed money. The accounts correctly disregarded any loss of land tax revenues: although the undivided estate paid £93 in 1900, there was no certainty that this would continue as the property was on the market irrespective of land-for-settlements, and any subdivision would have reduced or eliminated the land tax revenues. As this reconciliation stands, the rents exceeded the annual interest and incidental expenses (administration) by £305. However, the rent included capital repayments on the buildings with the building interest

⁸⁴ Wellington Land District, *AJHR*, 1903 (C-1), p. 26. Land for Settlements (Reports for Commissioners of Crown Lands), Wellington, Langdale, *AJHR*, 1906 (C-1), Appendix II, p. 55. Report on Conditions and Settlement of Estates, Langdale, *AJHR*, 1907 (C-5), p. 9.

⁸⁵ Summary of Settlements established upon Estates, Langdale, *AJHR*, 1911 (C-5), p. X.

⁸⁶ Various memos, L&S Head Office, File 19223/106, 120, 122, 189.

⁸⁷ Land for Settlement Reports, Wellington, Langdale, *AJHR*, 1908 (C-1), Appendix II, p. 62. There should have been 24 houses, including F. White's on the township section, but the Taplin/Bellis house burned down in 1905 and may not have been rebuilt when the report was written.

payments credited to the annual interest charge. By excluding the annual payments on the buildings of £140 10s, the underlying costs and revenues move much closer.⁸⁸ The rate of repayment was less than 1% per year, but this would fall to 0.5% once the building payments were completed; the only prospect for change was a rent increase after 21 years on Langdale's solitary small-grazing-run.

Table 1.⁸⁹ Langdale Settlement: 1903 Outlay and Income.

| Outlay | | Income | |
|-----------------------------|---------|------------------------|---------|
| Purchase money | £30,669 | | |
| Incidental expenses | | Rents &c. paid to | |
| March 31 1902 | £870 | March 31 1902 | £1,555 |
| Incidental expenses April 1 | | Rents &c. paid April 1 | |
| 1902 to March 31 1903 | £17 | 1902 to March 31 1903 | £1,591 |
| Interest to March 31 1902 | £1,277 | Rents unpaid at | |
| Interest March 31 1902 to | | March 31 1903 | £87 |
| April 1 1903 | £1,269 | Balance | £30,869 |
| Total | £34,102 | Total | £34,102 |

The Government endeavoured to show a positive cash-flow in the Langdale settlement account. The rent was 5% of the purchase cost and settlement expenses, less the buildings that the tenants

⁸⁸ *The Langdale Settlement*, pp. 12-13. The annual payment of £140 10s is based on a 21-year 5% table mortgage with semi-annual payments on £1,813 15s of buildings, including one-quarter of Taplin's. The Langdale prospectus put the annual payments at £250 8s 8d, but this must have been a mistake.

⁸⁹ Statement showing Outlay and Income of Estates purchased under the Land for Settlements Acts, *AJHR*, 1903 (C-1), p. 211 (Table 34). Figures have been rounded to the nearest £.

purchased over 21 years. The sum of the capitalised rent and the buildings exceeded the Government's purchase and settlement expenses by £606.⁹⁰ Initially, the tenants were overcharged.

The Government manipulated the settlement account by omitting expenses. At the outset, £1,489 was spent on subdivision and promotion, well in excess of the accumulated incidental expenses of £870 shown in 1903.⁹¹ In 1902, an earthquake destroyed the Street's brick house. Although not obligated, the Government agreed to compensate the Streets.⁹² When the Land Board sought to pay for the £150 house from the Langdale settlement account, the Government withdrew the offer.⁹³ The issue was finally resolved with the money drawn from supplementary estimates. In addition, a £400 grant to the Castlepoint County in 1903 for the Mangapakeha road, which exceeded the roading provision by £100, was omitted from the Langdale settlement account.⁹⁴ The reluctance to write off the unpaid rent accumulated with the early tenancy failures also illustrates the Government's desire to enhance the settlement accounts. The Langdale tenants paid for all the expenses as the Premier promised, but the Government exaggerated the financial position of the Langdale settlement.

The forfeiture of Taplin's lease presented accounting difficulties. Taplin was entitled to compensation for 75% of the buildings he had erected, and as the incoming tenant would pay the £242 over 21 years, there was a cash-flow gap. Initially the Government decided to bridge the gap by withholding payment to Taplin for 21 years, but relented on Taplin's death and elected to pay his estate in full.⁹⁵ This was charged to Lands and Survey, and not to the

⁹⁰ Memo, L&S Wellington District Office, L&S Head Office, File 19223/47. The rents outlined in the prospectus totalled £1,557 7s 4d. The rent capitalised at 5% equals £31,147 6s 10d. The buildings (including one-quarter of Taplin's) were valued at £1,813 15s. Thus the charges the tenants paid were based on a total value of £32,961 1s 10d. The costs incurred by the Government, including £300 for roads and £383 6s 6d interest on the purchase money, totalled £32,355 11s 2d. The subdivision budget included a £158 contingency provision and a £458 credit balance; when combined, this is close to the £606 overcharge.

⁹¹ Memo, L&S Wellington District Office, L&S Head Office, File 19223/47.

⁹² Various memos, L&S Head Office, File 19223/100, 105, 109, 114. *The Langdale Settlement*, pp. 34-35. The lessees were required to keep insured all buildings that came with their sections. This insurance did not anticipate earthquakes, but the lessees were also required to make good any damage.

⁹³ W.C. Kessington to J. Strauchon, L&S Head Office, File 19223/144, 149.

⁹⁴ Castlepoint County Minute Book, April 25 1903.

⁹⁵ J. Strauchon to W.C. Kessington, L&S Head Office, File 19223/162.

Langdale settlement account.⁹⁶ Part of the problem was the use of cash-flow accounts rather than an accrual system, which would have offset the payment to Taplin by recording the buildings as an asset.

Despite the Government's willingness to enhance the settlement accounts, the Langdale settlement did not draw on public revenues, due to the initial overcharge. From the Government's perspective, land-for-settlements was attractive because the crown tenants serviced and repaid the debt incurred on their behalf, albeit at a slow rate. This appearance was deceptive because irrespective of who serviced the debt, land-for-settlements consumed a proportion of New Zealand's available capital and its true cost was the forgone opportunity of alternative uses for this capital.

While the Government avoided concessions to the settlements when it could and disguised them when it could not, this parsimony compromised its political objectives of reducing large landowner hegemony. The Government's refusal to donate land for the Church of Saint Andrew sustained the community's dependency on their large landowners. The opportunity to enhance the social standing of their Langdale tenants was further lost when the Government refused the Langdale Domain Board's request for ten acres of additional land for the recreation reserve.⁹⁷ These concessions, although small, seemed large in the context of the settlement's accounts.

The Langdale settlement was more successful for the farmers, who became prosperous, than for the Government. The farmers transformed an idle tract of land at theoretically little cost to the taxpayer, but the opportunity cost of land-for-settlements was cumulatively large. The crown tenants' mandatory improvements acted as a fiscal stimulus, especially to Masterton. However, the shining progress the farmers made did not filter outwards; neighbouring land remained idle. The prospect of the crown tenants instilling some liberal values into a conservative community also appeared slim. A dairy factory controlled by the Langdale farmers may have averted their

⁹⁶ Appropriation for Consolidated Fund Services (Section 1, Block XV, Mangapakeha SD.), Department of Lands and Survey, *AJHR*, 1906 (B-7), p. 104, Ref. 100.

⁹⁷ T.Y. Duncan to W.C. Buchanan, L&S Wellington District Office, L&S Head Office, File 19223/128.

assimilation into existing social structures. The easy relationship between the large landowner, Hugh Morrison, and the Langdale farmers was an ill omen for Hogg's political agenda.

Ch. 5 Langdale's Crown Tenants and Politics

Land-for-settlements harboured several political agendas: the reduction of large landowners through the subdivision of large estates, and the 'crowding out' of large landowner hegemony with crown tenants. Alexander Hogg, when calling for a settlement in his electorate, extended this agenda from national to county politics by attacking the condition of the Castlepoint district roads, and proposing that the only remedy lay in the replacement of large landowners with crown tenants;¹ thus, he hoped to alter the political balance locally and nationally. These seemingly achievable political objectives failed, largely because Hogg underestimated the district's emotional attachment to the Castlepoint tradition.

In terms of his own parliamentary prospects, Hogg had reason to expect some political benefit from the Langdale settlement. Although historians cite the 1889 abolition of plural voting as instrumental in his 17-vote victory in 1890, Hogg's entry to Parliament was due to the inclusion of the North Wairarapa small-farm settlement areas in the Masterton electorate.² Despite his Knights of Labor affiliations, and presence on the Masterton Borough Council and Trust Lands Trust, Hogg lost to George Beetham at Masterton, the electorate's largest polling booth, but this was more than offset by strong victories in Eketahuna and Pahiatua.³

The Castlepoint Road Board was in the Masterton electorate, and although putatively conservative, lent some support to Hogg. In 1890, Hogg was only ten short of Beetham's 78 votes at the Tinui and Whakataki polling booths. Tinui was a village and Whakataki, adjacent to Castlepoint beach, had a number of small farmers. Hogg's modest political support was partly attributable to his 'roads and bridges' profile. Castlepoint had poor roads and was inclined to blame the Wairarapa-North County for this; Beetham may have suffered for his family's long association with the County. However, Hogg lost heavily at the small Grassendale booth dominated by the large Manawa and Annedale estates. While most of the

¹ *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates*, Vol. 108 (1899), p. 512 (A.W. Hogg).

² David Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power, 1891-1912*, Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1988, p. 36. There was also a third candidate in the 1887 election. R.S. Hawkins, although a large landowner, supported Liberal land policy, and this would have reduced Hogg's prospects.

³ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Dec. 6 1890, p. 2. Hogg was 58 votes short of Beetham at Masterton but took the Eketahuna and Pahiatua booths by 138 votes. For reasons unknown, only 759 votes were cast at the Masterton booth in 1890 compared to 1,064 in 1887.

Langdale tenants were in the Masterton electorate, those whose properties were in the Wainuioru Road Board were in the Wairarapa electorate, and voted at Whareama. The Whareama booth supported Walter Buchanan by 20 votes to four in 1890 and 88 to 14 in 1893.

Table 1 (overleaf) illustrates the Liberal's failure to benefit from the Langdale settlement. The 1896 leap in Liberal support was attributable to the candidature of J.T.M. Hornsby in the Wairarapa; Buchanan faced an official Liberal party candidate for the first time, and lost the Whareama booth by 35 votes to 43. The post Langdale-settlement election of 1902 recorded a decline in Liberal support and a sharp fall in voter turnout in the Tinui, Mangapakeha and Whareama booths; the neighbouring Grassendale, Whakataki and Uriti booths showed similar trends. Hogg addressed one of the largest political meetings ever held at Tinui, emphasised the success of Langdale and proposed that more settlements would reverse the district's decline. The meeting unanimously supported the vote of thanks proposed by Herbert Ryder.⁴ However, Langdale's success did not translate into electoral support for Hogg, as the district will have realised that the materials for the settlement's mandatory improvements were coming from Masterton and not through Castlepoint;⁵ more settlements would have benefited Masterton at the expense of Tinui and Castlepoint.

⁴ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, 1902: Nov. 5, p. 2; Nov. 10, p. 2.

⁵ Account from John Taplin, July 1 1901, Lennie Papers, Shelf 9, TDA. The account was for fencing materials, and is the only direct evidence of supply from Masterton. However, the Masterton County's use of Section 8 of the 1900 Public Works Act coincided with the settlement's mandatory improvements, and the issue became less pressing as the improvements were completed.

Table 1. 1890-1914 voting patterns in the polling booths relevant to the Langdale settlement: Tinui, Mangapakeha, and Whareama combined.⁶

| | 1890 | 1893 | 1896 | 1899 | 1902 | 1905 | 1908 | 1911 | 1914 |
|---|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|
| Votes cast | 126 | 269 | 236 | 227 | 140 | 184 | 207 | 212 | 211 |
| Liberal's share locally | 38% | 35% | 56% | 50% | 41% | 58% | 37% | 44% | 42% |
| Liberal's share nationally ⁷ | 56% | 58% | 46% | 53% | 52% | 53% | 59% | 41% | 43% |

⁶ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Dec. 6 1890, p. 2; Nov. 29 1893, p. 3; Dec. 6 1896, p. 3; Dec. 7 1899, p. 3; Nov. 26 1902, p. 3; Dec. 7 1905, p. 5; Nov. 18 1908, p. 6. *Wairarapa Star*, Nov. 27 1902, p. 2. Return of Polling-places, *Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives*, 1912 (H-12A), p. 10; 1915 (H-24A) p. 11. Tinui has been included in this data because there was no Langdale/Mangapakeha booth before 1902, or in 1908. Other residents, who previously voted at Tinui, will have voted at the Langdale/Mangapakeha booth, hence Tinui's inclusion. The Langdale Junction booth became the Mangapakeha booth in 1914 and is referred to as Mangapakeha. Appendix IV gives complete voting details for the polling booths and includes Whakataki and Grassendale next to Tinui and various booths in the Uruity beach area.

⁷ Neill Atkinson, *Adventures in Democracy: A History of the Vote in New Zealand*, Dunedin: Otago University in association with the Electoral Commission, 2003, p. 247.

Liberal support recovered briefly in 1905, as did the voter turnout, but not to previous levels despite the influx of people on to Langdale. In 1908, boundary changes placed the entire district in the Wairarapa electorate, and the contest was between Hornsby and Buchanan. Both remained on even terms at the Tinui and Mangapakeha booths, but there was a dramatic shift to Buchanan at Whareama,⁸ possibly due to the growing influence of Hugh Morrison. There was no discernible shift towards Reform after the 1913 waterfront confrontation.

The settlement and district were largely untouched by the two issues that dominated the decline of the Liberal Government: the right to freehold and deteriorating industrial relations. In 1905, J.C. Cooper addressed the Whareama Farmers' Union, chaired by Hugh Morrison.⁹ Cooper contested the Masterton electorate in 1902 and 1905, and was a strong advocate of freehold.¹⁰ However, he failed to persuade the Langdale farmers, individually or collectively, to present a submission to the Royal Commission of 1905. By 1913, the Whareama Farmers' Union had consolidated with Tinui, but remained focused on local issues such as the lack of public holding paddocks.¹¹ Although the strike consumed the attentions of the Wairarapa Farmers' Union, headed by Hugh Morrison, it is unlikely that the Langdale farmers, or others from the district, acted as Massey's 'strikebreaking specials' during the 1913 industrial confrontation.

The Wairarapa Farmers' Union viewed the 1913 waterfront confrontation as a dairy farmers' issue. Morrison advocated levying the dairy farmers to fund the strikebreaking activities, as it was their produce at risk.¹² During the industrial confrontation, Wairarapa Farmers' Union membership increased by almost 50% from 410 to 613, by far the biggest increase was from the dairy-farming district of Carterton. However, Tinui's membership increased slightly from 35 to

⁸ In 1908, the Mangapakeha polling booth was closed and the Mangapakeha voters could vote at Tinui or Whareama as both booths were in the same electorate. There were significantly fewer votes cast at Tinui in 1908 than the combined Tinui and Mangapakeha booths in 1905, but a compensatory increase at Whareama. For the 1911 and 1914 elections, the Mangapakeha booth was re-opened and votes cast at Tinui and Mangapakeha returned to their previous levels. Voting was split fairly evenly between Hornsby and Buchanan in contrast to Whareama, where Buchanan dominated by 74:18 in 1911 and 79:19 in 1914.

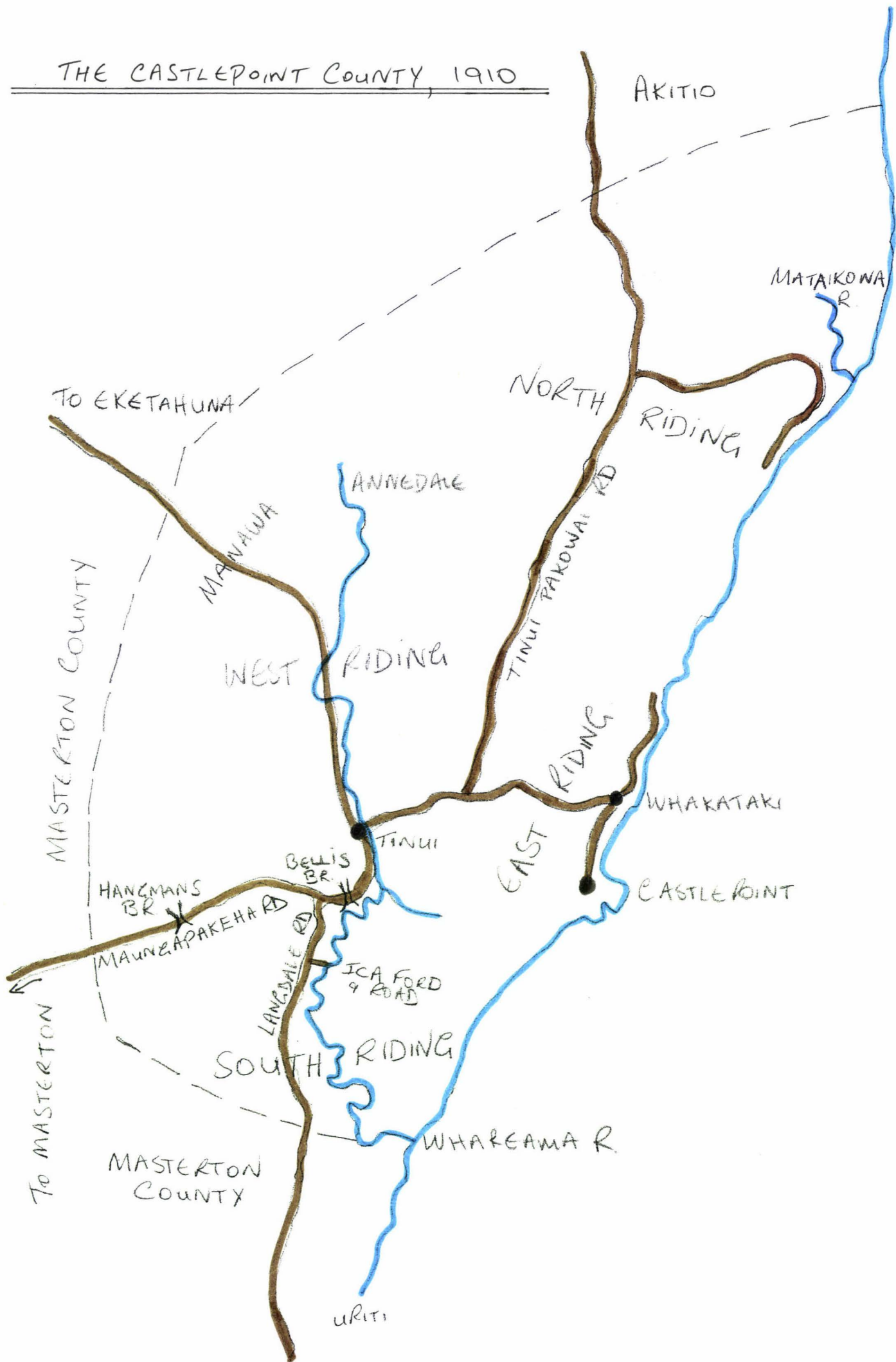
⁹ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, July 27 1905, p. 3.

¹⁰ *ibid.*, June 12 1905, p. 5.

¹¹ Tinui Farmers' Union annual general meeting, April 25 1913, Wairarapa Farmers' Union Minute Book, 93-90/7.R4B5S1, WA.

¹² Wairarapa Farmers' Union special executive meetings: Oct. 29, Dec. 3 1913, Wairarapa Farmers' Union Minute Book.

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40.¹³ Similarly, Tinui only contributed £133 of the £2,460 raised for the Wairarapa Farmers' Union strikebreaking fund.¹⁴ Frank White, who leased 15 acres of Langdale township's land, was the only Castlepoint name on Morrison's list of volunteers to handle farmers' produce at the Wellington wharf; the same papers record a donation of 10s from White to the fund, as promised to Morrison.¹⁵ White would have depended on casual work, perhaps provided by Morrison. Morrison's failure to elicit more support from the district reflects Castlepoint's isolation from the Wairarapa. Although the Langdale tenants were indifferent towards these national political issues, they did play an active role in the Castlepoint County Council.

The Castlepoint County

When advocating a land-for-settlements purchase in the Wairarapa, Hogg attacked large landowner control of county politics. This was a recurring theme of Hogg's, as he had blamed the failure of his fledgling *Wairarapa Star* to attract advertising revenues from local bodies to their control by conservative interests.¹⁶ Local government historian, Graham Bush, supports Hogg's belief that the large landowners controlled county politics; he argued that they were ensconced through plural voting, and were unwilling to impose effective rates.¹⁷ The disintegration of the Wairarapa-North County fitted Hogg's prognosis. The Langdale settlement overlapped the newly formed Castlepoint County.

The Wairarapa-North County consisted of road boards and outlying districts. Although the 1876 Counties Act had attempted to eradicate the road boards, the logistics of administering roading in large counties necessitated some sort of internal divisions, and the 1882 Road Boards Act recognised this. The undivided Langdale estate was in the Castlepoint Road Board, as was the Langdale road that connected Whareama with the Mangapakeha road. The Uriti road, which touched the southern boundary of the Langdale estate and continued to the Uriti beach, was in the Whareama Outlying District of the Wainuioru Road Board. Outlying districts paid lower

¹³ *ibid.*, Oct. 29 1913.

¹⁴ *ibid.*, Dec. 3 1913.

¹⁵ New Zealand Waterfront Strike, 1913, 99-4/1.R7B1S4, WA.

¹⁶ A.W. Hogg Papers, 01-60, WA.

¹⁷ Graham W.A. Bush, *Local Government and Politics in New Zealand*, Auckland: George Allen & Unwin, 1980, p. 24.

rates, and had correspondingly less spent on roads; this suited Whareama as the topography was undemanding for roads and the landowners traded through Uriti beach, not Castlepoint. Flatspur and Seaview were on the Uriti road and this placed the McKay brothers in the new Masterton County; in 1903, six of the Whareama-side tenants transferred to the Masterton County,¹⁸ the remaining Langdale farms were within the Castlepoint County's West Riding, and comprised a third of its value.¹⁹

Although the 1882 legislation recognised the reality of road boards, it enfeebled them. Road board rating powers were limited to $\frac{3}{4}$ d/£ whereas counties could levy $1\frac{1}{2}$ d/£ where there were no road boards, and $\frac{3}{4}$ d/£ if there were.²⁰ This limited the capacity of road boards to serve the particularistic demands of ratepayers. If roading demands exceeded the road board's rates limit, the district then relied on the goodwill of the county to allocate county rates to their district roads. Furthermore, a county could borrow £10,000 whereas a road board was limited to £2,000.²¹ Thus, there were good reasons for road boards forming themselves into counties.

The disintegration of the Wairarapa-North County started in 1898 when the Eketahuna, Akitio, and Mauriceville Road Boards separated into individual counties. In 1899, a conference between the Wairarapa-North councillors and their Road Board chairmen resolved to conduct an informal ratepayer poll on the issue of either separation or merging the road boards into one county; the *Wairarapa Daily Times* described this as 'a suicide pact.' The conference rejected Castlepoint's proposal that the Wairarapa-North Council meet twice a year and allocate all roading money to the road board district whence it was raised.²² The County spent these rates on 'main roads' and the Castlepoint view of what constituted a main road differed from the rest of the County. At the time of the poll, shearing had stopped in the district, as the road to the Castlepoint landing-service was impassable and the shearing sheds were overflowing with

¹⁸ Castlepoint County Minute Books (January 1 1901 - June 6 1906; June 6 1906 - November 1 1910; November 30 1912 - May 24 1919), March 26 1903, Shelf 3, TDA.

¹⁹ Castlepoint County Rates Book (1907-08), West Riding, Shelf 5, TDA. Initially, the Castlepoint County was divided into two ridings: East and West, of Tinui.

²⁰ *New Zealand Statutes*, 1882 (No. 42), Road Board Act, Sec. 114; 1886 (No. 49), Counties Act, Secs 148-150.

²¹ Bush, p. 25.

²² *Wairarapa Daily Times*, July 24 1899, pp. 2, 3.

wool.²³ Under these circumstances, Castlepoint ratepayers voted to form their own county in the expectation of better roads.

The infusion of crown tenants into the Castlepoint County built on the 1899 local government voting reforms; these favoured medium sized farmers. The reforms allowed three votes for ratepayers with property in excess of £2,000, two votes for those between £1,000 and £2,000 and a single vote for the remainder.²⁴ This change reduced the voting power of large landowners, who were previously entitled to five votes. The 1907 Castlepoint County Rates Book lists 63 West Riding ratepayers holding 116 votes: 19 ratepayers with 57 votes, 15 with 30 votes, and 29 with a single vote each. Under this system, an undivided Langdale estate would have held three votes, but the Langdale tenants had 33.²⁵ Thus, Hogg's objective of altering the political balance in the County was realistic, especially had he been able to complete further settlements. However, the rarity of electoral contests in county politics made the electoral reforms irrelevant.

Large landowners dominated the inaugural Castlepoint County Council, but this control quickly evaporated. By 1905, the Council was free of large landowners, and this composition became the rule as detailed in Appendix V. In the first two decades councillors were elected unopposed, with the exception of 1914 when two of the then four ridings were contested;²⁶ vacancies were often re-advertised. Councillors' duties were demanding, especially for those who travelled long distances in all weathers to the fortnightly meetings. The Castlepoint County provided for travelling costs from 1907, and meeting expenses from 1916.²⁷ The diminution of large landowner influence was the result of rising prosperity that enabled smaller farmers more leisure time to become involved in politics, and the subdivision of large estates.

²³ *ibid.*, Nov. 14 1899, p. 3.

²⁴ *NZ Statutes*, 1899 (No. 13), Local Government Reform Act, Schedule.

²⁵ This excludes Neil and Alec McKay who had three and two votes respectively.

²⁶ Castlepoint County Minute Book, Nov. 11 1914.

²⁷ *ibid.*, June 27 1907; Nov. 25 1916.

Table 2. Castlepoint County councillors and their sheep flocks, 1901-1905.²⁸

| Year | Councillor | Sheep numbers |
|------|------------------------|---------------|
| 1901 | J. Austin (chairman) | 14,569 |
| | J.S. Langdon | 659 |
| | J. Barton | 10,140 |
| | W. Dalziell | 14,060 |
| | J. Groves | 6,285 |
| | A. Speedy | 781 |
| 1902 | W. Dalziell (chairman) | 14,060 |
| | J. Barton | 10,140 |
| | J.S. Langdon | 659 |
| | W.H. Langdon | 1,230 |
| | H. Ryder | 1,300 |
| | A. Speedy | 781 |
| 1905 | A. Speedy (chairman) | 3,106 |
| | D. Bennett | 600 |
| | J.S. Langdon | 879 |
| | A. Nicholls | 1,092 |
| | T. Richardson | 2,388 |
| | H. Ryder | 1,300 |

The Langdale Tenants and the Castlepoint County

Herbert Ryder became the settlement's leading politician, and enjoyed a distinguished career on the Castlepoint County Council. Ryder's occupation of the Langdale homestead, management

²⁸ Castlepoint County Minute Book, Jan. 12 1901; Nov. 29 1902; Nov. 25 1904. Robin M. Startup, Wairarapa Sheep-owners & Flock Numbers 1861-1915, 03-53/1.R7B2S6, WA. J.S. Langdon replaced Austin as chairman in March 1901.

of the woolshed complex, and facilitation of the Langdale stock sales put him at the forefront of the settlement. He was the first Langdale tenant to register on the ratepayers' roll,²⁹ and gained a council seat at the first opportunity in 1902. He was County chairman from 1910 until he resigned from the Council in 1918. Ryder's marriage to Florence Belliss in 1902 attached him to the Belliss and Groves families and their emotional tie to the Castlepoint beach landing-service. He was conservative, and although prosperous, did not own a car in 1917.³⁰ Don Bennett from 1904 until 1908, and James Lennie from 1909 until 1914, joined Ryder on the Council.

If Ryder was conservative, Lennie was enigmatic. In some respects, he was modern: although of modest means, he owned a 21-horsepower Chevrolet in 1918. He was a railway enthusiast and lamented that high transport costs precluded grain cropping in the district.³¹ Lennie, like the Small Farm founders of Masterton and Greytown, placed an emotional value on land ownership and purchased the freehold of his Southfield property in 1914, before it was economically rational to do so. His term as a councillor ended with the 1914 election. Lennie's nemesis, the socially well-connected Don Bennett of the pioneering Fernglen family, had a prosperous farm and prompted the County into noxious weed policing.

The first contact between the Castlepoint County Council and the Langdale settlement was a £300 grant from Lands and Survey to metal the Mangapakeha road. This £300 roading expense had been capitalised into the Langdale settlement values and rents. The grant was conditional on the Castlepoint County contributing an equivalent amount, but the councillors were unwilling to spend money on a 'back road' and returned the proposal to the Government. The Government relented and made a grant of £400.³² £500 was spent metalling the road, thus the County contributed £100.³³ However, metalling was all that was required and problems with the road did not reappear until 1913 when the bridges were unable to bear the increased traffic.

²⁹ Castlepoint County Minute Book, May 25 1901.

³⁰ *ibid.*, Dec. 1 1917.

³¹ Lennie Papers.

³² Castlepoint County Minute Book, Feb. 23, April 11, Oct. 5 1901; March 14, April 25 1903.

³³ *ibid.*, Sept. 27 1902.

The financing of the Mangapakeha road appears to support claims that roading expenses necessitated by land-for-settlements were subsidised. The Government's failure to charge its £400 contribution to the Langdale settlement account adds weight to the claim. Irrespective of this, a £300 roading charge was capitalised into the Langdale rents, but the £100 remained outstanding; although this could be set against the initial overcharge of £606, a *prima facie* case exists that the crown tenants were subsidised. However, the Langdale settlement did not necessitate the improvements to the Mangapakeha road. Hogg identified the Mangapakeha swamp as a barrier to trade between Castlepoint and Masterton, and the Langdale settlement was an excuse to improve the road for Masterton's benefit. Significantly, Masterton did not contribute to the improvements.

Had the Castlepoint County Council elected to improve the road, it would have financed it by rates or a special loan. Under the rates scenario, the standard Government subsidy of £:£ applied. Langdale comprised a third of the West Riding's capital value and its share would have been £82 of the £250 rate impost.³⁴ A special loan would have included the ratepayers on the western side of the Mangapakeha road. Langdale's share may have been more than half, but these loans carried an interest rate of 4% or less, compared to the 5% the Langdale tenants paid through their rents on the £300 roading allocation. Far from being subsidised, the Langdale tenants paid more under the land-for-settlements system of financing the Mangapakeha road improvements than they would have paid had the Council instigated the work.

The Langdale tenants also paid more than their share for the improvements to the Langdale road. Ica, a major user of the Langdale road, had only a sixth of its 18,000 acres applied to the special rate to service the £800 loan, whereas the entire Langdale settlement contributed.³⁵ The Ica estate had previously accessed Castlepoint via a cross-country route, but from 1896 leased an acre of land on the Masterton side of the Ica ford and built a shed on it; there was a connecting road to the Langdale road, and this was Ica's main thoroughfare.³⁶ The impost on the Langdale tenants would have been much lower had Ica paid its full share.

³⁴ Castlepoint County Rates Book (1907-08), West Riding. Langdale's share of the West Riding capital value was 32.6% in 1907, but may have been less on the previous valuation because of the impact of the subdivision and development on the settlement values in 1907.

³⁵ Castlepoint County Minute Book, Aug 25 1906. Castlepoint County Rates Book (1907-08), West Riding.

³⁶ Castlepoint County Minute Book, March 16, May 28 1910. After the Ica subdivision of 1907, W. Andrew as the holder of the coastal block, persuaded the Castlepoint County to reopen the overland route to Castlepoint beach.

In a speech condemning land aggregation, Hogg argued that land monopolists were responsible for decaying rural roads because they would not willingly pay for amenities they did not use.³⁷ While this was unquestionably true, the inference that smaller landholders or crown tenants were less susceptible to self-interest was not. The Castlepoint County was established to improve the roads, and the councillors most likely to oppose the heavy rates burden necessitated by the roading programme were from the Langdale settlement. Within a year of inauguration, and while controlled by large landowners, Castlepoint County rates rose by 66%;³⁸ Ryder attempted to reverse this at his first opportunity.³⁹ In his 16 years as a councillor, Ryder usually instigated and always supported moves to lower rates. Bennett supported Ryder in this regard in 1907, as did Lennie throughout his stay on council.⁴⁰ There was no reason why crown tenants would be more willing to pay for amenities they did not use than large landowners were. Once the roading improvements around the settlement had been completed, the roads were adequate for the Langdale farmers. The realisation that they had paid for roads other people were using may have stiffened the Langdale settlement councillors' resistance to higher rates.

The crown tenant councillors confronted a rating system that invited 'riding-based' particularism. The Castlepoint County had a structure of 'main roads' and 'county roads'; all ratepayers contributed to the main roads, but the county roads were funded on a riding basis. Counties could levy general rates on a riding-based differential system, but were limited to ¾d/£ as if they were road boards.⁴¹ Castlepoint applied a uniform general-rate to all ridings so higher rates could be levied,⁴² and aligned expenditure on county roads with rates arising from each riding, as required by law.⁴³ Ica, although serviced by the West Riding roads, was in the East Riding. Transferring this large rates-source would have necessitated a major adjustment of the riding-based expenditures, hence the opposition to Ryder's attempt to have Ica transferred in

³⁷ *NZPD*, Vol. 128 (1904), p. 663 (A.W. Hogg). Quoted in Hamer, p. 284.

³⁸ Castlepoint County Minute Book, July 26 1902.

³⁹ *ibid.*, July 25 1903.

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, July 25 1903; July 27 1907; July 25, Aug. 29 1908; May 14, May 28, July 30, Aug. 27 1910.

⁴¹ *NZ Statutes*, 1886 (No. 49), Counties Act, Secs 148-150.

⁴² Castlepoint County Rates Book (1907-08). Each riding paid a uniform rate of 1¾ d/£ on unimproved value, plus special rates to service loans.

⁴³ *NZ Statutes*, 1886 (No. 49), Counties Act, Secs 146, 150.

1907.⁴⁴ Ica may have escaped a fuller contribution to the Langdale road for the same reason. In 1909, Ryder finally overcame this problem by restructuring the County into four ridings with both Ica and Langdale in the South Riding.⁴⁵

The designation of main roads was a source of conflict between the riding representatives, and this caused a rift between the Castlepoint County councillors in 1910. The main roads were: the Masterton-Waimata road, which the Masterton County charged the Castlepoint County one-sixteenth of maintenance costs; the road from Whakataki to the Castlepoint landing-service; and the Manawa-Tinui road. The first two had genuine community benefit as property owners traded through Masterton, Castlepoint, or both, but the Tinui-Manawa road benefited only the West Riding. The East and West Riding's four councillors enforced the main roads designation by outvoting the two South and one North Riding councillors: Ryder, Lennie, and J. Innes.⁴⁶ This majority was reinforced when necessary by the County chairman and West Riding representative, J.S. Langdon's regular use of his casting vote.⁴⁷ The impasse was finally broken when West Riding councillor, T.C. Richardson, supported another Ryder resolution to lower the rates.⁴⁸ Four months later, Ryder was the County chairman. While the Langdale settlement councillors' resistance to higher rates may have been motivated by an aversion to paying for other people's roads, and Ryder's populist tactics of representing 'lower rates', their consistent opposition was contrary to Hogg's expectations.

In one respect, the Langdale councillors fulfilled Hogg's confidence in the enlightening influences of crown tenants. On farming issues, Ryder and Bennett were amenable to local government regulation in the public's interest. Ryder, at his first council meeting, successfully

⁴⁴ Castlepoint County Minute Book, Aug. 31 1907.

⁴⁵ *ibid.*, May 1, May 29 1909. The Akitio landowners who transferred to the County in 1905 remained in the North Riding. The remainder of the County was divided into East, West and South with Tinui being the delineator; the properties on the roads south of Tinui were in the South Riding. The task of reshaping the County's ridings was fraught with difficulties, and it is a testimony to Ryder's abilities that he was asked to do the job.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, May 14 1910. The four councillors that supported the main roads designations were J.S. Langdon and T.C. Richardson (West Riding), and R.L. Langdon and A. Mason (East Riding).

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, May 28, July 30 1910. A. Mason did not attend the May 28 meeting and then resigned, leaving the factions tied at three all; hence the value of a casting vote, which Langdon used five times.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, Aug. 27 1910. At this meeting, W. Andrew had replaced A. Mason as an East Riding councillor. Richardson was not at the meeting, causing Langdon to use his casting vote. Andrew became ill during the meeting and left. Langdon disallowed a resolution put by Ryder to reduce the rates, citing the lack of a quorum. Richardson then arrived and supported Ryder's motion for reduced rates.

presented a petition to form a river board for the management of the Whareama river;⁴⁹ it is likely that he organised this petition. The Castlepoint River Board was instituted, with the County councillors as its officers. Its main function of compelling property owners to clear the Whareama of willows was vigorously enforced.⁵⁰ However, the River Board became embroiled in a controversy over an expensive diversion of the Whareama north of Tinui, and Ryder presented a petition for its dissolution in 1909;⁵¹ the Castlepoint County continued to enforce the clearing of willows from the Whareama river.

The Langdale tenants were compelled to keep their farms free of noxious weeds, and their council representatives passed this ethos onto the Castlepoint County. In 1906, Bennett persuaded the County to declare gorse a noxious weed and demanded that the County enforce the 1900 Noxious Weeds Act.⁵² A year later, it took Bennett two attempts to persuade the County to include St. John's wort as a noxious weed.⁵³ In 1910, Ryder attached ragwort to the list.⁵⁴ In 1915, several councillors opposed the Board of Agriculture's request for counties to place Californian thistle on the noxious weed schedule, but Ryder prevailed.⁵⁵ All the noxious weed initiatives of the Castlepoint County were attributable to Bennett and Ryder. In 1916, Lennie unsuccessfully sought to extend the County's prohibition of noxious weeds on road frontages to include manuka.⁵⁶ Bennett's interest in community-enforced noxious weed programmes also outlasted his stay on council as he continually campaigned to extend Castlepoint's injunction against willows on the Whareama into the Masterton County.⁵⁷

Despite Bennett's efforts, gorse spread through the district at the turn of the 20th century. Today however, the former Langdale settlement is notably clear of gorse, unlike parts of the former Blairlogie and Ica estates. The Langdale farmers, as crown tenants, were compelled to keep their farms clear of weeds. Another area of clean country is on the western side of the

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, Nov. 29 1902.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, Oct. 10 1903; Feb. 27 1904; April 14 1906.

⁵¹ *ibid.*, March 27 1909.

⁵² *ibid.*, Aug. 25 1906.

⁵³ *ibid.*, March 30, May 25 1907.

⁵⁴ *ibid.*, July 30 1910.

⁵⁵ *ibid.*, Jan. 15 1915.

⁵⁶ *ibid.*, July 1 1916.

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, June 29, July 27 1918.

Mangapakeha road; this was the land subdivided by the Elders prior to the sale of Langdale. The Noxious Weeds Act was more effective on small landholdings, as it required annual incremental clearances along all fence-lines and waterways;⁵⁸ thus, large landowners with large paddocks were required to clear noxious weeds at a far slower rate than the weeds' capacity to spread. As crown tenants, the Langdale farmers recognised the benefits of mandatory weed-control programmes, hence their willingness to vest authority in the Castlepoint County. The failure to halt the spread of gorse is attributable to the inadequate legislation.

The Castlepoint Landing-Service

Hogg cited the Mangapakeha swamp as the barrier between Castlepoint and Masterton, but the swamp, which was easily subdued, was a symptom rather than the cause of Castlepoint's isolation. Castlepoint's pioneering settlers had landed at the Castlepoint beach, and a tradition was born. Castlepoint broke from the Wairarapa-North County because the district was centred on the Castlepoint landing-service, and not Masterton.

The fledgling County immediately explored the possibility of becoming a harbour board,⁵⁹ and embarked on two major roading projects to improve access to the landing-service.⁶⁰ In January 1909, W. Dalziell and H. Nevin, of the large Manawa and Annedale estates, made a joint representation to the Castlepoint County urging them to take control of the landing-service, because it was poorly managed.⁶¹ The landing-service, complete with jetty and storage shed, was leased by Lands and Survey to resident managers. The lease was due for renewal in 1909, and this presented an opportunity for the Castlepoint County to take control of the landing-service.

In March 1909, Lands and Survey accepted the Castlepoint County's token offer of 5s for the head-lease of the landing-service.⁶² The County sought a Government grant to repair the

⁵⁸ *NZ Statutes*, 1900 (No. 10), Noxious Weeds Act, Secs 4, 9. The act required landowners to clear 'small patches' of weeds and a one-quarter chain width along all fences and waterways each year until all was cleared.

⁵⁹ Castlepoint County Minute Book, Feb. 9 1901.

⁶⁰ *ibid.*, Nov. 14 1903; Aug. 31 1907. In 1903, the County raised an £800 loan to build a road between Whakataki and the Castlepoint beach landing-service; previously the traffic had travelled along the beach. A £2,000 loan was raised in 1907 to metal the Whakataki valley road. Both loans were serviced by all the ratepayers.

⁶¹ *ibid.*, Jan. 30 1909.

⁶² *ibid.*, March 27 1909.

amenities, and assistance from Walter Buchanan MHR to organise a weekly steamer service.⁶³ In June, the County offered the landing-service for sub-lease, and rejected the highest tender. The successful tenderer, Percy Belliss, was Ryder's brother-in-law.⁶⁴ Concurrent with the County's assumption of the landing-service was the ephemeral 'light-line' controversy.

'Away! Your drowsy councillors have turned the wild cat scheme
and in terms derisive called a fool's fantastic dream
...the railway too is coming up the Whareama flat
you pessimistic croakers need not shake your heads
the public were in earnest when they planted money down
they mean to have their railway since they paid in [half-a-crown]
and appointed Mr Nevin to see the matter through
and interview the Premier, and show him what to do
now everyone is certain old Nevin won't be back
until he gets the railway or Harry gets the sack...'⁶⁵

James Lennie's verse is the only record of a meeting at Tinui over the 'light-line' issue. In 1909 there was interest in running a feeder railway system through the eastern hinterland from Waipukurau to Masterton, to open up these areas for closer settlement. The various counties promoted the scheme and presented a submission to the Minister of Public Works.⁶⁶ Although the final plan was for the line to go from Pongaroa directly to Masterton, bypassing Castlepoint, the inclusion of Castlepoint and Whareama was earlier proposed.⁶⁷ The Castlepoint County received letters from various railway leagues in 1909, and held a public meeting.⁶⁸ The County minutes do not record the meeting, but Lennie casts the councillors as opponents of the rail; the failure of any councillor to raise the issue at subsequent council meetings suggests their opposition was unanimous. The County had invested heavily in roads to support the landing-service, and may not have realised until the meeting that a rail link would have ended the

⁶³ *ibid.*, June 26 1909.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*, June 26 1909. Belliss tendered £25 and A.B. Nicholls tendered £33. Five councillors, including Ryder, voted for Belliss and two for Nicholls.

⁶⁵ Lennie Papers. The identity of 'Harry' (who deserves the sack) is a mystery. The Ministers of Railway and Public Works, Roderick McKenzie and James Andrew Millar did not have names that led to Harry. The other possibility is Ryder whose second name was Henry, which leads to Harry. However, Norman Groves refers to Ryder in his diary as 'Bert'. In the absence of other contenders, Harry was probably Ryder whom Lennie intended to unseat (sack) at the next County elections; then the Castlepoint County would take over the representation to the Government, and 'old Nevin' could return.

⁶⁶ *Wairarapa Daily Times*, Nov. 5 1909, p. 5.

⁶⁷ *ibid.*, Nov. 8 1909, p. 6.

⁶⁸ Castlepoint County Minute Book, June 26, July 31, Aug. 28 1909.

Castlepoint landing-service.⁶⁹ The Minister of Public Works diplomatically told the combined counties' delegation not to survey the line until the Government could commit to the scheme, thus a delegation from Castlepoint, without County support, stood little chance. Several months later, Lennie sought election to the County and was returned unopposed, as were all other councillors; the controversy had quickly dissipated.

The landing-service issue re-emerged in 1913 as several events confirmed that the Castlepoint trade was shifting towards Masterton. The Masterton County attempted to increase Castlepoint's share of the Masterton-Waimata road maintenance costs to an eighth, and sought a quarter contribution towards reinstating the Rorokoko and Kahurangi bridges.⁷⁰ This issue had initially arisen in 1902, when the Masterton County charged Castlepoint a quarter share under the 1900 Public Works Act. Ryder had made his mark as a new councillor by organising Castlepoint's defence, and the dispute was amicably resolved in 1905 with Castlepoint's share reduced to one-sixteenth.⁷¹ The increased traffic evident by 1913 had reignited the dispute.

The changing traffic flows also affected Castlepoint's bridges. The County closed two Mangapakeha bridges for renewal in 1913.⁷² The closure of Hangman's bridge diverted traffic to Masterton through Langdale onto the Uriti road. As the Belliss bridge was on the Tinui-side of the Langdale junction, its closure severed the district from Masterton. A deputation, including the large landowners J. Maunsell, Nevin and Dalziell, accused the County of delaying the restoration of the Belliss bridge in order to bolster trade through the Castlepoint landing-service, and demanded a ford for heavy traffic before the wool season began. As County chairman, Ryder did not deny the accusation and hoped ratepayers would cooperate by showing the Masterton County that trade could be diverted through Castlepoint. The ford was built despite Ryder's and Lennie's opposition.⁷³

⁶⁹ James Watson, *Links: A History of Transport and New Zealand Society*, Wellington: Ministry of Transport, 1996, p. 102.

⁷⁰ Castlepoint County Minute Book, March 27, July 6, Aug. 30 1913. These bridges were between Tauweru and the Castlepoint County boundary.

⁷¹ *ibid.*, July 5, Oct. 25 1902; Jan. 31, March 14, April 25 1903. Masterton County Minute Book (October 1904 - January 1906), Feb. 14 1905, WA.

⁷² Castlepoint County Minute Book, Jan. 25, Sept. 27 1913.

⁷³ *ibid.*, Oct. 25 1913. Lennie and Ryder were on the Masterton-side of the Belliss bridge, but could access Castlepoint via the Ica ford as the cross-country route to the landing-service had been reopened with the subdivision of Ica.

Ryder's defence of the Castlepoint landing-service was predictable, but Lennie's was not. Lennie entered county politics angered by the conservatism of the Castlepoint County over the light-line proposal. However, he had supported Ryder's resistance to the 'main roads' designations that had disadvantaged their South Riding electors and his loyalty continued. Changing technologies were challenging the Castlepoint landing-service: traffic included traction vehicles; the Featherston Automobile Association wanted the Belliss bridge re-opened as did the cream-van driver; local residents destroyed the barriers blocking the bridge.⁷⁴ Ironically, the large landowners welcomed these changing technologies while Hogg's crown tenants had become the conservatives. The Castlepoint County continued to protect the landing-service, and ignored the Farmers' Union request for public holding paddocks.⁷⁵

Hogg's political ambitions for the Langdale settlement miscarried. The Liberals failed to gain additional political support in the Castlepoint district, despite the settlement's success. Hogg expected his crown tenants to have a direct impact on county politics. However, apart from community enforced weed control, their influence was conservative. In one respect, Hogg was unlucky: by chance, the settlement's most accomplished politician became attached to the Castlepoint tradition and perpetuated the district's estrangement from Masterton. However, Hogg suffered the misconception that large landowners held a monopoly on self-interest. The roads and holding paddocks were adequate for the Langdale tenants, and they were as reluctant as large landowners to pay for other people's amenities.

⁷⁴ *ibid.*, Nov. 29, Dec. 20 1913; Feb. 28 1914.

⁷⁵ Two Castlepoint councillors, H. Ryder and D. Speedy, were at the Tinui Farmers' Union meeting yet the Castlepoint County minute book makes no reference to the request.

Conclusion

John Locke's claim that the invention of money allowed wealth to be stored in a manner that did not spoil, assumed economic rationality.¹ Langdale, like other large pastoral estates, contradicted this assumption as the owners held more land than they were willing or able to use. Pastoralism became synonymous with waste, and the Liberal Government acted. The politically privileged ambience of the large landowners was additionally offensive to liberal egalitarianism, and gave impetus to Liberal land policy. Land-for-settlements became an extravagant remedy to the ills of pastoralism.

The Land Purchase Commission identified the potential of Langdale, and secured it cheaply. The crown tenants unlocked that potential. The majority of selectors were single; although many married in the early years of settlement, they transformed Langdale into intensive farms before their children were old enough to constitute a family labour-force. This was evident in the area under plough in the early years, the improvements catalogued in the first round of county valuations, and the detailed report of the *Wairarapa Daily Times*' correspondent in 1905. The settlement's children, when old enough, will have worked on the family farms in accord with the ruralist ideology identified by Miles Fairburn.² The district did not have a labour shortage before or after the settlement. Langdale, before the Government intervened, was idle because pastoralism was a lifestyle choice. The farmers transformed Langdale because their small-holdings and debt-servicing burden did not allow them the luxury of that choice. The transformation of Langdale was ideological as well as economic: the disguised idleness of pastoralism was replaced with virtuous farming families.

Although the Langdale tenants met Alexander Hogg's expectations as farmers, they did not deliver the anticipated political benefits. The tenants remained dependent on large landowner largess as evident with the Church of Saint Andrew and the Langdale Domain hall. Dairying, with a factory controlled by the Langdale farmers, would have lessened their assimilation into

¹ John Locke, *The Second Treatise of Government, (An Essay Concerning the True Original, Extent and End of Civil Government)*, 3rd ed., J.W. Gough (ed.), Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1976, Ch. V, Secs 46-50.

² Miles Fairburn, 'The Rural Myth and the New Urban Frontier: An Approach to New Zealand Social History, 1870-1940', *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol. 9, No. 1 (April 1975), pp. 3-21, pp. 4-5.

the existing social hierarchies. In contrast to Langdale, the North-Wairarapa dairying settlements became Liberal strongholds.

Besides the general political agenda of 'crowding out' large landowner hegemony, Hogg anticipated that crown tenants would act as a progressive influence in the Castlepoint County. The Langdale tenants prompted the County into noxious weed enforcement, and management of the Whareama river. However, the settlement's star political performer was a conservative, and through marriage became connected with the district's foremost pioneering families and their emotional attachment to the Castlepoint tradition; as County chairman, Herbert Ryder defended the Castlepoint landing-service against changing transport technologies. It is a mistake to see Hogg's well-conceived plan as thwarted by the unpredictability of human agency. The plan failed because crown tenants were as unwilling to pay for other people's roads as the allegedly conservative large landowners were.

The Langdale settlement was a small part of a large land reform programme. As in many land-for-settlements stories, Langdale brought material progress for its tenants, but along with the other settlements, incurred a large debt for New Zealand. Between 1891 and 1911, the Liberal Government borrowed £6,303,485 for land-for-settlements. This compares to £6,974,935 borrowed for advances-to-settlers and £11,022,948 for railways, in the same period.³

Historical geographer, J.S. Duncan, made an incontrovertible attack on land-for-settlements when he described the effects as indiscernible.⁴ The Liberals purchased 1,296,242 acres through land-for-settlements;⁵ although this appears impressive, it was 3.2% of New Zealand's rural land.⁶ Duncan's analysis is unable to associate land-for-settlements purchases, which were concentrated in Otago, Canterbury and Hawke's Bay, with changes in rural population.⁷ Not

³ *New Zealand Official Yearbook*, 1911, p. 695.

⁴ J.S. Duncan, 'The Land for the People: Land Settlement and Rural Population Movements, 1886-1906', in *Land and Livelihood: Geographical Essays in Honour of George Jobberns*, Murray McCaskill (ed.), Christchurch: New Zealand Geographical Society, 1962, pp. 170-191, pp. 181-187.

⁵ Tom Brooking, *Lands for the People? The Highland Clearances and the Colonisation of New Zealand: A Biography of John McKenzie*, Dunedin: University of Otago, 1996, pp. 278-287. This is a data table of estates purchased by the Liberal Government.

⁶ *NZOYB*, 1911, p. 526. This records 40,236,126 acres of county land in holdings greater than one acre.

⁷ Duncan, pp. 178-179, 184-185.

only were the settlements small in the context of rural New Zealand, but the selectors generally came from the immediate vicinity, as was the case at Langdale.

The intention of land-for-settlements was to break up the large estates, and this appears successful. Between 1892 and 1910, the area held in estates larger than 10,000 acres declined by 4,300,000 acres.⁸ Through land-for-settlements, the Liberals dismembered 36 estates larger than 10,000 acres, with an aggregate area of 881,703 acres,⁹ this represents a fifth of the decline in large estates. The threat of compulsory purchase possibly prompted some private subdivisions, but the provision was invoked on only 13 occasions and often to settle price differences with willing sellers, notably the Assets Realisation Board.¹⁰ Land-for-settlements determined the structure of Langdale's subdivision, but not the sale itself. The Government purchases may have unlocked land trapped in a low-value market, but the rising land market after 1900 would have released these properties.

Ica was one of the more celebrated escapes from compulsory purchase.¹¹ Adjacent to the successful Langdale settlement, Ica was supremely suited to closer settlement. Although it needed a bridge and roads, the 2,200 acres of flat that lined the Whareama river made it ideal for subdivision on Langdale-lines, with largish hill-country sections serviced by cultivatable flats. Moreover, Hogg was keen and 600 Masterton petitioners sought the acquisition of Ica. When the Government made its move in 1908, the Land Purchase Commission found that the Andrew family had completed the subdivision of Ica.¹² The Andrew family history is adamant that the threat of compulsory acquisition prompted the division of Ica,¹³ thus a prima facie case exists that land-for-settlements impelled subdivision.

⁸ G.R. Hawke, *The Making of New Zealand: An Economic History*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985, p. 95.

⁹ Brooking, pp. 278-287.

¹⁰ Hawke, p. 96. The Assets Realisation Board was established to sell the estates foreclosed by the BNZ, so these properties were going to be sold regardless of Government purchase.

¹¹ Roberta McIntyre, *The Canoes of Kupe: A History of Martinborough District*, Wellington: Victoria University, 2002, p. 164.

¹² A.G. Bagnall, *Wairarapa: An Historical Excursion*, Masterton: Masterton Trust Lands Trust, 1976, pp. 368, 374.

¹³ Nancy Hanron and Rosemary Doris Wardell, *The Family of Rev. John Chapman Andrew 1822-1905 and His Wife Emma Fendall 1832-1878*, Omarama: Rosemary Doris Wardell and Nancy Hanron, 1996, p. 127.

The problem with the Ica example is that the subdivision was far greater than necessary to prevent a compulsory purchase. Parson Andrew divided Ica equally between his wife and four children. Landowners subject to compulsory purchase were entitled to retain 1,000 acres of first-class land, subject to contiguity. The Ica flats were contiguous, so division into two sections with half the flats in each would have sufficed. Ica without its flats would not have warranted a controversial compulsory purchase. The Parson's son, John Andrew, prompted the swift action, and, as a Wellington-domiciled lawyer,¹⁴ would have known that the division of Ica into five was more than necessary. The five sections were drawn by lot,¹⁵ again illustrating that the subdivision was genuinely partible. The Parson's legacy, although a more equal division than most, was compatible with Jim McAloon's Canterbury and Otago research.¹⁶ Furthermore, M.D. Campbell noted that primogeniture and entail, essential to the intergenerational maintenance of large estates, was never evident in New Zealand or Australia.¹⁷ Land-for-settlements was instrumental in the Andrew family depositing their subdivision plans four years before the Parson died, but did not cause the subdivision itself.

The Ica example also illustrates the difference between land-for-settlements and family subdivisions. The Langdale subdivision transformed a pastoral estate into intensively managed farms as evidenced by the disproportionately large area under plough relative to the Castlepoint County. The Ica subdivision did not affect the area under cultivation in the Castlepoint County, and the valuations do not record any additional drainage between 1907 and 1913.¹⁸ Pastoralism continued at Ica in the guise of five medium-sized pastoral estates.

An analysis in the change of sheep-flock sizes between 1891 and 1911 shows the decline in the numbers of holdings larger than 20,000, a modest decline in the 10,000-20,000 bracket, but an increase in the mid-range 5,000-10,000 sheep flocks. The increase in smaller flocks was largely attributable to the large-scale purchase and disbursement of Maori land, land-for-settlements,

¹⁴ *ibid.*, p. 130.

¹⁵ *ibid.*, p. 127.

¹⁶ Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury & Otago, 1840-1914*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2002, pp. 83-90.

¹⁷ M.D. Campbell, 'The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society 1850-1914', PhD. Thesis, Victoria University, 1972, pp. 396-397.

¹⁸ Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1907), East Riding, Property nos 63-67, 01-170/132.R7B7S3, WA. Castlepoint County Valuation Field Book (1913), South Riding, Property nos. 41-45, 01-170/89.R7B5S11, WA.

and speculative subdivisions. However, much of the increase of the medium-size flocks and some of the 1,000-5,000 category was the result of family subdivisions of the large estates like Ica. These family subdivisions left estates large enough to continue along pastoralist lines.

Table 1. Proportional change in the size of sheep-holdings, 1891-1911.¹⁹

| Sheep-holdings | 1891 | 1911 | Change |
|---------------------|-------|--------|--------|
| Less than 500 | 8,272 | 11,463 | 39% |
| 500 to 1,000 | 1,691 | 4,366 | 158% |
| 1,000 to 5,000 | 1,635 | 4,833 | 196% |
| 5,000 to 10,000 | 287 | 540 | 88% |
| 10,000 to 20,000 | 239 | 216 | -10% |
| Greater than 20,000 | 169 | 75 | -56% |

Despite the decline of the large estates, there is little evidence of a shift from extensive pastoralism to intensive fat lamb production. Such a change would necessitate breeding-ewes constituting a greater proportion of the sheep flock. This rose from 31% to 34% between 1895 and 1900, but remained static for the following two decades.²⁰ The ratio of lambs to sheep slaughtered fell steadily from 1906 until 1916 when lamb production fell sharply as the war drained manpower from the farms; this illustrates the higher labour requirement of lamb production, especially for green crop cultivation. Between 1906 and 1916, lamb production per sheep rose by 33%, but mutton production increased by 41%.²¹ As the ratio of breeding ewes remained constant, the increases can only have come from a shift to more fertile and earlier maturing sheep: the change from Lincolns to Romneys. If lamb and mutton were rough proxies for farming and pastoralism, the pastoralists were closing the production-gap and the potential gains from Government orchestrated subdivisions diminished with time.

¹⁹ *NZYOB*, 1915, p. 577.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 1905, pp. 399-400; 1909, p. 454; 1914, p. 601; 1915, p. 577; 1916, p. 452; 1917, p. 480; 1918, p. 522; 1919, p. 544; 1920, p. 229.

²¹ *ibid.*, 1909, p. 454; 1914 p. 601; 1915, pp. 577-579; 1916, p. 452; 1919, p. 552; 1920, p. 231. The Yearbooks provide statistics of sheep and lamb slaughter weights and numbers from 1906 only. Three-year averages have been used to avoid seasonal fluctuations; the average of 1906-08 is compared to 1914-16. If the years 1906 and 1916 were used, then lamb production per sheep increased by 32% compared to a 72% increase for mutton, but this exaggerates the comparison.

The fiscal stimulus that new settlements delivered to rural towns underpinned the popularity of land-for-settlements. As economic multipliers, land-for-settlements and advances-to-settlers were appropriate remedies for New Zealand's long depression: both encouraged people to borrow and spend. However, land-for-settlements returned only a portion of the total cost to the local communities in the form of mandatory spending. The Government borrowed £32,908 to finance the Langdale settlement. The selectors were required to spend £2,570 on improvements, less than 8% of the Government's outlay. The Elder family were paid £30,566. Harry Elder's one-sixth share probably stayed in New Zealand, but the remainder would have been repatriated to England. Although not all those who received land-for-settlements cheques were absentees, 75% of the money expended by the Liberals was in amounts larger than that paid to the Elders.²² By comparison, the average loan issued under advances-to-settlers by 1911 was £384.²³ These smaller amounts were more likely to have remained in New Zealand. The Langdale farmers spent more than the mandatory improvements required, but they came to the settlement with £8,622 of their own capital, which they almost certainly would have spent in a similar manner, regardless of land-for-settlements. Land-for-settlements spending was popular because it came in identifiable tranches, but it represented a fraction of the money outlaid by the Government.

Social mobility appears as a redeeming feature of land-for-settlements. However, there is a trap in judging the past by the standards of the present. While social mobility was intrinsic to liberalism, its orchestration was not a function of government. Hogg, an architect of the Langdale settlement, was aware that farmers' sons with up to £1,000 of capital would be the primary subscribers, and opposed privileged access for station hands. The measures taken to preclude wealthy selectors were superficial: the means test was absurdly generous and even then did not apply to subsequent transferees; residency was mandatory for a limited period only, effectively allowing for later amalgamation with home farms.

The social mobility theory presumes that the land-for-settlements selectors would have been otherwise unlikely to secure a farm. This was true in respect of station hands, but they secured only a small proportion of Langdale; their social mobility was expensive. It is doubtful that land-for-settlements advantaged the farmer-selectors. Rising produce prices underpinned Langdale's prosperity from 1900 to 1920, and delivered increased equity to existing landowners

²² Brooking, pp. 278-287.

²³ *NZOYB*, 1911, p. 601.

as farm values rose in tandem. This increased equity gave the farmers leverage to buy more land. Virtually all the estates purchased through land-for-settlements would have come to the market regardless. As a major buyer, the Government undoubtedly inflated the prices of these estates, to the vendors' advantage. Without Government intervention, the estates would have been sold, probably at lower prices, and, in absence of other potential buyers, to the same farmers who subscribed to land-for-settlements subdivisions.

The Government borrowed more money for land-for-settlements and advances-to-settlers than for rail because the debt was secured against real assets, and the debt-servicing responsibilities were transferred to individuals. Although the Government assumed the role of a financial intermediary, the debt was real. The Premier assured the public that the tenants paid all the costs, and the Government presented settlement accounts to prove it. The real cost of land-for-settlements was the opportunity foregone. The Government, like all entities, had a limited pool of available capital of which land-for-settlements consumed a significant portion.

The Liberal Government purchased 181,541 acres in the east coast regions of Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay for a cost £1,323,136,²⁴ yet was unable to finance a light rail through this hinterland. The rail would have benefited the Bennett, Cameron and McKay families more than the opportunity of settling a son or two on Langdale. Duncan identified closer settlement with rail, but not with land-for-settlements.²⁵ Rail had a dramatic impact on land values as evident in the 1901 comparative values of Langdale, Mangatora and Hatuma; these differences attest the economic benefits of rail. The impact on land values stimulated subdivision, hence the link with closer settlement. Rail effectively enlarged New Zealand's land resource.

Governments preferred land-for-settlements and advances-to-settlers to rail for accounting and ideological reasons. The accounting systems were limited to direct costs and benefits. A regional rail line might have run at a loss, but the indirect benefits of much higher land values and land tax revenues, and increased economic activity as higher land uses became viable in remote areas, were unaccounted. Rail was also in conflict with the idealised rural society: it simultaneously stimulated closer settlement and urbanisation, as the railway workshops were the

²⁴ Brooking, pp. 278-287.

²⁵ Duncan, pp. 175-176.

largest employers in the main centres.²⁶ There were cheaper and more ideologically acceptable alternatives to rail, such as systems of dedicated holding-paddocks for fat lambs in transit from remote areas to the rail, and an expanded Department of Agriculture illustrating the feasibility and advantages of intensive farming to large estate owners. In 1911, agricultural workers had the highest occupational rate of unemployment in New Zealand,²⁷ and would have benefited from these efficiency gains. While infrastructural improvements may have reduced the extravagance of pastoralism, it would not have destroyed the large estates.

Langdale, like other settlement histories, was a story of success and social mobility; energetic farmers replaced idle pastoralists. However, the resumption of large estates was never economically feasible while the owners were fully compensated; confiscating wealth was outside the framework of liberalism. Land-for-settlements made poor economic sense, but was outstandingly good politics, Langdale excepted. Liberal land policy was a defining feature of New Zealand's longest serving Government, and remained an enduring legacy until the neo-liberals of the 1980s recognised the extravagance of buying back the farm.

²⁶ James Watson, *Links: A History of Transport and New Zealand Society*, Wellington: Ministry of Transport, 1996, pp. 108, 112-113.

²⁷ M.F. Lloyd Prichard, *An Economic History of New Zealand to 1939*, Auckland: Collins, 1970, p. 190.

Appendix I

A TRIP TO THE HOSPITAL BALL¹

“Yes, I know it has been raining hard for the last three days, and the roads will be as heavy as unbaked damper, but we won’t let that stop us Margit, we will just fix a crossbar on the front of the buggy pole, and with a horse in the lead, plough through somehow. Guy Fawkes has never been in the lead before, but with three horses no mud will stop us. You sit behind there with Jo. I want Miss W. beside me for she can take the leader if we get into difficulties, which not improbably we will after this rain.

Here we are, jump up, Dorgan, just take Guy’s head until we get on to the road – let him go now – get up Guy! No! Kick, kick, kick, -“Hold tight – just take the leader’s reins Miss W. while I give him the whip, I can manage the two polers, it’s a good thing they’re pretty quiet”. Lash, lash, lash, “That’s shifted him, this first long hill will teach him how to pull straight, there he is, going grandly, just awkward at starting.” But oh! mud. Our fair Mungapakeha [sic] could well be termed Mudgapakeha. “Here is a big slip down across the road, how are we going to get through? Right into it, and try and struggle out – hulloa it is boggy. Guy’s stuck”, “Get up you brute”. He lies down – “always said he had the heart of a cow, I’ll just take him out, the two will pull you through if you take them steady – that’s right, one obstacle passed, but we’ve got Hangmans bridge yet, and that is flooded.” The water comes whirling over the bridge, only a rail each side to show where the road is, Guy jibs and backs, and, coming on to the pole, kicks like fury – a leg over the trace and down he goes on the bridge with only his head above, and water running into the buggy.

“It’s all right – sit still, sit still, I’ll just get down and take him out – no, I won’t have to swim, the water’s just up to my waist.” The traces are pretty tight, all his weight is on them. “I’ll hitch him up again, he’ll have to go, I can’t lead him through five chains of rushing flood water”. The luggage is floating in the bottom of the buggy but we’ll dry the things when we get to Masterton.

Three hours drive yet and then there are the lights of Masterton, and we wish how much with a homesick sigh that they were the lights of London. Damp and cold it is, but glad we feel, for the Ballroom lights and gaiety and music – a pleasant change from the winter routine of the Station – are near.

The Club Hotel, a big fire, and a big feed. You mustn’t be long, you have to dress, and ladies know what that means. Even in Masterton you must be moderately particular, and within about three years of the fashion. Brookes isn’t there to drive us around, we’ll just walk, we won’t feel very tired – Masterton isn’t laid out on the plan of London. That is the Hall, the Volunteer Drill Hall – a big place, measured with a Masterton building rule, none too big though, for it is for the Hospital and who will stand back. The Committee have done wonders in the decoration way. There are huge tree ferns brought in from the bush, nikau palms fresh and green, with seats arranged about amongst them; Chinese lanterns, flags and flowers – not at all a dismal scene. The Bank Clerks have done the floor and it does them credit too. The supper is all sent by people about. Poultry and fruit from the country thirty and fourty [sic] miles away;

¹ ‘Langdale Budget’ (1894), pp. 1-2, Castlepoint and Tinui Historical Records, 93-57/105.R4B3S6, WA.

cakes and puddings from townspeople. The music is played by a man without a soul – at least for waltzing – the result, jarring. But the extras played by Mrs. This and Miss That and Mr. So and So are all good, and that other man must die before next year – we’ve just been taking in a stock of phosphorous to poison vermin. There is young and handsome Dr. Douglas over there, M.C., just out from home, lived near Edinborough (it is he made such an A1 mend of Rae’s broken arm). Over there see is little Eton – he’s the chemist, yes and here comes Malcolm [Elder] waltzing with a Maori girl, and I do declare, there’s Minnie waltzing with a Maori, after that of course it’s nothing to run up against the bar maid of the Club Hotel, or to be in a square vis a vis to a girl that was your house-maid last year. But tonight it doesn’t matter who you were or what you are, as long as you can dance a bit, and enter into the fun and frolic of the thing. For have not more than half of us come from miles away and we mean to have our fun, and only by entering into it all together can this be attained.

The supper is a crush – some like the supper best, and the more they can get outside – well it’s for the Hospital you know. Financially a great success, with a Government subsidy of pound for pound, about £300 is received – not a bad haul for so small a town. And we all feel the better for it too in spite of amateur cooking and the late hours, it is good to knock against people, even if their elbows are hard.

Everything must be turned into account to bring the Hospital funds, so we will go to the sale of the remains of the supper which Lowes the auctioneer will hold in the Drill Hall tomorrow. You laugh, but I tell you we will pick up a first class Sunday dinner – such a quantity of eatables over and above what is wanted is subscribed. First on the list are all the live birds and poultry which they found it was not necessary to kill and cook. See there, two lovely bronze turkeys alive. Now Jo, there’s your chance! “Ten shillings, fourteen, fifteen, eighteen – all done at eighteen? going at eighteen, nineteen – thank you Mrs. Elder nineteen shillings.” They will lay the foundation in more senses than one to a capital flock of turkeys on Langdale. Then there are fowls alive and dead, dressed and undressed, puddings, pies, and cakes. We haven’t been long getting a capital dinner for Sunday, and now – Home – the drive is a long one.

A.A.E [Austin Elder]

FORM OF APPLICATION.

Application for Lease in Perpetuity under "The Land for Settlements Consolidation Act, 1900."

To the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Land District of
I HEREBY apply for a lease in perpetuity of one of the following allotments:—

| Allotment. | Survey Dis- trict. | Block. | Section. | Area. | Annual Payments. | | Capital Value. | | Prescribed Deposit. | Remarks. |
|------------|-----------------------|--------|----------|----------|------------------|-------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|------------------------|----------|
| | | | | | For Rent. | For Value of Buildings. | Of Land. | Of Build- ings. | | |
| | | | | A. R. P. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | £ s. d. | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |

And I deposit herewith the sum of £ , being the half-year's rent, and other payments prescribed in respect of the allotment applied for.*

In proof of my fitness and qualifications to hold the land applied for, I hereby make the following replies to the under-mentioned questions:—

| Question. | Answer. |
|---|---------|
| 1. How old were you last birthday? | |
| 2. What means (including stock and agricultural im- plements or machinery) do you possess for stocking and cultivating the land, and erecting suitable buildings thereon; and what is the total value thereof? | |
| 3. Have you means sufficient, in your estimation, to enable you to profitably work the land and fulfil the conditions of the lease? If not, state how you propose to do so. | |
| 4. What experience have you had in cultivating agri- cultural land or in dairying? | |
| 5. What is your present occupation? | |
| 6. Are you married? If so, has your wife (or husband) had any experience in cultivating land, in farm- work, or in dairying? Give particulars. | |
| 7. Have you any family? If so, state the number and sex of your children now living with you, and their ages. | |
| 8. What land do you hold or have an interest in? Give particulars of the block, section, area, and value of such land, and say whether it is freehold, leasehold, or what other tenure, specifying also what portion of it (if any) is rural and what por- tion (if any) is town or suburban land. | |
| 9. What land does your wife (or husband) hold, or have an interest in? Give particulars as above. | |
| 10. Is the rural land (if any) mentioned in answers 8 and 9 insufficient for the maintenance of yourself and your family? If so, give your reasons. | |
| 11. Is the town or suburban land (if any) mentioned in answers 8 and 9 insufficient for a home for yourself and your family? If so, give your reasons. | |



LEASE IN PERPETUITY OF RURAL LAND UNDER "THE LAND ACT, 1892," AND "THE LAND FOR SETTLEMENTS CONSOLIDATION ACT, 1900."

No. 117

This Deed,

made the 21st day of March, one thousand nine hundred and one

between His Majesty the King (who, with his heirs and successors, is hereinafter referred to as "the Lessor"), of the one part, and

William Bennett Junior of Tara Glen, Masterton
 in the Colony of New Zealand Farmer (who, with his executors, administrators, and permitted assigns, is hereinafter referred to as "the Lessee"), of the other part:

Whereas the allotment of land described in the First Schedule hereto is rural land which has been acquired by the Lessor under "The Land for Settlements Consolidation Act, 1900" (hereinafter called "the said Act"); and whereas, pursuant to the provisions of the said Act and the regulations in that behalf made thereunder (hereinafter called "the said regulations"), the Lessee duly applied for a lease in perpetuity of the said allotment, and on the 21st day of March, one thousand nine hundred and one application was duly granted by the Land Board of the Land District wherein the said allotment is situate (hereinafter called "the Land Board"); and whereas the capital value of the said allotment is One thousand seven hundred and thirty nine pounds five shillings

Now, this Deed witnesseth that, in consideration of the rent hereinafter reserved, and of the covenants, conditions, and agreements herein contained and implied and on the part of the Lessee to be paid, observed, and performed, the Lessor doth hereby demise and lease unto the Lessee All that piece of land containing by admeasurement Three hundred and eighty six (386) acres two (2) roods three (3) perches, a little more or less, situated in the Land District of Wellington, and being Section No. 4 Block III Nevea Survey District, as the same is more particularly described in the First Schedule hereto and delineated in the plan drawn thereon, and therein coloured red in outline: together with the rights, easements, and appurtenances to the same belonging: To have the said several premises intended to be hereby demised unto the Lessee for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years to be reckoned from the first day of July, one thousand nine hundred and one, and including, in addition, the broken period between the date of this lease and such day: Holding and paying therefor during the said term unto the Receiver of Land Revenue for the said Land District of Wellington, free from all deductions whatsoever, the clear annual rent of Eighty six pounds nineteen shillings and two pence

computed from the said first day of July, one thousand nine hundred and one, and payable in manner following, that is to say:—

- (a.) By a payment of £43. 9. 7 before the execution of these presents, such payment (which has been duly made) being in respect of rent in advance for the first half-year, computed as aforesaid; and also
- (b.) By the payment thereafter of £43. 9. 7 half-yearly in advance on the first day of January and first day of July in each and every year during the said term, the first of such payments to become due and to be made on the first day of January, one thousand nine hundred and one.

And the Lessee doth hereby covenant with the Lessor as follows, that is to say:—

1. Subject to the provisions of the said regulations, the Lessee will reside on the demised land within one year from the date of this lease, and thereafter such residence shall be continuous for the period of ten years.
2. The Lessee will put on the demised land substantial improvements as under:—
 - (a.) Within one year from the date of this lease, substantial improvements to a value equal to two and one-half per centum of the aforesaid capital value of the land;
 - (b.) Within two years from such date, further substantial improvements to a value equal to another two and one-half per centum of the aforesaid capital value of the land;
 - (c.) And within six years from such date, further substantial improvements to a value equal to another two and one-half per centum of the aforesaid capital value of the land, so that the total value of such improvements at the end of six years from such date shall not be less than seven and one-half per centum of the aforesaid capital value of the land; and also, in addition thereto, he will, within six years from such date, put upon the demised land substantial improvements of a permanent character within the meaning of "The Land Act, 1892," to the value of one pound for every acre of agricultural land (first class), and ten shillings for every acre of mixed agricultural and pastoral land (second class): Provided that, for the purpose of determining whether the Lessee has duly performed this covenant (but for no other purpose), there shall be included the value of all substantial improvements existing on the demised land at the date of this lease (which improvements shall be deemed to be improvements required by this covenant).

"Substantial improvements of a permanent character" mean and include reclamation from swamps, clearing of forest, gorse, broom, sweetbriar, or scrub, cultivation, planted gardens, fencing, draining, making roads, sinking wells or water-tanks, constructing water-races, sheep-dips, making embankments or protective works of any kind, or in any way improving the character or fertility of the soil, and include the erection of any non-movable building.

3. The Lessee will, within two years from the date of this lease, have the demised land fenced with a ring fence, and such fence shall be a sufficient fence within the meaning of "The Fencing Act, 1895."

4. The Lessee will once a year during the said term, and at the proper season of the year, properly clean and trim all live fences now on the demised land, or which may be planted thereon during the said term, and stub all gorse not growing as fences, and also stub all broom, sweetbriar, and other noxious plants.

5. The Lessee will not take more than three crops, one of which must be a root-crop, from the same land in succession; and will either with or immediately after a third crop of any kind sow the land down with good permanent cultivated grasses and clovers, and allow the land to remain as pasture for at least three years from the harvesting of the last crop before being again cropped.

6. The Lessor will at all times during the said term, farm the demised land, if the area of the whole exceeds twenty acres, as that not less than one-half of the total area shall be maintained in permanent pasture.

7. The Lessee will not cut the cultivated grass or clovers for hay or seed during the first year from the time of sowing as aforesaid, nor at any time remove from the demised land or burn any straw grown thereon.

8. The Lessee will whenever necessary, but not less than once a year, during the said term properly clean and clear from weeds, and will at all times during the said term keep open, all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses upon the demised land, and the Commissioner of Crown Lands (hereinafter called "the Commissioner"), or any Crown Lands Ranger of the Land District wherein the demised land is situate, shall have the power at any time to enter upon and make through the demised land any drain that he deems necessary, without payment of any compensation to the Lessee.

9. In the event of the Lessee at any time failing to faithfully perform any of the foregoing covenants relating to the trimming of live fences, and stubbing gorse, broom, and sweetbriar, or other noxious weeds, or to the cleaning, clearing from weeds, and keeping open all creeks, drains, ditches, and watercourses, it shall be lawful for the Commissioner to have such work done, and to recover the cost of the same from the Lessee in the same manner as aforesaid.

10. The Lessee will pay all rates, taxes, and assessments levied on or payable in respect of the demised land during the said term.

11. The Lessee will at all times during the said term keep in good repair and condition, to the satisfaction of the Commissioner, all buildings and erections for the time being standing on the demised land, and will not destroy, pull down, or remove them, or any part thereof, without the previous permission of the Commissioner in writing.

12. The Lessee will not open up any mine on the demised land without the previous permission of the Commissioner in writing.

13. The Lessee will not cut down or remove any of the trees growing in the plantations at present existing on the demised land without the consent of the Commissioner first obtained, and such consent shall be conditional on the Lessee giving a written undertaking to plant other trees of an equal number and approved kind within one year thereafter.

14. The Lessee shall have no right in any case where the channel of any creek or natural or artificial water-race or water-course runs on other land to alter such creek, water-race, or watercourse through the land hereby demised, or stop, divert, or impede the water flowing therein, save to such extent as the Commissioner deems reasonable, and the decision of the Commissioner shall be final and conclusive.

15. The Lessee will fully and punctually pay the rent hereinbefore reserved at the times and in the manner hereinbefore named in that behalf.

And it is hereby decreed and declared as follows, that is to say:—

(A.) For the purposes of these presents the following proportions, to wit, *the whole* of the demised land, shall be deemed to be agricultural land, ~~and the residue shall be deemed to be mixed agricultural and pastoral land.~~ *J.M.E.*

(B.) Subject to the provisions herein contained and implied, and also to those of the said Acts and the said regulations, the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," and the regulations thereunder with respect to applications for and the grant of leases in perpetuity, the stipulations and conditions subject to which such leases may be granted, the rights and powers of the Lessor and of every person or authority in His behalf, the rights, powers, and functions of the Land Board and the Commissioner in relation to the land and premises comprised in such leases, and the estate, interest, rights, duties, and liabilities of the Lessees, shall, so far as the same are applicable, apply to this lease as fully as if they were fully set out herein.

(C.) If and so often as the Lessee makes default in the due and full payment of any rent hereby reserved, or of any other moneys payable under this lease, or in the faithful observance and performance of any other of the covenants, conditions, or stipulations herein contained or implied, and by him to be observed or performed, then and in any such case the Land Board may, without any previous or other notice or demand, forfeit this lease; and in such case all the Lessee's interest therein shall absolutely cease and determine, subject, nevertheless, to the provisions of the next following clause, respecting valuation of improvements; but such forfeiture shall not affect any right or remedy of the part of the Lessor to recover from the Lessee any money due to the Lessor, nor release the Lessee from any penalty or liability in respect to anything done or omitted to be done by him.

(D.) In the event of the forfeiture or surrender of this lease, the provisions of "The Land Act, 1892," respecting valuation of improvements and the payment or other disposal thereof shall, so far as the same are applicable, apply to the improvements made by the Lessee.

(E.) For the purpose of distinguishing the improvements existing on the demised land at the date of this lease from those subsequently made by the Lessee, the first-mentioned improvements and their value shall be deemed to be those specified in the Second Schedule hereto.

And, lastly, it is hereby further decreed and declared that the right is reserved to the Crown or to its delegated authority,—

(1.) To search for and take gravel or stone from any of the demised land for the purpose of making or repairing roads, upon payment of compensation only to the amount of damage done to the surface of the land.

(2.) To take without compensation over any of the land disposed of,—

(a.) Drains.

(b.) Water-races, and to lay pipes in connection therewith; in the event of the right being exercised the rental shall be reduced in proportion to the area taken.

SEPT. 20th 1892.
PROVISIONS.

11

In Witness whereof the Commissioner of Crown Lands for the Land District of Wellington, on behalf of the Lessor, hath hereunto set his hand, and these presents have been also executed by or on behalf of the Lessee.

Appendix IV

Election booth results, Castlepoint and Uriti districts: 1887-1914.

| | 1887 ¹ | | | 1890 | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------|---------------|----------|---------|----------|
| | Hogg | Hawkins | Beetham | Hogg | Beetham |
| Whakataki | 8 | 7 | 30 | 24 | 20 |
| Tinui | 26 | 7 | 64 | 44 | 58 |
| Grassendale | 6 | 2 | 24 | 6 | 20 |
| Total Castlepoint district votes | 40 | 16 | 118 | 74 | 98 |
| Total Masterton electorate votes | 503 | 319 | 783 | 1,058 | 1,079 |
| | Bunny | Buchanan | | Bunny | Buchanan |
| Whareama | | | | 4 | 20 |
| Total Uriti district votes | | | | 4 | 20 |
| Total Wairarapa electorate votes | 828 | 956 | | 699 | 986 |
| | 1893 | | | 1896 | |
| | Hogg | Harkness | McCardle | Hogg | Cameron |
| Whakataki | 82 | 14 | 27 | 21 | 20 |
| Tinui | 89 | 70 | 8 | 89 | 69 |
| Grassendale | 18 | 12 | 0 | 6 | 17 |
| Total Castlepoint district votes | 189 | 96 | 35 | 116 | 106 |
| Total Masterton electorate votes | 2,281 | 1,054 | 428 | 1,850 | 1,579 |
| | Fairbrother | Buchanan | Pownall | Hornsby | Buchanan |
| Whareama | 4 | 88 | 10 | 43 | 35 |
| Homewood | 3 | 29 | 7 | 6 | 38 |
| Total Uriti district votes | 7 | 117 | 17 | 49 | 73 |
| Total Wairarapa electorate votes | 1,116 | 1,836 | 627 | 1,944 | 1,611 |
| | 1899 | | | 1902 | |
| | Hogg | Cockburn Hood | | Hogg | Cooper |
| Castlepoint | 16 | 6 | | 14 | 7 |
| Whakataki | 14 | 18 | | 7 | 10 |
| Tinui | 88 | 85 | | 45 | 52 |
| Grassendale | 10 | 17 | | 13 | 18 |
| Langdale Junction | | | | 18 | 16 |
| Total Castlepoint district votes | 128 | 126 | | 97 | 103 |
| Total Masterton electorate votes | 2,592 | 1,408 | | 2,353 | 1,502 |
| | Hornsby | Buchanan | Phillips | Hornsby | Buchanan |
| Whareama | 26 | 27 | 1 | 12 | 31 |
| Fernglen | 19 | 28 | 2 | 15 | 27 |
| Total Uriti district votes | 45 | 55 | 3 | 27 | 58 |
| Total Wairarapa electorate votes | 1,568 | 1,818 | 66 | 1,983 | 2,049 |

¹ Uriti and Whareama were in the Castlepoint Road District and the Masterton electorate in 1887

| | 1905 | |
|----------------------------------|-------|--------|
| | Hogg | Cooper |
| Castlepoint | 3 | 9 |
| Whakataki | 17 | 14 |
| Tinui | 79 | 47 |
| Grassendale | 10 | 12 |
| Mataikona | | |
| Langdale Junction | 32 | 35 |
| Total Castlepoint district votes | 141 | 117 |
| Total Masterton electorate votes | 3,049 | 2,205 |

| | Hornsby | Buchanan | Phillips |
|----------------------------------|----------|----------|----------|
| | Whareama | 27 | 30 |
| Kaiwhata | | | |
| Fernglen | 24 | 30 | 0 |
| Total Uriti district votes | 51 | 60 | 1 |
| Total Wairarapa electorate votes | 2,489 | 1,964 | 63 |

| | 1908 ² | |
|--|-------------------|----------|
| | Hornsby | Buchanan |
| Whakataki | 19 | 11 |
| Tinui | 54 | 61 |
| Grassendale | 11 | 17 |
| Mataikona | 3 | 24 |
| Whareama | 23 | 69 |
| Kaiwhata | 10 | 26 |
| Total Castlepoint/Uriti district votes | 120 | 208 |
| Total Wairarapa electorate votes | 2,466 | 2,650 |

| | 1911 | | | 1914 | |
|--|---------|----------|--------|---------|----------|
| | Hornsby | Buchanan | Tanner | Hornsby | Buchanan |
| Whakataki | 33 | 21 | | 50 | 17 |
| Tinui | 75 | 45 | | 70 | 43 |
| Grassendale | 26 | 17 | 1 | 15 | 12 |
| Mataikona | 7 | 21 | 1 | 13 | 15 |
| Mangapakeha | 16 | 43 | | 6 | 39 |
| Whareama | 18 | 74 | | 19 | 79 |
| Okautete ³ | 31 | 35 | 1 | 30 | 35 |
| Total Castlepoint/Uriti district votes | 206 | 256 | 3 | 203 | 240 |
| Total Wairarapa electorate votes | 2,825 | 2,950 | 88 | 3,164 | 3,104 |

² Castlepoint County became part of the Wairarapa electorate from 1908.

³ Homewood, Fernglen, Okautete, Kaiwhata, and Whareama polling booths served the Uriti district.

Appendix V

The Castlepoint County councillors and their sheep.

| Year | Councillor | Sheep | Year | Councillor | Sheep |
|------|----------------------|--------|------|-----------------------|--------|
| 1901 | J. Austin (chairman) | 14,569 | 1902 | W. Dalziell | 14,060 |
| | J. Barton | 10,140 | | J. Barton | 10,140 |
| | W. Dalziell | 14,060 | | J.S. Langdon | 659 |
| | J. Groves | 6,285 | | W.H. Langdon | 1,230 |
| | J.S. Langdon | 659 | | H. Ryder | 1,300 |
| | A. Speedy | 781 | | A. Speedy | 781 |
| 1905 | A. Speedy | 3,106 | 1909 | J.S. Langdon | 904 |
| | D. Bennett | 600 | | J. Innes ¹ | 4,500 |
| | J.S. Langdon | 879 | | R.L. Langdon | 1,023 |
| | A. Nicholls | 1,092 | | J. Lennie | 449 |
| | T. Richardson | 2,388 | | A. Mason | 926 |
| | H. Ryder | 1,300 | | T. Richardson | 2,516 |
| | | | | H. Ryder | 1,409 |

¹ J. Innes only appears in the sheepowner records from 1919. His property had a value of £9,548 in 1907 while his neighbour J. Barton had a £20,033 property on which he ran 10,140 sheep, so Innes' sheep numbers have been estimated at 4,500. It is likely he managed the property and then purchased a portion of it.

| Year | Councillor | Sheep | Year | Councillor | Sheep |
|------|---------------|-------|------|---------------|--------|
| 1912 | H. Ryder | 1,409 | 1914 | H. Ryder | 1,685 |
| | J. Hudson | 5,064 | | A. Brightwell | 404 |
| | J. Innes | 4,500 | | W. Dalziell | 15,050 |
| | J. Lennie | 449 | | W. Groves | 4,120 |
| | T. Richardson | 2,516 | | J. Innes | 4,500 |
| | D.H. Speedy | 2,245 | | A. Pilmer | 5,427 |
| | | | | S. Schofield | 4,182 |
| 1917 | H. Ryder | 1,685 | | | |
| | A. Brightwell | 404 | | | |
| | W. Groves | 4,120 | | | |
| | J. Innes | 3,350 | | | |
| | A. Pilmer | 5,427 | | | |
| | S. Schofield | 4,182 | | | |

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