

Copyright is owned by the Author of the thesis. Permission is given for a copy to be downloaded by an individual for the purpose of research and private study only. The thesis may not be reproduced elsewhere without the permission of the Author.

WOODVILLE : GENESIS OF A BUSH FRONTIER  
COMMUNITY, 1874-1887.

The process of settlement and organisation  
on a New Zealand frontier.

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

by

RAYMOND JOSEPH SHAFFER  
Massey University  
1973

PREFACE

The object of this work is summarised in its title: genesis of a bush frontier community. Each component of the title does not merely represent a word, but a concept. "Genesis" denotes notions of birth and growth, and in this context it is applied to the processes and interaction involved in the transition from frontier in 1874 to establishment in 1887. Although "Bush" contains the obvious geographical connotations associated with the Seventy-Mile Bush, during the course of the study it also assumes an ideological meaning, depicting the type of settler, his tasks, goals and aspirations. The concept "frontier", which is dealt in detail elsewhere,<sup>1</sup> implies a meaning of place, process and time. "Community" in this context points to the process of community formation, containing the essential prerequisites of belonging to a distinctive community, with regularised patterns of interaction, a recognised system of authority, and a shared set of mutual expectations.<sup>2</sup>

This is a social history in the broadest sense: the sociological implications of community growth are set within a political, economic, administrative, legal and cultural context, providing the study with a suitable framework in order to reassemble the community's history. In brief, this essay attempts to analyse the dynamics and mechanics of the complex patterns, processes and interaction involved in the settlement of a bush frontier community, tracing its development from infancy through to late adolescence and early maturity.

Such a study presents hypothetical, methodological-conceptual and contextual demands. The hypothetical requirements entail a

---

1. See 1-4 below.

2. W.R. Burch Jr, "The Nature of Community" in John Forster, (ed.), Social Process in New Zealand (Auckland, 1969), 85.

more precise definition of the concept "frontier" from the American to the New Zealand situation. A research exercise of this nature provides an opportunity to test several working hypothesis suggested in Oliver's lecture Towards a New History?<sup>3</sup> (1969) and Coleman's article "The New Zealand Frontier and the Turner Thesis" (1955),<sup>4</sup> centred on the nature, character, process and timing of the New Zealand frontier, making comparisons with overseas frontiers. The methodological-conceptual demands involve the application of sociological conceptual analysis and geographical methodology to a historical problem, providing a wider basis to study the dynamic evolution of a bush frontier community within an individual, local, regional and national framework as well as reducing the risks of overgeneralisation, particularly concerning definition of the concepts "settler" and "frontier".<sup>5</sup>

Contextual demands are also evident on various levels. Apart from making useful comparisons with extra-New Zealand history, this essay provides a solid local base upon which to formulate generalisations concerning New Zealand history as a whole, especially in the field of state-frontier interaction. Associated with this is the study's relevance to the evolution of bush frontier communities. Before Arnold's pioneering work, secondary source material on bush settlement was confined to a few articles by Franklin, Heerdegen and Petersen.<sup>6</sup> Arnold has now made substantial provision for a suitable

- 
3. W.H. Oliver, Towards a New History? (Hocken Lecture, 1969) (Dunedin, 1971).
  4. Peter J. Coleman, "The New Zealand Frontier and the Turner Thesis", in Pacific Historical Review, Vol.24 (1958), 221-37.
  5. See 1-4 and 65 below.
  6. See Rollo D. Arnold, "The Opening of the Great Bush, 1869-1881: A Social History of Bush Settlements of Taranaki, Hawke's Bay and Wellington" (Ph.D. thesis, Victoria University, 1971); S.H. Franklin, "The Village in the Bush", in Forster, Social Process, 102-43; Richard G. Heerdegen, "Land for the Landless", in New Zealand Geographer, Vol.23 (April, 1967), 34-49; G.C. Petersen, "Pioneering the North Island Bush", in R.H. Watters (ed.), Land and Society in New Zealand (Wellington, 1965), 66-79.

base from which to study bush settlement. But at the local level secondary source material is limited to anniversary booklets: no comprehensive secondary source on Woodville exists. This research exercise attempts to fill a marked void in the story of bush settlement,<sup>7</sup> complementing the works of Arnold, Heerdegen and Gordon.<sup>8</sup>

But research in this area was not all plain sailing: problems concerned with methodology arose directly out of the nature of the demands and source materials. First, the nature of demands posed certain difficulties concerning organisation, selectivity, continuity and control of material. A social history, by its very nature, covers a broad spectrum, and this created the danger of treating the material in a superficial manner. A good example of this was the handling of the profusion of voluntary associations. Selectivity was rigidly enforced by choosing only a few examples to illustrate a central theme.

One of the major specific problems concerned the definition of Woodville's boundaries. Frontier borders are marked by great confusion and ambiguity. Provincial demarcations are simple: Woodville being at the south-western most extremity of Hawke's Bay

- 
7. As evidenced by the noticeable lack of references and blatant inaccuracies concerning Woodville in secondary accounts. See Errol Braithwaite, The Companion Guide to the North Island of New Zealand (Auckland, 1970), 280:

Woodville was established by Scandinavian immigrants, sturdy Danes and Swedes who passed through the Seventy-Mile Bush from the north-east .... You can almost trace their passage to the east of Woodville on the farm mail boxes! names like Svensen, Anderson, Sorenson ...

Obviously Braithwaite is confusing Woodville with the Dannevirke cultural periphery; c.f.8-10 below. See also A.H. McLintock (ed.) An Encyclopedia of New Zealand (Wellington, 1966) Vol.3, 682; which claims "The first settlers arrived from Southern Hawke's Bay in 1862. By 1870 a township had emerged on an old route between the Manawatu and Hawke's Bay districts". c.f.11-12 below.

8. L(eslie). G(eoffrey) Gordon, "Immigration into Hawke's Bay, 1858-1876" (M.A. Thesis, Victoria University, 1965).

borders the Wellington provincial district. On the local level however, the fluctuating nature of Woodville's boundaries makes political delimitation difficult. Boundary changes occurred when Woodville was constituted a Highway District in 1878, a Town District in 1884, and a Borough in 1887. But these lines were greatly complicated by the competing attempts to stabilise boundaries between local government bodies and the Waipawa County Council. Apart from further political demarcations, such as electoral boundaries, Woodville was also a Licensing District and a Resident Magistrate District. On top of this several indefinable boundaries existed. Concentric zones of frontier activity, external business and social affiliations, the influence of state agencies, the natural centre of gravity at Napier, trade and communication patterns, and the penetration of a small farmer ideology provided added ambiguity. The most efficient way to delimit Woodville's boundaries was through a map and accompanying appendix displaying the physical features which delimit Woodville as a compact region (Figure 1 and Appendix A).

The use of sociological concepts may present problems of under- and over-conceptualisation of ideas. Provision has been made, either in the text or footnotes, to provide an accurate application and definition of the concepts used.

The nature of the source materials also presented problems. Because of the death of early inhabitants it was difficult to provide an accurate account of the origins and movements of the original settlers, thus forcing the researcher to speculate. The available information was scattered in four separate localities (in order of importance): Wellington, Napier, Woodville and Palmerston North, with the bulk of the material being located at Wellington. Apart from problems of distance, the source material was unbalanced. Between 1874 and 1883 the information was very patchy and required an eclectic synthesis of external newspaper correspondents' reports, archival material, memoirs and maps. But from 1883 the Woodville Examiner supplied an overabundance of material: a balance had to be achieved. The compilation of statistical information also posed difficulties. Before 1891, statistical breakdown of

information in official publications was limited to population, sheep returns, court records and school attendance. In some instances the 1891 Census, although outside the bounds of the study, was used to provide an impression to offset partially this limitation.

But the researcher cannot underestimate the utility of the existing sources. Newspapers, particularly the Woodville Examiner, supplemented by the Hawke's Bay Herald, The New Zealand Mail and the Waipawa Mail, provided a valuable resource. In the Woodville Examiner, local advertisements were important in supplying information on local and outside business interests, the type of and relative demand for various services and goods, price indices, indicators of pace, relative wealth and institutional growth of the community, land sales, official announcements, entertainments and meetings. Apart from the editorials (which were important reflections as well as creators of local opinion), gossip and correspondence columns; the newspaper also provided reports on election speeches, road board meetings and resident magistrate court sittings. The supplementary newspapers often served as a balance to the Woodville Examiner, particularly concerning the controversy over the siting of the Woodville railway station in 1885.

Official sources were very helpful to confirm and resolve conflicting newspaper reports. The Appendices to the Journal of the House of Representatives, Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand, The Hawke's Bay Gazettes, and The New Zealand Gazettes, through persistent cross-referencing, provided valuable information concerning the impact and interaction of the state on the frontier. Archival material and memoirs played the role of gap-fillers.

Secondary source material, although limited, was useful in building up a framework of the study. Oliver's lecture on Towards a New History? and his Challenge and Response,<sup>9</sup> helped to formulate

---

9. W.H. Oliver and Jane M. Thomson, Challenge and Response, a study of the development of the Gisborne and East Coast Region. (Gisborne, 1971).

a working hypothesis as well as providing a suitable methodological substructure. This base was largely assisted by two American works, Boorstin's The Americans: 2 The National Experience and Billington's America's Frontier Heritage.<sup>10</sup> For the provision of a contextual base, Arnold's, Franklin's and Gordon's works were the greatest assets.

#### Acknowledgements

I wish to extend my sincere thanks to the following individuals and institutions who so willingly provided assistance in the research of this essay: Mr R.D. Arnold, of the Education Department at Victoria University and especially Mr L.G. Gordon of Papakurua High School, for valuable reference suggestions; Mr P.J. Gibbons of Waikato University for his valuable verbal contributions concerning extra-New Zealand references, methodology and analysis; Professor G.S. Fraser of the Sociology Department at Massey University for his assistance in clarifying the conceptual analysis in the initial draft, who also reminded me that the bridge between history and sociology, although not impassable, for a person with a meagre sociological background was not an easy one to cross; the staff of the Alexander Turnbull, General Assembly, Massey University and Palmerston North Libraries, as well as those people who assisted associated with National Archives, the Woodville Pioneer Museum, the Woodville County Council and the Hawke's Bay Art Gallery and Museum; Mr J. Jamieson of Woodville and Mr J. Munro, Director of the Hawke's Bay Art Gallery and Museum, for their valuable assistance with the photographs reproduced in this thesis; lastly Professor W.H. Oliver, my supervisor for the time and patience he put into the painstaking reading of the essay drafts.

---

10. Daniel J. Boorstin, The Americans Volume Two The National Experience (? 1969), and Ray Allen Billington, America's Frontier Heritage (New York, 1966).

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	page
PREFACE	i
LIST OF TABLES	vii
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF PLATES	ix
TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS	x
INTRODUCTION	1
General Hypothesis	
The concepts 'frontier' and 'establishment'	
Organisation	
CHAPTER I <u>THE FRONTIER</u>	6
I. The Physical Setting	
II. The Opening	
III. Small Farm Associations	
IV. Pattern of Settlement	
CHAPTER II <u>INTERACTION AND INTEGRATION</u>	23
<u>PART I: THE STATE</u>	
Land Settlement	
Local Reaction	
The Utilisation of state agencies	
<u>PART II: INSTANT COMMUNITY</u>	
(a) Local official organisations	
(b) Social Institutions and Voluntary associations	
(c) Macro-micro agents of identity	
(d) Bush-farmer ideology and social stratification	
(e) Economic momentum and spatial organisation	
(f) Frontier momentum	
Conclusion	
CHAPTER III <u>ESTABLISHMENT: 1887</u>	62
APPENDIX A      Definition of Woodville's Highway District, Town District and Licensing District boundaries	70
SOURCES	71

LIST OF TABLES

		Page
TABLE I	Population and Sex Structure 1878 and 1881	21
TABLE II	The Application of Land Legislation on the Woodville Frontier between 1874-1887	26
TABLE III	Resident Magistrate Court Convictions 1883-1887	37
TABLE IV	The amount of State and Local Government expenditure 1877-1887	39
TABLE V	Analysis of Street Names in Woodville Borough	47
TABLE VI	Sheep returns and size of flocks by various owners 1879-1887	55
TABLE VII	Population, Dwellings and Rateable Properties 1877-1887	59
TABLE VIII	School Attendance 1879-1885	60
TABLE IX	Age-Sex Structure 1891, % of total population	60
TABLE X	Woodville Riding's Population Density and Sex Structure 1886	64
TABLE XI	Numerical Strength of the predominant religious organisations 1891	66

LIST OF FIGURES

		following page
FIGURE 1	Woodville's Physical Components	7
FIGURE 2	Blocks available for Special Settlement 1872	9
FIGURE 3	Proposed Special Settlements 1872	9
FIGURE 4	Woodville Survey District 1885	11
FIGURE 5	Township of Woodville 1874	12
FIGURE 6	Woodville Small Farm Association 1876	13
FIGURE 7	The School as an example of a social system	42
FIGURE 8	Diagrammatic representation of Woodville's spatially organised hinterland, composed of integrated-symbiotic components	64

LIST OF PLATES

		following page
PLATE 1	Corner of McLean and Vogel Streets c.1872.	8
PLATE 2	Punt over the Manawatu in the Upper Gorge c.1871-2.	11
PLATE 3	Gorge Village c.1876	11
PLATE 4	Woodville c.1878.	11
PLATE 5	An Early Stock Sale.	56
PLATE 6	Woodville during the early 1880's.	56
PLATE 7	Commercial Nucleus 1. 1886	57
PLATE 8	Commercial Nucleus 2. 1886	57
PLATE 9	Features of Establishment: The Kumeroa periphery 1887.	64
PLATE 10	Features of Establishment: A settler's homestead c.1886.	64

TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

<u>AJHR</u>	<u>Appendices to Journal of the House of Representatives</u>
<u>HB</u>	<u>Hawke's Bay Archives</u> (held at National Archives, Wellington)
<u>HBC</u>	<u>Hawke's Bay Provincial Council's Votes and Proceedings</u>
<u>HBG</u>	<u>Hawke's Bay Provincial Gazettes</u>
<u>HBH</u>	<u>Hawke's Bay Herald</u>
<u>NZG</u>	<u>New Zealand Gazette</u>
<u>NZM</u>	<u>New Zealand Mail</u>
<u>NZS</u>	<u>Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand</u>
<u>PD</u>	<u>Parliamentary Debates</u>
<u>WE</u> adv.	<u>Woodville Examiner</u> (advertisements)
<u>WM</u>	<u>Waipawa Mail</u>

## INTRODUCTION

### General Hypothesis

The evolution of Woodville as a bush frontier community, dating from the first landsales in 1874 to the creation of a borough in 1887, was a complex process. No settlement can be created out of a void. At Woodville settlement involved a dynamic pattern of interaction on personal, community, regional and colonial levels. A frontier society, in trying to establish a reputation as a successful experiment through the installation of community services, facilities and civilisation, creates internal and external integrative links. On the local level, the demand of community formation generates an internal dynamic: essential forms of social organisation are implemented which regulate personal interaction within a common set of standards or values (i.e. norms). In turn, these integrative tendencies help to alleviate social tension by encouraging consensual rather than dissensual interaction, which may arise from the abrasive qualities of frontier existence. Associated with community growth is the development of community identity, induced by the desire to gain a reputation as a progressive settlement. Moreover, this process of identity is fostered by macro- and micro-agents, namely extra-Woodville cultural and social affiliations, external and internal newspapers, street naming, leading Woodville and extra-Woodville personalities, distinctive recreational uniforms and local forms of voluntary associations and informal pressure groups. Attempts were also made to harmonise interaction between Woodville and colonial government policy, so as to facilitate the goals and aspirations of the Woodville settlers. Social, cultural, economic, legal and political threads, following the lines of communication, became interwoven within the fabric of established colonial society.

### The concepts 'frontier' and 'establishment'<sup>1</sup>

A study of Woodville within a historical-sociological

---

1. Single quotation marks denote either a term borrowed from another source, or a concept emphasized by the researcher.

perspective allows an analytical evaluation of the concept 'frontier' within the New Zealand context. The American conception of frontier in general and Turner's hypothesis in particular, require considerable modification before it can be applied to New Zealand. So much so in fact that there was no frontier discernible in the American or even the Australian sense. New Zealand, lacking continental dimensions, containing a relatively homogenous population, benefiting from being at the end-point of a late colonising experience, and having authority readily accessible at various levels, went through a brief, discontinuous, but relatively smooth frontier experience. In marked contrast to overseas frontiers, the New Zealand frontier experienced a relative lack of social (although not racial) violence during the colonisation process. The New Zealand pioneer, compared to the American backwoodsman, was not a man alone but an individual caught within a matrix of socialization extending from the immediate community to New Zealand society as a whole.

Perhaps by modifying Billington's definition of a frontier of place and a frontier of process<sup>2</sup> a more accurate translation of the concept will result. In the New Zealand context frontier of place may be identified as the geographical region (the extreme limit of colonial civilisation) adjacent to unsettled areas in which a low man-land ratio and relatively abundant natural resources provide an opportunity for social and economic betterment, especially to the small propertied individual. Frontier of process may be defined as the process through which the socio-economic experiences and standards of individuals may be modified by an environment in which a low man-land ratio and the presence of untapped resources provided an opportunity for self-betterment. But even this definition is too much of an over-simplification for several reservations have to be taken into account.

First, associated with frontiers of place and of process is a frontier of time. Although New Zealand experienced a moving frontier, individual community transitions from frontier to

---

2. Billington, 25.

establishment were rarely well-defined progressions. Community maturity was dependent on a number of variables such as the degree of state sympathy, the condition of the New Zealand economy, the resource base for settlement, the accessibility and availability of a proportional symbiotic hinterland, and the zeal and drive of individual communities to ensure that their experiments worked. The transition reflects a broad spectrum graduated from the unequivocal progression of 'upstart communities' to complete reversals of 'transient' settlements, such as gum-digging, timber and gold-mining communities.<sup>3</sup> Second, in New Zealand the state played a fundamental role in the frontier process, making provision for individuals to acquire control of a share of the resources in a new society, particularly land. Third, frontier is not a monolithic conception for different phases of frontier activity, generated by several interest groups,<sup>4</sup> such as transients (road labourers, bush-fellers, mineral prospectors, land speculators) and upstarts (subsistence farmers, town dwellers, large runholders, small businessmen); created overlapping concentric zones of development, all radiating from the natural centre of gravity - the central commercial nucleus. Lastly, there also existed a frontier of civilisation: the colonial frontier. This was composed of the 'cultural baggage' of the immigrants, nurtured in the donor country, modified by the emigration experience (and often the colonisation experience in other colonies

- 
3. Boorstin's definition of 'transient' and 'upstart' communities is as follows: "The transients had formed their communities for safe and fast movement or for some quick purpose .... When the transients settled down, they became Upstarts: they had begun to live in the day after tomorrow. They thought of their whole generation and children, and they lived now, not in movement, but in growth." 149-50.
  4. An interest group consist of a number of persons whose relationships are based upon a set of interrelated roles and statuses. They interact with one another in more or less standardised fashion determined largely by the norms and values they accept. They are united and held together by a common sense of identity or a similarity which enables them to differentiate members from non-members. An interest group thus has three attributes: patterned interaction, shared or similar beliefs and values, and consciousness of kind. See Ely Chinoy, Sociological Perspective (New York, 1968), 70-1.

before reaching the end-point, New Zealand), and was fashioned by the opportunities and limitations imposed by the environmental catalyst of the recipient country. New Zealand colonial society was essentially a fragment or offshoot of the Victorian milieu, containing a spectrum of various ideological, ethical, socio-economic and intellectual strains, depending on differing social statuses and the associated forms of social intercourse in the home country; all of which were moulded considerably by the opportunities offered by a new environmental experience: social, economic as well as physical. A certain amount of screening and modification of norms and values resulted, more suited to colonial experience.<sup>5</sup>

The difference between 'established' and 'frontier' societies is only a matter of time. In the context of this study establishment can be identified as the point when the community, through the process of cumulative and constant interaction between centre and locality, becomes integrated within the colonial norm. In the case of Woodville 1887 conveniently marks the point of establishment. By this date Woodville had become a mature community within a maturing country. On the local level it had attained borough status with stable local boundaries, having an identifiable and settled hinterland adequately linked by a good road network, with a reasonably stable population containing recognisable leaders, established personal and community ties, and the essential business and social institutions. Coupled with this local maturity, Woodville also had established permanent and strong administrative, electoral, financial, cultural, social and economic links with the rest of New Zealand. All of this was reinforced by the advent of a rail link with Napier in 1887.

---

5. For a good background on this see W.H. Oliver, The Story of New Zealand (London, 1960) Chapter XVI, 269-88. A useful methodological framework is offered by Louis Hartz (ed.), The Founding of New Societies studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia (New York, 1964).

## Organisation

This essay is organised into three major chapters and subdivided into several sections. The first Chapter, The Frontier, deals with the background framework focusing on local environmental conditions and their implications for bush settlement, the development and implementation of the Hawke's Bay Special Settlement legislation, the significance of the initial land sales, the pattern of early settlement, the origins and aspirations of the early settlers, the various zones of frontier activity before 1876, the impact and significance of the colonisation by Small Farm Associations, and finally the application of Oliver's model of settlement for second-stage frontiers to the Woodville situation.

Chapter II, Interaction and Integration, by far the largest section, analyses the importance, interaction and practical application of the State on the frontier; the profusion of local political, legal, military and social institutions, assessing their significance as internal integrators; the macro-, micro-agents of identity; the development of a Woodville small farmer ideology; evidence of class dissensus on the frontier; and lastly economic momentum, spatial organisation and population growth generated by frontier momentum. The Final Chapter, Establishment, studies the criteria for assessing Woodville as a mature community, relating its significance to New Zealand and extra-New Zealand history.

CHAPTER I

THE FRONTIER

'The advance of an Australasian colony in two or three years is often equal to that of an old country in twenty or thirty', says the Spectator, and the truth of the remark would ... be felt very forcibly, by anyone who would now-a-days make the journey from Napier by way of the Seventy-Mile Bush to the West Coast. It seems only a very short time indeed since the forest that goes by that name was to most of us no more than a geographical term. Now one can ride through it along a good metalled road, can obtain all requisite creature comforts at excellent accommodation houses situated in its centre, and is likely to meet Cobb's coach loaded with passengers on its way to or from Wellington or the West Coast. The passenger traffic ... has been very considerable of late, travellers from the Southern Island especially, preferring as a rule, the inland route to that by steamer .... the great inland city of a hundred years hence - Woodville - [is to be] the future depot for the traffic along the lines between Napier, Wanganui, Taranaki, Wellington, and ultimately, as some people say, Auckland. Inland towns of any extent are a thing that we are quite unaccustomed to in this part of the world at present. We have the germs, or imagine that we have, of future Liverpools, Hulls, or Bristols, but we have not as yet even enough to make us dream of the possibility of our ever seeing counterparts of Manchester, Leeds, or Birmingham, spring up in the Great Britain of the South. The railways, however, there can be no question, will change all that some day or other. Whether Woodville should prove to be one of the great inland towns of the future or not, it is a matter of certainty that we shall have some considerable town within 50 or 100 miles of it. It has no doubt much in its favor [sic]. Besides being situated at the junction of three trunk lines of railway, it is the centre of the most fertile district between Paki Paki and Foxton: the light gravelly subsoil which underlies most of the land at the Napier end of the Bush vanishes when we come within ten or twenty miles of the Manawatu, and the vegetation at the same time seems to grow more luxuriant. The sections which are to be put up to auction on the 19th inst., are pegged out on the ground, in accordance with the lithographed plans to be seen at the Survey Office, and paths have been cut through Bush leading from peg to peg.

HBH 5 January 1875.

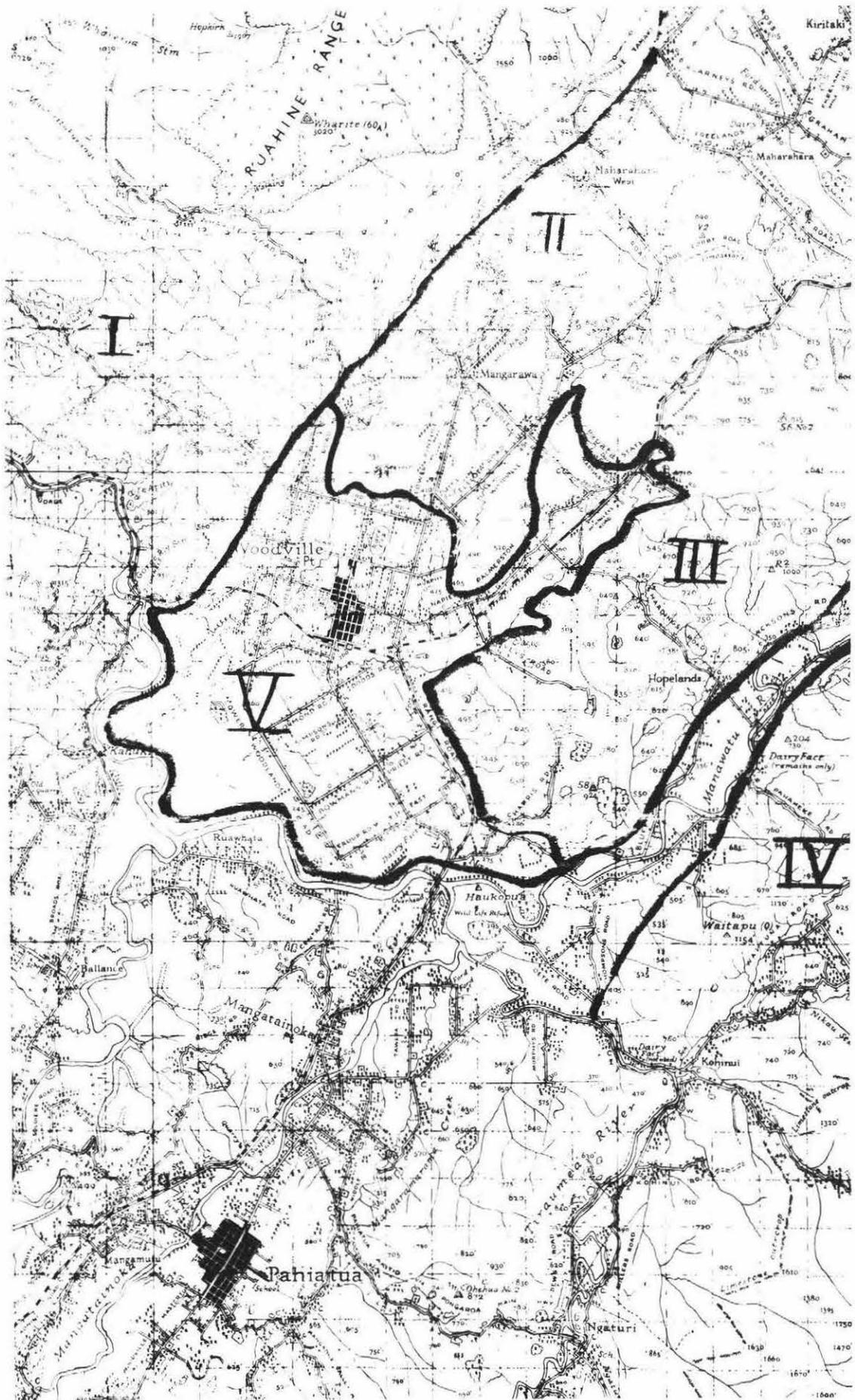
I. The Physical Setting: local environmental conditions and the implications for initial settlement<sup>1</sup> (Figure 1).

Geographically, Woodville constitutes a compact region, bordered on the West by the Tararua-Ruahine divide (dissected by the Manawatu Gorge) and on the east by the Puketoi-Waewaepa Ranges: both presented formidable barriers to settler penetration. While the Manawatu river delimits the southern boundary, the northwest border is more difficult to define topographically. It was here that access to Woodville was the easiest, largely assisted by the corridor carved by the upper Manawatu river, making Napier the main point from which the colonial frontier spread. Within these topographical demarcations configuration is composed of the adjacent rolling hill country to the northwest and southwest, while flat fertile alluvial basins associated with the Manawatu, Mangaotua and Mangahao river systems, occupy a central-southern location. Initial settlement obviously occurred on the latter, but with the increased demand for land the frontier penetrated the undulating foothill periphery. The importance of Woodville's strategic position and her fertile alluvial soils as an incentive for settlement cannot be underestimated. Woodville was favourably located at the entrance of the Manawatu Gorge, the only convenient opening connecting the East and West Coasts; as well as being approximately equidistant from Napier, Wellington and Wanganui, at the junction of the three main routes of the southern North Island. But the complex river system, which was prone to flooding because of the narrow Gorge constriction, made travelling cumbersome, sometimes hazardous. Even Woodville's original site consisted of partial swamp with poorly drained soils, and was often covered with dense fog.

Perhaps more significantly, Woodville was located about midway within a larger geographical entity: the Seventy-Mile

---

1. See New Zealand Topographical Map Palmerston North, Sheet N 149, 1959.



**FIGURE 1** Woodville's Physical Components.

- I Tararua – Ruahine Ranges.*
- II Rolling Hill Country.*
- III Dissected Hill Country.*
- IV Puketoi Foothills.*
- V Alluvial Lowlands.*

Bush<sup>2</sup> (Plate 1). This consisted of dense primeval podocarp forest, including larger species such as tawa, totara, rimu and matai, with lower tiers of tangled undergrowth; bordered in the north by patches of smaller scrub composed of mahoe, small tawa and tawhero. The felling of this bush demanded sophisticated techniques.<sup>3</sup> The bush settler having little capital and bush-pioneering experience, was faced with a formidable task. Unlike his open country equivalent, the pastoralist, the bush farmer had to carve his independence from dense forest. Initially he was little more than a subsistence farmer, often supplementing his meagre income with the limited employment the bush resources could offer him: timber milling, bush-felling and road formation. The bush settler was presented with the problem of securing a viable economic base for permanent settlement amid unreliable communications, unserviced bush and economic depression. This situation led to the development of a particular mental set among the bush pioneers of Woodville, who were acutely conscious of any attempts to check their goals and aspirations. 'Bush' in this sense, soon acquired ideological connotations on the Woodville frontier.

II. The Opening: promoters and politicians and the penetration of the colonial frontier.<sup>4</sup>

The origins of Woodville can be identified among the background forces associated with the implementation of the 1872 Hawke's Bay

- 
2. The Seventy-Mile Bush extended from Kopuaranga, a few miles north of Masterton, to Takapau in southern Hawke's Bay; Arnold, 716(a).
  3. The Normanby Horticultural Society conducted an essay contest concerning bush farming; the best essay was printed in serial form in The New Zealand Farmer, July September October November 1887, providing a valuable account of the techniques and skills required in bush-farming. Although it is based on the Taranaki experience, it can be profitably applied to the Woodville situation.
  4. See Gordon, 206-11, for a useful background to this section.



PLATE 1

Corner of McLean and Vogel Streets  
c. 1872.

Special Settlement Act, of which Part II allowed the Superintendent, J.D. Ormond, to allocate 30,000 acres for the purpose of special settlement subject to sanction by the Governor-in-Council.<sup>5</sup> Ormond, sensing the large runholders' insecurity over a potential Maori threat, saw the strategic benefit of incorporating Vogel's public works scheme to construct a road through the Seventy-Mile Bush, connecting Napier with the West Coast and Wairarapa, by using imported Scandinavian immigrants and settling them in three 'Scandinavian Road Labourer's Villages' at ten mile intervals. In 1871 Samuel Locke purchased 250,000 acres of Maori land for £16,000 in the Hawke's Bay portion of the Seventy-Mile Bush. Included in this purchase was the 21,000 acre Te Ahuaturanga block on which Woodville was eventually settled.<sup>6</sup> But flaws in the title acquired from the natives over the 15,000 acre Maharahara block were later to frustrate the Heretaunga Small Farm Association's aspirations of settling the surrounding Woodville hinterland.<sup>7</sup>

In 1871 a select committee of the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council recommended that 15,000 acres in the Seventy-Mile Bush be set aside for the purpose of special settlement.<sup>8</sup> Along with Norsewood and Dannevirke, Woodville was surveyed as the third 'Scandinavian Road Labourer's Village', consisting of a 134 forty-acre sections as well as a central village site<sup>9</sup> (Figure 2 and 3). But after the establishment of the first two settlements during 1872-4, Ormond informed Vogel that "... the question of special settlements is very important, but in the present state of the labour market and with the existing industries of the province suffering from a want of labour no immediate establishment of special settlement can be

---

5. HBC 1872, Session XIX, 43-8.

6. AJHR 1871, D7 (see accompanying map), 3-7.

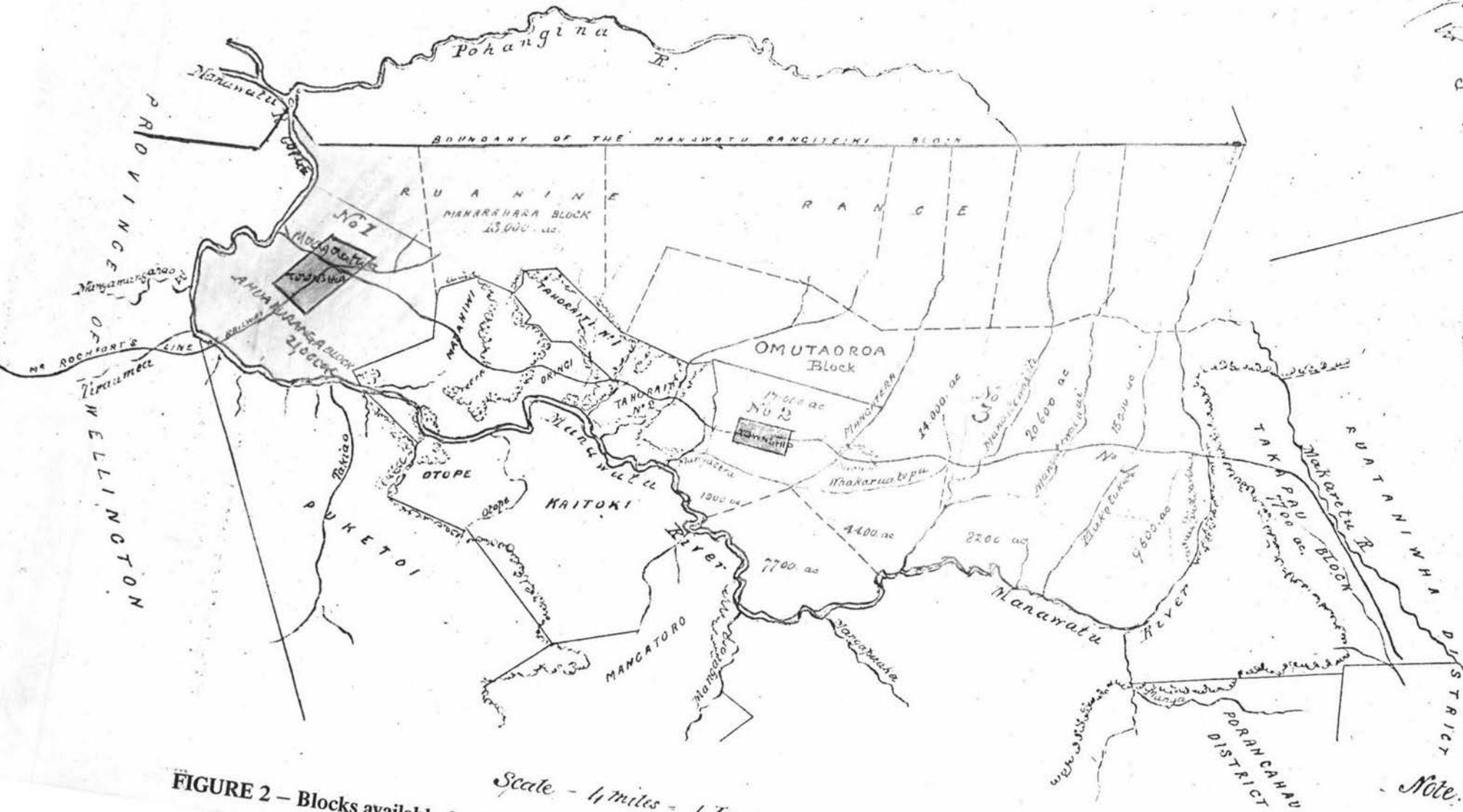
7. HBH 31 May 16 July 13 September 1871, 4 May 13 June 1877, 5 May 1880.

8. HBC 1871, Session XVIII, 101.

9. AJHR 1872 Vol.II D16, 4; 1873 E2B, 9.

Copy

Original Records  
in Drafting Office  
J. C. [unclear]  
6.6.72



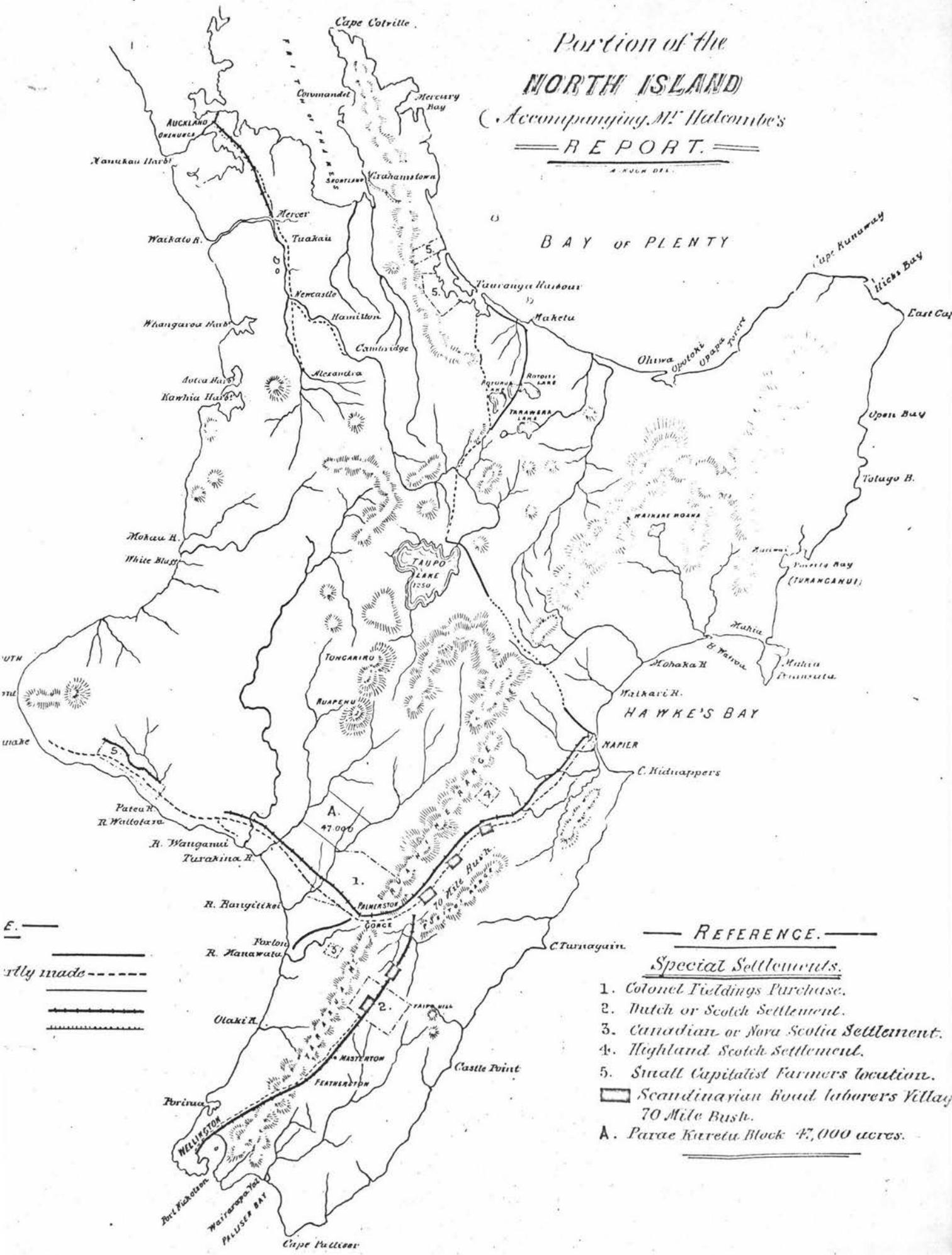
PUBLIC  
IN  
Engineer's  
Z  
WELLING

FIGURE 2 - Blocks available for Special Settlement 1872  
Scale - 1/4 miles = 1 Inch.

NOTE. - Blocks available for  
Settlement color

Note: - Blocks  
Settled  
Blocks  
reserved  
Colored

Portion of the  
**NORTH ISLAND**  
(Accompanying Mr. Halcombe's  
**REPORT.**)



REFERENCE.

- Special Settlements.
1. Colonel Fieldings Purchase.
  2. Dutch or Scotch Settlement.
  3. Canadian or Nova Scotia Settlement.
  4. Highland Scotch Settlement.
  5. Small Capitalist Farmers location.
- Scandinavian Bond laborers Village  
 70 Mile Bush.
- Parae Kuretu Block 47,000 acres.

**FIGURE 3 — Proposed Special Settlements 1872**

thought of".<sup>10</sup> Ormond then turned to land settlement per sec (i.e. rather than as a means of getting road labourers), and advertised the sale of Woodville town, suburban and rural sections in the Napier lands office on 16 November 1874.

Woodville's destiny was predicted by newspaper reports. On 5 January 1875 the Hawke's Bay Herald publicised Woodville as "... the great inland city of a hundred years hence ...." having much in its favour including its position as a junction for the three main lines of communication, fertile soils and the possibility of a prosperous timber industry once the railway was introduced. As a result, the initial sales spread intermittently over November 1874 to November 1876, attracted a large number of land speculators with only a meagre sprinkling of the more well off bona fide settlers<sup>11</sup> (Table II). Speculators were encouraged by optimistic reports such as this:

[Woodville] ... is destined in a few years' time to be one of the most flourishing inland settlements in New Zealand, and there can be little doubt that those who invested their money in buying land there ... have made a good speculation.<sup>12</sup>

Large amounts of capital were invested with most sections "... realising over the upset price with a greater number fetching more than double .... [and] some of the best corner sections realised from £300 to £450 per acre".<sup>13</sup> Some notable speculators included J.D. Ormond, the Provincial Superintendent, C.H. Weber, the Provincial Engineer, and H.B. Sealy, the Commissioner of Crown Lands and later the Napier Resident Magistrate.<sup>14</sup>

---

10. AJHR 1874 D4, 3-4.

11. HBH 22 January 23 November 1875, 2 August 10 October 6, 22 December 1876. NZM 1 January 1875.

12. HBH 7 January 1876.

13. HBH 22 January 1875.

14. In 1876 Sealy, before going to England after his retirement as Resident Magistrate, sold his 800 acres of Woodville rural land at 50s. an acre, making a profit of £800. Gordon, 217. HBH 12 December 1876.

Land speculators were to have an important bearing on Woodville's development, frustrating the bona fide settlers' attempts to colonise the Woodville frontier and receiving the benefit of the unearned increment. A report in the Hawke's Bay Herald on 6 February 1877, called for the clearing of road frontages on land held by speculators to prevent a potential fire hazard as well as allowing the damp roads to dry in the sun to enable the metal to bind. The Woodville settlers' pressed for legislation making it compulsory to fell at least five chain of bush frontage within six months from the date of sale. A glance at the land sale schedules in the Hawke's Bay Gazettes and the 1885 Woodville Survey District Map (Figure 4) shows that the speculators held most of the town and suburban sections encompassing the proposed railway line.<sup>15</sup> But usually attacks were directed at inert, absentee speculators, not those who were prepared to improve the value of their properties by investing capital into the area through bush felling and road formation contracts.<sup>16</sup>

Before 1875 frontier activity around Woodville was confined to transient bush-fellers, road contractors and bridge-builders, employed on the formation of the Seventy-Mile Bush road as well as the construction of the Gorge bridge between 1872 to 1875, which gave rise to a mushroom settlement and important coach centre: the Gorge Village (Plate 2 and 3). Being a convenient stopping point along the coach route, this brisk settlement contained all the requisite services for travellers: an accommodation house (the 'Stone Castle'), a hotel and stables. It continued to be the headquarters for coach traffic until the completion of the Woodville Hotel (Plate 4). The population of this community consisted mainly of transient bush-fellers and bridge-builders, with the contractors

---

15. HB Local Letters 4/11 1876. A map dated 27.1.76 shows the purchased town and suburban sections Nos. 10, 12, 15, 29, 30, 35, 36, 41, 42, 47, 67, 68, 89, 119, 124, 125: following the proposed railway line.

16. HBH 10 January 1878.

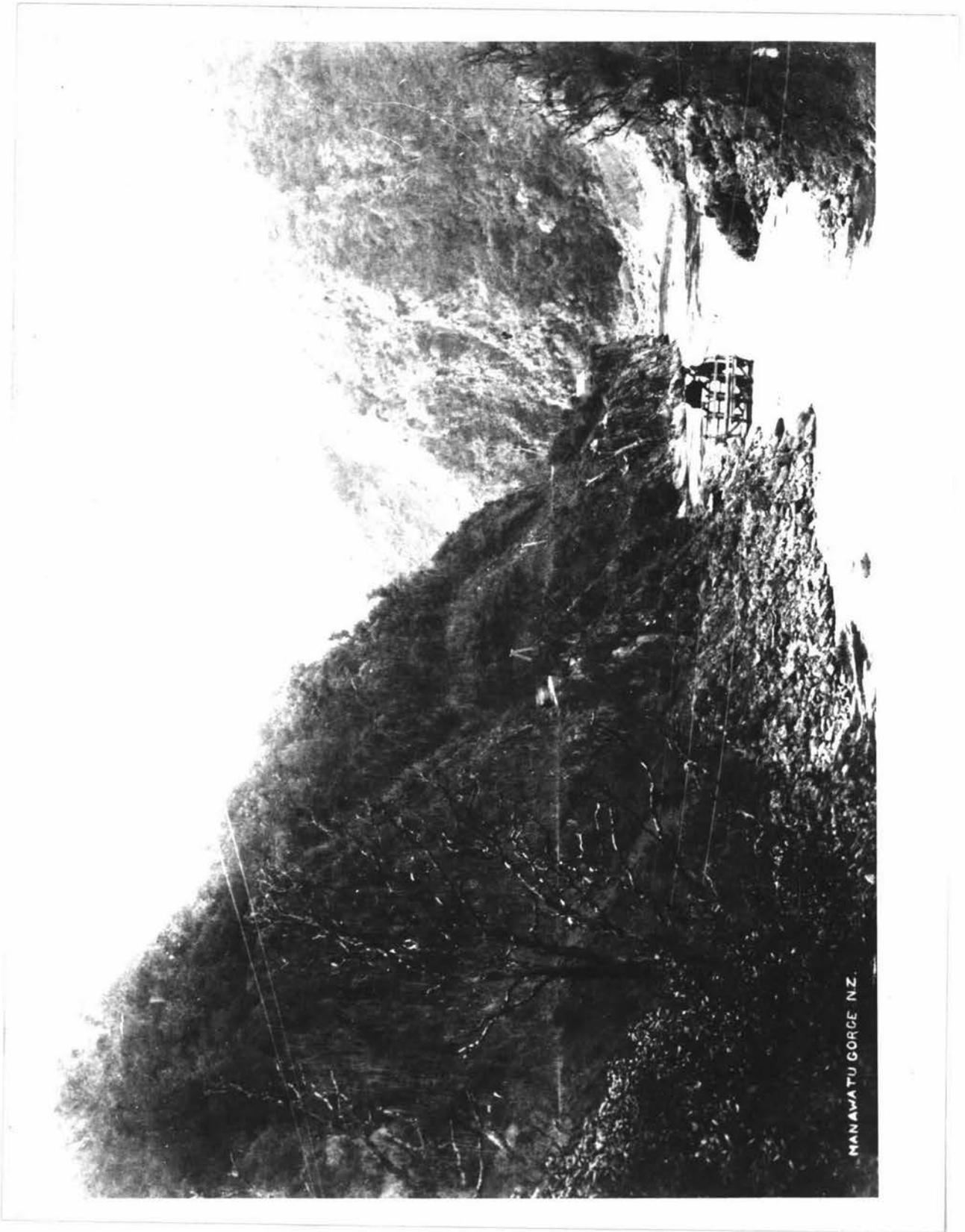


PLATE 2

Punt over the Manawatu in the  
Upper Gorge c.1871-2.

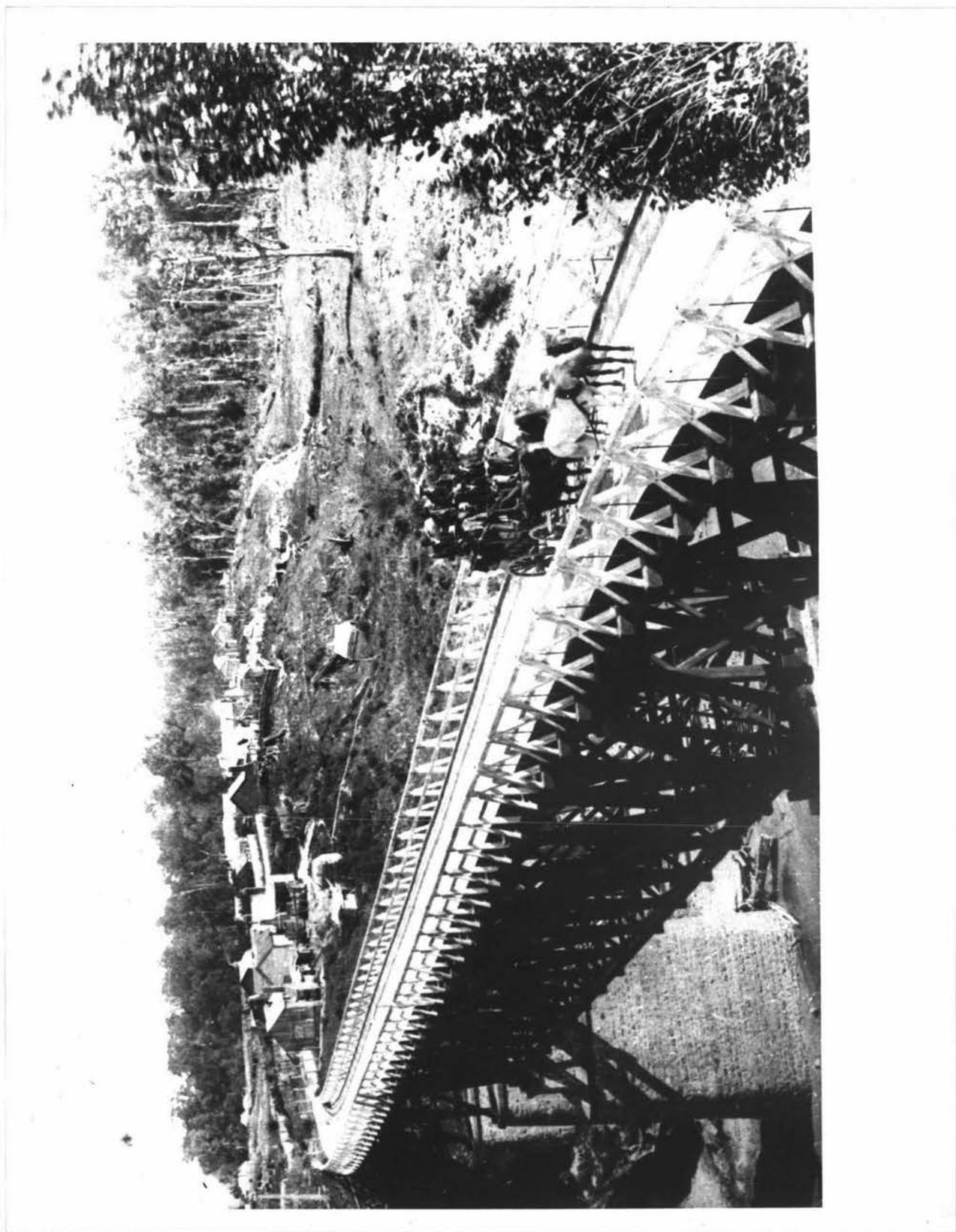


PLATE 3

Gorge Village c. 1876.

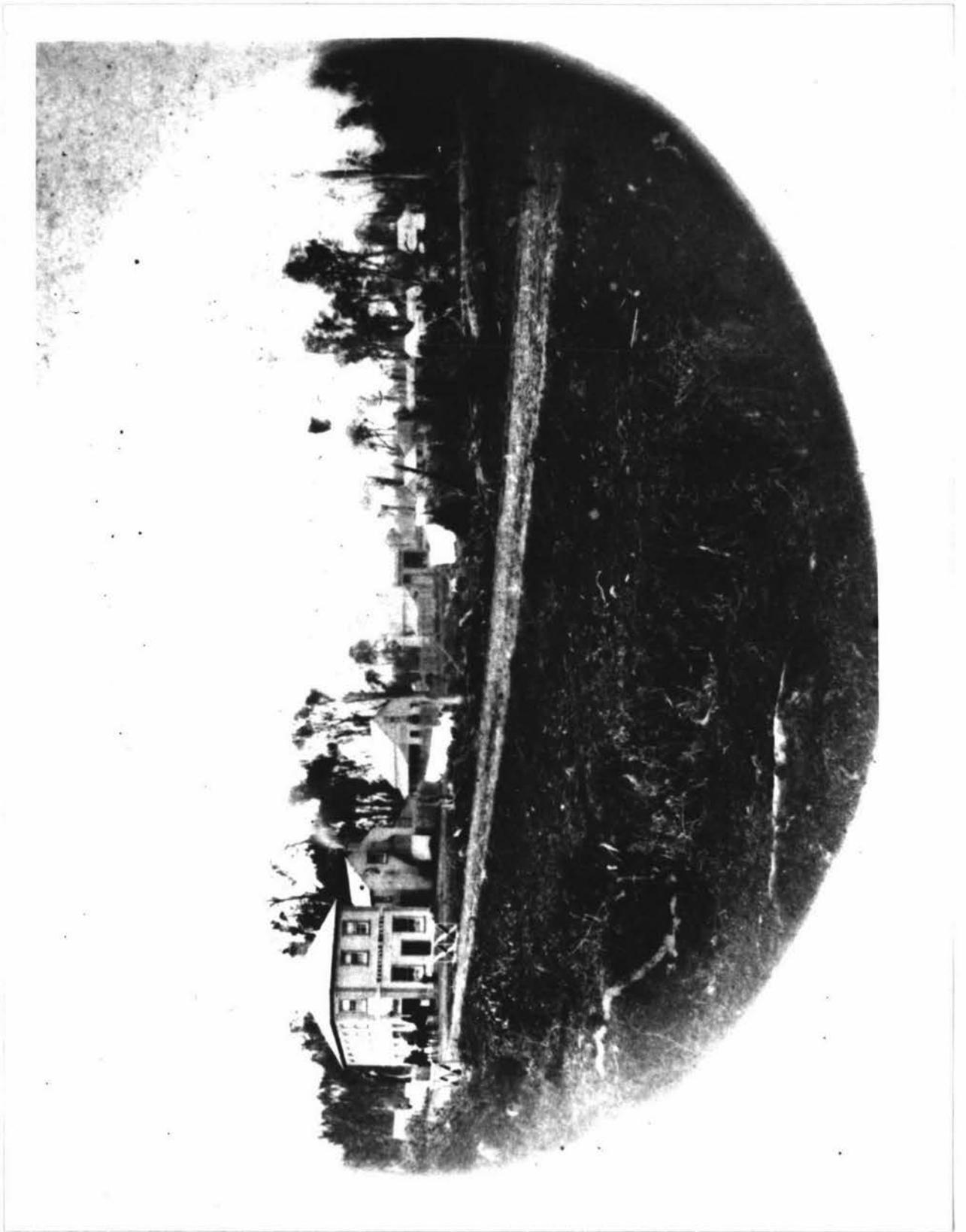


PLATE 4

Woodville c. 1878.



McNeil and C. Dunn, employing about thirty men.<sup>17</sup> With the completion of the Gorge bridge and road, many of the transients moved to the 'Junction' taking up other kinds of employment, particularly bush-farming.

At the 'Junction', as Woodville was known then, the township had been surveyed and the railway station located (Figure 5). Frontier activity was limited to the construction of a hotel by C. Dunn, the establishment of a general store by H. Monteith and T.F. Fountaine (who extended vital credit facilities to early settlers), and the fulfilment of road construction and bush-felling contracts for Napier land speculators. By May 1876 Woodville could boast of two commodious stores, a butcher's shop, one substantial dwelling house and a palatial hotel: all the rudimentary makings of a permanent settlement. And on 5 September 1875 the Hawke's Bay Herald reviewed Woodville's progress;

... Woodville, flower of the Seventy-Mile Bush ....  
 [is] one of the most promising districts of the locality .... Twelve months ago Woodville was only known on paper, now it has a first class hotel, two stores, cabinetmaker's premises, builders, a bakery, boarding house and about forty settlers, including members of the newly-formed Woodville Small Farm association .... Within the last six months all the town roads have been felled and cleared half width, and the country roads have all been opened to a width of fifteen feet .... Two coaches a week ... [run] from Waipukurau and Wanganui, and weekly via the Gorge, and one via Masterton Road .... People are ... clearing extensively, and the land is rapidly increasing in value.

---

17. HBH 9 March 1875. The population figures vary considerably according to two different sources. An exaggerated estimate of 200 was recorded in The Manawatu Daily Times, 29 August 1931. It seems that the HBH's account of 40-50 is more accurate.

MAP OF THE  
**TOWNSHIP OF WOODVILLE.**  
 70 MILE BUSH.  
 PROVINCE OF HAWKE'S BAY.  
*Showing Town & Suburban Sections.*

C R O W N L A N D

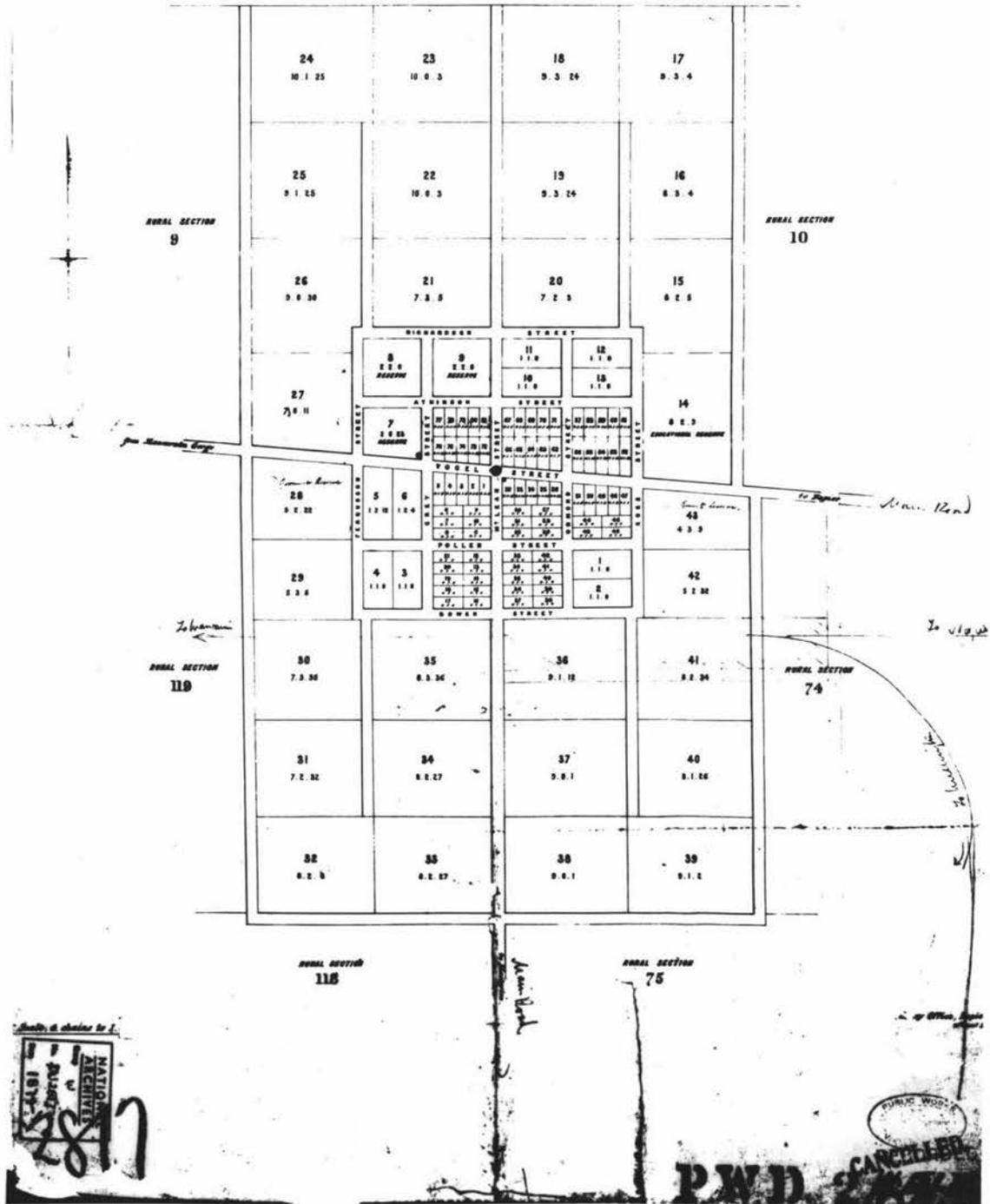


FIGURE 5 – Township of Woodville 1874

### III. Small Farm Associations

Settlement on the land was accelerated by the introduction of a series of Small Farm Associations which colonised the immediate hinterland north of the town<sup>18</sup> (Figure 4). By 1876 Ormond, faced with the increasing pressure from bona fide settlers to open up land, encouraged the implementation of Part I of the 1872 Hawke's Bay Special Settlement Act,<sup>19</sup> which made provision to set aside 20,000 acres for the purpose of special settlement on deferred payment tenure.<sup>20</sup> Members of the Small Farm Associations had to be married and over twenty-one. Under Ormond's encouragement Joseph Sowry, a builder from Waipawa, formed the Woodville Small Farm Association. Its membership consisted of nineteen farm labourers, three farmers, two brickmakers, a builder, a bootmaker, a plumber, a carpenter, a labourer, a butcher, a bridge-builder and a school master, with another three farm labourers selected after the land had been surveyed<sup>21</sup> (Figure 6).

Although their immediate origins in Waipawa and Waipukurau can be ascertained,<sup>22</sup> evidence does not permit any accurate assessment of their original movements. Personal memoirs suggest that the bulk of the members were working on the Te Aute section of Brogden's railway contract:

Going down from Waipukurau ... we saw about Hastings a number of sections of earthworks which had been thrown up by Grogdin's [sic] navvies, who not long

---

18. For the location of the Woodville, Bush Mills, Victoria and Herataunga Small Farm Association see Figure 4, Blocks 12, 5, 10, 3 respectively.

19. HBC 1872, Session XIX, 43-6.

20. Sowry/Ormond, 27 March 4 April 13 June 1876  
HB 7/1(u).

21. Sowry/Ormond, 1 May 1876 HB 7/1(u). Many gave their English rather than their New Zealand occupations.

22. HBH 2 May 25 October; 1877.

Plan

- showing -  
Sections allotted to Members -

- of the -

Woodville Small Farms Association -

- Seventy Mule Bush -

- Howells Bay -

Seaboard Railway -

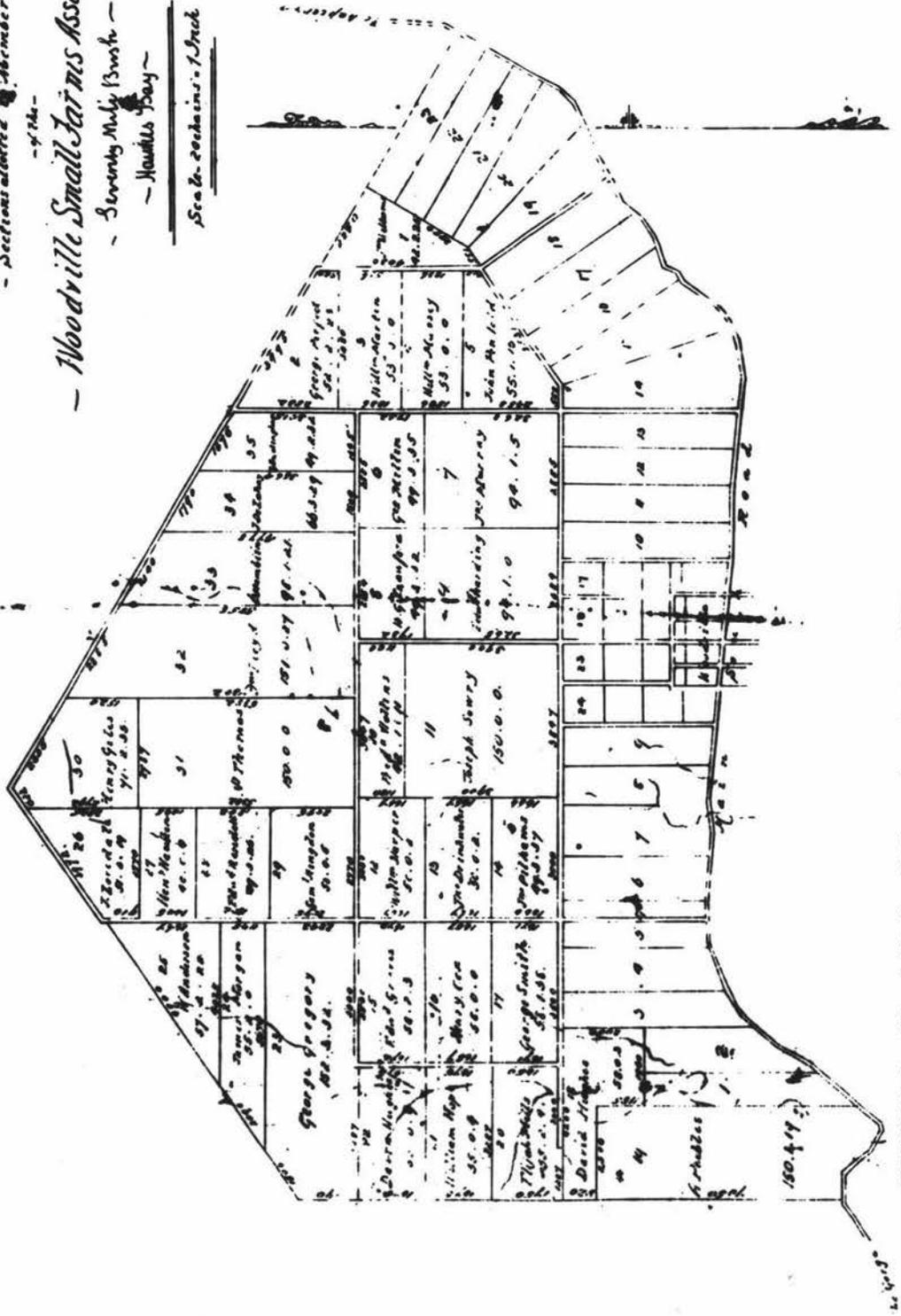


FIGURE 6 - Woodville Small Farm Association 1876

before had been imported from England for railway works. These men some years later supplied most of the settlers of the Woodville Small Farm Association.<sup>23</sup>

and:

The settlers who balloted were immigrants and certain men who had recently completed the Te Aute section of the railway.<sup>24</sup>

- 
23. T.F. Fountaine, "Woodville's Early History" (Mr Fountaine's Reminiscences 1873-1876. An Open Letter written for the Woodville Chamber of Commerce, undated).
24. Souvenir Booklet, Diamond Jubilee of Woodville District High School 1877-1937 and the Golden Jubilee of Woodville Borough Council, (Woodville, 1937), 9.

If this was the case it is likely that some were assisted immigrants, probably coming from the rural areas in England,<sup>25</sup> and Arnold's contention concerning a 'Yeoman' or aspiring small farmer ideology can be supported. Arnold maintains that the peak of New Zealand immigration of English rural labourers coincided with the height of rural labour troubles in England. The landless labourer, because of the power held by the landlords, could not aspire to the declining intermediary class of the yeoman (an owner and occupier of a small holding). Arnold suggests that in New Zealand there existed two competing conceptions of the ideal rural community: the 'gentry' and the 'yeoman' ideal. The gentry ideal envisaged a landed gentry being established throughout New Zealand, leading local and national politics and setting the tone of colonial society. They believed the yeoman farmers and labourers would fill the lower levels of the agrarian pyramid, devoid of any significant economic and political

25. This information is based on several personal interviews with descendants of Woodville's original inhabitants, as well as conforming substantially to the pattern outlined in Arnold, 129-55. Also, the analysis at this stage is merely concerned with the origins of the settlers of the Woodville Small Farm Association, not Woodville residents as a whole: the latter would be impossible. Perhaps some indication of movement can be deduced from the 1891 Census breakdown of Woodville's ethnic origins:

Born (1) British	Total	Male	Female
N.Z.	527	260	267
Australian Colonies	37	23	14
England	234	133	101
Wales	10	3	7
Scotland	58	42	16
Ireland	61	31	30
Other British possessions	11	9	2
(2) Foreign Countries			
Germany	7	5	2
Denmark	5	3	2
Sweden	2	1	1
Norway	2	1	1
Austria	4	3	1
Other European Countries			
U.S.	1	1	
(3) Others			
China	4	4	
At sea	4	1	3

strength. The various types of land acquisition, through cash sales (for the gentry), deferred payment tenure (for the yeoman) and village settlement (for the landless labourers) fitted neatly into the gentry's conception of natural order. The other conception, the yeoman ideal, envisaged a policy of relative economic, social and political equality, with the yeoman farmer playing a predominant role. This group maintained that land must be distributed to the landless through the dissolution of the large estates. One of the most effective and convenient ways of attaining the ideals was through the formation of Small Farm Associations.<sup>26</sup> There is certainly strong evidence of competing 'yeoman' and 'gentry' ideals on the Woodville agrarian frontier in the years that followed.<sup>27</sup>

In accordance with the 1872 Hawke's Bay Special Settlement Act, the terms and conditions of the Woodville Small Farm Association were drawn up by the members, then approved by Ormond and the Governor-in-Council.<sup>28</sup> They provided that 2,500 acres were to be set apart for special settlement, with an upper limit of 150 acres per person, at 20s. an acre. Moreover the business of the Association was to be conducted by a committee ensuring that improvements and quarterly payment clauses were maintained; if not, the sections involved would be forfeited to other bona fide settlers.<sup>29</sup>

The significance of the Woodville Small Farm Association was manifold. This body, like the other Small Farm Associations that were to settle around Woodville, was a natural expression of the small farmer's wish to acquire a piece of freehold in face of competition

---

26. Most of this paragraph is based on Arnold, 342, 368-72.

27. See 35, 38-9, 49-50 below.

28. Ormond/Colonial Secretary 4 May 1876 HB 6/10.  
HBH 2, 19 May 1876.

29. For full details of the Regulations see, Terms and Regulations of the Woodville Special Settlement (held in the Alexander Turnbull Library, 1877) 1-5; reprinted in the NZG Vol. II 1876, 538.

from large runholders and land speculators. The best way of securing this was to form an association, a contract in which human resources and capital would be pooled and co-ordinated to ensure maximum efficiency:

The great disadvantage under which Woodville settlers laboured was the extent of bush land held by absentee owners ... [that] would not be improved ... [T]o be successful, deferred payment settlers must congregate in association, especially in bush land .... but blocks thrown open on deferred payment should not be large in order that the settler might obtain work on larger holdings.<sup>30</sup>

A small farmer ideology had thus penetrated the Woodville frontier, shaped by experience in other open parts of New Zealand. This experience was to have important political ramifications in the future, particularly in attempts at stabilising internal boundaries, in energising settler pressure groups, in the creation of a newspaper, and in the constant bickering with the 'devil figures' associated with the Waipawa and Napier squattocracy.

Apart from the ideological implications, the Woodville Small Farm Association injected an instant community on a frontier which had experienced relatively little permanent settlement activity. Its members had 150 children, with family sizes ranging from one to eleven, who all needed schooling.<sup>31</sup> The essential social services had to be established to enable the community to function efficiently. Credit facilities, stores, medical services, local government, social and economic organisations multiplied under the internal dynamic induced initially by the Woodville Small Farm Association, and later reinforced by the Heretaunga, Victoria and Bush Mills Small Farm Associations.<sup>32</sup> Nearly all the Woodville Small Farm Association members had some capital varying between £100 to £1000.<sup>33</sup> As well

---

30. HBH 26 October 1879.

31. Sowry/Ormond 1 May 1876 HB 7/1(u). HBH 2 May 1876.

32. See 18-19 below.

33. HBH 2 May 1876.

as fostering the creation of institutional structures, the Woodville association supplied a competent leader, Joseph Sowry (whose organisational capacities were reflected in his membership of many organisations); and the occupations of its members provided many of the rudimentary skills required in the formation of an infant community.

Another significant aspect of the membership was that apart from two members, all were adherents of the Waipawa Free Methodist Church,<sup>34</sup> thus providing a degree of socio-religious cohesion, conducive to community solidarity on the frontier. The ballot for deferred payment for land differed considerably from the usual procedure: many friends and neighbours in Waipawa deliberately selected sections next to each other. A community had to be created before it had even settled in Woodville; personal relationships had already been cemented through established patterns of social intercourse. As a result of the formation of the Association, the Waipawa Church was closed for some years. Methodism, because of its flexible circuit system and local recruitment of ministers, seemed to flourish on the Woodville frontier, even at the initial expense of Anglicanism. The predominance of the Methodist faith, although divided between Free and Primitive Methodists, was to be important in the future. The strong temperance element influenced licensing elections and polls. It also helped to create civilising social gatherings such as tea parties, concerts and Boxing Day fetes. Joseph Sowry was the proprietor of the Temperance Hotel.<sup>35</sup>

Immediately after the formation of the Woodville Small Farm Association, Ormond, overwhelmed by more settler pressure, encouraged the formation of the Heretaunga, Victoria and Bush Mills Small Farm

---

34. The New Zealand Methodist Magazine, 16 July 1887, 7; in Arnold, 125.

35. WE adv 13 October 1883.

Associations<sup>36</sup> (Figure 4). On 2 March 1878, the Hawke's Bay Herald reported:

In all these associations the class of settlers appears to be excellent. There is a strong element of farmers, supplemented by carpenters, sawyers, bushmen and tradesmen of various descriptions .... These settlements alone are sufficient to make the Seventy-Mile Bush a very prosperous district.

Settlement of Woodville's immediate hinterland to that adjoining the periphery of Dannevirke was ensured, all contributing to the progress and growth of the central business nucleus. These associations soon formed concentric zones of frontier activity: clearing bush, sowing pasture, constructing roads, fences and more permanent dwellings, creating their own business and social organisations, establishing personal ties and a recognized system of authority, and demanding control over expenditure of local rates through internalised forms of local government within stabilised boundaries. The Woodville periphery was becoming spatially organised into a number of local bodies, including the Heretaunga, Kumeroa and Mangaatua Road Board Districts. By 1879 the Woodville Special Settlement had the appearance of a prosperous community, with most of the bush burnt and felled having "... fences, cattle and comfortable houses taking the place of temporary huts ...."<sup>37</sup> On 18 September 1880 a correspondent to the Hawke's Bay Herald claimed that the Heretaunga Association was making rapid progress, with the bush disappearing at a rapid rate: "... in none of the other special settlements has progress been made as here ...."

---

36. Sowry/Ormond 1 May 1876 HB 7/1(u). Bush Mills: HBH 2 March 1877, 29 March 1878, 4 October 1879, 19 April 18 June 1880. Regulations NZG Vol.I 1878, 627. Heretaunga: HBH 6 February 2 March 1877, 18 June 20 October 1880. Also Ormond/Colonial Secretary 20 October 1876 HB 6/10 (201-3); Ormond/W.J. Graham 30 October 1 November 1876 HB 6/10 (207, 218) and Ormond/Thompson 5 December 1876 HB 6/10 (237); Proclamation/Ormond 13 October HB 7/2(e); Regulations NZG Vol.II, 1877, 943-4. Victoria: NZG Vol.II 1877, 943-5; HBH 2 March 1877, 12 October 1878, 30 January 15 February 10 May 4 June 1880.

37. HBH 24 October 1879.

As a result the bush frontier receded with great rapidity, with some of the forest being sawn into timber, but most of it was destroyed by fire to make way for pasture. A vivid description of the bush-burn is given in the following account:

... Dante's Inferno can best describe it, by night the hills around would be lit up by a 100 deacon lights, by day the heat, smoke and ashes were unbearable, many a settler had to bank up his home and get to the nearest creek and lie down for fear of suffocation ....<sup>38</sup>

Out of these common experiences grew a particular mental set among the bush settlers, which in 1886 flowered into the Seventy-Mile Bush Settlers' Association.

The sociological implications of Small Farm Association colonisation were also significant. The introduction of families<sup>39</sup> and females by these Small Farm Associations helped to create a population approaching a relatively normal age-sex structure, thus inducing an important civilising and socializing influence. The 1881 Census specifies that the Woodville Small Farm Association's population of 217 contained 114 males and 103 females, while the Heretaunga block proved the exception in having 30 males and 9 females (Table I). The overall pattern was reaching a balance between the sexes. In 1881 the population of Woodville Riding was divided between 446 males and 305 females, with work camps probably accentuating the male predominance.

---

38. Mrs J.A. Hutchings, "Early Woodville" (personal recollections, undated). Available from the Woodville Pioneer Museum.

39. These were nucleated families i.e. composed solely of father, mother and children: built for the mobility evident on the frontier, c.f. Joan Stevens, "The Family in New Zealand Fiction", in The New Zealand Family and Child Development (Association for the Study of Childhood, Wellington, 1969), 11-20.

TABLE I            Population and Sex Structure 1878 and 1881

1878	<u>Woodville Riding</u>	Total	Male	Female
	Woodville	260	159	101
	Dannevirke	167	102	65
1881	<u>Woodville Riding</u>			
	Dannevirke Town	128	74	54
	Heretaunga Block	39	30	9
	Kaitoki Station	12	10	2
	Kumeroa	24	16	8
	Mangapuaka Station	5	5	-
	Mangatoro Station	29	24	5
	Oringi	22	14	8
	Tahoraite	18	11	7
	Victoria Block	41	25	16
	Woodville Town	70	39	31
	Woodville Vicinity	166	104	62
	Woodville Small Farm Association	217	114	103
	Total	771	446	305

Source: N.Z. Census 1878, 1881.

The age structure of the population, as far as it can be deduced by looking at school attendance and the Registrar of the Friendly Societies records in the Appendices, was relatively youthful, with the largest numbers falling in the 0-15 to 25-40 age brackets. Though this is in part conjecture, it is certain that Woodville's population was rapidly becoming less transient and more permanent in nature.

#### IV. Pattern of Settlement

The early pattern of Woodville's development conforms to a large degree to the model suggested by Oliver in his lecture Towards

a New History?<sup>40</sup> concerning the settlement of second-stage frontiers. Although recruitment did occur from the land to the land, the limited evidence suggests that most of the original inhabitants settled on the land via a rural apprenticeship, normally bush-felling and road and rail labouring. Because most of the employment was transient in nature, colonisation of Woodville usually involved sequential migration, i.e. a succession of short waves governed by employment prospects. Perhaps a typical pattern entailed a series of short moves, commencing from Napier in order to carry out road or rail formation contracts with the settler eventually accumulating enough capital to procure a section on the deferred payment system, in turn gaining a higher rural status. Therefore, the process usually involved social as well as geographical mobility. Moreover certain interest groups played a predominant role in influencing the early pattern of Woodville's settlement. The most notable of these were the small farmers and the land speculators. Following Oliver's model, the Woodville rural community, through the introduction of a series of Small Farm Associations and the associated matrix of skills, did come into existence at all levels simultaneously, and was stratified from the beginning,<sup>41</sup> containing recognisable leaders whose positions were based on achieved status.

---

40. Oliver, 20.

41. See 51 below.

CHAPTER IIINTERACTION AND INTEGRATIONPART I: THE STATE

The importance of the State on the Woodville frontier lay in its provision of land for settlement, communication and transport facilities, loans for local bodies, authority and legal procedure, and a political framework. Constant interaction between the frontier and the state helped to integrate the new society with the old. Development in Woodville was complicated by the varying degrees of state sympathy, fluctuating with the changing ministeries and economic situation over the period 1874 to 1887. The degree and type of state sympathy often acted as a fluctuative developmental barometer on the frontier, as reflected in the intermittent progress of rail from Norsewood between 1877 to 1887 (particularly in 1884 when Atkinson removed the railway surveyors and engineers to complete work in his Taranaki electorate), the occasional inertia experienced in opening lands for settlement, and the sporadic 'reluctance' (according to local residents) of the state to provide adequate communication, road and rail services. It was at these points of concern where informal political associations and the bush politician assumed vital importance, pressing government with their demands, bridging the gap between frontier and centre by attempting to harmonise state demands with local conditions.

With the onset of the depression during the early 1880's, the small farmers of Woodville met a series of frustrations. A constant shortage of credit and the reluctance of some ministeries to open land, fostered the development of a small farmer mentality in Woodville. A heightened sense of political consciousness developed on the frontier, directed at those who were believed to wish to retard the small bush farmer's aspirations, notably the Maori land-lockers, land speculators and the Napier and Waipawa runholders. Consequently informal political associations such as the Woodville Settlers' Association, a vigilance committee formed

in 1884, organised deputations, petitions and constantly placed pressure on visiting government officials and the local M.H.R. with their demands.

### Land Settlement

Most of the land in the Woodville district was settled on the deferred payment tenure, systematised by the 1877 Land Act and continued in the 1885 Land Act.<sup>1</sup> Severe restrictions were enforced to prevent land speculators from acquiring deferred payment land. The maximum area that could be held in one allotment was twenty acres of suburban land or 320 acres of rural land. The deposit on application was one-tenth of the price in suburban land, one-twentieth in rural land, and the total price was payable in equal half-yearly instalments over a period of five years for suburban land and ten years for rural land. One third of the price of the land was handed over to the local authority to be expended on the formation or improving of access roads to the land from which the money was collected. Personal residence of the settler was compulsory, while improvements equivalent to £1 per acre had to be carried out within six years from the date of purchase, in addition to the cultivation of one-fifth of the area within four years of selection. Apart from a few minor changes in the 1882 and 1884 Land Act Amendments, the deferred payment regulations remained relatively unchanged until the Land Act of 1885. Under the provisions of Special Settlement, deferred payment and perpetual lease were modified by regulations restricting perpetual lease to 200 acres and deferred payment tenure to 150 acres. The residential clause was relaxed and the price of land still remained at £1 per acre. The village-homestead special settlement system was also modified in 1886, allowing for perpetual lease of an area not above 50 acres, monetary assistance of £20 to

---

1. Most of the following paragraph is based on W.R. Jourdain, Land Legislation and Settlement, New Zealand Department of Lands and Surveys (Wellington, 1925), 25-31.

construct a house, and in bush land £2.10s. an acre to assist in clearing the first twenty acres. These favourable conditions were designed to encourage the unemployed to move from the towns to the country. Provisions in the 1885 Land Act were further modified in 1887, whereby the freehold deferred payment license could be acquired as soon as improvements were carried out. Moreover, a deferred payment license could be extended from ten to fourteen years, over which the payment could be spread.

But what of the practical application of land legislation on the frontier? (Table II). During the initial years, from 1878 to 1884, most of the land in the district was sold on deferred payment or directly for cash. After 1884 some land was opened on perpetual lease, small farm village allotments and the village-homestead special settlement system. Table II outlines the different types of land legislation implemented on the Woodville periphery. Column I lists the approximate date of sale; Column II records the form of purchase of the section, cash by sale or application, deferred payment, special settlement, auction, village allotments, perpetual lease and the like; and Column III, where possible, provides a description of the type or locality of the sections available. In 1874 'S' denotes the sections advertised in the Hawke's Bay Gazette's land schedules. Between 1875-6 'R' denotes the sale returns, recorded in the Hawke's Bay Gazette, of the land schedules of 1874.

TABLE II The Application of Land Legislation on the  
Woodville frontier between 1874-1887<sup>2</sup>

	I	II	III
	Date	Type of Purchase	Description
S	1874 November	Cash sale and/or application	Town, suburban, rural
R	1875 January	"	" " "
	February	"	" " "
	April	"	" " "
	May	"	" " "
	June	"	" " "
	1876 January	"	" " "
	February	"	" " "
	March	"	" " "
	April	"	" " "
	May	"	" " "
	June	"	" " "
	July	"	" " "
	August	"	" " "
	"	Special Settlement, deferred payment	Woodville Small Farm Association. Rural.
	September	Cash	
1877	September	Special Settlement, deferred payment	Heretaunga and Victoria Small Farm Association. Rural.
1878	May	Special Settlement, deferred payment	Bush Mills. Rural.
	October	Cash by auction	Rural.
1879		Cash by auction and deferred payment	Town, rural.
1880		1. deferred payment	Woodville, Tahoraite.
		2. Village allotments cash and deferred payment	Kumeroa.
		3. Small farm allotments by cash and deferred payment	Kumeroa, Tahoraite.

2. This table was compiled from the Hawke's Bay Gazettes 1875-6, Vol. XV No. 36, 46, 51, 59, 60, 61 and Vol. XVI 7, 8, 12, 13, 23, 26, 28, 30. The period 1877-1887 was based on the New Zealand Gazettes 1877-1887.

TABLE II (cont.)

I Date	II Type of Purchase	III Description
1882	1. deferred payment	Woodville Blocks VI, IX.
	2. Cash small farm allotments	Kumeroa.
	3. Cash	Bush Mills and Victoria.
	4. Auction, cash and deferred payment of Small Farm allotments	Woodville.
1883	1. deferred payment	Bush Mills.
	2. Cash by application	Woodville Blocks VI, IX.
	3. deferred payment	Woodville Block IX.
	4. Cash and deferred payment of small farm allotments	Kumeroa.
	5. deferred payment	Bush Mills.
1884	1. deferred payment	Woodville Block XI.
	2. Village settlement	Kumeroa.
	3. Cash for village settlement	Kumeroa.
1885	Lease for 21 years	Woodville Blocks IV, IX, XIII.
1886	Perpetual Lease	Woodville Special Village Settlement.
	Woodville Homestead Special Settlement	
1887	Small Farm Allotments	Victoria.
	Woodville-Mangahao Special Settlement.	

### Local Reaction

Reactions to different forms of land legislation were evident on various, often interacting levels. On the local level, interaction involved a dual process: constant pressure on government to open land; and suggested modification of clauses to make them more applicable to bush conditions. For instance in November 1883 a deputation met Rolleston, the Minister of Crown Lands, asking him to open the Maharahara, Mangahao and Mangatainoka blocks for settlement.<sup>3</sup> In January 1884 the government announced that the Mangahao and Mangatainoka blocks would be sold on deferred payment tenure.<sup>4</sup> Woodville settlers persistently attacked any attempts to check land settlement. Common targets were Maori landowners and large scale speculators who reaped the benefit of the unearned increment.<sup>5</sup> The local settlers were also highly suspicious of the activities of the Waste Lands Board, which was mainly composed of nominated large runholders, and of the Waipawa County Council which seemed to divert Woodville rates to secure roads for Waipawa squatters.<sup>6</sup> This situation led to a movement to internalise and stabilise Woodville's own county boundaries, calling for Dannevirke's and Pahiatua's support to help cut down Waipawa County by carving out new counties.<sup>7</sup>

Land regulations were often discussed by the local settlers, not only in an attempt to make them more adaptable to bush conditions,

- 
3. WE 22 November 1883.
  4. WE 18 January 1884.
  5. For land speculators see WE 18 January 1884; associated with the Napier Corporation Reserve 17 June 1884; and 27 November 1885. Maori landlords see WE 11, 17 November 12, 22 December 1883, 11 January 25 February 1884.
  6. Waste Lands Board, WE 29 January 4 March 8 April 9 May 1884, 13 May 18 July 1885; call for elective Lands Boards 13 July 1884. Waipawa County Council attacked, 17 October 1884.
  7. Movement for County separation see WE 7, 10, 17 November 1, 5, 8, 12 December 1883, 11, 25 January 1, 29 (calling for Pahiatua's aid) February 1884, 21 July 3 November 1885, 11 June 1886, 15 April 1887.

but also to check the detrimental effects of the absentee land speculators. In October 1879 Joseph Sowry (the promoter and leader of the Woodville Small Farm Association), reviewing the deferred payment system, suggested that the improvement and residential clauses should be modified to prevent absenteeism and allow the small holders to settle.<sup>8</sup>

In May 1884 a sub-committee of the Settlers' Association<sup>9</sup> submitted a draft to government outlining a land settlement scheme more congenial to the bush situation. The scheme specified that no bush land, apart from town and totara sections, should be sold for cash, and any new land should be opened into two classes of rural sections. The first class should consist of deferred payment sections of 150-320 acres of agricultural land and 640 acres of pastoral land, entailing improvement and residence conditions. In the second class, deferred payment sections of 100-150 acres were to be sold at a low upset price, with conditions of improvement and bona fide residence after 18 months from the date of sale.<sup>10</sup> These suggestions were elaborated in August 1884 when the Settlers' Association stipulated that to prevent absenteeism pastoral lands should be sold on deferred payment while agricultural lands should be subdivided into sections of 500-600 acres interspersed with small allotments from 100-200 acres. Residence on the smaller holdings should be made compulsory but the larger holdings should only have to complete improvement clauses; thus "... the capitalist, confined to the larger blocks [causes]... no hardship for the poor man to reside on his land ...."<sup>11</sup> In essence the Association was suggesting a symbiotic relationship between speculator and bona fide settler in

---

8. HBH 20 October 1879.

9. See 31 below.

10. WE 16 May 1884.

11. WE 26 August 1884. For the Minister of Lands' reaction see WE 20 October 1884. His basic argument was that most of the conditions suggested could be met under the existing land legislation.

which residents could find additional employment from those absentee owners who were prepared to work their holdings, thus engendering a harmonious instead of a disjunctive partnership, typical of attempts to gain a concensus under the abrasive conditions of the frontier.

The local M.H.R. also acted as a mediator, trying to harmonise interaction on this issue of land settlement, between the central government and Woodville agrarian interests. In 1879, Ormond<sup>12</sup> asked the Minister of Lands to relax the Waste Lands Board's enforcement of the deferred payment improvement clause in the Seventy-Mile Bush area, where it was obvious that bona fide settlement was being carried out.<sup>13</sup> W.C. Smith,<sup>14</sup> commenting on the 1885 Land Bill, complained that while the land laws were good in theory, in practice they were poorly administered by the Lands Department, which held bush land in the Forty-Mile Bush district, hoping to attain higher prices once rail was introduced. Smith, reflecting and epitomising the attitude of the Woodville settlers, was also highly critical of the activities of the Waste Land Board (which did not represent the small settlers interests), as well as the freehold system:

... in ... my own district, the freehold system has been of great disadvantage to the country. Why? It has caused people to take up large blocks of land as a matter of speculation .... They have taken up the cream of the districts for speculative purposes, and have monopolized it because it is freehold. Under the leasing system it would not pay them to do so .... settlers see that ... where there is land sold right out, in most cases it is brought up by speculators and the value of this land is enormously increased by the improvements which the small settlers on lease or on deferred payment tenure effect upon their holdings.<sup>15</sup>

---

12. Member for Clive from 1861 to 1881.

13. PD 1879 Vol.31, 511.

14. Member for Waipawa from 1881 to 1887 and for Woodville 1887 to 1890.

15. PD 1885 Vol.52, 76.

Local pressure became more sophisticated with the formation of the Woodville Settlers' Association in March 1884.<sup>16</sup> This organisation, which arose out of the controversy over the stoppage of railway surveys between Tahoraite and Woodville in January 1884, held frequent meetings and formulated proposed amendments for the Land Acts, as well as organising petitions and deputations to government. For example, a meeting held in early March 1884 discussed the disposal of Crown lands, an equitable imposition of tax, the construction and maintenance of roads, progress in railway works, prospects and management of the dairy factory as well as the general condition of agricultural and pastoral affairs. By 1886 the formation of the Seventy-Mile Bush Settlers' Association crystallised the demands that grew out of a bush settler mentality, having its base in the five Small Farm Associations that formed a continuous line from Makaretu to Woodville. These included the Woodville, Heretaunga, Victoria, Bush Mills and Waipukurau Small Farm Associations. Because of the lack of evidence the precise localities and sphere of influence of the Seventy-Mile Bush Settlers' Association cannot be ascertained: but it does seem to have been centred upon the northern end of the region. Before 1886 there were earlier instances of regional cooperation, such as the support received from Dannevirke and Pahiatua concerning the abolition of the existing Waipawa County boundaries,<sup>17</sup> and the creation of a Bush fire relief fund in February 1886 (realising £1,556 by June 1886): but none of these attempts were co-ordinated into a formalised regional body.

The beginnings of regional cooperation occurred in April 1884 when the Wairarapa Settlers' Association asked its Woodville counterpart to cooperate in agitating for the improvement of railway management and the abolition of the free pass system on the railways

---

16. Its formation was suggested in the WE 29 January 1884; it was formally inaugurated in early March 1884.

17. WE 12 December 1883 (Dannevirke), 29 February 1884 (Pahiatua).

which favoured the northern districts.<sup>18</sup> But the real initiative came from Dannevirke in April 1886 when several issues came to the fore "... that would have an important bearing on the future prosperity of bush districts ....",<sup>19</sup> including the unfair railway tariffs favouring the upper half of Hawke's Bay and matters associated with road construction and land administration. In May 1886 the Seventy-Mile Bush Settlement Association was formally inaugurated, consisting of a central committee and a series of local branches, with W.C. Smith, T.W. Carlile and E.A. Haggan representing Woodville's interests.<sup>20</sup> General demands discussed at the Central Committee meeting were concentrated on the reduction of railway rates on timber, the introduction of regulations to prevent the destruction of valuable timber on sections under deferred payment and perpetual lease, and the abolition of accumulation voting at school elections: grievances were both inward and outward. At a meeting held at Woodville's local centre, Maharahara, the committee outlined the importance of unity through joint action in securing a better administration and legislation for bush districts, maintaining that nearly all the legislation favoured towns and large cities, because of their ability to organise and exert pressure to support their interests. The accumulation of small holdings into large estates was another major grievance: settlers having little capital resources, because of the low prices they received for their produce, were compelled to resort to moneylenders with high interest rates to carry out improvements, thus crippling themselves with mortgages. Some of the richest districts, originally settled on deferred payment tenure, were passing into the hands of loan companies. The committee proposed that government should lend money at low interest rates to settlers for improvements. This proposal, according to the committee, would in turn benefit the state and settler through alleviating the unemployment problem by keeping people on the land and increasing

---

18. WE 1 April 1884. ~~See 15-16 above.~~

19. WE 22 April 1886.

20. WE 7 May 1886.

railway passenger and produce traffic as well as helping to develop local resources.<sup>21</sup> These demands were indicative of a bush small farmer ideology existent on the Woodville frontier. The development of the Seventy-Mile Settlers' Association therefore marked the beginnings of some form of sectional regional consciousness: specific problems could be resolved through general solutions. The Seventy-Mile Bush had assumed an ideological as well as a geographical meaning. The idea of wider community involvement based on shared value orientations was becoming a reality, confirmed by the formation of a more encompassing voluntary association.

#### The utilisation of state agencies

Attempts to harmonise and ensure the maximum local benefit of interaction between the Woodville periphery and the colonial government, were also reflected in the attempts to gain adequate transport and communication services, the utilisation of the electoral machinery, and the zeal with which the Resident Magistrate's Court was implemented. Woodville residents, in order to gain recognition as a successful colonial experiment, wanted to become more like the established areas of the colony by securing the requisite services: roads, rail, communication services, a court and a better chance of occupational advancement through the acquisition of the country's resources, particularly land.

Thus it is easy to see why road and rail construction, telegraphic and postal services were also matters of vital interest among Woodville settlers. This concern was especially displayed in the indignation meetings held over the introduction of mail and telegram services in 1883, the stoppage of the railway surveys by Atkinson in January 1884, the controversy over the location of the railway station site in February 1885, and the imposition of the toll-gates (three within four miles at the Gorge, and one at

---

21. NE 27 August 1886.

Ngawarapurua).<sup>22</sup>

Before 1871 the Gorge road was a mere bridle track, but by 1875 it was wide enough for vehicular traffic. Punts and ferries existed at Ngwarapurua before 1885 and at the Gorge before 1875 (Plate 2). Physical contact with the outside world was continually hampered by flooding and slips in the Gorge, which drew heavily on local rates for bridge and road repairs. The establishment of toll-gates at the entrances of Woodville was greatly resented by local businessmen who, because they imported goods from Foxton, were forced to increase their prices. With the opening of the Gorge bridge in 1875 coaches passed through Woodville daily. Before the railway connection in 1887 a trip to Napier involved several different modes of transport before meeting the advancing rail head. This greatly impeded the selling of Woodville produce in the Napier market, especially dairy and other perishable goods such as fruit. The opening of the Ngwarapurua bridge in 1885 eliminated what the settlers felt was an embarrassing dependence on the inefficient and unreliable Maori ferry system.<sup>23</sup> By 1883 Woodville had acquired mail and telegraphic services. Woodville thus existed in a state of optimum isolation i.e. in an event of an emergency physical contact with the outside world was possible. Through persistent agitation Woodville settlers procured the essential links which helped facilitate integration within colonial society: the Woodville frontier was therefore close to rather than isolated from the rest of New Zealand.<sup>24</sup>

An adequate communication network also assisted the implementation

---

22. Mail and telegraph services: HBH 2 May 1878, 7 March 12 December 1879; WE 3, 7 October 1883, 18 April 1884, 6 April 1886; WM 10 December 1879; NZM 6 April 1886. Stoppage of railway surveys: WE 22, 29 January 15, 18 February 1884. Railway station site: NZM 6, 13 February 13 March 29 May 28 August 1885; WM 17 January 14 February 4 April 1885. Toll-gates: NZM 24 March 1887; WE 8 January 1884, 29 October 1886, 14 January 1887.

23. WE 16 July 1885; NZM 31 July 1885.

24. Oliver, Towards, 21.

of the electoral machinery in Woodville by helping to reduce the distance between local and national political levels.<sup>25</sup> Elections served two functions which were manifest and latent respectively. One of these was choosing a local advocate and the other integrating Woodville into colonial society. Great interest, as reflected through attendance, was taken in election speeches. In Woodville, although issues such as land tax, religious or secular education, temperance, custom duties and an elective upper house did influence election decisions, personality and/or background were just as important as policy in deciding a candidate's success or failure. Strong ideological overtones, reflecting Arnold's 'yeoman ideal' were evident, as exemplified by a Woodville correspondent's comment concerning Mr Tanner, a squatter and candidate for Waipawa during the 1884 election campaign:

I would not support a man who has no political convictions except those of preventing as far as possible the properties of autocratic circles paying its [sic] share of taxation, a man who would not work or vote for the equality of man and a fair division in the laws of taxation, as would put the tax more fairly on the large property holders, who are able and ought to be made to bear the full share ....<sup>26</sup>

It was W.C. Smith, the successful candidate in the 1884 elections, who became identified with the small farmer ideology in Woodville. To the local inhabitants he was an apt bush politician, constantly pressing for their rights: "Bush settlers could never find a better champion than he has proved himself during the last session ...."<sup>27</sup> It is easy to see how Smith acquired such a reputation by analysing one of his speeches in the House upon the 1885 Land Bill.

[At Woodville]... frontages were bought for the purposes of speculation, and the owners find an

---

25. Woodville came under three different electorates between 1874 to 1887: (1) the Clive electorate 1876-1881 (2) the Waipawa electorate 1881-1887 (3) the Woodville electorate 1887.

26. NZM 16 May 1884. The underlining in this and the following quotations is mine, unless stated otherwise.

27. WE 18 July 1884.

increase in some cases of 500 to 600 percent without doing anything at all to the land. Had the Minister of Lands of the day disposed of that land on deferred payment, see how much better off that the district would be .... the real settlers .... [t]o their credit have managed to make a living; but if honourable members knew the hardships they endure they would have great sympathy for these people. We find the wife of a settler perishing in that district when going out for her cows. There are three to four hundred families located on the land to the Ruahine ranges. They were put there in order that large owners might get cheap labour and they have no outlet except by going a long way round. The people there endure great hardships .... These people had bad roads, and yet pay their share of all the taxes, and up to the present time they have managed without any outside assistance for roads or help of any kind. These are the people want assistance, and not those who have got railways to their doors, and have land well opened with roads at the expense of the state. It is the settlers who have gone into the back country who are the backbone of the country ....<sup>28</sup>

While the electoral structure, furnished with adequate communication links, helped to incorporate Woodville within the colonial political framework, the establishment of a Resident Magistrate's Court on a monthly basis after 1883 acted as a regulating mechanism, providing the machinery for the resolution of tension on the frontier. Convictions for drunkenness figured prominently and in 1886 the Resident Magistrate "... was determined to deal with the utmost severity all persons convicted of sly-grog selling ...."<sup>29</sup> In October 1885 concern was expressed by the temperance interest group over the twenty men who were found drunk on the main street in one week<sup>30</sup> (Table III). The local licensing committee often appealed to the Court to prohibit the selling of alcoholic liquor to certain individuals, as was done in this case.<sup>31</sup>

---

28. PD 1885 Vol.52, 77.

29. WE 6 October 1885. In March 1887 three men were convicted of grog-selling in the Gorge.

30. NZM 30 October 1885.

31. NZM 13 November 1885.

Resident Magistrate Court records in the Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand from 1883 to 1887 confirm newspaper accounts that drunkenness was the most prevalent offence.

TABLE III Resident Magistrate Court Convictions 1883-1887

	Number Committed for Trial		Offences Against Person		Property		Drunkenness		Others	
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1883	8	-	-	-	1	-	6	-	1	-
1884	18	-	-	-	-	-	11	-	7	-
1885	36	1	11	-	2	1	10	-	1	-
1886	114	2	6	-	5	-	78	1	25	-
1887	101	1	9	-	7	-	52	-	33	-

Source Statistics 1883-1887.

The lack of female offenders also supports the contention that women played a decisive socializing and civilising role on the frontier.

The state therefore played an important role in providing land for settlement, communication and transport services, authority and legal procedure, and a political framework on the Woodville frontier. Woodville residents constantly utilised state agencies and conventional institutional organs in an attempt to modify colonial government policies so they would be more congenial to the local situation: interaction helped to accommodate the new society with the old, harmonising relations between Woodville and the central government. These tendencies were reinforced by the integrative influence of local political, social and economic institutions.

## PART II: INSTANT COMMUNITY

Community or society, in order to function efficiently, is composed of a matrix of subsystems i.e. a group of interacting institutional spheres which form a unity, a complex whole. Society is an overall social system composed of interacting

subsystems of politics, the family, voluntary associations, business, education, religion and social stratification. The interaction among these subsystems is reciprocal, working through norms (a set of common standards of behaviour), mitigating dissent and encouraging consensus.

(a) Local official organisations

Woodville soon acquired a spectrum of local official institutions all arising from and further stimulating local initiative. While the state provided the institutional means that were readily used to resolve social tension on the frontier, the development of local official organisations strengthened this tendency. Provision was made not only for constant community involvement through local elections, ratepayers votes, licensing elections and polls, indignation meetings and military recruitment, all catering for a variety of pressures from different interest groups; but also conformity through the enforcement of the local by-laws and collection of rates, by establishing a legitimate source of authority in electing leaders whose position was based on achieved status.

In 1876 the Woodville settlers formed a Road Board, which came under the jurisdiction of the Waipawa County Council. From the beginning Woodville residents were dissatisfied with this arrangement, claiming that the formation of a separate county would ensure that Woodville would reap the full benefit of her rates rather than see them expended on roads for Waipawa runholders. The following report sums up the attitude and success of the Woodville residents' movement to internalise the use of local resources by ensuring, through the demarcation of legal boundaries and the creation of a legal authority within them, a reduction of external political interference:

So far as the Bush is concerned the County system has been a failure .... [~~for~~] big squattocrats of Waipawa have fed on the struggling bush settlements and if a measure is brought forward [~~to separate~~] it is generally rejected ... [~~for the~~] big runholders have the majority of votes. The interests of the small farmers and squatters ... are directly antagonistic .... Rates are far better expended in the districts they are collected .... if there must be Counties let the bush form its own ...

instead of pampering the fatted calf of the Waipawa squattocracy.<sup>32</sup>

The Road Board, after taking a ratepayer's vote, frequently made application for loans under the Roads and Bridges Construction Act.<sup>33</sup> Woodville residents continually pressed government to spend more money on country roads, arguing that "... if only half the money which is wasted on political railways had been expended on good roads, New Zealand would be in a better condition ...." and "... if the lands remain inaccessible stagnation of the district is possible ...."<sup>34</sup> The comparative influence of State and local expenditure is displayed in Table IV.

TABLE IV      The amount of State and Local government expenditure 1877-1887

		£ Government	Local Rates
1877	Riding of Woodville	10. 5. 6	64. 5. 0
1878	" " "	-	-
1879	" " "	63.13. 9	198. 0. 0
1880	" " "	129. 0. 9	134. 6. 7
1881	" " "	299. 0. 0	155.14.11
1882	" " "	-	237.19. 9
1883	" " "	224. 4. 0	313. 4. 0
1884	Town Board	-	-
1885	" "	-	-
1886	" "	-	229. 7. 3
1887	Borough	38. 0. 0	418.11. 0

Source Statistics 1877-1887. Where gaps exist statistical information is unavailable.

32. WE 7 October 1887. The underlining is mine to emphasize Arnold's contention of the competing 'yeoman' and 'gentry' conceptions. See 15-16 above.

33. WE 28 October 1884.

34. WE 22 September 1885 and 7 September 1886 respectively.

Competition and disagreement among various interest groups often found institutional solutions. In December 1884 Woodville was gazetted as a Town District<sup>35</sup> (Appendix A). This was largely caused by the jealousy between town and country over the allocation of rate expenditure, the need to improve sanitary conditions, and to abate the cattle straying nuisance.<sup>36</sup> The Town Board proved to be an active organisation, improving sewerage facilities, forming roads and footpaths as well as applying pressure on town dwellers to conform to a comprehensive set of local by-laws, particularly the one that required owners who subdivided their properties to form and metal streets,<sup>37</sup> which saved the Board and ratepayers about £7,000 over two years. Occasionally there was some disagreement between the ratepayers and Board members over matters of electoral procedure and the amount and allocation of capital from the government.

The Woodville Licensing Committee (Appendix A), which complemented the creation of the Town Board in 1884, also played a significant role in providing the apparatus that induced people to become involved in community affairs. The local Licensing Bench had the power to grant or withdraw hotel licenses, and thus the Licensing Committee elections were keenly contested between the Temperance (Blue Ribbon Army) and the publican's parties or interest groups (such as the Licensed Victualles' Association) in the district. Voluntary military recruitment also helped to integrate the community. Perhaps as a result of Te Kooti's exploits in 1833,<sup>38</sup> coupled with Maori troubles in Taranaki, a Volunteer Corps was formed in 1885,

---

35. NZG 1884, 1755.

36. NZM 7 October 14 November 1884; review of, 16 January 1885; election for, 6 February 1885. TM 14 November 1884. Desire for, WE 10 October 7 November 1884; a good review of, WE 7 September 1886.

37. Clause 24 of the Municipal Corporations Act. See WE 7 September 1886.

38. Hutchings, "Early Woodville", records that Te Kooti and a party of a hundred Maoris stayed in Woodville for a couple of hours, burning part of the school and visiting the Temperance and Club Hotels.

having little difficulty in filling the ranks to a maximum.<sup>39</sup> Local official organisations thus fostered a feeling of involvement via local elections, ratepayers votes, indignation meetings and military recruitment, during the early years of Woodville's development.

(b) Social Institutions and Voluntary associations

The rapid, dense growth of voluntary community institutions, such as the school (1879), the Library, hotels, the Tamaki Cricket Club (1878), the Tennis Club (1886), the Oringi Racing Club (1883), three Friendly Societies, the Ladies Benevolent Society (1887), the Royal Horticultural Society (1883), the Debating Society (reorganised into the Mimic Parliament in 1884), religious organisations, and the Psychological Society (1885), all directed the settlers initial energies to the process of socialization on the frontier.<sup>40</sup> Lipset's concept of 'cross-cutting cleavages' can be applied to this social situation.<sup>41</sup> On the frontier there existed a multiplicity of situations in which members of the various social strata could participate together. This allowed a greater degree of communication between the various strata, mitigating other distinctions which might have led to tension and dissensus.<sup>42</sup> People on the frontier usually acted in a community role rather than as individuals. During the initial years of frontier experience, it was the community rather than the state which took the initiative in installing civilising institutions and regulating patterns of social interaction.

Two examples will suffice to illustrate the process of

---

39. NZM 24 April 11 September 1885. WM 14 July 1885.

40. The best newspaper source for these voluntary associations is the NZM.

41. Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man (1963), 90. His precise term is 'cross-cutting bases of cleavage'.

42. Dissensus means disagreement that is reasonably neutral in nature and does not necessarily contain overtones of social conflict.

socialization<sup>43</sup> and integration on the Woodville frontier: the two boosters;<sup>44</sup> the hotel and school. Both these institutions were microcosms of community life. The construction and the operation of the school was a community concern.<sup>45</sup> The raising of finance, the need to educate their children, and school committee elections cemented the community around school affairs. Its success was a sign of a prosperous experiment. The school buildings themselves served as an integrator, for they were used for many public purposes, such as church services. In this sense it was a neutral institution, for many of the church members were reluctant to hold services in the next largest building, the local hotel. For the children the school represented an agent of integration and socialization outside the family. Teachers recruited from outside Woodville were also incorporated within community affairs; for example W.G. Crawford, the first teacher (1878) owned land, was actively involved in local government and eventually took up a local business in Woodville.<sup>46</sup> The Woodville school was merely one component of a large social system, containing several interacting levels: local school committees, teachers, pupils and the Napier Education Board, with Inspector Hill paying frequent visits<sup>47</sup> (Figure 7).

The local hotel, often representing the first symptom of quest for community, served as a point of contact between outsiders and local settlers. It, like the school during the initial years of settlement, also became a public institution, often providing the venue for Road Board meetings, outside entertainment and public

---

43. A good basic definition of socialization can be found in Frederick Elkin, The Child and Society The Process of Socialization (New York, 1969), 3-7 and 18-19, as well as Chinoy, 133-41.

44. See Boorstin, 149-50.

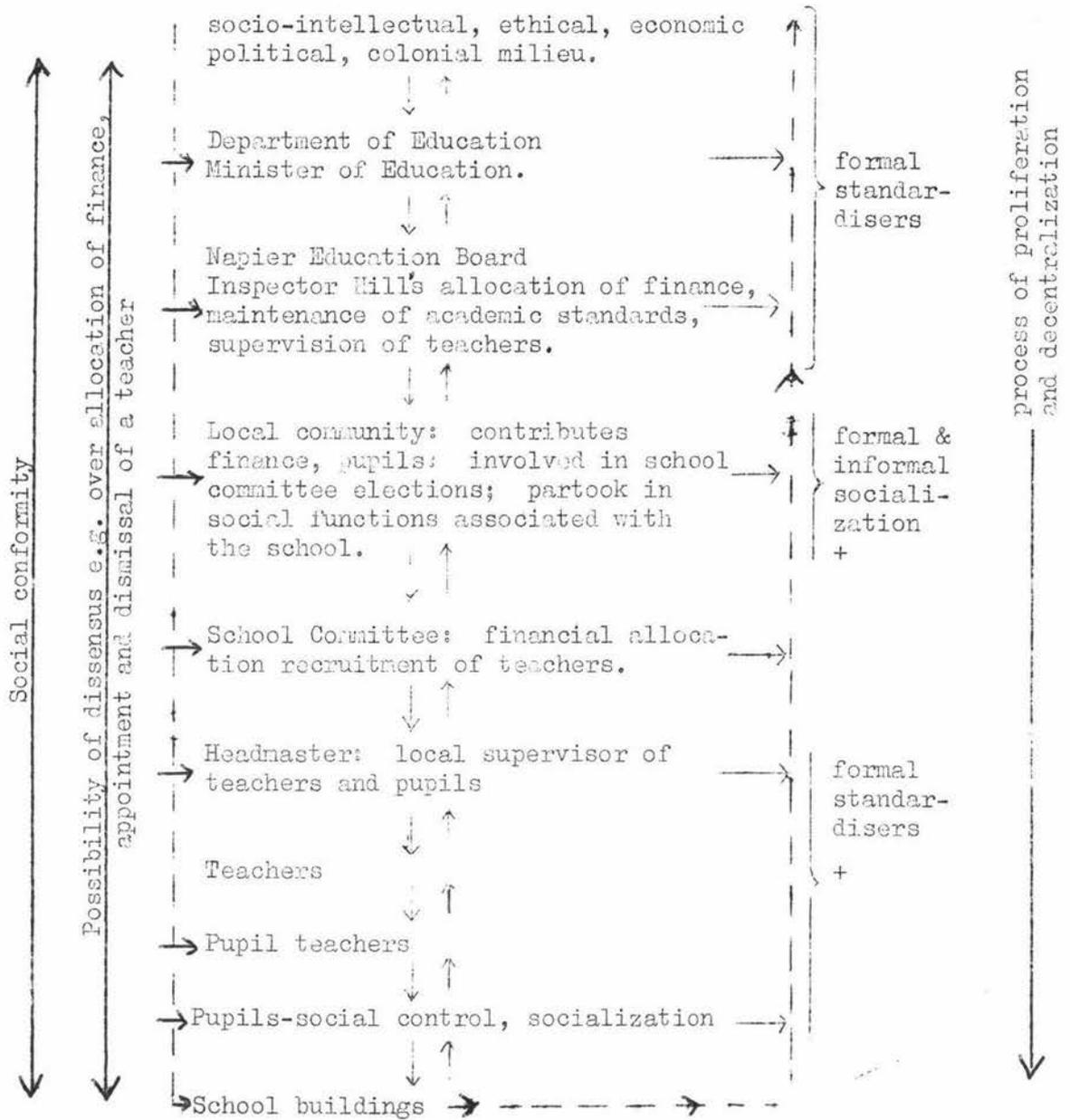
45. Souvenir Booklet, 22-3.

46. NE adv. 26 June 1885.

47. See Reports of the Napier Education Board in AJHR 1880 H1A 642; 1881 E1 64 and 1882 E1 65.

FIGURE 7

The School as an example of a social system



Key  $\longleftrightarrow$  possibility of interaction between each component at different levels.  
 + possibility of informal socialization e.g. fairs, playgrounds, sports, concerts.

A social system is characterised by dynamic interaction between individuals and groups of individuals. These actions are mediated by common standards of behaviour (i.e. norms). The stability of a social system is centred on common norms, which regulate dissensus,

announcements. This blurring of institutional functions was common on the frontier. To cite another example, local church organisations often assumed welfare and educational roles. The district's Anglican clergyman, the Rev. E. Robertshaw<sup>48</sup> tutored the children of the Heretaunga Special Settlement until a permanent teacher arrived.<sup>49</sup> Early church services were conducted on an itinerant basis, with ministers of various denominations taking turns at conducting services.<sup>50</sup> All these organisations may be termed 'neutralising integrators', alleviating tension through communication, interaction and providing the opportunity for cementing personal relationships ranging from distant acquaintances to marriage partners.

Other integrating forces heightened the sense of community involvement. 'Positive integrators', such as leadership, based on diffuse roles (where one individual performs several functions e.g. Joseph Sowry) and achieved status, were essential prerequisites in co-ordinating a new community's activities. A good example of achieved status is exemplified by the Rev. E. Robertshaw's experience:

Arriving one day at a camp of navvies at Oringi he was told to get out or be kicked out. "We want no --- persons here." No whit taken aback, Mr. Robertshawe [sic] took off his coat and invited the aggressive individual who had addressed him to decide in a battle of fists who was the better man. The church triumphed, and the parson from that time was always a welcome visitor at the camp.<sup>51</sup>

In Woodville it was not long before a group of original pioneers assumed an oligarchical role in community affairs entering nearly every conceivable organisation, particularly the decision-making bodies. The most notable of these included J.H. Montieth, T.F. Fountaine, J. Motley, E.A. Hagen, J. Sowry, W.G. Crawford,

---

48. Sometimes spelt Robertshawe; in this study the 'e' is deleted.

49. Arnold, 552-3.

50. Hutchings, "Early Woodville".

51. Richard T. Roberts, "In the Seventy-Mile Bush" in Souvenir Booklet, 79.

P.M. Horne, most of whom were in the first borough council, headed by Mayor Sowry.

'Complementary integrators' included social events ranging from picnics, sport days, local entertainments, horticultural society displays and balls to visiting professional entertainers and the organisation of a grand fete to celebrate momentous occasions, such as the opening of the Ngawapurua bridge in 1885, and the advent of rail from Napier in 1887. Woodville's extra-New Zealand affiliations were displayed in 1886 when the Volunteers were sent to Napier to participate in Queen Victoria's Jubilee celebrations. These social gatherings, which united scattered communities, served several purposes. First, they acted as a form of mental catharsis (i.e. a psychological and social safety-valve), relieving settlers from the boredom and tedium of everyday routine. Second, they provided an opportunity for the local residents to see themselves collectively, praising themselves to outsiders, helping them to perpetuate their dream of a prosperous and successful experiment. Thirdly, these social gatherings reminded settlers that they were civilised, capable of appreciating the finer qualities of life. Land acted as a 'catalytical integrator'; being the basis of the community's livelihood it precluded a distinctive rural-urban break and allowed for a great deal of mobility across the rural-urban border, encouraging an egalitarian spirit and 'openness' characteristic of New Zealand society as a whole.

The relative lack of social violence on the Woodville frontier, and within New Zealand society generally, can be partially explained by the rapid growth of community institutions as well as the haste with which the state institutions were used to regulate, channel and alleviate expressions of frontier dissensus. Coupled with this was the fact that authority on the New Zealand frontier was accessible at different levels, whether it be the family, community, local M.H.R. or state. It must be remembered that the process involved in moving from frontier to establishment was not entirely smooth in nature, for occasional cases of internal tension and exceptional instances of physical violence between the individual

and the agents of socialization were evident in Woodville (Table III). For instance eleven cases of assault during a Kumeroa ball came before the Resident Magistrate's Court in June 1885. But even this exceptional case has to be placed in its proper social context by analysing the two frictional interest groups. The first component was a group of male Gorge railway labourers, situated at the bottom of the social pyramid, who lacked permanent personal and social ties with the local community, thus providing the basis for a different value-orientation system. The second group, the local residents (possibly farmers), had by 1885 cemented a strong sense of community solidarity based on common standards of social behaviour: the ball was an institutional manifestation of this. The local residents probably resented the invasion of a foreign element, sensing that the railway labourers were at the bottom of the social pyramid, coarse and ill-mannered as well as prone to uncontrollable drinking: a blatant affront to the settlers' sense of civilisation. On the other hand latent tension was probably generated by the labourers' feeling of social ostracism, forcing them to conform to the stereotyped image the local residents had of them. As a result physical friction was the ultimate release.

(c) Macro-Micro agents of identity<sup>52</sup>

Associated with the proliferation of voluntary associations was the genesis of community identity. In Woodville micro-agents of identity included: the process of street naming (which was expressive

---

52. Macro-agents may be defined as those agents of identity that expressed predominantly extra-Woodville influences and/or affiliations, typical of colonial society: they may be institutional (e.g. road boards, borough council), social and cultural (external affiliations), personal (family ties) and economic (business connections).

Micro-agents may be defined as those agents of identity that express a distinctly Woodville derivation e.g. uniforms for the local Volunteers, brass-band, sports teams (i.e. in places where Woodville was displayed to outsiders), and the local newspaper. A large number of agents were both macro- and micro- in nature e.g. street naming, see 46-7 below.

of a whole matrix of hierarchical affiliations existent within and without the community); the establishment of a newspaper catering for an identifiable readership; the attempts made by the local Road Board to boundaries in accordance with local reality to the exclusion of outside interference; and the local leaders creating an esprit de corps within the community over certain issues: all of which were generated by the desire to fulfil its predicted destiny as "... one of the most flourishing inland settlements in New Zealand ...."<sup>53</sup>

Perhaps by focusing down on two themes, street naming and the establishment of a newspaper, the sociological as well as the historical significance of these agents of identity can be elucidated. Street names are dual agents of identity, for they are indicative of various types and levels of community identity. Their names can suggest, according to the street's length and the location in relation to the town's centre, the time sequence of settlement and the hierarchical importance of extra-Woodville and local personalities in promoting early community growth, as well as extra-New Zealand origins and affiliations, location (e.g. east, west), geographical features and frontier settlement patterns and activity. A semantic and statistical breakdown of the central area based on the Plan of the Borough of Woodville<sup>54</sup> (1911) is displayed in the following Table.

---

53. HBH 7 January 1876.

54. This map was in too poor a condition to be reproduced for the purposes of this study.

TABLE V      Analysis of Street Names in Woodville Borough

I <u>Macro-agents</u>	Street Name	Frequency
1. Extra-N.Z. affiliations	Gladstone	2
	Gordon	
2. Extra-N.Z. Origins	London	2
	Dublin	
3. Extra-Woodville personalities		
(a) politicians (in approximate order of importance according to length and locality of the street)		
	McLean	
	Vogel	
	Ormond	
	Grey	
	Atkinson	10
	Richardson	
	Pollen	
	Bowen	
	Macandrew	
	Hall	
(b) Others		
Provincial Engineer	Weber	1
II <u>Micro-agents</u>		
(a) local personalities		
	Fountaine	
	Bevan	4
	Pinfold	
	Sowry	
(b) Geographical/Locality		
	East	
	West	3
	Station	
(c) from outside the borough frontier settlement	Bush Mills Road	1
III <u>Unidentifiable</u>		7

General Trends: most of the street names of local personalities occur in the peripheral areas, while a heavy concentration of extra-Woodville politicians and promoters exist in the central borough locality (Figure 5). Perhaps extra-Woodville affiliations dwindled with the emergence of a local community identity, proportional to the growth and stabilisation of permanent settlement.

The newspaper was also another important positive institutional integrator and micro-agent of identity. The role of and need for a newspaper was effectively outlined in the first few editions of the Woodville Examiner.

The time has arrived for the publication of a newspaper that will earnestly devote itself to adequately representing the special and general interests of Woodville. The politics of the Examiner will compromise an earnest, consistent and sustained advocacy of the best interests of Woodville and the important districts around the East Coast, unfettered by Party influence or local prejudice, giving its support only to that which contributes to the welfare of the people which is conducive to the material progress of the Colony. Its platform will be that of the greatest number and the greatest good, and its ambition will be to rank as an influential district journal and outspoken organ of public opinion. Local, district and commercial news will receive full prominence and the proceedings of meetings of the governing bodies and other public assemblies will be faithfully recorded. The aim of the Examiner will be to attain the position of the recognized representative journal of the Woodville and East Coast country districts.<sup>55</sup>

The editor, E.A. Haggan,<sup>56</sup> being active in local affairs occupied a significant position in the local leadership structure. He was a member of the Road Board, the instigator of the Woodville Settlers' Association and a representative on the Seventy-Mile Bush Settlers' Association. The Woodville Examiner was an important reflector and creator of public opinion, especially through reports dealing with local indignation meetings, such as the one held over the stoppage of railway surveys in January 1884. It was also the platform for the small farmer ideology. Because Haggan was close to the community, an intimacy between editor and readership was established, catering for a broad opinion spectrum. Newspaper reading of oversea items, colonial and local news and pleasure articles provided one of the main leisure activities, in turn helping to integrate a reasonably well-informed society within established colonial norms.

---

55. WE 10 October 1883.

56. McMinn was editor from 1883 to early 1884; E.A. Haggan from 1884 to 1887.

Local identity, or community self-consciousness was also fostered by external forces. The phenomena which Boorstin explains by his concept of "competitive communities"<sup>57</sup> were reflected in the columns of the Woodville Examiner, The Waipawa Mail and the Hawke's Bay Herald. One particular instance of community rivalry occurred in 1884 over the location of a railway line. Palmerston North, Waipawa and Napier all advocated the Gorge line, so that large runholders would have direct access to the Wellington market by the already completed West Coast railway. But Woodville, sensing that Palmerston North would benefit at Woodville's expense, supported the construction of the Masterton line. The Woodville settlers were also very antagonistic if local contracts were given to outside interests.

(d) Bush-farmer Ideology and Social Stratification

Also related to the formation of Woodville's identity was the development of a small bush-farmer ideology. Originally most of the settlers in Woodville had to retreat in the face of large runholders of Waipawa and Napier in order to get onto the land. Most of them, as far as it can be ascertained, were near the bottom layers of the social pyramid consisting of farm labourers, road workers, bridge contractors, railway labourers, small business entrepreneurs and small farmers. A large portion of them took up land on deferred payment with the eventual hope of gaining some self-respect and independence on a piece of freehold land. These aspirations are displayed by Stephen Hutchins' comments, recorded in 1876 by J.H. Broomhall, a county squire and magistrate from Penge, Surrey England, who was travelling in New Zealand:

He pointed with pride to his 20 acres of land with a cottage upon it his own freehold, and to his chickens and ducks in abundance, and if he have not now, he will soon have pigs, cows and a good farmyard.<sup>58</sup>

---

57. Boorstin, 208-16.

58. J.H. Broomhall, "Fragments from the Journal of J.Broomhall" (London, 1877), 29. Quoted in Arnold, 444.

Hutchins had been a gardener at Penge three years before and had applied for a character reference from Broomhall in order to emigrate to New Zealand. Another example of the goals and aspirations that went to form the bush-farmer ideology, supporting Arnold's contention of an aspiring yeoman ideal, is displayed in a report to the Waipawa Mail on 12 April 1879:

Woodville and its future greatness have become an acknowledged theme to the neighbouring districts .... [for it has] given zest to bidders at land sales, to enterprising dealers in stock and hopeful impetus to patient settlers who have gone to Woodville content with seclusion, labour and discomfort, if they but realise the day-dream of their life and become flourishing freeholders.

Southern Hawke's Bay was thus an area where ideological arguments converged. Strong evidence of class dissensus was expressed on the frontier, even if it remained in the realms of rhetoric. Expressions of insecurity and conspiracy were often voiced; "... there is a conspiracy against the small settlers hatching among the larger propertied class ...."<sup>59</sup> and "... the landed tyranny being established in New Zealand is evident in Waipawa ... [which] is composed of large runs .... [I]t is in the best interests of the community, that legislation should be introduced to break-up these big estates and land monopolies ...."<sup>60</sup> In relation to the Hawke's Bay cliques:

... we are far from having a desire to set class against class but the Conservatives [the Woodville inhabitants labelled themselves Liberals] have been brewing the storm and it is the duty of the community to check its force. We advocate popular interests and mean to fight for them ....<sup>61</sup>

But 'fighting' was contained within newspaper editorials and election speeches.

---

59. WE 9 October 1885.

60. WE 2 June 1885.

61. WE 6 October 1885.

Evidence of social stratification and 'class dissensus'<sup>62</sup> also existed on the Woodville frontier. In 1877 a Woodville correspondent complained that the Road Board elections were dominated by the land speculators in Napier, mainly because the deferred payment settlers were outnumbered and thus a "store-keepers" board was elected, consisting of the Montieth brothers and T.F. Fountaine. The correspondent maintained that "... it is highly desirable that the trade interest should not be so large represented ...."<sup>63</sup> and suggested that bona fide settlers should have more say in local affairs. In 1876 the Woodville Hotel (Plate 4) made provision for a backroom for bushmen "... the object of the building being detached ... [for] persons who may indulge too freely in Bacchanalian pursuits ...."<sup>64</sup> On 7 December 1884 a Woodville correspondent to the Waipawa Mail wrote the following ironical account of the formation of the gentleman's club:

Mr. Legality .... [stated] the time has evidently arrived when the gentlemen of Woodville must place a distinguishing barrier between themselves and the vulgar mob who inhabit this township. (Hear, Hear). I say, gentlemen, the day has come when we, who claim to possess the "blue blood" of our honorable [sic] ancestors, must take action in providing a means whereby we club together for the propagation of our own honorable [sic] society. I have proposed that we form a company for the erection of a select gentlemen's club ....<sup>65</sup>

This account represents an attempt to debunk the vestigial distinctions of the English social class background. But feelings of social superiority were not confined to this case for in March 1885, although the Volunteers had no difficulty in filling the ranks, the upper strata were reluctant to do drill with the "vulgar mob".

A social distinction was drawn between 'gentlemen' and the

---

62. Perhaps 'interest group dissensus' would be a better term.

63. HBH 9 January 1877.

64. HBH 19 May 1876.

65. Underlining as in original.

'vulgar mob' who were stereotyped as being prone to excessive and uncontrollable drinking, ill-educated and having bad speech habits. But further social distinctions were made by the local bona fide settlers. A three-part stratification system existed: the bona fide settler, who based his position on achieved socio-economic status and the degree of community responsibility, regarded himself as superior to: the 'greedy' land speculators and Maori landlords who enjoyed collecting the unearned increment made possible through the toil of genuine settlers; as well as the village-homestead farmers, who 'survived' on a parasitic subsistence. The deferred payment and bona fide settlers (including some reasonably large pastoralists, such as W.W. Carlile) seemed to have seen themselves as being on top of the agrarian pyramid. Among the town-dwellers a series of professional, business and occupational gradations existed, ranging from the doctors, chemists, teachers, accountants, land commission agents, larger storekeepers and hotel proprietors, the smaller business concerns such as blacksmith and carrier services, to road, rail, building and farm labourers. It must be remembered that this pattern of social stratification was only evident during the later stages of community growth. At the very beginning of settlement, community responsibility and capital were the greatest distinguishers of social class, placing people such as hotel proprietors, money-lenders and storekeepers at the top of the town-dweller pyramid.

But the relative openness and large degree of social intercourse largely prevented any semblance of rigid social stratification on the Woodville frontier. These conditions engendered a belief in the egalitarian spirit of frontier cooperation, as elucidated by the following accounts:

[In Woodville's]... friendly communities, there was an excellent spirit of helpfulness and cooperation among the settlers. One man's trouble became every man's cause. There was need for such help, for times were hard, and the conditions under which land was taken up were exacting.<sup>66</sup>

---

66. Souvenir Booklet, 9.

and:

We were like one big family, and in times of sickness or distress the suffering ones were helped in any way possible.<sup>67</sup>

All of this is part and parcel of what may be termed the 'folk-frontier tradition'; a myth built around the tales of early pioneers, particularly dealing with such items as who was the 'first' woman, the 'first' child born in Woodville, who cut the 'first' tree, who drove the 'first' motor car, etc. The accumulation of a series of 'firsts' eventually leads to the development of a 'folk-frontier tradition'.<sup>68</sup>

(e) Economic momentum and spatial organisation

Instant community also generated a large degree of economic momentum. Initial economic activity was confined to bush-clearing, road formation, draining and the establishment of pasture. The bush colonist was little more than a subsistence farmer, often supplementing his income with other employment in order to secure a viable economic base for permanent settlement. A great deal of occupational and geographical mobility occurred during the early stages of frontier activity, but very little vertical movement was experienced during the depression, although by the late 1880's and early 1890's a great number of farmers on the deferred payment tenure acquired their freehold titles. In some instances there was a reversal of occupational mobility, for some deferred payment licenses sold out to loan companies and their properties were accumulated into larger holdings. During the depression of the 1880's the problem of unemployment remained a sore issue in Woodville. Attempts to get

---

67. Hutchings, "Early Woodville". Frontier benevolence was also reflected in the formation of the Charitable Aid Board in November 1887, and the Ladies Benevolent Society in the same year. The Woodville Small Farm Association looked after the welfare of its members by having a special sickness fund.

68. This observation was formulated from a series of personal interviews with Woodville residents.

the unemployed on the land through Village settlement schemes in 1887 (Table II), were greatly resented by deferred payment farmers, who relied on supplementary employment to meet their expenses, as illustrated by this report:

In the Woodville district the village settlements have done positive harm .... Granted that a few village settlers have improved their position but these men did not belong to the unemployed class .... others are in a fair way of starving and are glad to take any sort of work for good .... The introduction of the village settler has done great hardship to men who took up land on deferred payment .... Deferred payment settlers can only thrive on the condition that the poorer members can obtain work in their neighbourhood at a remunerative rate of rates ... The influx of the unemployed has cut this main resource away ....<sup>69</sup>

Once the bush was cleared and pasture and/or grain was established, many settlers purchased Merino sheep from Napier,<sup>70</sup> but initially only a few were interested in dairy farming.<sup>71</sup> Wool production on the surrounding hill country was a reasonably successful venture (Plate 9) over the period 1879 to 1887 as the annual sheep returns in the Appendices illustrate.

---

69. WE 9 September 1887.

70. See Edgar Harding, "The History of the Dairy Industry in Woodville and Southern Hawke's Bay" (an unpublished paper prepared for a rural-urban meeting of the Woodville Rotary Club, held at Kumeroa 31 May 1957). In the possession of Mrs E. Harding.

71. See The Evening Post 5 November, 1914.

TABLE VI Sheep returns and size of flocks by various owners<sup>(i)</sup> 1879-1887

Date	Sheep Nos.	No. of Owners	0-20 <sup>(ii)</sup>	20-99	100-199	200-499	500-999	1000- 3000
1879	180	2	-	-	2	-	-	-
1880	339	3	-	1	2	-	-	-
1881	683	12	3	8	-	1	-	-
1882 <sup>(iii)</sup>	3,076	19	2	8	6	3	1	-
1883	5,823	33	7	11	4	8	3	-
1884	7,513	28	7	9	1	7	4	-
1885	9,740	24	6	3	2	7	5	1
1886	7,839	21	-	6	1	9	3	2
1887	8,929	22	-	7	2	6	5	1

NB 1887 1 over 2,000

- (i) Kumeroa figures excluded.  
(ii) includes owners having nil some seasons.  
(iii) rise can be partially explained by only a small number of owners (2-3) having great increase in flock sizes.

Another economy activity was mixed farming developing into dairy production. During the initial period of settlement these farms, aiming at self-sufficiency, contained some dairy cattle, pigs and poultry; the farmers often diversifying their economy with fodder crops, fruits and various grains. Marketing at this stage was confined to a rudimentary barter system, with produce especially butter occasionally sold to railway work camps. But by 1883 there was enough dairy cattle and pasture to enable such farmers in the district to form the Cooperative Woodville Cheese and Dairy Factory Ltd.<sup>72</sup> But this venture experienced many difficulties over management, delayed payments to milk suppliers and the lack of reliable access roads to bring the milk to the factory at

72. WE 14 November 1883, 15 February 1884. NZM 22 February 8 August 1884.

regular intervals.<sup>73</sup> It was later re-organised into the Woodville Cheese and Bacon Factory.<sup>74</sup> In 1885 a joint-stock company, the Mangaatua Valley Cheese and Bacon Factory, was formed, having a nominal capital of £2,000 in 2,000 £1 shares.<sup>75</sup> But apparently the farmers' main profit was made through fattening beef cattle, fetching about 25s. per cwt. With the advent of an improved and extended road network, a more sophisticated demand-supply marketing pattern based on a cash nexus developed. Produce and stock were sent to Napier, Wellington and Manawatu and strong trading ties were established with the lower North Island markets e.g. Gear Meat of Wellington. Woodville also became a notable stock centre by 1884 (Plate 5), attracting all the associated services such as stock and station agents (e.g. Levin and Co. Ltd), credit facilities, accountants and drovers.

The possibility of mineral exploitation, particularly gold and copper, generated considerable excitement during the mid 1880's. But both the Pohangina-Woodville Gold Prospecting Association of 1885 and the Maharahara Copper Mining Company of 1888 were substantial failures, losing considerable amounts of predominantly local capital.<sup>76</sup> Other economic activities were associated with the central business nucleus (Plate 6), with a bank established in 1882, as well as bush-felling, road, rail and building contracts. By analysing the advertisements in the Woodville Examiner, making a random selection of issues at yearly intervals and concentrating on the initial and final issues of the period 1883 to 1887, several

---

73. WE 7, 14 March 26 August 12 September 1884.

74. WE 31 July 7 August 1885.

75. WE 20 October 1885, 19 October 1886, 30 August 1887.  
NZS 1885, 242.

76. Pohangina-Woodville Prospecting Association: NZM 9, 23 October 1885. Maharahara Copper Mine, A.R. Lillie, The Geology of the Dannevirke Subdivision (N.Z. Geological Survey, Bulletin No. 46, 1953), 99-101, and WE 1 November 1887.



PLATE 5

An Early Stock Sale.

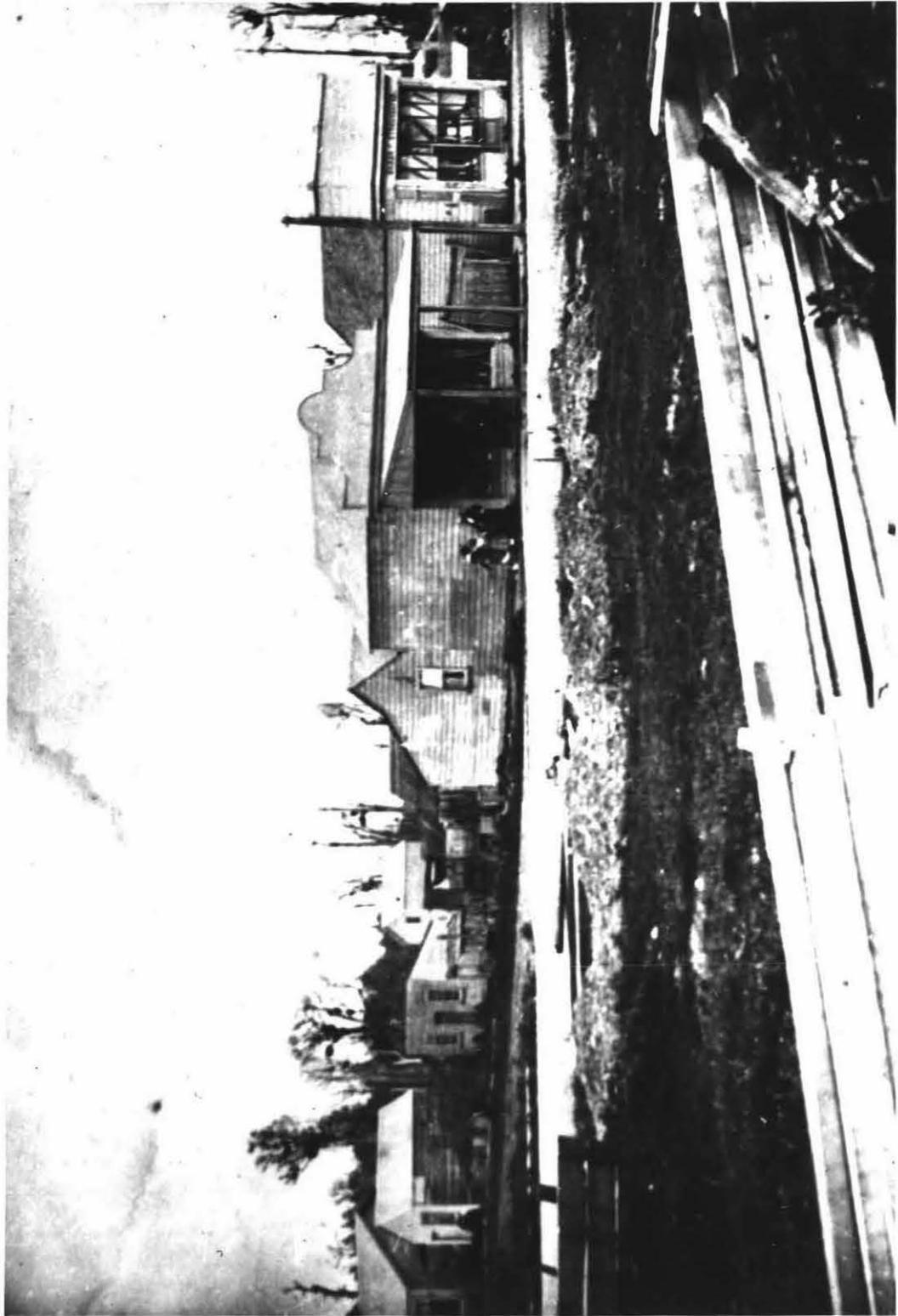


PLATE 6

Woodville during the early 1880's.

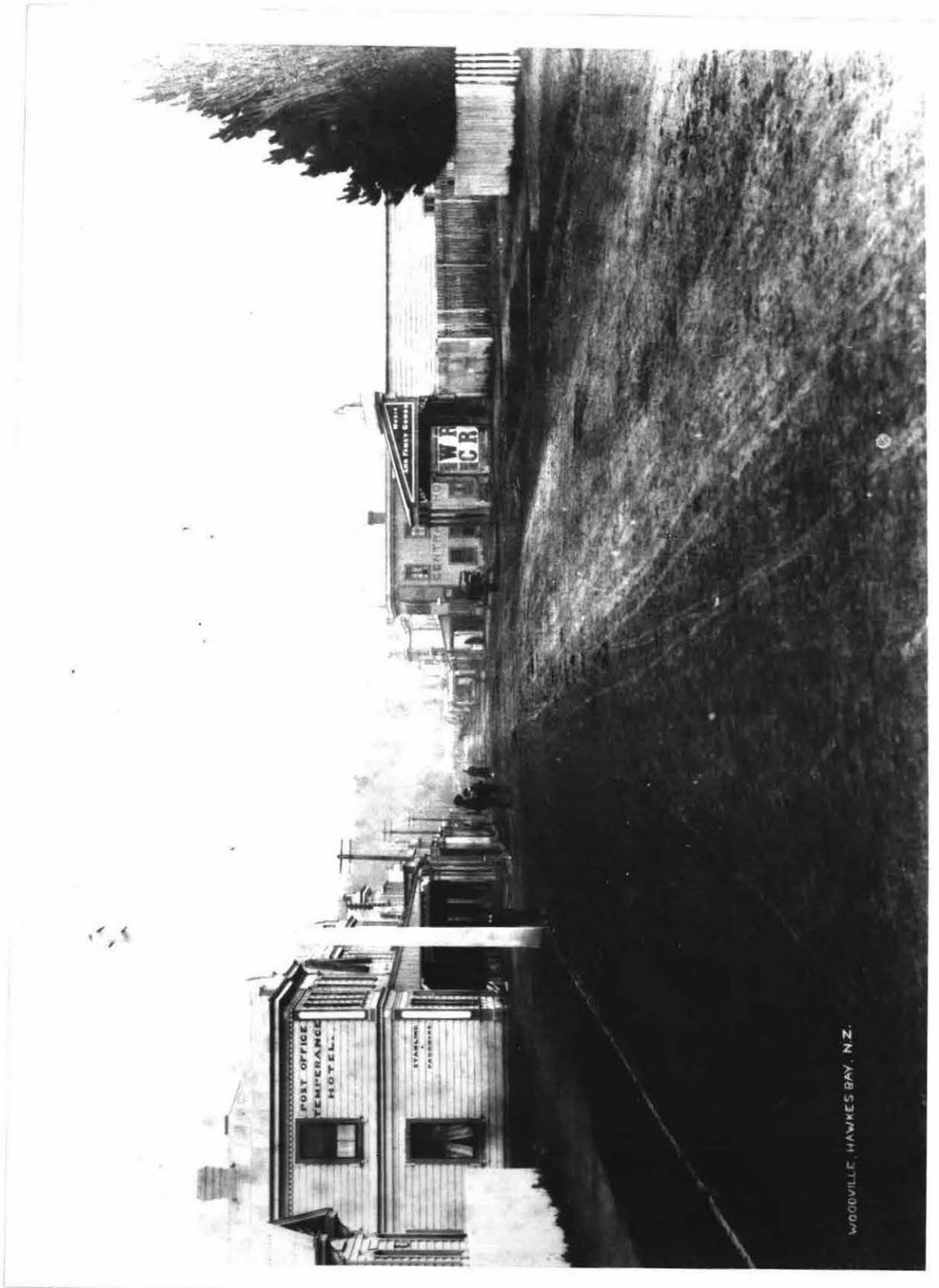
deductions can be attempted concerning the central business nucleus.

By 1886 Woodville township contained a matrix of requisite business services catering for a maturing pioneer farming community (Plates 7 and 8). These services included the following categories: medical (a doctor and chemist), professional (a barrister, teachers and accountants), financial and credit (money-lenders and insurance agencies), marketing (stock and station agents), transport and associated repair (coach builders, saddlers and blacksmiths), land transactions (land commission agents), photographic, stationary, undertaker, furniture, livelihood (clothing, confectionary, butchers, cordial, baker, bootmaker), hotel and accommodation, building and farming equipment (seeds, machinery, wool scouring) facilities. As the community matured there was a greater degree of specialisation, intensification and definition of service facilities, all catering for a more varied and sophisticated demand-supply mechanism. This in turn helped to integrate the commercial nucleus not only with the surrounding hinterland<sup>77</sup> but with business interests throughout New Zealand. Several local businesses became agencies for larger commercial concerns; for example the Montieth brothers of Woodville and Waipukurau, were local agents for the N.Z. Insurance Company and the Wanganui Sash and Door Company. Although Sutton and Sons of Auckland, George Booth and Sons of Christchurch and Kempthorne Prosser and Co. Ltd were frequent advertisers, most of the available evidence suggests that financial promotion was carried out predominantly by Woodville businessmen, rather than large external investors.

The central business nucleus thus facilitated the establishment of more permanent business, trade, financial, employment and personal relationships with the surrounding hinterland. But where peripheral settlement created sufficient demand (Plate 9), secondary enclaves or clusters of business grew within the sphere of influence

---

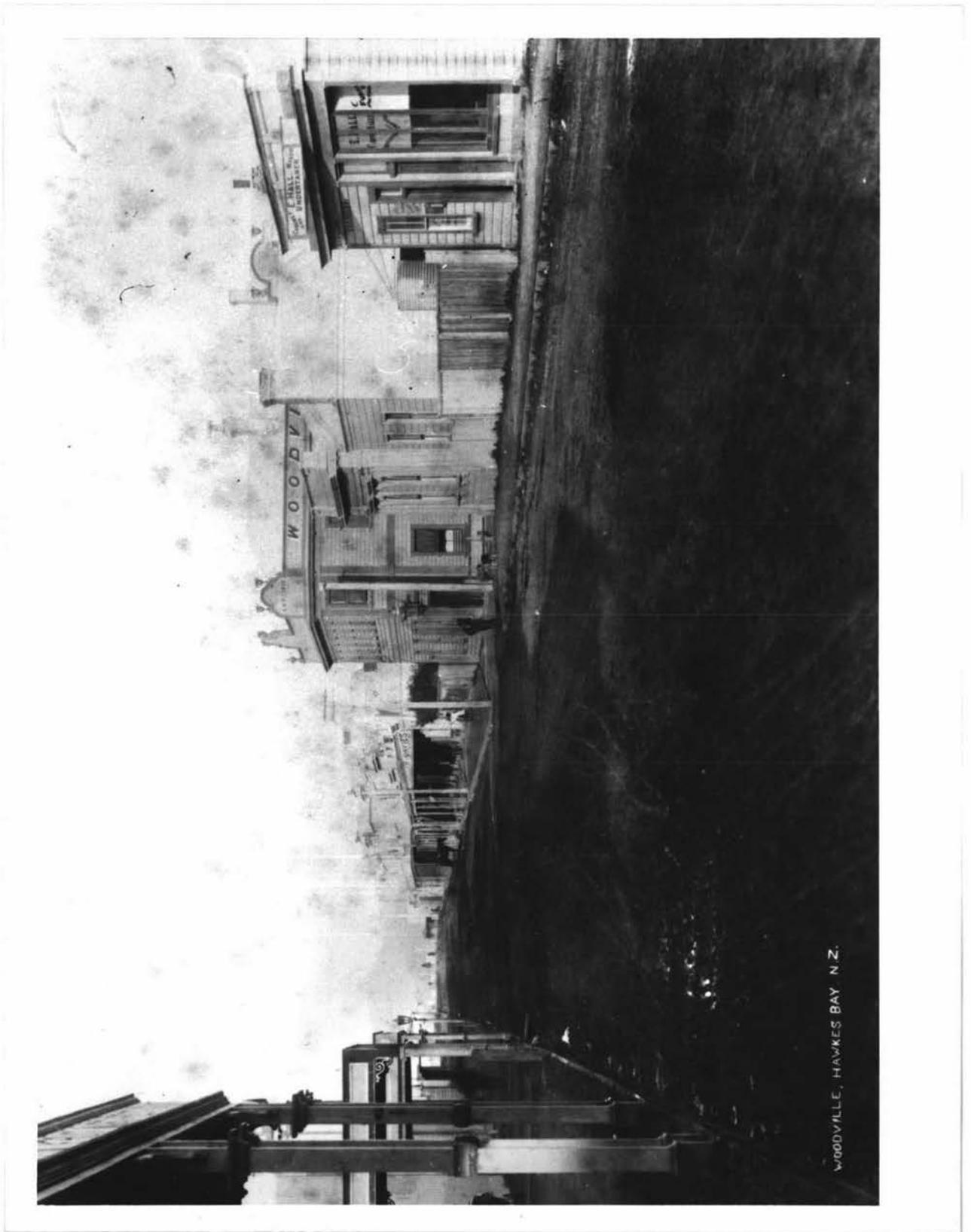
77. L. Dudley Stamp (ed), A Glossary of Geographical Terms (London 2nd ed, 1962) 235-6 defines hinterland as: "... spheres of influence of inland towns, the spheres defined in various ways".



WOODVILLE, HAWKES BAY, N.Z.

PLATE 7

Commercial Nucleus 1. 1886.



WOODVILLE, HAWKES BAY, N.Z.

generated by the primary business zone: Woodville township. For instance in 1885 A. Birnie opened a general store in the Heretaunga Special settlement area, while in 1886 the Totara Creek Saw Mills offered its services to Kumeroa settlers. Woodville's hinterland had become spatially organised into several zonal activities: dairy farming (on the alluvial plains); beef and wool production (on the undulating hill country and alluvial basins); and the central commercial nucleus, transmitting an integrating dynamism.

(f) Frontier momentum

Some indication of growth will be given from 1877 to 1887 by analysing the population statistics compiled from the Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand (1877-1887) and the N.Z. Census of 1878, 1881, 1886 and 1891. Problems were encountered when working from the Statistics, particularly at transition points between changes in local body structure and boundaries in 1878, 1884 and 1887, where a gap in the statistics or a repetition of the previous year's figures was recorded.

TABLE VII                    Population, Dwellings and Rateable  
Properties 1877-1887

Date	Local government authority and boundaries	Ratepayers to 1884, Popula- tion after 1884	Dwellings	Rateable Properties
1877	Riding of Woodville East	117	52	264
1878	Riding of Woodville	92	80	92 <sup>+</sup>
1879	" " "	117	109	117
1880	" " "	281	103	700
1881	" " "	286	130	810
1882	" " "	286	130	810?
1883	" " "	415	250	-
1884	Town District	-	250?	- <sup>+</sup>
	Road Board	-	130	874
1885	Town District Population	665	122	-
1886	" " "	665?	-	-
1887	Borough	796	-	- <sup>+</sup>

Key: ? probably inaccurate  
+ change of boundaries

As one can see these figures are largely unreliable, but when correlated with the statistics from the Appendices on school attendance and the age-sex structure supplied by the 1891 Census, perhaps a more reasonable indication of population composition, character and growth will be provided.

TABLE VIII School Attendance 1879-1885<sup>78</sup>

Date	Number at beginning of year	Admitted	Left	Number at end of year
1879	-	77	12	65
1880	65	76	23	114
1881	106	42	33	115
1882	105	56	40	121
1883	118	42	38	122
1884	115	72	43	144
1885	114	86	61	172

TABLE IX Age-Sex Structure 1891, % of total population

Age	Males	Females
1-4	12.6	14.5
4-9	11.2	13.1
9-14	8.9	11.3
14-20	8.0	12.2
20-25	11.0	13.6
25-30	13.0	10.49
30-35	10.5	7.5
35-40	8.2	4.9
40-45	5.7	3.5
45-50	3.0	2.4
50-55	3.2	2.9
55-60	2.4	0.8
60-65	1.7	1.3
65-70	.9	.6
70-75	.3	.2
75-80	-	.4

Unspecified over 20 .1

78. Compiled from AJHR 1879 H2 36, 1880 H1A 39, 1881 E1 44, 1882 E1 48, 1883 E1 49, 1884 E1 50, 1885 E 56. The most substantial increases occurring in 1879, 1880 and 1885 are possibly explained by the introduction of families through Special Settlement schemes.

General Trends: Woodville in 1891 had a relatively youthful, balanced population, containing high dependency ratios, characteristic of a youthful family-based population structure.

### Conclusion

Therefore, constant interaction between Woodville and the central government over matters dealing with land, communication and transport facilities, loans for local bodies, and the provision of a legal and electoral structure, did serve to integrate the new community within the established colonial framework. Harmony between the colonial government and Woodville interest groups was greatly encouraged by local settler initiative, using state agencies and modifying state demands, making them more suited to local conditions and the settlers' goals and aspirations. This local drive to ensure that the Woodville colonial experiment worked, in what was believed to be in the face of formidable circumstances, led to the development of a strong feeling of community self-consciousness. Moreover, at Woodville the profusion of a matrix of local institutions, voluntary associations, social events and economic activity, greatly encouraged integrative and consensual tendencies, not only on the frontier but also with the rest of colonial society. Expressions of tension and dissensus, ideological as well as social, often found institutional solutions (such as the newspaper, the Town Board and the national electoral procedure). Friction among the various, occasionally competing interest groups, was greatly cushioned by constant personal contact on the local level. Cultural, personal, economic and social links with the rest of colonial society reinforced external integration. Through this process Woodville acquired many symptoms characteristic of an established area.

CHAPTER III

ESTABLISHMENT: 1887

By 1887 Woodville had become an established community within a maturing colony. Several criteria, as outlined in the Introduction,<sup>1</sup> can be used to justify 1887 as the point of transition from late adolescence to early maturity. Politically, this involved a dual process, culminating in the creation of a borough in 1887. First, Woodville township had achieved an internalised system of authority, serviced by local recruits within stable political boundaries and local financial means, thus eliminating any vestige of what Woodville inhabitants believed was the 'parasitic influence' of the Waipawa County Council. Second, the creation of the borough epitomised the identity and establishment-attaining process, for Woodville had now become recognisable as a distinct entity, a successful experiment: one, according to contemporary accounts, which had been achieved under formidable circumstances.

As well as displaying a maturation in local government organisation, Woodville also acquired the basis of a spatially organised hinterland composed of integrated-symbiotic components. The dairy, wool and beef production components were strongly linked to the central business nucleus (Plate 7 and 8), which catered for an elaborate demand-supply mechanism generated by the former components. All these characteristics were typical of an established area. The 'starvation blocks' of village-homestead settlement schemes (Table II) were the only 'parasitic' element,<sup>2</sup> but these were unsuccessful and comparatively too insignificant to disrupt the symbiotic pattern between the other components. Integration among the components was greatly facilitated by an adequate communication network and regularised patterns of interaction through land transactions,

---

1. See 4 above.

2. See NZG 1886 Vol.I 649, Vol.II 125-6.

business investments, associated occupations (e.g. farm labourers, shop assistants, fence contractors), purchasing and marketing facilities (e.g. stock sales), social gatherings, recreational pursuits, marriage and other socializing agents. A spatial equilibrium had been attained, characterised by dynamic harmony, which involved the utilisation of existing resources in different ways, thus helping to alleviate disjunctive and disruptive elements among the various socio-economic interest groups associated with each component (Figure 8). The point of crisis in Woodville's development came in the 1890's when the equilibrium was disrupted by a saturated hinterland confined by geographical barriers and the invasion of other spheres of commercial interests generated by the rapidly growing Dannevirke, Pahiatua and Palmerston North nuclei.

Also associated with the transition from frontier to establishment, was the transformation in the cultural landscape.<sup>3</sup> The frontier, marked by the recession of the bush-line, had largely disappeared,<sup>4</sup> being replaced by pasture, fenced fields, roads, permanent dwellings and nucleated patterns of settlement (Plates 9 and 10). The 1891 Census records that 936 out of a population of 971 were living in dwellings made from permanent materials, including wood, brick and plaster, while the number of tents was confined to two. Nodes of settlement in the bush environment set out ripples or waves (depending on the growth rate of settlement), which eventually met, removing most of the bush. The 1886 Census provides an adequate statistical breakdown illustrating the increased population density of Woodville township and its hinterland (c.f. Table X).

---

3. A concept borrowed from the discipline of cultural geography.

4. Although a lot of bush still remained on the surrounding hill country (Plates 7 and 8).

TABLE X                    Woodville Riding's Population Density  
and Sex Structure 1886

	Total	Male	Female
Ngwarapurua bridge	11	6	5
Dannevirke T.D.	392	228	164
Harding Road	29	21	8
Hopes Road	19	10	9
Heretaunga Road	35	27	8
"    Block	14	8	6
Kaitoki	15	14	1
Kumeroa	214	127	87
Masterton Road	97	55	42
Mangatura Road	37	23	14
Maharahara Block	91	72	19
Mangatoro	19	15	4
Mangatoro Station	31	24	7
Napier Road	81	50	31
Oxford Road	33	16	17
Oringi	59	42	17
Pinfold Road	76	44	32
Palmerston Road	55	32	23
Railway Line	193	175	18
Sowry Road	47	26	21
Tamaki	70	54	16
Tahoraite	130	87	43
Victoria Road	21	12	9
Williams Road	15	8	7
Woodlands Road	149	85	64
Woodville T.D.	665	380	285
Wratt's Mill	54	32	22
Others	120	86	34
<u>Total</u>	2,772	1,759	1,013

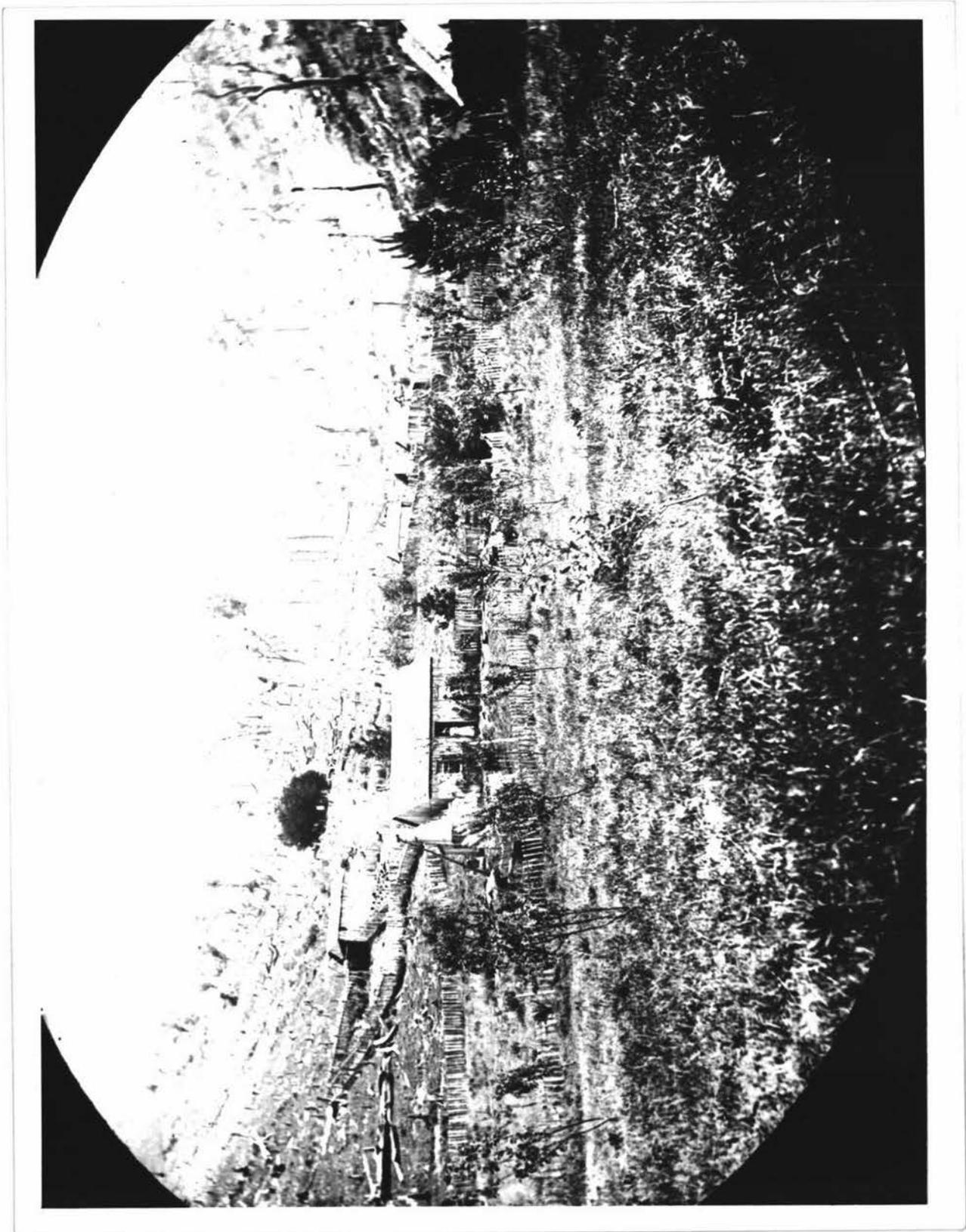


PLATE 9

Features of Establishment: The  
Kumeroa periphery 1887.

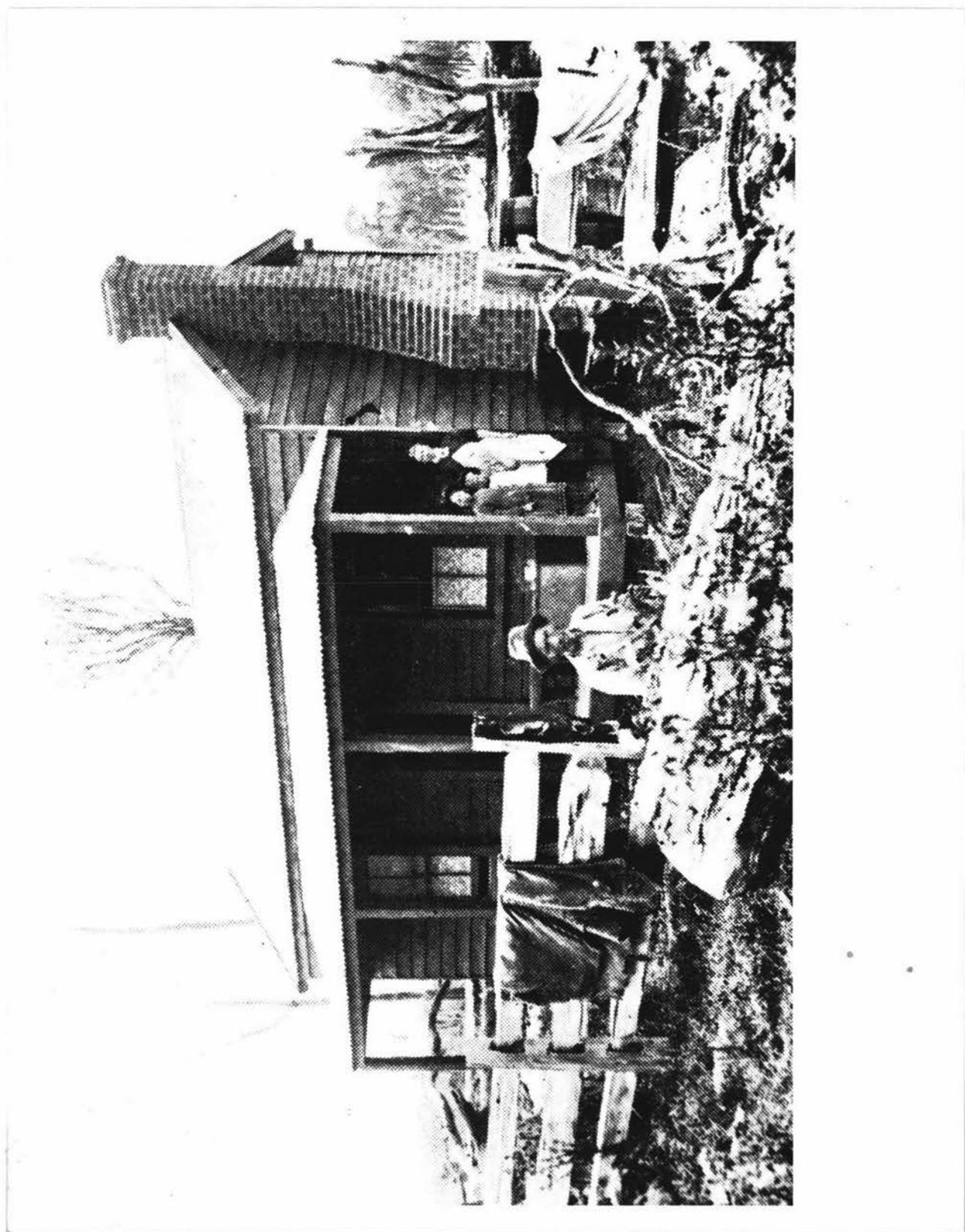
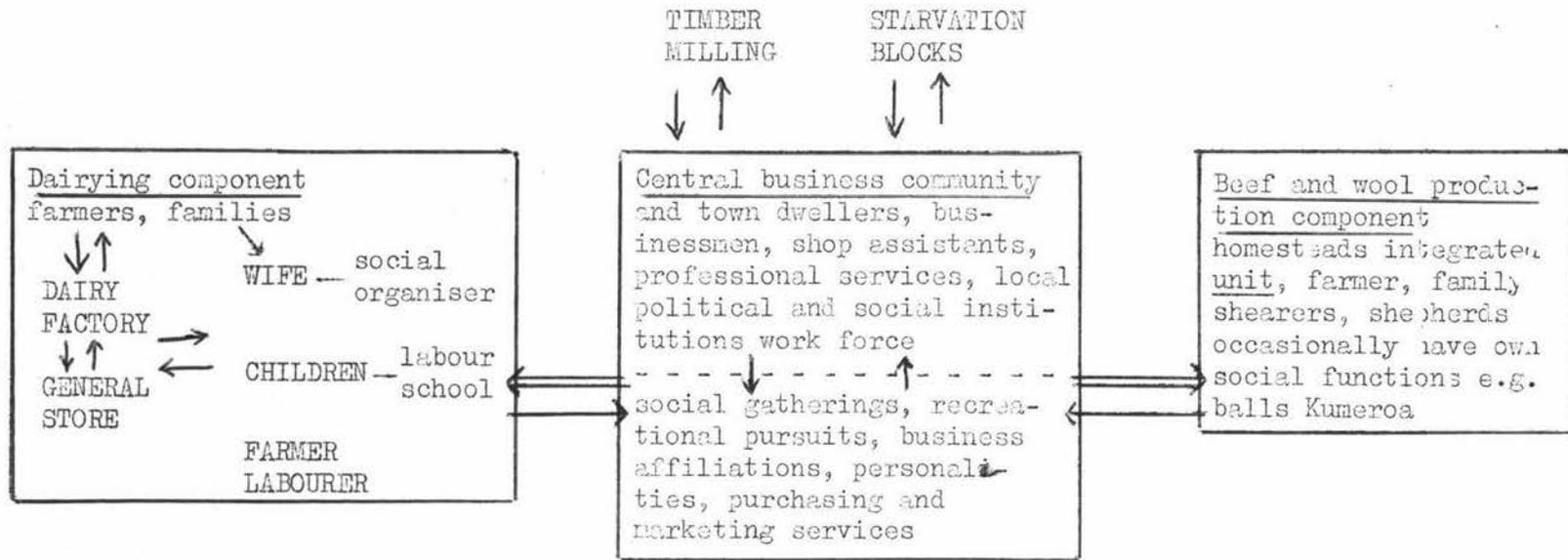


PLATE 10

Features of Establishment: A  
settler's homestead c.1886.

FIGURE 3

Diagrammatic representation of Woodville's spatially organised hinterland, composed of integrated-symbiotic components



Key  $\rightleftarrows$  interaction of central business nucleus with external components - generates integration initiative.  
 $\longrightarrow$  integration and interaction.

But although the bush had been cleared, the ideological remnants that grew out of the bush-pioneering experience still lingered on, even to the present day; for instance in such organisations as the Bush Community Women's Institute and the Bush Rugby Union.

Moreover, establishment in Woodville was characterised by a greater specialisation and intensification of service facilities, catering for a more complex demand-supply market pattern. The wide range of services offered by the frontier general stores became separated into more specialised functions, such as drapery, stationary, blacksmith, ironmongery, butcher, grocer, credit and farm supply facilities. Related to this was the accompanying specialisation of occupations (or employment differentiation): farmers and farm labourers, accountants, lawyers and stock and station agents. These occupations were not only concerned with consolidating but also improving the existing pattern of settlement e.g. builders, fence contractors. Bush farmer activity shifted in emphasis from felling to removing stumps, fencing, draining and establishing permanent pasture. This service and occupational differentiation was reflected in a semantic shift: contemporaries of the period came to differentiate between 'settler', which referred to newly arrived colonists, and those associated with established occupations, such as farmers, grocers, bank manager, labourers and pastoralist.

The change in the numerical strength of various religious denominations is also indicative of this shift in emphasis from infancy to early maturity. Although Methodism, because of its flexibility,<sup>5</sup> flourished under bush frontier conditions, Anglicanism and Presbyterianism, the 'religions of establishment', gradually benefiting from the maturing milieu, assumed numerical dominance, as illustrated by statistics in the 1891 Census:

---

5. See 18 above and Arnold, 714-5.

TABLE XI Numerical Strength of the predominant religious organisations 1891

	Total	Male	Female	When church erected
Church of England	463	214	189	1885
Presbyterians	178	101	77	1885
Methodists:				
Wesleyans	47	26	21	1883 <sup>+</sup>
Primitive	46	24	22	
United Methodists				
Roman Catholic	88	45	43	

+ although the first services were held in 1876, c.f. to the Church of England's itinerant services from c.1880.

Coupled with this process of internal stabilisation, was the complementary establishment of strong and permanent administrative, electoral, financial, cultural and social links with the rest of New Zealand, helping to integrate Woodville within the colonial pattern. Oliver suggests that the transformation of each locality, moving via a continuous series of short-lived shifts from frontier to establishment, involved three aspects: a process of administrative change via the centre; a nationalisation of regional life; and the socialization of the individual within the context of the community, region and the total society.<sup>6</sup>

On the Woodville periphery the advent of rail from Napier in 1887 marked a culmination point in the localisation of colonial life, which should be incorporated into Oliver's model. This entailed a double-edged process: the first was concerned with the community's implementation of a preconceived replica of colonial society, based on a Victorian background, shaped by experiences in 'established' parts of the colony, and largely facilitated by the appropriate apparatus and models provided by the state, extra-Woodville organisations as well as incoming settlers. In this sense it was

---

6. Oliver, Towards 14-15.

not an urban or even a suburban frontier, but a colonial one, containing both town dwelling and predominantly rural elements. Localisation also included a second facet: the role of the local M.H.R. and informal political associations attempts to harmonise relationships between the Woodville periphery and the central colonial government. Local demands, in a very broad sense, were merely another way of stating that Woodville residents wanted to become more like the established parts of the colony, by securing all the essential facilities: roads, rail, communication, a court and an opportunity for occupational advancement through the acquisition of a share of the country's resources, especially land.

Attempts were thus made to modify central government demands to the local situation so as to facilitate the goals and aspirations of the local settlers, in turn helping to establish a harmonious relationship between the centre and periphery. As settlement moved from frontier to establishment a shift in emphasis in the nature of the demands became evident. Initial demands associated with road formation, opening up bush land and rail construction changed to road maintenance, loans to farmers to provide additional security to their recently acquired holdings, and the establishment of makeshift ports on the East Coast connected by adequate railway networks. Ideological arguments soon became sectional, blending in with the general colonial demands: independence, equality of opportunity, general prosperity and 'welfare'. Everybody believed that it was proper to utilise the state to attain these goals and aspirations.

This persistent attempt to co-ordinate the central government demands with local aspirations partially explains the relative lack of social violence on the New Zealand frontier. The rapidity with which the state supplied conflict-resolving institutions and the profusion and zeal with which they were implemented, acted as a constant civilising mechanism. Associated with this was the community's close connection with the rest of the county. Unlike U.S.A. or Australia, New Zealand lacked continental dimensions, so the frontier was not isolated from settled areas. Any feeling of isolation was not geographical but psychological:

settlers on the frontier were acutely conscious that they needed the essential communication links to put them on par with established communities. It was this consciousness of an absence or unreliability of links with the outside world that occasionally gave rise to a feeling of temporary deprivation, political, social as well as geographical. But although communications were unreliable on the Woodville frontier, in emergency situations physical contact with the outside world was possible.

Moreover, authority on the New Zealand frontier was accessible at different levels. Authority covered a broad spectrum: at the local level it could mean the choosing of neighbours as functionaries; at the regional level placing pressure on the local M.H.R.; and at the centre it was manifested in the regulating mechanism, the state. The easy accessibility to various forms of authority helped to lessen social friction at different levels. Political demands and grievances towards the government were channelled through recognised institutional organs: delegations, official visits, and the formation of informal settler political associations.

Evidence of a relative lack of social violence on the New Zealand frontier does not mean that there was no social violence. Woodville, and no doubt localities throughout the rest of New Zealand, had their fair share of 'pub' brawls, murders and minor local disturbances. But apart from the occasional pre-meditated crime, violence on the New Zealand scene was usually impulsive (done on the spur of the moment), lacking the organisation and ferocity as evidenced on oversea frontiers, especially on the California gold-fields and the Australian outbacks. The frontier was an abrasive milieu and different types of people had various ways of accommodating tension, whether through social functions such as entertainment, drinking 'sprees', military combat or blatant social violence; reflecting a broad spectrum of psychological release mechanisms. From the very beginning, the New Zealand pioneer was caught within a web of socialization and social tradition, which extended from the local community to New Zealand society as a whole.

New Zealand society still retains some vestiges that grew out of the frontier experience, including the openness (where significant statuses tend to be achieved rather than ascribed), the egalitarian assumptions concerning equality of opportunity as manifested in our political system, as well as the aspirations of independence and security through the acquisition of a piece of freehold land, even if it is a small plot within a suburban environment. Nucleated families, occupational osmosis and self-sufficiency are also remnants of New Zealand's colonial frontier experience.

APPENDIX ADefinition of Woodville's Highway District, Town District and Licensing District boundaries(1) Highway District 1878

This district commences at Whakataura, at the south-western corner of the Porangahau district; follows along the western boundary of that district to the southern boundary of the Dannevirke district, along that boundary to the western boundary of the Waipawa County, thence in a southerly direction along that boundary to the Manawatu River at the Gorge, follows up the Manawatu River to the southern boundary of the Waipawa County, and thence in an easterly direction along that boundary to the starting point at the south-western corner of the Porangahau district.

NZG 1878 Vol.II, 1225.

(2) Town District 1884

All that area in the Provincial District of Hawke's Bay, being the Town of Woodville, and part of Block IV., Woodville Survey District Figure 47. Bounded towards the North-east by the road forming the northern boundary of Rural sections Nos. 125, 6, 7, 8, 9 and Suburban sections 10, 11, 12, 13 towards the South-east by the road forming the eastern boundary of said Section No.13; again towards the North-east by the main road from Napier to Palmerston North; again towards the South-east by rural section No.70; towards the South generally by the Mangaatua River; and towards the North-west by the road forming the Western boundary of Rural sections Nos.123, 124, 125...

NZG 1884, 1755.

(3) Licensing District 1884

Bounded towards the North-east and South-east by the Norsewood and Porangahau Licensing Districts; towards the South by the County of Wairarapa East; and towards the North-west by the County of Oroua: exclusive of the Town District of Woodville.

NZG 1885, 405.

SOURCES

## I. PRIMARY

A. MANUSCRIPTS(1) National ArchivesHawke's Bay Provincial Series:

- 7/1(u) Woodville Small Farm Association  
 7/2(e) Heretaunga Small Farm Association  
 6/10 Outward Letters, April 1879 - February 1877  
 4/11 Local Letters, 72/2 - 171, 27 January, 7 March,  
       31 October 1876.

Immigration Archives Series 6:

- 9/1 Southern Hawke's Bay, 6 June 1872.

(2) At Woodville(a) County-Council:

Minute Book of the Woodville Road Board 1876

(b) Woodville Pioneer Museum:

Hutchings J.R. Mrs "Early Woodville" (personal recollections, undated).

(c) In the possession of Mrs E. Harding:

Fountaine, T.F. "Woodville's Early History" (Mr Fountaine's Reminiscences 1873-1876. An open letter written for the Woodville Chamber of Commerce, undated).

Harding E. "The History of the Dairy Industry in Woodville and Southern Hawke's Bay" (an unpublished paper prepared for a rural-urban meeting of the Woodville Rotary Club held at Kumeroa, 31 May 1957).

B. NEWSPAPERS

The Evening Post, 5 November 1914.

Hawke's Bay Herald, 31 May and 16 July 1872, 5 January 1875 -  
       31 December 1880.

Manawatu Daily Times, 29 August 1931.

The New Zealand Farmer, July, September, October, November 1877.

The New Zealand Mail, 1 January 1876, 28 March 1884 - 25 July 1890.

Waipawa Mail, 16 October 1878 - 10 December 1879 and 1 February 1884 -  
       31 May 1887.

The Woodville Examiner, 10 October 1883 - 20 December 1887.

C. OFFICIAL

Appendices to Journal of the House of Representatives, 1871-1873 and 1876-1887.

Census of New Zealand, 1878, 1881, 1886, 1891.

Hawke's Bay Provincial Gazette, 1875-1878.

Hawke's Bay Provincial Council Votes and Proceedings, Session XVIII 1871 and Session XIX 1872.

New Zealand Gazette, 1877-1887.

Parliamentary Debates, 1879 Vol.31, 1885 Vol.52.

Statistics of the Colony of New Zealand, 1876-1887.

D. OTHERS

Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Vol.6 Taranaki, Hawke's Bay and Wellington provincial districts. Christchurch 1908.

E. MAPS

Township of Woodville, 1874 (National Archives).

Woodville Small Farm Association, 1876 (Woodville Pioneer Museum).

Woodville Survey District, 1885 (Woodville Pioneer Museum).

II. SECONDARYBOOKS AND PAMPHLETSHISTORICAL AND GENERAL(a) New Zealand

Braithwaite E. The Companion Guide To the North Island of New Zealand, Auckland, 1970.

McLintock A.H. (ed) An Encyclopaedia of New Zealand, Vol.1-3, Wellington 1966.

Jourdain W.R. Land Legislation and Settlement, New Zealand Department of Lands and Surveys, Wellington 1925.

Lillie A.R. The Geology of the Dannevirke Subdivision, New Zealand Geological Survey, Bulletin No.46 1953.

Oliver W.H. The Story of New Zealand, London 1960.

Oliver W.H. Towards a New History? Hocken Lecture 1969, Dunedin 1971.

Oliver W.H. and Thomson J.M. Challenge and Response a study of the development of the Gisborne East Coast Region, Gisborne 1971.

Scotter W.H. A History of Canterbury 1876-1965, Vol.III, Christchurch 1965.

Souvenir Booklet, Diamond Jubilee of Woodville District High School 1877-1937 and Golden Jubilee of Woodville Borough Council, Woodville 1937.

Wilson J.G. The Founding of Hawke's Bay, Napier 1951.

(b) Australia

Allen H.C. Bush and Backwoods: a comparison of the frontier in Australia and the United States, Sydney 1959.

Ward R. The Australian Legend, Melbourne 1958.

Waterson J.C. Squatter, selector and storekeeper; a history of the Darling Downs 1859-93, Sydney 1968.

(c) America

Billington R.A. America's Frontier Heritage, New York 1966.

Boorstin D.J. The Americans Volume Two The National Experience, 1965.

Hartz L. The Founding of New Societies studies in the History of the United States, Latin America, South Africa, Canada and Australia, New York 1964.

Lipset S.M. Political Man, Norwich reprint 1964.

Lipset S.M. The First New Nation the United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective, London 1963.

SOCIOLOGICAL

Chinoy E. Sociological Perspective, 2nd ed. New York 1968.

Coser L.A. Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict, New York 1967.

Elkin F.E. The Child and Society. The Process of Socialization, Toronto 1969.

Forster J. (ed) Social Process in New Zealand Readings in Sociology, Auckland 1969.

GEOGRAPHICAL

Stamp L.E. (ed) A Glossary of Geographical Terms, London 2nd ed. 1962.

ARTICLES

Coleman P.J. "The New Zealand Frontier and the Turner Thesis", in Pacific Historical Review, Vol.24 1958.

The following articles from Forster J. (ed) Social Process in New Zealand:

Burch W.R. "The Nature of Community".

Franklin S.H. "The Village and the Bush".

McGee T.G. "The Social Ecology of New Zealand Cities".

Vellekoop C. "Social Strata in New Zealand".

- Heerdegeen R.G. "Land for the Landless", in New Zealand Geographer, Vol.23 April 1967.
- Petersen G.C. "Pioneering the North Island Bush", in Watters R.H.(ed) Land and Society in New Zealand, Wellington 1965.
- Stevens J. "The Family in New Zealand Fiction" in The New Zealand Family and Child Development (a series of lectures delivered to the Association for the Study of Childhood), Wellington 1969.

#### THESES

- Arnold R.D. "The Opening of the Great Bush, 1869-1881: A Social History of Bush Settlements of Taranaki, Hawke's Bay and Wellington", Ph.D. Victoria University 1971.
- Gordon L.G. "Immigration into Hawke's Bay, 1858-1876", M.A. Victoria University 1965.

#### MAP

- New Zealand Topographical Map Palmerston North, Sheet N 149, 1959.