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‘TE RUA O TE TANIWHA’

Pākehā settlement of the Ruataniwha Plains

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in History,
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Abstract

Historians have generally characterised the Pākehā settlement of Hawke's Bay as a socially stratified frontier where men of capital controlled both the rural and fledgling urban spaces. A space where owners of extensive pastoral runs taken up in the late 1850s and early 1860s dominated, both politically and socially. Development of rural communities and settlements has also been characterised as being male dominated, due to both the nature of the rural labour force and to the paternalistic hand of wealthy runholders.

Based on a database of 769 individuals and utilising archival research, including contemporary newspapers and genealogical sources, this thesis investigates the 'settler world' on the Ruataniwha Plains. After the initial sale of land, Māori continued to engage with settlers and government seeking to advance the interests of hapū, fighting alongside government forces during the New Zealand Wars. Pākehā settling on the plains arrived with their own cultural and economic agenda and lived largely separate lives from their Māori neighbours. Government regionally and nationally, prioritised immigration and distributed land to cement control of the lower North Island. Farmers, labourers, business-people, men and women then established themselves and their families in an isolated rural environment. Initially, social supports were fragile and some individuals fell through the cracks. In this context, families became the key social unit and are the research focus of this study. Family relationships could also be fragile. Relationship and health problems left women particularly vulnerable. Tracing the lives of women both within and outside the context of the family unit is a further focus of inquiry for this thesis.

Community life on the plains was fluid, dynamic and complex. The 'settler' community allowed for an openness, particularly in relation to status, compared to the standard social pattern of the age, where relationships and conventions were more fixed. 'Settler' society was often profoundly unsettled, giving greater room for 'ordinary'

immigrants to have an impact in community life that was larger than their status would imply. Community life was rich, varied and not always polite and comfortable. This study seeks to determine how ‘ordinary’ individuals and families found ways, within the dynamism of the local context, to build social links and develop community institutions.

Acknowledgements

A research project is mycelial, what eventually appears on the surface sits atop a network of relationships and sources. Thanks are due to many people who have encouraged and supported me to undertake this study. Firstly, Professor Michael Belgrave who has offered on-going feedback and wise advice at each stage of this project. Thank you.

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Chapter 1. Introduction

Pūrākau of Tamatea-Central Hawke's Bay narrate the progress of a taniwha, Awarua o Porirua, who moved into the lakes and grassland of what is now known as the Ruataniwha Plains. The taniwha, Awarua, originated from Te Upoko o te Ika, the Wellington region. The stories of Awarua are portentous, risk and opportunity sit side by side. Nineteenth century Tamatea mirrored a similar dynamic. Following the settlement of Wellington by the New Zealand Company in 1840, Pākehā seeking economic opportunities began making their way into Hawke's Bay. Their undertakings also balanced risk and opportunity. This study examines nineteenth century settlement patterns on the Ruataniwha Plains in Central Hawke's Bay. Geographically, research has focussed on the area defined by a large triangle of land extending westward from the town of Abbotsford/Waipawa¹ towards the Ruahine Ranges and bounded in the north by the Waipawa River and the south by the Makaretu River. This area was established as the Ruataniwha Riding of Waipawa County, seen in this map from 1881.

¹ Named Abbotsford when first surveyed in 1860 the name of the town gradually reverted to Waipawa.

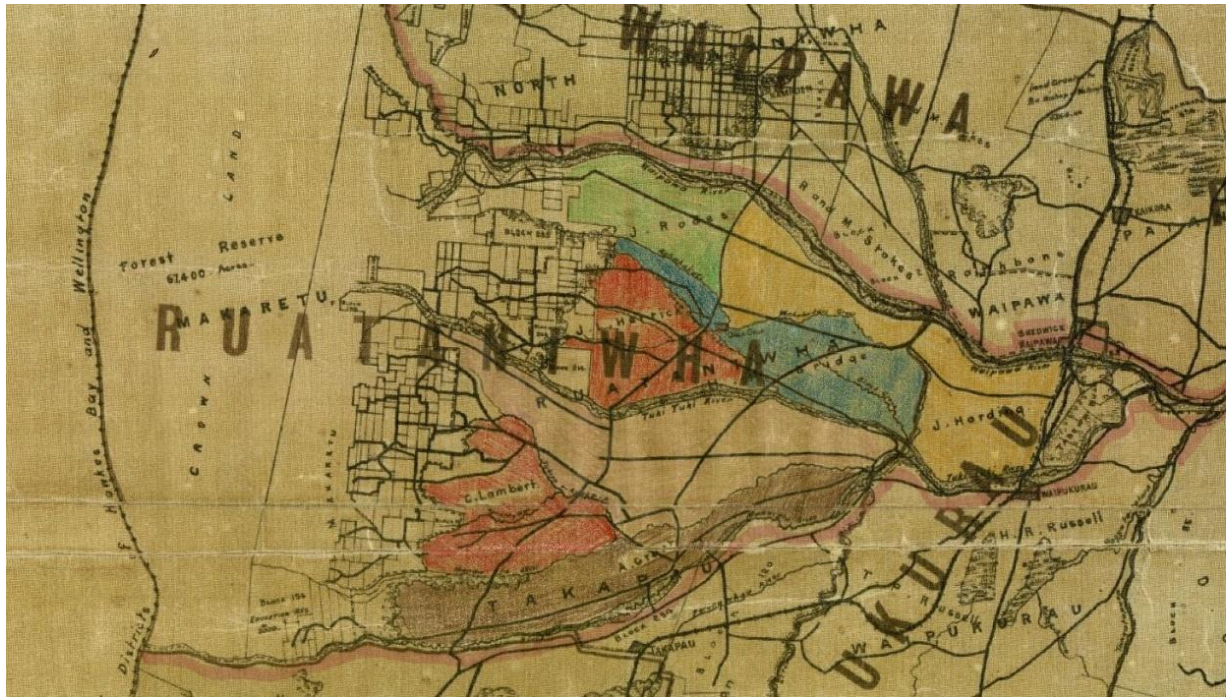


Figure 1 Map of Ruataniwha Riding 1881 Central Hawke's Bay Museum Collection

Seven large sheep runs took in the grassland of the plains: Springhill (green), Mount Vernon (yellow), Fairfield (blue), Forest Gate (orange), Ashcott (salmon), Lambertford (red) and Burnside (brown) from 1851. In the bush-covered foothills of the ranges, the communities of Wakarara, Blackburn and Makaretu were divided into small blocks, from forty to one hundred acres in size, from 1872.

Methodologically, this thesis was built on research tracing the origins and life paths of seven hundred and sixty-nine individuals. A list was populated using directories and electoral rolls from 1863-1910 and a database was constructed to track dates and places of birth, death, marriage, arrival in New Zealand (where applicable) and occupation. Individuals were also grouped in the context of households. Online family history databases, Ancestry and Find My Past, printed family histories, genealogical records and community newspapers accessed through Papers Past were the key sources used to build a picture of the community, on the plains and in the neighbouring bush blocks. Individuals and families who were interconnected and active in their respective communities were the easiest to trace. The lives of less interconnected individuals, where discovered, were often made visible through court cases, aspects of their lives revealed through their testimony or tragedy.

Analysis of this data delivered big picture information detailing the origins and community links of groups of settlers. The aim was also to illuminate the lives of ‘ordinary’ families who are difficult to trace without the use of genealogical sources and to redress the balance in the historiography.

This study would not have been possible without the online availability of nineteenth century newspapers, particularly the *Waipawa Mail*, which was published from 1878. Newspapers performed a community building function, with both micro and macro lenses. They circulated important personal information, linking families and individuals in isolated communities. Newspapers also connected individuals and families to the wider British Empire. For settler families they linked the two worlds of the local and the global. It is the detail found in the ‘local’ that is at the heart of this study.

The following chapter records aspects of the story of tangata whenua, following their interactions with the Crown and later settlers. It explores some of the ways Māori leaders sought to engage with the Settler Government, discussing land sales in particular. Managing the risks and opportunities of colonialism in a rapidly changing environment was challenging. Pākehā, where not actively hostile to Māori, were largely indifferent to their culture and aspirations. The reality of a global empire gave settlers enormous confidence in their own cultural contingency. A succession of leaders from local hapū responded creatively, negotiating through the use of resources, manpower and political leadership to maintain and advance the mana of their people.

In the 1850s the Ruataniwha Plains were open, windswept and interspersed with a myriad of small streams. To Pākehā eyes, perfect sheep country. Chapter two explores the purchase of the land from tangata whenua and the subsequent transformation of the landscape as pastoral farming was established. The introduction of large-scale sheep farming was pivotal in the re-shaping of the environment. Equally, the arrival of steam technology in the 1870s was transformative and accelerated the pace of change, especially in the landscape. As land was cleared for pasture, a European vision was planted on the plains, driven both culturally and economically. Settler activity

transformed the landscape from its open, treeless state to reflect European ideas of utility and enclosure, as an open plain became fenced private estates.

The initial phase of the Pākehā settlement of the plains was dominated by young men in the absence of women. Wives and families often remained elsewhere while land was acquired. Chapters five and six explore aspects of the lives of women and the rise of the nuclear family as the dominant social unit. As the number of small farms grew and new settlements were established, the nuclear family gradually became normative. The edge of Pākehā settlement moved inland after the arrival of sheep. Large sheep runs required the provision of labour and other services, both domestic and social. The town of Abbotsford/Waipawa was the first to provide those services. For women in the nineteenth century, community and personal expectation was focussed on the family and a role as wife and mother. Chapter five turns its focus to the family unit and the role of women in marriage and the ups and downs that followed. Families were the key labour unit in the settlement of the Ruataniwha Plains. Gender roles were accepted and embraced. Relationship difficulties and health problems sometimes complicated that simple fact, however individuals and communities found practical ways to solve their problems. In some cases, solutions pushed at marital law and social custom as was the case with bigamous and informal relationships. Often these arrangements were known about and accepted by the community as a practical necessity to keep the family labour unit intact.

A few women took an independent path and managed alone or with the support of children, they were the exception rather than the rule. Chapter six looks at the frontier of Pākehā settlement and women who for a variety of reasons found themselves outside the respectable world of the family. For single men and women, particularly those with few family connections, life on the frontier of settlement could be lonely and precarious. With limited social support outside of the family unit young women could be especially vulnerable.

Chapters seven and eight focus on three tools of settlement, the gun, the match and the axe. Although there were no local conflicts on the plains, the period of the New Zealand Wars saw numbers of Imperial Troops in the area and land grants to ex-servicemen post conflict. For Pākehā on the edges of the plains, newspaper reports of mounting danger made the 1860s a time of high anxiety. Most Pākehā and Māori lived their lives in parallel. There was curiosity about the other but few occasions where daily life intersected. It was not until the late 1880s, for example, that Māori children from Tapairu Pā were invited to attend school with their Pākehā neighbours over the river. For members of Her Majesty's forces posted to Central Hawke's Bay, the reality of the period was one of long stretches of boredom, discomfort and not much else. There were some economic opportunities for those who supplied services to restless troops. For those on the Ruataniwha Plains, this period was notable as a time of high anxiety and fear with little change to daily and seasonal routines.

Immigration schemes and the subsequent cutting and burning of Forty/Seventy² Mile Bush continued the Government's push for control of the North Island into the 1870s. Granting small blocks of bush land to ex-soldiers was successful in settling the area bordering the plains, particularly in the Ongaonga and Blackburn area. Numbers taking up the offer were not sufficient to maintain the momentum of settlement into Forty/Seventy Mile Bush. Politicians in Wellington and in Hawke's Bay began debating ways to increase the flow of migrants and to look beyond Great Britain for a source for prospective settlers. The continuation of the 'great work' of colonizing is the focus of chapter eight. The settlement of large numbers of Northern Europeans into the bushland at the edges

² Te Taperenui-o-Whātonga, the great southern forest of the North Island, was referred to as both Forty and Seventy Mile Bush. Forty Mile Bush, in newspaper accounts, was most commonly used to refer to the Southern Hawke's Bay section.

of the plains and pushing into southern Hawke's Bay was led by government policy and fuelled by political pressure. Immigrants were promised and expected land to be available.

Finally chapters nine and ten concern the small towns, particularly Ongaonga and their larger neighbour Waipawa, describing the growth of community institutions and the rise of the family farm. The growth of churches, clubs and societies required a critical mass of population and buildings large enough to accommodate a gathering. The regular rhythm of a day of rest offered an opportunity to meet with neighbours. However, a thinly spread population, seasonal work requirements, travelling distances and few community spaces slowed the development of community institutions on the plains. Tight-knit, isolated communities such as Makaretu established Church buildings and sports teams well ahead of others in the area.

On-going settler pressure for land led Seddon's Liberals to champion the breaking up of the large sheep runs for closer settlement. The stories of families who won balloted farms and the subsequent growth in the population reinforced the importance of the family as the basic economic unit. A balloted farm offered enormous opportunity, linking back to the pūrākau of Te rua o te taniwha, opportunity and risk always sitting side by side. A difficult childbirth, illness, relationship difficulties, lack of family or community support, the death of a spouse, or the outbreak of war, all impacted future success or failure on the land.

Little has been written with a focus on settler colonialism in Hawke's Bay since Rollo Arnold. Arnold and Miles Fairburn outlined two opposing interpretations of settler life in nineteenth century New Zealand. A cooperative world of families and neighbours pooling their talents and resources to develop and maintain their district, with newspapers publishing details of community life. Versus, a world of rapid frontier expansion characterised by the movement of unconnected, highly transient individuals, forming only superficial relationships. The world of the handshake or the world of colliding atoms? This thesis explores that dynamic nineteenth century world in the context of the Ruataniwha Plains.

Chapter 2. Historiography

The first *History of Hawke's Bay*³, J.G. Wilson, published in 1939 as part of New Zealand's Centennial celebrations of 1940, celebrated empire and endeavour,

The explorer, the whaler, the trader and the missionary have been conjured from their silent and scattered graves to relate their tales of adventure, danger, avarice and self-sacrifice, and, having blazed the trail, have retired and left the stage set for the advent of the settler – the man of fixed abode; home and family, spade and plough, sheep and cattle.⁴

Jock Phillips writing about the Centennial celebrations, highlighted themes of, 'praise for the pioneer combined uneasily with tributes to material progress ... and a sense of New Zealand's identity as forged within the Empire.'⁵ as a key part of the government's centennial messaging. Wilson's history sits firmly in this tradition. The New Zealand 'folk history of ... colonial arcadianism'⁶ and the role of the 'settler' in taming the wilderness, bringing the land into production and the establishment of farms is a central part of New Zealand's historical mythology. Local histories, particularly those by

³ J. G. Wilson and W. T. Prentice, *History of Hawke's Bay* (A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1939), Bibliographies, Non-fiction. <http://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.30444fdb.99ca.5482.87cc.c47b2b2ce1ac&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

⁴ Wilson and Prentice, *History of Hawke's Bay*, 192.

⁵ Jock Phillips, *Afterword: Reading the 1940 Centennial - Creating a National Spirit: Celebrating New Zealand's Centennial*, ed. William Renwick (Victoria University of Wellington, 2004), 281-82.

<http://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=edsdnz&AN=edsdnz.35363080&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

⁶ James Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders : from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (Penguin, 2001), Bibliographies, Non-fiction.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.db7204cb.4887.5477.8bbc.5a8c4aa7e606&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

the Bibbys⁷ and Malcolm Ross⁸ also follow in this tradition as uncritical timelines of progress as well as recording the everyday stories of local families and businesses. Yet, more often than not, the story of Hawke's Bay has been told with the focus on a particular set of well-heeled middle-class settlers. Who, with capital, were able to establish large sheep runs on the open grassland of the east coast and inland plains.

In general histories of New Zealand, Hawke's Bay is often just a footnote, mentioned as part of the discussion of the provinces as a 'big man's frontier'⁹ Because of the centrality of wool to the economy from the late 1850s¹⁰, the development of pastoralism and the large sheep runs has been typically explored in the context of economic development. Canterbury, Marlborough, Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay are linked together and where social history is touched upon, it is told as the story of the 'artificially English' and 'refined lifestyle'¹¹ of the wealthy run holders. Michael King in his *Penguin History of New Zealand* begins a discussion of the community of families, shepherds and station hands¹² who formed the bulk of Hawke's Bay settlers. He offers a Taranaki example, the

⁷ E.S. Bibby and Claire Bibby, *Onga Onga, Village of the Plains, 1972-1975* (Waipawa, Hawke's Bay: Waipawa Mail Ltd., 1975).

E. S. Bibby and Claire Bibby, *Lunesdale: A Bush Farm Community from 1871* (E.S. Bibby and C. Bibby, 1990), Non-fiction.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.09001f0d.7929.5227.bc06.d940f096d90e&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

⁸ Malcolm Ross, *Rangeview, Memories of Onga Onga*, ed. Lisa McDonald (Lorraine Ross, 2012).

⁹ Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand*, Revised ed ed., Pelican Books, (Penguin, 1970), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 93.

<http://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.6af90a20.f808.5741.bad4.c0d0a3d07280&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹⁰ Belich, *Making Peoples: A History of the New Zealanders : from Polynesian Settlement to the End of the Nineteenth Century*, 342.

¹¹ Graham, Jeanine in: W. H. Oliver and B. R. Williams, *The Oxford History of New Zealand* (Clarendon Press, 1981), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 133.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.67847995.ea35.5150.9aa6.f41d06b9a497&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹² Michael King, *The Penguin History of New Zealand* (Penguin Books, 2003), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 174.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat090>

Olsons, to illustrate the adaptability and upward mobility possible in the New Zealand frontier. Matthew Wright in his 1994 *Hawke's Bay – The History of a Province* is explicit in his focus on what he calls 'the landed gentry': 'the effect and influence of this group was absolutely pivotal to the growth and development of Hawke's Bay from the 1850s onwards'¹³ as was Michael Campbell in his 1972 PHD Thesis.¹⁴ Miriam Macgregor's *Early Stations of Hawke's Bay*¹⁵ is an alphabetical catalogue of the same wealthy group. The founding of the great sheep-stations and the story of the families who owned them has been the standard means by which to approach the history of Hawke's Bay for the last fifty years. Even in his revised and republished '*The History of Hawke's Bay*'¹⁶, 2019, Matthew Wright's focus is again, on the 'shepherd kings'. He describes settler Hawke's Bay as, 'a microcosm of the hopes of nineteenth-century Britain, filtered through the sieve of social idealism and the practical realities of frontier life.'¹⁷ But again, it is a general history exploring broad patterns without the room to explore the story of the small settler, men and women and their families.

In their systematic, statistical analysis to answer the question, 'who were New Zealanders? Pākehā ancestors?' Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn point out the same problem outlined above. The

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¹³ Matthew Wright, *Hawke's Bay: The History of a Province* (Dunmore Press, 1994), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 7. <http://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.919369e1.1067.56ea.a3c9.0ce7135426d4&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹⁴ M. D. N. Campbell, *The Evolution of Hawke's Bay Landed Society, 1850-1914: submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History at the Victoria University of Wellington* (1972), Bibliographies, Non-fiction. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.b6526794.835c.5bf4.b586.8f4d72264cae&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹⁵ Miriam Macgregor, *Early Stations of Hawke's Bay* (Reed, 1970), Bibliographies, Non-fiction. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.6d440792.ea27.57cc.b8f1.ca05f4304d78&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹⁶ Matthew Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, Second Edition ed. (Wellington: Intruder Books, 2019), Bibliographies, Non-fiction.

¹⁷ Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 45.

problem that historians have ‘focused not on the migrants themselves but on the institutions and ideals established by the elite.’¹⁸ Phillips and Hearn identify three key pulls for immigrants from the 1860s: the New Zealand Wars, government assistance schemes and gold.¹⁹ They identify Hawke’s Bay, along with Taranaki, Wellington and Marlborough as attracting higher proportions of English settlers. Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy’s edited collection *‘Far from Home: The English in New Zealand’*²⁰ also explores this group. Brad Patterson, Tom Brooking and Lyndon Fraser have also written about the experiences and impacts of Scottish²¹ and Irish²² immigrants respectively. In the Hawke’s Bay context, little has been written about the large group of Scandinavian and Northern European settlers recruited by the Government and Hawke’s Bay Provincial Government to settle Seventy/Forty Mile Bush.

Settlement of New Zealand also takes place in the context of empire. Just how settlers understood their role in the larger context of the British Empire is an important question. ‘Some

¹⁸ Jock Phillips and T. J. Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945* (Auckland University Press, 2008), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 10.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.63a41b69.b1fd.5bc7.abf1.6ce490ca4e7f&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹⁹ Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945*, 35.

²⁰ Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy, *Far from 'home' : the English in New Zealand* (Otago Univ Press, 2012), Indexes, Bibliographies, Non-fiction.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.a441d55b.ab16.597f.932a.9828d410456a&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

²¹ Brad Patterson, *Unpacking the Kists: the Scots in New Zealand*, ed. Tom Brooking et al., McGill-Queen's studies in ethnic history. Series two: 34, (McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), Bibliographies, Non-fiction.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.4c2870f0.c23d.540e.b363.651b02be58c3&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

²² Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead: Irish Catholic immigrants in nineteenth-century Christchurch* (Auckland University Press, 1997), Bibliographies, Non-fiction.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.77532c95.aee5.53c2.974a.b2267671e125&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

18,000 British troops were mobilized for the biggest campaign²³ and granting of land to military settlers was a key part of Grey's strategy for both 'opening up' land for settlement and for recruiting troops.²⁴ Some of those military settlers eyed land in Hawke's Bay. Charlotte Macdonald and Rebecca Lenihan's *Soldiers of Empire* project²⁵ following the life trajectories of Imperial Troops who came to New Zealand and the impact of garrison culture on the culture of Empire was a useful source of data. Two theses with links to the Soldiers of Empire Project; John McLellan's '*Soldiers & Colonists*'²⁶ 2017 and Jamie Hawkins Elder's '*Unsettling the Colony*'²⁷ 2018, followed in more detail the lives of veterans and refugees from Taranaki and the East Coast, the former also making links to Hawke's Bay land issues and the importance of family in establishing a life outside of the military.

Rollo Arnold in '*The Farthest Promised Land – English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s*'²⁸ focused his attention on the English. The story of Hawkes Bay settlement is larger than just settlement from Britain. The Vogel government's infrastructure projects of the 1870s saw the arrival of settlers from Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Germany. Recruited specifically to clear

²³ John McLellan, "Soldiers & Colonists: Imperial Soldiers as Settlers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand." (History Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington., 2017), <https://doi.org/10.26686/wgtn.17064677>.

²⁴ Vincent O'Malley, *The Great War for New Zealand : Waikato 1800-2000* (Bridget Williams Books, 2016, 2016), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 399.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.1dd809ce.e5e4.59ae.b8f4.241a10bfc727&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

²⁵ "Soldiers of Empire. Garrison & Empire in the 19th Century," 2021, https://empiresoldiers.shinyapps.io/Soldiers_of_Empire_Data_Explorer/.

²⁶ McLellan, "Soldiers & Colonists: Imperial Soldiers as Settlers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand."

²⁷ Jamie Hawkins Elder, "Unsettling the Colony: Gender, fear and settler colonialism during the evacuation of 'refugee' settler women from Land Wars conflict at Taranaki (1860-1861) and Poverty Bay (1865-1868)" (History Te Herenga Waka - Victoria University of Wellington, 2018), <https://doi.org/10.26686/wgtn.17134139.v1>.

²⁸ Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s* (Victoria University Press, 1981), Bibliographies, Non-fiction.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.5a5fc20a.da37.537a.9728.be55e527503e&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

the vast Forty Mile Bush²⁹, Scandinavian and German settlers made their homes and settled on small bush blocks in Central Hawke's Bay as well as further south. They created their own community enclaves in the back blocks. Miles Fairburn similarly set out to answer the question of the characteristics of nineteenth century New Zealand settler society. His atomisation thesis explored in *'The Ideal Society and its Enemies'*³⁰ 1989, has been criticized for centering the life experience of the unattached male and treating the life of the single male as normative. Settler society was more complex and varied than that singular experience. Fairburn does provide a valuable discussion of stress points in settler communities, including isolation, alcohol abuse and violence. Isolation and the measures taken to ameliorate loneliness and build community are part of the focus of this study.

In the in-depth study of a specific New Zealand community, Crawford Somerset set a high bar with his detailed *'Littledene'*³¹ 1938, a survey of Oxford in Canterbury. As a sociological study, Somerset's work included discussion of geographical, historical and economic patterns. The monumental work of Erik Olssen and others in the Caversham Project focused on the working-class Dunedin suburb of Caversham. The database, built up over decades, enabled researchers to put a human face to the general discussion of the lives of workers in a closely populated, industrial, urban area. In discussions of class in the New Zealand context, Jim McAloon argued³² that pastoral

²⁹ Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 97.

³⁰ Miles Fairburn, *The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society, 1850-1900* (Auckland University Press, 1989), Bibliographies, Non-fiction.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.a8a51ee7.454c.50a8.a96f.3710fe530c68&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

³¹ H. C. D. Somerset, *Littledene: a New Zealand Rural Community*, Educational research series / New Zealand Council for Educational Research: no. 5, (New Zealand Council for Educational Research, 1938), Non-fiction.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.c328856d.d9b3.513a.86f8.173bfb50a30b&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

³² Jim McAloon, "Class in Colonial New Zealand: Towards a historiographical rehabilitation," *New Zealand Journal of History* 38 (2023), <https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=4a6f1ac1-04cf-3895-b564-603317148407>.

capitalism in areas such as Hawke's Bay, although dominated initially by the wool barons, eventually gave rise to numbers of wealthy middle class family farmers and merchants, driven by the availability of land. Tony Ballantyne explored links between the development of community buildings, institutions and societies in the shaping of the intellectual life of Gore.³³

Caroline Daley's study of the community of Taradale³⁴ in the days when it was an independent small town, separate from Napier, explored the gendered world of late nineteenth and early twentieth century community life. The experiences of women in that gendered world were diverse. The rural context and farming practice in New Zealand and how those factors intersect with individual and community life were important. It is more difficult to build and maintain connected groups of kin and neighbours in an isolated, rural district. Raewyn Dalziel's research³⁵ into the lives of nineteenth century women and the gendered expectations that circumscribed their lives, resonated with the findings of this study.

Hugh Campbell's writing peels back the layers of history to reveal 'the hidden political ontology of farms in colonial history'. He discusses land-use, the erasure of ecological systems, social and ecological problems, and the fencing off and later attempts to re-stabilize these disrupted worlds.³⁶ In his use of family history to provide a human face to the story of farming, Campbell

³³ Tony Ballantyne, "Thinking Local: Knowledge, Sociability and Community in Gore's Intellectual Life, 1875-1914," *New Zealand Journal of History* 44, Number 2 (01/01/ 2010), <http://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,cookie,url,uid&db=edsinz&AN=edsinz.996488573602837&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

³⁴ Caroline Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930* (Auckland University Press, 1999), Bibliographies, Non-fiction. <http://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip,cookie,url,uid&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.f91be80c.c277.550c.888b.b03c7cc19d1b&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

³⁵ Raewyn Dalziel, "The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand," *New Zealand Journal of History* 11, Number 2, no. October (1977), <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/870217/pdf>.

³⁶ Hugh Campbell, *Farming Inside Invisible Worlds: Modernist agriculture and its consequences* (London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic, 2021), 178, <https://www.bloomsburycollections.com/book/farming-inside-invisible-worlds-modernist-agriculture-and-its-consequences/>.

provides a helpful model as does Susan Garside's 2024 thesis, *Colonial Families in Motion*³⁷. Tracing the movement of Nelson, New Zealand Company assisted emigrants using genealogical sources, her research revealed a community of tightly interlaced families. These highly mobile family groups re-located to take advantage of new opportunities, particularly to purchase land or start a business, always within a family context. Garside's research confirms the importance of a family context in nineteenth century migration. The story of the small settler communities of the plains and bush country between the Makaretu and Waipawa rivers begins with the 'shepherd kings'. But community life is peopled by the families who followed. The story of how they established themselves socially and physically is the story told in this thesis.

³⁷ Susan Jane Garside, "*Colonial Families in Motion: Tracing the Nelson New Zealand Company Assisted Emigrants, 1810-1910 : a thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History at Massey University, Auckland, New Zealand* / Susan Jane Garside," (2024). <https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=17342826-9a08-3846-8eff-8d90aabe3e93>.

Chapter 3. Kia rongō ai ite kōrero

Managing and adapting to the realities of settler colonialism in ways that advanced the mana and ongoing independence of hapū was at the heart of Ngāti Kahungunu leadership strategies in the nineteenth century. This chapter explores some of the ways leaders sought to engage with the Settler Government through: land sales, the provision of troops, the courts and through political action. Māori effort to maintain self-determination was nimble and creative as they varied tactics to manage the impacts of settlers, who were hungry for land and indifferent to Māori culture and aspirations. The open country of the plains stood in contrast to important food resources for hapū lakes, swamps, rivers and forests. It was this open land they traded to attract new people, ideas, technology and economic opportunity. This chapter turns its focus to tangata whenua, following their interaction with the Crown and later settlers.

In most accounts of the initial land sales in Hawke's Bay, Te Hāpuku, leader of Ngāti Te Whatuiāpiti is identified as the key figure. His whakapapa connected him to important Hawke's Bay hapū. 'Te Hāpuku was a descendant of Kahungunu. Equally ... he was a descendant of pre-Kahungunu tangata whenua.'³⁸ He was also a signatory of He Whakaputanga in 1835 and the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840.³⁹ His whakapapa and his willingness to engage with the Crown made him the ideal intermediary and he was courted by Government Land Agent Donald McLean in his land purchasing mission. Angela Ballara argues that McLean to some extent manufactured Te Hāpuku's status as 'Paramount Chief of Ngāti Kahungunu' because Te Hāpuku's belief that land sales would

³⁸ Angela Ballara, *The origins of Ngāti Kahungunu* (1991), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 107.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.a8945173.0c81.561f.9051.9218ab13e87f&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

³⁹ "Te Hāpuku," Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, 1990, accessed 16 May 2024,
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1t28/te-hapuku>.

ensure the future of his people, aligned with McLean's need to acquire lands for settlement. 'McLean consolidated Te Hāpuku's position by flattery and attention, keeping him at his side and advising him while Te Hāpuku arranged the sale of lands from Wairoa to Wairarapa.'⁴⁰ Sheep farming was taking off in the 1850s, Te Hāpuku and other chiefs such as his relative Pūhara, Karaitiana Takamoana and Rēnata Kawepō all shared a vision for the future.

They had a vision: their people, so decimated by epidemics of introduced diseases, by losses in the 'musket wars' and migrations in the 1820s and 1830s, would be helped by the influx of Europeans who would build towns and provide markets for Māori produce, bringing prosperity again to their people. Te Hāpuku gave a great speech to convince his people to sell the Waipukurau block even though the price offered by McLean for its forty-square miles was miserly. ... His idea was that sheep, cattle and horses would run on the plains, and wheat and corn would replace the food resources lost to exotic predators.⁴¹

The same chiefs all signed the land sale deeds of the Waipukurau, Ahuriri and Mōhaka blocks in 1851, Donald McLean's first land purchases on behalf of the Crown in Hawke's Bay. McLean appointed George Sisson Cooper to the position of Hawkes Bay District Land Commissioner⁴² soon after. Dean Cowie noted 'Cooper's explicit intent to exploit both Māori factionalism and Māori financial difficulties in order to purchase Māori land.'⁴³ Following the initial purchases McLean and Cooper used those pressures noted by Cowie as levers to initiate further sales. Importantly, they negotiated consent for sales with a few leading chiefs rather than gathering all hapū with interests. The sale of the Te Umuopa Block (Part of the Ruataniwha) was signed on 6 January 1854 by Hine-i-

⁴⁰ Angela Ballara, *Iwi: the dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945* (Victoria University Press, 1998), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 82.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.032b54ea.c899.584b.bc42.9bf981bd2446&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

⁴¹ Angela Ballara, Kahungunu History 1860-1910. A Lecture given at the Hawke's Bay Exhibition Centre., 17 December 2000 2000, From the programme notes for 'Kahungunu ka moe ... ka puta ... Exhibition', 3, Hastings Central Library.

⁴² Wilson and Prentice, *History of Hawke's Bay*, 205.

⁴³ Dean Cowie, Hawke's Bay. Rangahaua Whanui District 11B, 42 (1996).

paketia (a senior cousin of Te Hāpuku and wife of Pūhara) Pūhara, Hori Niania, Te Kuru and Te Waihiku. Cooper reported in 1857, 'that it had been sold without the consent of the rest of the tribe, who received no share of the purchase money, Hori having spent it in Wellington'⁴⁴ Eventually this sale was repudiated and the block was later re-purchased.

Kerry Conlon in her 2014 thesis '*Surveying Hine-i-paketia*' challenges the standard historical narrative of Hawke's Bay land sales, that place Te Hāpuku as the key figure at the centre. She argues that the role of women of rank, such as Hine-i-paketia, has been downplayed. That the written history has been framed through a colonial lens. Te Hāpuku had to seek the permission of Hine-i-paketia for the Waipukurau Purchase to proceed and Conlon argues that 'rank rather than gender determined the extent of authority within tribal structure'⁴⁵ Ballara also highlights the mana of Hine-i-paketia as she 'pursued a course of land selling, exercising her mana over land and people as though they were her personal property'⁴⁶ Ballara further contends that Hine-i-paketia and other chiefs conflated their right to *tuku whenua* (make gifts of land) with the right to alienate land permanently. All of the leading chiefs at this time were consolidating their mana and reasserting their territorial claims following their return from exodus in Nukutaurua. McLean and Cooper exploited these rivalries.

On 23 March 1855 McLean paid a £300 first instalment for more land on the Ruataniwha Plains to Te Hāpuku, Hakaraia and Hirini Hoerau. Once surveyed this land was split into two blocks; Te Tōtara and Ruataniwha South.⁴⁷ These two blocks adjoined the Waipukurau Block to the east and took in all the land westward to the foothills of the Ruahines and from north to south between the

⁴⁴ Joy Hippolite, *Wairoa ki Wairarapa. The Hawke's Bay Purchases*, Wai 201, A033, 7 (1992).

⁴⁵ Kerry Conlon, "*Surveying Hineipaketia: The Politics of Power, Rank and Gender in Nineteenth Century Hawke's Bay*" (Master of Arts in History Massey University, 2014), 116, <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/5660>.

⁴⁶ Angela Ballara, "Wāhine Rangatira: Māori Women of Rank and their Role in The Women's Kotahitanga Movement of the 1890's," *New Zealand Journal of History* 27, Number 2 (1993): 131, <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/872140/pdf>.

⁴⁷ Hippolite, *Short Wairoa ki Wairarapa. The Hawke's Bay Purchases*, 9.

Waipawa and Makaretu Rivers. A second instalment of £1000 was paid to Te Hāpuku on 28 August 1855 to complete the purchase of the Te Tōtara Block. In September, in Auckland, Te Hāpuku was paid £100 as an instalment for Ruataniwha South. The purchase was completed by George Cooper on 25 March 1856 with a further £1000 paid and the deed recording over ninety signatures. The final £100 was paid on 15 April 1857 and completed the purchase of the land within the study area of this thesis by the Crown.

Ballara and Scott note that in the cases of the Te Tōtara and Ruahine Bush blocks that despite the secret nature of their sale, ‘no complaints concerning this specific piece of land have been recorded’⁴⁸ By courting Te Hāpuku and treating him as ‘paramount chief’ McLean put pressure on the relationships between hapū. Others grew increasingly irritated by Te Hāpuku’s continued willingness to sell land without consultation and the preferential treatment he received from Crown land agents. Eventually the tensions reached breaking point with the battle of Pakiaka in August 1857. To put an end to ‘ngā hoko tāhae,’ land sales by stealth, Rēnata Kawepō and Karaitiana Takamoana forced Te Hāpuku to withdraw and committed to rūnanga as a form of self-government; ‘the political union created by these chiefs for the purposes of this war survived, expanded and was increasingly institutionalised through rūnanga ... it helped the development of Ngāti Kahungunu from ... dispersed social groups towards a political ... entity.’⁴⁹

The Rūnanga Movement 1850s-60s emerged as a response to land selling by individual chiefs such as Te Hāpuku, Hine-i-paketia and Hori Niania. Rēnata Kawepō, Tareha and Karaitiana Takamoana, cynical about the promises of McLean and future prosperity, sought to hold onto their remaining land. Allying with the King movement’s rūnanga system, without promising full

⁴⁸ Angela Ballara and Gary Scott, Ruahine-Ruataniwha Block Report. Crown Purchases of Māori Land in early Provincial Hawke's Bay., Wai 201, 41 (Waitangi Tribunal, 1994).

⁴⁹ Ballara, *Iwi: the dynamics of Māori tribal organisation from c.1769 to c.1945*, 84.

allegiance to the King was their response.⁵⁰ The actions of rūnanga in settling local disputes in Waipukurau and delaying road construction over Māori land were enough to excite a lengthy epistle from William Colenso in the *Hawke's Bay Herald* in October 1859; 'with reference to the Runanga:- never allow of its authority in any degree or shape ... never look to it for aid; never allow of its proceedings.'⁵¹ Colenso's hope was, that by ignoring the deliberations of rūnanga, the King Movement's influence in Hawke's Bay and any form of self-government for Māori would fade away and die. However, it was the Government's declaration of war on the King Movement in 1863 that saw support for rūnanga in Hawke's Bay begin to dwindle. Problems of debt, not only to storekeepers but also the associated costs of equipping troops to fight for the government, united rūnanga supporters. Eventually all land sales in Hawke's Bay were halted.

Hēnare Mātua was a key leader resisting the sale of land and it was out of his involvement in the Rūnanga Movement that the Repudiation Movement of the late 1870s was born. The Native Land Act, land loss, exploitative business practice and a sense of powerlessness pushed Hawke's Bay leaders into action. Rēnata Kawepō, Karaitiana Takamoana, Hēnare Tomoana and Hēnare Mātua sought to use the courts and political pressure to resolve issues. Rivalries between leading runholders such as Henry Russell and John Ormond also contributed to the agitation, with Henry Russell funding and encouraging some of the activity of the Movement. Sharron Cole has concluded that it was difficult to pinpoint Russell's motivation for involvement; 'Russell ... remains an enigmatic character. It would seem he was motivated by more than just revenge. ... Most of all,

⁵⁰ David Tipene-Leach in; Brian Morris, Hilary Pedersen, and Marina Sciascia, *Matatua: Fathers and Sons* (Te Hanganui Partnership, 2011), Non-fiction, 325.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.64cb3f09.a067.5fae.ba06.7b648180afa2&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

⁵¹ William Colenso, "Open Column," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 22 October 1859, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HHB18591022.2.20.2>.

through his knowledge, position and money, he opened many doors.’⁵² Matthew Wright however places his motives as political and an effort to ‘bring down the McLean-Ormond faction.’⁵³ Hui were held, a stream of letters and petitions were written and politicians were lobbied. Plans for a separate Māori Parliament, the translation and circulation of the Treaty of Waitangi and the return of wrongfully purchased land were established. At the heart of the demands, was also the call to abolish the Native Land Court.

The Native Lands Act of 1862 gave the Governor the ability to convene a court in any District to establish ownership of Māori Land. The Native Lands Act 1865 further formalised the court process under a more European model, ‘any individual Māori could make an application to the court, thus dragging a whole community into the process’⁵⁴ The Crown’s pre-emptive right to purchase land as guaranteed under the Treaty of Waitangi was waived and Māori could sell land directly to settlers. The Court forced Māori to move from a communal system of land ownership to a system of individual title. There was the possibility for continued tribal ownership, but in practice, blocks of land were surveyed and ownership recorded with ten named owners. The effect of this change was felt keenly in Hawke’s Bay.⁵⁵ The processes of the court undermined communal ownership and tikanga, ‘the court became a new forum in which old rivalries played out amid

⁵² Sharron Mary Cole, *The Repudiation Movement: a study of the Maori land protest movement in Hawkes Bay in the 1870's : a thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History at Massey University* (1977), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 65.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.48bfe70c.4f76.552f.8b87.0f867f9722ca&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>
<http://hdl.handle.net/10179/6140>.

⁵³ Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 85.

⁵⁴ Atholl Anderson, Judith Binney, and Aroha Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History* (Bridget Williams Books, 2014), Non-fiction, 288.

<http://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=cat00245a&AN=massey.b3116609&site=eds-live&scope=site>.

⁵⁵ Richard Boast and Lisa Lefever Black, "The Native Land Court and the Ten Owner Rule in Hawke’s Bay, 1866-1873: An Analysis," *Droit Foncier et Gouvernance Judiciaire dans le Pacifique Sud* (2010): 170, www.wgtn.ac.nz/law/research?external-uuid=2f89fb41-eae5-4dc2-885a-8f55f4a6624b.

pressures of an imposed (and imported) system of land tenure and law.’⁵⁶ Non-attendance at a Court sitting could see rights lost.

With the Land Court sitting in Waipawa from 1870, the small settlement of Tapairu across the river from the town became an important base, ‘people would come and camp on the riverbanks so they could be represented at the court hearings.’⁵⁷ Local leaders such as Hēnare Mātua also lived at Tapairu for long periods of time in the 1880s. ‘The ten owner system of the Land Court created a new private land market in ten owner shares out of virtually nowhere, and a small group of very well placed merchants, brokers and land speculators were there on hand ... to take advantage.’⁵⁸ The Native Land Court issued title to over five million acres of land in its first seven years of operation with Hawke’s Bay land affected on a large scale. Even the editor of the *Hawke’s Bay Times* urged McLean; ‘by some wise efforts to stop the indiscriminate alienation of native land going on all round us ... It is an evil.’⁵⁹ The Repudiation Movement was successful in applying political pressure. Land dealings in Hawke’s Bay were debated in Parliament and in both English and Māori language newspapers. Tapairu Pā became the key site where the interests and cultural imperatives of local hapū bumped up against the world of the settler.

High literacy rates amongst Māori in the nineteenth century enabled the Government to communicate directly to a largely rural Māori population through the publication of Māori language and bi-lingual newspapers. As Native Secretary from 1856, Donald McLean’s proficiency with Te Reo saw him strongly influence the papers produced during the period of the Land Wars and their aftermath. ‘*Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri*’ (The Māori Canoe of Hawke’s Bay) published from 1863-71

⁵⁶ Ibid, 289

⁵⁷ Ropiha, Robert in: Morris, Pedersen, and Sciascia, *Matatua: Fathers and Sons*, 222.

⁵⁸ Boast and Black, "The Native Land Court and the Ten Owner Rule in Hawke’s Bay, 1866-1873: An Analysis," 211.

⁵⁹ "Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri," *Hawke's Bay Times*, 26 May 1870, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBT18700526.2.5>.

and edited by the editor of the *Hawke's Bay Herald* with strong influence from McLean and George Cooper⁶⁰, is one example. The paper and its successor 'was devoted to pressing government views on land purchase and Native Department policy under McLean'⁶¹ The *Hawke's Bay Herald* in particular reflected the viewpoint of the runholders; 'The Maoris ... want not so much an investigation but the restitution of the lands they have parted with. They have eaten their cake and yet they want to have it again'⁶² Henry Russell won a libel action against the Government over allegations published in *Te Waka*. Russell retaliated by financing independent Māori newspapers, '*Nga Hua o te Mohoitanga ma nga Tangata Maori*' 1874, and '*Te Wananga*' 1874-8, printed by Henry Hill. These papers 'supported the retention of the provinces, extension of the vote to Māori and increase of the number of Māori seats in Parliament'⁶³ Political agitation led to land sales in Hawke's Bay becoming the focus of an investigation, The Native Lands Alienation Commission of 1873.⁶⁴

Four Commissioners sat in Napier from the third February to hear complaints and then to make recommendations to Parliament. Of the three hundred and one separate complaints sixty six were aired, including; a complaint against Henry Russell brought by Hori Niania and Te Aroatu

⁶⁰ Penelope Griffith and P. G. Parkinson, *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 = Ngā tānga reo Māori : an annotated bibliography = Ngā kohikohinga me ōna whakamārama* (Reed Pub., 2004), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 766. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.bcd8ccf7.020a.538a.8494.33e4ba539c04&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

⁶¹ Jenifer Mary Curnow, Ngapare K. Hopa, and Jane McRae, *Rere atu, taku manu! : Discovering history, language and politics in the Māori language newspapers* (Auckland University Press, 2002), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 23. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.077273ba.395a.537d.a75c.69ed52fa0d0f&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

⁶² Cole, *The Repudiation Movement: a study of the Maori land protest movement in Hawkes Bay in the 1870's : a thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History at Massey University*, 69.

⁶³ Curnow, Hopa, and McRae, *Rere atu, taku manu! : Discovering history, language and politics in the Māori language newspapers*, 24.

⁶⁴ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission (Report of the), (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1873).

regarding the Waipukurau Native Reserve, a complaint against Karaitiana Takamoana brought by Hori Niania and Te Aroatua over the Tarewa Reserve over which he had no claim, a complaint against the Government brought by Renata Kāwepo over the Tikokino Reserve, a complaint against the Government brought by Henare Matua (representing non-sellers) over Tamaki or Seventy Mile Bush, a complaint against William Rathbone brought by Manihera, Toti and eleven others over the Tawera Reserve, a complaint against Henry Russell brought by Hiraka Tuhua, Tanguru Tuhua, Maka Wangatana and Inia Wangatana over the Waipukurau Native Reserve, a complaint against William Rathbone brought by Urupene Pūhara over the Tarewa Block and complaints into Crown Purchases in Tikokino and Waipawa. Commissioner Frederick Maning got to the heart of the matter in his general report.

I believe the whole value and utility of the Native Lands Acts depend on this position – that the issue of a Crown Grant founded on a decision of the Native Land Court is final and decisive as to the ownership of the land ... any other theory than this, which would acknowledge the possibility of any rights of ownership under Maori custom remaining unextinguished ... [would] create a general attack on the validity of the titles to all lands which have been purchased by Europeans⁶⁵

Commissioner Wiremu Hikairo in his general report is particularly critical of the actions of Europeans in Hawke's Bay,

There are many matters which I can point out to you to show the difference between the Province of Hawke's Bay and all other parts of this Island. ...

1. ... The storekeepers in the first place gave goods on credit to grantees of land and afterwards asked that the land be sold to them for a very small price. The owner of the land might desire to keep it, but what could he do, being in fear about his debts and so he agreed to sell.

2. The negotiations for lands which we dealt with were conducted with the grantees separately, sometimes on the roads, in some cases in public houses, in some cases in the bedrooms of owners and also when they were sick.

⁶⁵ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission (Report of the), Short, 43.

3. The signatures were also obtained separately ...

4. The grantees were continually urged to sell, the purchasers only stopped teasing them when consent to sell was given.⁶⁶

The 1873 Commission was regarded by Māori as a sham. There was intense, consistent pressure for Māori to sell land. The Māori Land Court facilitated alienation of land both by limiting the number of owners of any given block to ten and through the imposition of surveying costs as a requirement before the granting of title. It was surveying issues that were at the heart of the dispute over the boundaries of a two-thousand-acre reserve, the Tarewa Block. The block at the confluence of the Waipawa and Tukituki Rivers, was the traditional birding ground of local hapū⁶⁷, set aside as a reserve with the Waipukurau Purchase of 1851. Sitting between the towns of Waipawa and Waipukurau Tarewa also contained the most accessible stands of timber. The Reserve was divided into six separate portions by the Native Land Court and it was the portion known as Tapairu Pā opposite the township of Waipawa which became the subject of a heated boundary dispute. Tapairu Pā on the Tarewa Block was first settled permanently in the 1870s when the railhead reached Waipawa. The town was the administrative and commercial centre for the area stretching from Te Aute to Woodville.⁶⁸ The incentive for moving there permanently was ‘kia rongō ai ite kōrero (to hear the news of the world)’ Heta Tiki was the first to relocate there, building a wharepuni named Tapururangi. The bush on the block was dense and timber was readily available for housing.⁶⁹ The 1873 Commissioners expressed divided opinions about the boundary issues at Tapairu. Justice C.W. Richmond was convinced by the arguments of the Māori claimants; however, Judge Maning had an

⁶⁶ Ibid, 52

⁶⁷ "Ngā Ara Tipuna - Story Telling Trail," 2023, 2024, <https://www.ngaaratipuna.co.nz/>.

⁶⁸ John Taylor Meha, Statement of Evidence of John Meha, (Wairarapa ki Tararua Inquiry: Rangitāne Tū Mai Rā Trust).

⁶⁹ Stuart Meha, Te Tapairu Pa in, *This is Waipawa*, (The Waipawa Mail Ltd, 1961), 43.

extra sentence attached stating he was ‘unable to give a certain opinion’⁷⁰ The situation remained unresolved and surfaced again with the Waipawa Land Dispute of 1880.⁷¹

The dispute first arose in December 1872 when John Harding, owner of neighbouring Mount Vernon Station, sought to evict Heta Tiki and others who were living in cottages at Tapairu Pā. In February 1880 Harding was frustrated in his attempt to have a boundary fence erected, instructing those living on the land that they ‘needed to remove.’⁷² The dispute rumbled on for years with both parties unwilling to yield. In July 1880 John Harding took men with axes and saws with the intent of demolishing houses, again both sides stood their ground, Māori under the leadership of Hēnare Mātua and Nepe Te Apatu. The stalemate continued. In September 1881 John Bryce as Native Minister introduced the Waipawa Land Dispute Bill hoping to force a compromise. The Bill allocated John Harding fifteen acres of the disputed land and full compensation leaving five acres to Māori with the possibility of payment for disturbance as the Government saw fit.⁷³ However, the Bill was discharged from the order paper. Bryce was clear about who was at fault; ‘it appears ... that a portion of the kāinga was included in a Crown grant [and] that the government are responsible for the mistake made and ought to have the same rectified.’⁷⁴ In October 1882 a Ministerial Party led by John Bryce eventually visited the Pā and negotiated an agreement over the boundary.⁷⁵

In 1883 King Tāwhiao embarked on a royal progress up the East Coast of the North Island to raise support before heading to England, hoping to petition Queen Victoria. It was expected that

⁷⁰ Hawke's Bay Native Lands Alienation Commission (Report of the), Short, 40.

⁷¹ Waipawa Land Dispute (Correspondence Relating to the), (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1880).

⁷² "Mr Harding and the Maoris," *Waipawa Mail*, 21 February 1880, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18800221.2.5>.

⁷³ "Waipawa Land Dispute," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 16 September 1881, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18810916.2.7>.

⁷⁴ John Bryce, Reports of Native Affairs Committee, (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1877).

⁷⁵ "The Maori Land Dispute," *Waipawa Mail*, 7 October 1882, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18821007.2.4>.

Tāwhiao would stay at Te Hauke, at what had been Te Hapuku's Pa. The younger leaders of Tapairu had gathered there, taking food for the occasion. Apiata Kuikainga, brother of Heta Tiki and an elder of Tapairu, aged over ninety, took the decision to assert the mana of his people and delay Tāwhiao as he passed by. He instructed his grandson and great grandson to hunt for game and pork and gathered quantities of vegetables. Tongi from neighbouring Mataweka was also supportive. The storekeepers in Waipawa were approached and Edward Bibby and William Rathbone contributed tea, sugar, biscuits, bread and jam. Mary Ann Bibby also loaned her kauri dining room table, so that Tāwhiao could be catered for in style.⁷⁶ On Monday 5th March, hangi were put down, the gates by the railway line were opened and Mere Te Hauerangi, the wife of Apiata's grandson, waited at the roadside to send out the karanga. As the cavalcade came to a halt, she tugged at the coupling strap linking the bridles of the horses with her tewhatewha and the visitors turned in.⁷⁷

King Tāwhiao and his retinue of two hundred stayed for four days. On Wednesday 7th March 1883, the King and forty others were hosted to a dinner in Waipawa by the residents of the town. The Waipawa band played before and during the dinner, Māori responded with a haka and Tāwhiao with a speech; 'God is over all, and I desire peace'⁷⁸ The husband of Apaiata's daughter Arapera, Hōri Rōpiha was also selected to accompany Tāwhiao on his trip to England the following year. A representative from Ngāti Kahungunu rohe, where loyalty to the Crown was proven, would be useful in presenting their case. Also in Tāwhiao's party were Te Whēoro, Tōpia Tūroa, Wiremu Pātara Te Tuhi and George Skidmore as interpreter. They were frustrated in their aim to meet with Queen Victoria after intervention from the Government in Wellington, insisting that their grievances be

⁷⁶ *The Bibby Family in New Zealand*, (1977), Family History, 17.

⁷⁷ Stuart Meha, Te Tapairu Pa in, *This is Waipawa*, 45.

⁷⁸ "Dinner to Tawhiao," *Waipawa Mail*, 9 March 1883, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18830309.2.6>.

referred back to them. They did meet with The Earl of Derby and M.P. John Gorst at the Colonial Office on 22 July 1884 and presented their memorial with five demands.

First, that the Maories shall be allowed to legislate for themselves; secondly, that a Native chief shall be appointed as Commissioner by her Majesty; thirdly, that the greater proportion of the taxes levied on the Maori shall be returned to them in order to provide for the expenses of Government; fourthly, that European Judges in the Native Land Court shall be superseded by Judges appointed by the natives; and, fifthly, that the lands wrongly obtained by the Government shall be returned to the Maories⁷⁹

On his return Hōri Rōpiha travelled the North Island, reporting on the visit to London and continued to lobby in support of the five demands presented at the Colonial Office in 1884. Robert Ward, Resident Magistrate in Wanganui reported to the Secretary of the Native Department in 1885 that Rōpiha had visited Ranana and urged Māori there to withdraw claims from the Land Court and put their hope in a Commission to be appointed by the Imperial Government under John Gorst M.P.⁸⁰ Lord Derby also engaged with the New Zealand Government with a memorandum urging them to ‘protect and to promote the welfare of the Natives by a just administration of the law, and by a generous consideration of all their reasonable representations.’⁸¹ Rōpiha corresponded with Lord Derby thanking him for his response.

During the 1880s attempts were made to establish a unified Ngāti Kahungunu and Māori voice. The Kotahitanga Movement’s Māori Assembly was the outcome. A hui held at Tapairu in December 1887 published five resolutions both as a single sheet and in the newspaper *Te Korimako* for distribution nationwide. The resolutions signed by Nepe Apatu, Pāora Rōpiha and Wirihana

⁷⁹ Michael Belgrave, *Dancing with the King: The Rise and Fall of the King Country, 1864-1885* (Auckland University Press, 2017), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 320.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.ac1d9ee2.4ed7.54cf.bdbf.e9452335be9c&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

⁸⁰ Reports of Officers in Native Districts, 18 (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1885).

⁸¹ Belgrave, *Dancing with the King: The Rise and Fall of the King Country, 1864-1885*, 332.

Kaimokopuna 'range from a general statement of aroha, to restating the Treaty of Waitangi provision for rangatiratanga, and support for the 'Blue Ribbon' prohibition movement'⁸² Lachy Paterson argues that unlike the colonial newspapers, which focussed largely on local affairs, Māori language newspapers looked beyond tribal issues and helped to form a collective Māori consciousness. The government sponsored Māori newspapers were clear in their promotion of the superiority of Pākehā culture. The irony is 'the disjuncture between the rhetoric of unity and the binary logic of colonialism represented a clash between political ideals and cultural power ...[which] played out in the Māori press.'⁸³

Aside from seasonal work, particularly shearing, Māori and Pākehā lived largely separate lives. Day books from Bibby's Store in Waipawa from 1883-1914 show a pattern of Māori women from Tapairu Pā crossing the river to shop in small groups on Saturday mornings,⁸⁴ unlike their Pākehā contemporaries who called in often during the week. Similarly, in 1886, a group led by School Inspector Henry Hill and the chairman of the Waipawa School Committee, Edward Bibby, met with the people of Tapairu Pā to encourage them to send their children to school. Hill and Bibby were both active in church and temperance affairs and Edward Bibby regularly taught Sunday School at Tapairu. In October the *Waipawa Mail* editorialised; 'these young offshoots of the Maori parent trees appear to have become quite Anglicised during their short term of tuition at the district school. They walk about arm in arm with the white children and appear to converse with them in English and to be in every way at home in their company.'⁸⁵ In the same issue the departure of the mistress of

⁸² Griffith and Parkinson, *Books in Māori, 1815-1900 = Ngā tānga reo Māori : an annotated bibliography = Ngā kohikohinga me ōna whakamārama*, 580.

⁸³ Lachy Paterson, "Print Culture and the Collective Māori Consciousness," *Journal of New Zealand Literature* No.28, 2, no. Cultures of Print in Colonial New Zealand (2010): 113, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41245590>.

⁸⁴ Mary Ann Bibby, Day Books. Bibby's Store, Waipawa, 1883-1914, Collection of the author.

⁸⁵ "Untitled," *The Waipawa Mail*, 30 October 1886, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18861030.2.5>.

Waipawa School, Miss Corbin was noted. Kate Rōpiha who spoke on ‘behalf of the native children, of whom there are some twenty on the roll’, had all seven lines of her address to Miss Corbin reported in Te Reo in the *Waipawa Mail*.⁸⁶ In his 1887 report to the government on behalf of the Hawke’s Bay Education Board, Hill recorded that five percent of children attending Hawke’s Bay Schools were Māori. ‘I am convinced that the attendance of Maori pupils at the district schools is greatly to their advantage and it is no disadvantage to the European children, as some persons seem to imagine.’⁸⁷

In 1892 a pan tribal Parliament was held at Waitangi. Elected to the Parliament from Central Hawke’s Bay were Hōri Rōpiha, Hēnare Mātua and Pāora Rōpiha.⁸⁸ The paremata sat initially at Waipatu Marae near Hastings and argued for the abolition of the Māori Land Court and the empowerment of Māori committees to replace it. Komiti Wāhine were also established at a meeting of women at Te Hauke in 1895.⁸⁹ Angela Ballara writes of the similarities and disparities of the women’s movements of the 1890s. ‘Rather than temperance or moral reform, the first concerns of Māori women were to find solutions to the material and political problems confronting their people’⁹⁰ At the Te Hauke hui it was land issues that dominated the debate. The women requested the right to vote and pointed to a lack of results from the actions of men when it came to protecting

⁸⁶ "Waipawa District School. Presentation to Miss Corbin," *Waipawa Mail*, 30 Oct 1886, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18861030.2.10>.

⁸⁷ Hill, Henry in, *Education: Reports of Inspectors of Schools*, 16 (Appendix to the Journal of the House of Representatives 1887).

⁸⁸ Michael Alan Hunter, "I Mārama te Rironga ko a te Kuīni: The Waipukurau Purchase and the Subsequent Consequences on Central Hawke's Bay Māori to 1900" (Master of Arts in History Massey University, 2019), 102, <http://hdl.handle.net/10179/15550>.

⁸⁹ Heretunga Tamatea Deed of Settlement of Historical Claims. Trustees of the Heretaunga Tamatea Settlement Trust and the Crown, 42 (Te Arawhiti. The Office for Māori Crown Relations, 2015).

⁹⁰ Ballara, "Wāhine Rangatira: Māori Women of Rank and their Role in The Women's Kotahitanga Movement of the 1890's," 129.

control and ownership of their property. Queen Victoria was a woman, perhaps an appeal from other women would succeed where the men had failed.

Another Māori language newspaper, '*Huia Tangata Kotahi*' 1893-5 edited by Īhāia Hūtana, was established to communicate the proceedings of the Kotahitanga movement. Hūtana farmed land on the Tarewa Block near Waipawa, 'his letters show him to be deeply religious (he was an Anglican) and to have the analytical intelligence capable of measuring the particular issues of the day against the broad context of New Zealand's past'⁹¹ The paper's masthead and title played on the imagery of the word 'huia' meaning unite and also referring to the bird. In the first issue 'Īhāia Hūtana asked readers to call the manuhiri ... to stop off at their marae and to load the bird with knowledge to carry to the four winds'⁹² There was a clear call from north to south, for the people to unite and leadership from Tamatea-Central Hawke's Bay calling for iwi Māori to organise and act in unison.

Managing the risks and opportunities of colonialism in a rapidly changing environment was challenging. There was some Pākehā curiosity about the culture of their neighbours, particularly from those with whom they shared a strong faith. However, most Pākehā were simply indifferent to Māori aspirations. The reality of a global empire gave settlers enormous confidence in the value of their own culture. A succession of leaders from local hapū responded creatively, negotiating through the use of resources, manpower and political leadership to advance the mana of their people. With its proximity to the most important Pākehā settlement in Central Hawke's Bay, Tapairu Pā was a place of convergence. The waters of the Waipawa and Tukituki Rivers met nearby, as did new ideas,

⁹¹ Angela Ballara and Don Hutana, "Īhāia Hūtana," *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography* (1993).
<https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/2h58/hutana-ihaiia>

⁹² Curnow, Hopa, and McRae, *Rere atu, taku manu!: Discovering history, language and politics in the Māori language newspapers*, 48.

opportunities, risks and dangers. It was from here that these new possibilities were confronted and managed by a succession of leaders.



Figure 2 Waipawa c.1870 Central Hawke's Bay Museum Collection

Chapter 4. A noble plain.

The Ruataniwha Plains are the geographical heart of this study. Open, windswept and interspersed with a myriad of small streams they shouted economic potential to Pākehā who wandered across them from the early 1840s. In the eyes of settlers, the plains were perfect sheep country with wool as a path to prosperity. This chapter explores the purchase of the land from tangata whenua and the subsequent transformation of the landscape as pastoral farming was established, not only on the plains, but also in the adjoining bush country. Without the means to transport native timber from the interior, native bush was seen as an impediment to progress and much of it was simply put to the match. The arrival of steam technology in the 1870s was transformative and allowed for the extraction of what remained of the best timber. Steam technology also accelerated the pace of change in the landscape. Steam milling of grain hastened the removal of native grasses, particularly on the flat open country. On the plains, grain and European grasses replaced native species and within decades an entire ecosystem was transformed. Steam power facilitated the extraction of other natural resources, flax mills were established to process harakeke and contributed to the speed at which swampy land was drained and cleared, also for pasture. Almost within a generation, a European vision of landscape was planted on the plains, driven both culturally and economically.

In June 1842, only ten days after his arrival in New Zealand, Bishop George Selwyn accompanied by the Reverend Octavius Hadfield, Chief Justice Martin and thirty Māori set out on a visitation of the North Island in which they covered some 2,300 miles. On Monday 14 November the party ‘crossed several heads of the Manawatu, and to our great joy came out in a few minutes upon a noble plain, stretching as far as the eye could reach without a bush or tree of any kind, with the exception of two kahikatea clumps ... [they] crossed the Makaretu, Tukipo and Waipawa-mate

stream and camped for the night on the Waipawa River.’⁹³ Just over ten years later the ‘grassy downs’ described by Selwyn in his journal would be covered with sheep. The land enclosed by the Makaretu, Tukipo and Tukituki Rivers would become Ashcott and beyond that from the Tukituki to the Waipawamate/Kahahakuri⁹⁴ stream, Forest Gate and Fairfield stations divided by the Ongaonga Stream.

Land suitable for sheep grazing in the Wairarapa had been snapped up by speculators from Wellington by 1850, often through lease arrangements with Māori. As the government moved to put an end to these leases, ambitious Pākehā looked north to Hawke’s Bay, particularly the plains to the south and west of Waipukurau Pā. Octavius Bousfield’s map of 1852 records this area as open fern and grassland⁹⁵. Māori were keen to have Pākehā live amongst them and the Government was eager to get in early and purchase as much land as possible, as cheaply as possible, in the hope of avoiding the problems with illegal leases they had faced in the Wairarapa.

Governor George Grey met with land purchase officer Donald McLean in Wellington on 14 November 1850. On the 19th McLean set out for Waipukurau Pā. James Cowan quotes McLean’s diary as he looked out across the Ruataniwha Plains to the Ruahine Range on 11 December, ‘the plain is peculiarly adapted for sheep grazing, not luxuriantly covered with verdure, but well-clothed with rich grass of every variety.’⁹⁶ McLean’s party was welcomed into the Pā on the 11th after a

⁹³ Wilson and Prentice, *History of Hawke's Bay*, 177.

⁹⁴ Maps show either of these names for this stream.

⁹⁵ P. J. Grant, *Hawke's Bay Forests of Yesterday: a description and interpretation* (P.J. Grant, 1996), Bibliographies, Non-fiction.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.d0b1a72c.9b5d.5cd2.951d.013b073d705d&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>

⁹⁶ James Cowan, *Sir Donald Maclean: The Story of a New Zealand Statesman* (New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 1940), EBSCOhost, 109,

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.5fe26df4.4af9.5353.b450.0b35566a03d4&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>

twenty-two-day journey. Among the crowd gathered in the Pā were two young Pākehā, Frederick Tiffen and Frederick Abbott, seeking access to land and fortune, keenly interested in the dance between Government agents and Māori over the sale of land. They would both be recorded as witnesses to the sale of the Waipukurau Block, concluded on 4 November 1851.

Frederick Tiffen was twenty-two, he had already driven a flock of merino up the coast from the Wairarapa. Frederick Abbott, twenty-five, was a brewer of pale ale from Wellington. The two Freds were both the younger siblings of their respective families. Sheep, and the associated land required to graze them, was the path to wealth they had in mind. Fred Tiffen's older brother Henry and his associate, James Northwood had leased land from Māori at Pourerere and had hired Fred to bring sheep north. He had driven 3000 merino up the coast from Castlepoint in 1849.⁹⁷ McClean was quick to write to Tiffen, requiring him to remove his sheep and cancelling his lease arrangement.⁹⁸ The Tiffen brothers failed to comply. In 1859 Frederick applied for his initial 350 acres east of Waipawa later expanding his holding to 997 acres.⁹⁹ Frederick Abbott would later give his name to Hawke's Bay's oldest inland town. In 1851 he applied for a depasturing licence for 9600 acres with the Waipawa River as the southern boundary. Sixty acres of this land was subdivided to form the town of Abbotsford/Waipawa in 1860.¹⁰⁰

<http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-CowDona.html>, Online, Non-fiction, Individual biography, Electronic document.

⁹⁷ Matthew Wright, *Man of Secrets: The private life of Donald McLean* (Penguin Books, 2015), Non-fiction, Individual biography, 83.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.2957625c.3700.5967.bec2.858b566a7ef8&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

⁹⁸ Wilson and Prentice, *History of Hawke's Bay*, 195.

⁹⁹ Macgregor, *Early Stations of Hawke's Bay*, 49.

¹⁰⁰ Margaret Gray, *Abbott's-Ford – A History of Waipawa* (Waipukurau: The Waipawa Village Committee, 1989), 7. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=edsdnz&AN=edsdnz.44140369&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

George Rich was also recorded as being present as the sale of the Waipukurau Block was being finalised and accompanied the survey team to walk the boundaries of the block. In November 1851 he applied to lease the whole of the Ruataniwha Plain, some 70,000 acres, some outside the boundary of the Waipukurau Block. A correspondent writing to McLean after the survey of the block in January 1851 included the following description; ‘Ruataniwha plains, 60 miles long, by an average breadth of 13 miles, contains 499,200 acres of the finest grazing and pasturage land in the world, with wood and water on the Ruahine and Manawatu ends of the Ranges.’¹⁰¹ Rich however, let his application lapse and others quickly followed to put sheep on the plains and stake their claims to a portion of this noble plain, the finest grazing land in the world.

The area of interest for this thesis is covered by the sales of the Waipukurau Block 1851, Te Tōtara Block 1855, South Ruataniwha 1855 and Ruahine Bush 1857. Of these sales to the Crown only the initial purchase of the Waipukurau Block included hui involving all hapū with interests in the block, the sale deed containing two hundred and seventy-six signatures.¹⁰² The following sales, some conducted in secret, in Wellington and Auckland were carried out without consulting all the people with interests in the land, recording five signatures or fewer on the purchase deed. These sales heightened the tensions between Hawke’s Bay hapū, as Rēnata Kawepō explained in 1861.

The former mode of buying land was that all the people should assemble - the chiefs and commoners, the old men and women, the women and children - in his, (the Commissioner's) presence, that the transfer of the land should be right. The beginning was the Waipukurau, that was conducted exactly in this way; afterwards Ahuriri, precisely the same: these were the lands that were fairly transferred to the

¹⁰¹ unknown, 78 pages to Sir Donald McLean, related to William Colenso, d Te Hapuku, Wairoa District, Pukehou, Gisborne District, Central Hawke's Bay District, Waipukurau, Ngati Kahungunu, 1851, Papers Past, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/manuscripts/MCLEAN-1008793.2.1>.

¹⁰² Ray Fargher, *The Best Man Who Ever Served the Crown?: A life of Donald McLean* (Victoria University Press, 2007), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 366. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.ffa40bc5.78c9.558c.a47d.6d2bbaddec1&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

Queen (i marama te roronga ki a te Kuini), and we imagined that practice would be continued to be acted upon; but afterwards it went wrong and this was the cause – the sale by single individuals.¹⁰³

Crown land agents, Donald McLean and George Cooper were aware that they were engaging in questionable practise. However, McLean ‘saw himself as a mentor guiding and elevating Māori. Like his fellow colonists, he believed assimilation would be for their benefit’¹⁰⁴

In 1855 William Fannin and his son William applied for 80 acres each on the Ruataniwha Plains between the Ongaonga and Waipawamate/Kahahakuri streams. The presence of two William Fannins complicates the details of their purchases. They paid 10 shillings per acre for freehold,¹⁰⁵ William Senior, referencing his Irish origins, referred to his block as ‘The Curragh’ and William Junior to his as ‘Fairfield’ Jim McAloon suggests that strategically purchasing two blocks like this, was a low-cost way for run holders to control large areas. They could retain some capital to purchase stock and if a challenger attempted to encroach on their interests, could outbid them on strips of land in between.¹⁰⁶ Returns of Lands Sold, published in the *Hawke’s Bay Herald* newspaper, show the Fannins systematically purchasing further blocks. Another son, Eustace Fannin, also began purchasing land from 1856.¹⁰⁷ By 1864 they owned 7,500 acres and the property was known as ‘Fairfield’. A photograph of the cookhouse and homestead from 1862 depicts a masculine world. Two men stand in the cook-house door, another in the foreground with a scythe, while three men on the veranda look on. The glass in the veranda to break the southerly winds and multiple French doors in the northern wall of the homestead to catch all day sun are an indication of the success of their

¹⁰³ Angela Ballara and Gary Scott, *Crown Purchases of Māori land in early provincial Hawke's Bay*, (1994).

¹⁰⁴ Fargher, *The Best Man Who Ever Served the Crown? : A life of Donald McLean*, 2.

¹⁰⁵ J. G. Wilson, *Road to Porangahau and Notes on Land Settlement* (The Author, 1962), Non-fiction, 38.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.436ee09b.319c.5277.a657.f9d708819560&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹⁰⁶ "Land Ownership," TeAra.govt.nz, accessed 9 Oct 2024, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/land-ownership/print>.

¹⁰⁷ Dawn Fannin, *The History of the Fannin's of Hawke's Bay* (Auckland, New Zealand: Dawn Fannin, 1984), 17.

venture¹⁰⁸. Apart from shearing, labour requirements for sheep grazing on native cover were low. Stock were initially contained by the natural boundaries of the streams and were free to wander and graze. William Fannin Senior made several return trips to Ireland, leaving his sons to manage the run, with a cook, shepherds, boundary riders and fencers as the key labourers.

Brothers John and William Glenny were both employed by the Fannins as shepherds. The Glenny brothers originated in Little Ilford, Essex, now part of Greater London. There they owned a market garden growing cress and green vegetables, utilising water from the Aldersbrook. Also from Essex, neighbouring runholder John Duncan originated in Forest Gate in the adjacent parish to the Glennys. For the Glenny brothers, the push to emigrate to New Zealand came when their livelihood, 'Rabbits Farm', was swallowed up for railway development. The brothers arrived in Wellington in 1855 and a letter from their uncle records that they quickly found work and were learning to look after sheep.¹⁰⁹ In 1858 John and William purchased 100 acres from the Fannins. The land was on the western, bush edge of Fairfield and bordered on one side by the Ongaonga Stream. In preparation for the arrival of their parents and another four siblings, John and William constructed a totara cottage, the first house in what would become Ongaonga.

George Willis is listed in the 1863 Electoral Roll for the District of Clive as living in a slab house on the banks of the Ongaonga Creek, Ruataniwha. A nephew of one of the founding Directors of the New Zealand Company, he had joined the rush to take up sheep farming in Hawke's Bay. The Ruataniwha plains were ideal sheep country. Open, windswept, with no bush to be cleared, flocks could be introduced and left to multiply. For the land between the Waipawa and Makaretu Rivers,

¹⁰⁸ Alfred Hamish Reed, *The Story of Hawke's Bay* (A.H. & A.W. Reed, 1958), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 112/13. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.3194650b.a5f1.51fc.a731.8fff4ba71321&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹⁰⁹ Glenys Kelly, *Celebrating 140 years of the Glenny Family* (Havelock North: Evagean Publishing, 1999).

waterways formed the boundaries of what by the 1860s had become the seven large runs. George Willis' slab whare was situated on Richard John Duncan's Forest Gate Run, a large triangle of land bordered by the Tukituki River to the south, the Ongaonga Stream to the north and the bush clad hills of the Ruahines to the west. Wellington merchants like Duncan provided a necessary source of capital for the establishment of sheep runs on the plains. Duncan placed his son, John Russell Duncan in charge of Forest Gate. John R. Duncan quickly became a leader in the small community on the plains and acted as the Returning Officer for the 1863 election.

In October 1865 William Fannin Senior died of influenza. The terms of William's will express a desire that his sons continue to farm the Ruataniwha Plains property. The will also revealed a mortgage to a Wellington merchant. A few months after his death 'Fairfield' was sold to Henry Hamilton Bridge. Bridge, the second son of a Hampshire vicar, was related, on his mother's side, to the Russell family. Bridge's uncle, Lieutenant Colonel Andrew Hamilton Russell 1811-1900, was a veteran of campaigns in India and New Zealand. Russell had retired from the army in 1859 and purchased Mangakuri Station.¹¹⁰ Bridge arrived in New Zealand in 1864 aged twenty, in time for shearing. He was engaged by his uncle on Mangakuri Station and it was Russell family money that supported the purchase of Fairfield and the initial 500 ewes. These family financial arrangements became a source of friction between Bridge and his Russell cousins. Bridge wanted to farm Fairfield independently, whereas the Russell family saw their financial interest as giving them management rights. Russell family records note at purchase, Fairfield was 'suitable for permanent pasture – fenced about two thirds.'¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Macgregor, *Early Stations of Hawke's Bay*, 111.

¹¹¹ Reginald Frank Gambrill, *The Russell Family Saga*, 5 vols., vol. 2: Land, Letters and extracts from personal diaries with notes from family records, (1964-1972), 24.

Henry Hamilton Bridge was a single-minded bachelor, intent on making a success at farming. Over the next thirty-four years he would achieve that and oversee the transformation of the landscape. J.G. Wilson records ‘the Takapau-Ruataniwha Plains ... being for the most part (swampy portions and fern areas excepted) wavy plains of high blue grass.’¹¹² Bridge added a ploughman to the staff employed on Fairfield and began the process of replacing native species with cereals and English pasture. As a bachelor, a housekeeper was also on the payroll and it was common for members of the wider Bridge, Howlett and Russell families to also be in residence with him. His younger brother Stewart Bridge and cousin and remittance man Frederick Howlett were regularly at Fairfield. A boy to milk and ‘generally make himself useful’ was also ubiquitous. In 1877, the boy was fourteen-year-old Frank Russell, among his daily tasks, the two mile walk to Newman’s store to collect the mail.¹¹³ Wanted ads in the Hawke’s Bay newspapers and letters to the Immigration Officer at the Barracks on Napier Hill indicate a regular need for agricultural labourers. George Burslem, a labourer employed on Fairfield in 1876-77, illustrates a peripatetic life that necessitated regular advertising.

George was the son of Captain George James Burslem of Calcutta, India, the subject of two Court Martials. The first, for ‘conduct highly disgraceful and unbecoming the character of an officer and a gentleman’ was the result of a card party in 1829. He was discharged from the army in 1838 and retired to London.¹¹⁴ George junior was born in Hanover Square in 1847 and may be the George Burslem committed for trial at the Central Criminal Court, London in March 1873 on a charge of larceny. By 1875 George was on the East Coast and in Auckland, where he married Te Paea Rei after

¹¹² Wilson and Prentice, *History of Hawke's Bay*, 11.

¹¹³ "Arson," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 13 June 1877, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18770613.2.13>.

¹¹⁴ "Captain George James Burslem (1809 - 1882)," accessed 25 September 2024, <https://burslem.org/people/captain-george-james-burslem-1809-1882>.

they had both appeared before the Courts.¹¹⁵ George and Te Paea were both living in a cottage on Fairfield in 1877. Advertisements for a married couple without encumbrance were common. The employer gaining both domestic labour and agricultural labour. However, life in the largely masculine world of the plains could be lonely and dangerous, particularly for a Māori woman. Te Paea suffered an assault while George was away working and they moved on within a year. George and Te Paea separated by 1880 and he went on to marry for a second and third time in Australia.

In 1875, H.H. Bridge's neighbour, run-holder John Tucker/A'Deane¹¹⁶, decided to return to England. Bridge signed a lease agreement with him that ran for seventeen years, from February 1876-July 1893. The terms of the lease ran for ten pages. They required Bridge to reside at Ashcott, to farm, develop and maintain the property and to 'lay down in English grasses two thousand acres of the said demised land'¹¹⁷ The pastoral transformation of the plains was well underway. Ashcott was 16,000 acres and lay alongside Bridge's Fairfield run of 8,000 acres making him the largest employer on the plains and giving him the independence he wanted. A member of his extended family, Arthur Hamilton Trevelyn Russell, also a bachelor, became the manager of Fairfield. While he was at Ashcott, Bridge formed what would become a long working relationship with an Irish nurseryman and gardener James Fitzpatrick Carver.

James Carver was at the heart of the next transformation of the landscape of the plains following the replacement of the native cover with English pasture, the introduction of European, Australian and American trees. Born in Limerick, Ireland in 1852, James arrived in New Zealand in his early twenties. He found gardening work on Orua Wharo, Takapau, for fellow Catholic Sydney

¹¹⁵ "What may happen a Man in Auckland," *Auckland Star*, 12 Oct 1875, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/AS18751012.2.11>.

¹¹⁶ John Tucker changed his surname to A'Deane on his marriage to Maria Lydia Bayly in 1864.

¹¹⁷ Lease of Ashcott, Estate of John A'Deane to H.H. Bridge. 2nd February 1876. Expires 1st July 1893. Ruataniwha District. 16,000 acres., 1876, A'Deane Family Archive.

Johnson. While working there he met Bridge and under his employment, would plant extensively on Ashcott and Fairfield over the following decades. In 1883, aged thirty-one James married Ada Bell in St Patricks Church, Waipawa. Ada's father David, an Irish veteran of the Waikato invasion and Gate Pa, was licensee of the Waipawa Hotel. James and Ada purchased a small block in a western corner of Fairfield on the Waipawa Road, bounded by the Waipawamate/Kahahakuri Stream. Here they established an orchard and a nursery and raised nine children. James regularly advertised fruit and forest trees for sale in the *Waipawa Mail*, including the now common windbreak species *Cupressus Macrocarpa*. His plantations of European trees on Fairfield are an enduring feature of the landscape to this day. His youngest daughter Dorothy in a letter written in 1987 records that James Carver, 'felt [Bridge] was not only his employer but a friend.'¹¹⁸ Bridge seems to have returned the sentiment, as on retirement and return to England in 1904 he left James Carver with an annuity for life.¹¹⁹

The next great change in the landscape was the removal of the bush that skirted the foothills of the Ruahines to the edge of the Ruataniwha Plains. 'New Zealand politics revolved comfortably around ... mundane issues: the land, how it could be wrested from the Māori and on what terms it should be granted to the Pākehā.'¹²⁰ In September 1869, newly elected Superintendent of the Province of Hawke's Bay, John Ormond's opening speech offered a variation to the theme of his predecessor, Donald McLean; 'I hope that I may be able to assist in ending those difficulties which have of late years so much retarded our interests and advancement'¹²¹ Ormond acknowledged

¹¹⁸ Harold Moores, Letter to Margaret Gray, 1987, Collection of Margaret Gray.

¹¹⁹ "Presentation," *Waipawa Mail*, 27 February 1904, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM19040227.2.13>.

¹²⁰ J. D. Gould, *The Grass Roots of New Zealand History: Pasture formation and improvement, 1871-1911*, Massey Memorial Lecture: 1974, (Massey University, 1974), Non-fiction, 2. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.61956342.a4ab.5c4c.a8d5.b5b067434037&site=eds-live&scope=site&authType=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹²¹ Hawke's Bay Provincial Council. Votes & Proceedings, Acts & Ordinances, (Napier, New Zealand 1869).

McLean's superior influence with the 'native race' and hoped, in contrast, that as Superintendent he might 'render some service and advance the interests of the part of the Colony with which [he] identified.'¹²² Those interests entailed the settling of 'waste land' and the subsidising of immigration from Europe. A cause Ormond championed at both provincial and national level. The settlement of the bush land to the west of the Ruataniwha Plains was the initial focus, while the Wellington Government took care of Forty/Seventy Mile Bush with their 'Special Settlement' scheme. In June 1872 Ormond moved the motion that; 'the Provincial Government should have the power to set apart land for special settlement'¹²³ The motion was seconded by Henry Hamilton Bridge and passed unanimously.

Government in Wellington provided the lead for 'Special Settlement' schemes. The Hawke's Bay Provincial Council made use of the Government's recruitment agent in Europe, securing settlers for Hawke's Bay from Great Britain, Scandinavia and Germany. These settlers applied for blocks of bush land varying in size from forty to one hundred acres in the Blackburn, Makaretu and Ashley Clinton areas of Central Hawke's Bay on deferred payment. The in-coming tide of settlers pushed into the bush blocks, with land ownership at the heart of their pursuit of independence for their families. In his opening speech as Superintendent of Hawke's Bay Province in 1873 John Ormond referred to the growing Māori resistance to land sales as an 'agitation' stating that any investigation into land dealings would be 'injurious to the welfare of both the Province and the Colony'¹²⁴ By the 1880s the settlement pattern between the Tukituki and Makaretu rivers consisted of seven large pastoral runs on the plains and a patchwork of small blocks in the hilly bushland reaching up to the

¹²² *ibid*

¹²³ Hawke's Bay Provincial Council. Votes & Proceedings, Acts & Ordinances, (Napier, New Zealand 1872).

¹²⁴ Hawke's Bay Provincial Council. Votes & Proceedings, Acts & Ordinances, (Napier, New Zealand 1873).

Ruahine Range. Bridge, owner of Fairfield and lessee of Ashcott, saw an opportunity and laid out village sections on his run, where the track from Waipawa met the road from Hampden/Tikokino¹²⁵ to Takapau beside the Ongaonga Stream in 1872. Apart from these small village sections, farming land for sale and settlement was drying up.

When the Waipawa County Council was formed in 1877, following the demise of the Provincial system, the image of a railway engine was included at the centre of the council seal. Julius Vogel's scheme linking public works and immigration to facilitate the rapid development of the North Island was in full swing. The railhead reached Waipawa from Napier on 28 August 1876 and Waipukurau on 1 September of the same year. From March 1877 the line ran through to Takapau and by January 1878 to Kōpua¹²⁶ a sawmilling settlement on the edge of Seventy Mile Bush. Steam power was the heartbeat of nineteenth century 'progress.' Steam power and rail collapsed time and space. In the 1860s Samuel Fletcher's team of twelve oxen would make the journey, over unformed roads, from the Ruataniwha Plains to Napier in three weeks.¹²⁷ With the arrival of the railway the same distance was being covered twice daily, in a little over three hours and by 1885 services increased to four trains daily in both directions.¹²⁸ Hawke's Bay flipped from being a net importer of mainly Auckland sourced kauri in 1875 to the main supplier of tōtara to Auckland and other ports as far south as Otago.¹²⁹ Bush cover on the foothills of the Ruahines and Seventy Mile Bush, Te

¹²⁵ The town of Hampden was surveyed in 1860. The name of the settlement gradually reverted to Tikokino.

¹²⁶ Russell Orr, *The Hawke's Bay Railway* (Southern Press, 1974), Book, 3.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.535332ec.05cd.59be.bdf7.d3cda638784d&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹²⁷ Rona Davidson, *Pendle Hill and its People* (Dunmore Press, 1994), Non-fiction, Collective biography, 17.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.c34218c8.d5ef.54ea.b87b.b1d50bf9d3cb&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹²⁸ Gray, *Abbott's-Ford – A History of Waipawa*, 46.

¹²⁹ Rollo Arnold, *New Zealand's Burning: The Settler's World in the Mid 1880's* (Victoria University Press, 1994), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 134.

Taperenui-o-Whātonga, with its ‘immense quantities of totara and other valuable timber ... sufficient to supply the whole colony for years’¹³⁰ began to rapidly shrink. Tōtara was a versatile timber, straight-grained, easy to split and extremely long lasting.

The bullock wagons turned their attention to the new rail heads and timber from the forest edges moved across the plains to Takapau, Waipukurau and Waipawa. Sawmills proliferated, supplying tōtara for fence posts, house piles, roofing shingles, weather boards, tongue and groove lining, railway sleepers, bridge timbers and piles for the new breakwater at the Port of Napier. Those with access to capital looked to lease or buy cutting rights to blocks of bush or to profit from the more valuable timber on their land. Waipawa businessman, William Rathbone, was among those who saw an opportunity to supply local tōtara.¹³¹ Sawmill infrastructure was relatively mobile. After four to five years, with the best trees felled the machinery would relocate to access the next block of timber. It was dangerous work. Local newspapers routinely reported minor accidents and near misses, fingers and feet being most commonly; crushed, severed or torn. Rathbone’s overseer, W. Rudd, was lucky to keep his head, escaping with a scratch on the neck, after he fell across the front of the breaking down saw.¹³² There were also fatalities; James Donnelly was one of two men cross cutting near Kōpua, when a tree being felled nearby struck against a tree above him. He was crushed

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.31fe2f49.5ff2.54be.b564.89c4c1c3ea6d&site=edslive&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>
<http://nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-ArnNewZ.html>.

¹³⁰ Ormond, J.D. Opening Speech of his Honor the Superintendent Hawke's Bay Provincial Council. Votes & Proceedings, Acts & Ordinances, 2 (Napier, New Zealand 1874).

¹³¹ Sally Butler, *William Rathbone of Waipawa* ([Sally Butler], 2013), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, Collective biography, 63.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.392e46fb.73fe.5f6e.a98e.6b8050b2c9b0&site=edslive&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹³² "Hampden," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 13 Dec 1878, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HHB18781213.2.10>.

by falling limbs.¹³³ Martin Burke was also crushed when a timber jack was dislodged and a log rolled on him in the bush at Hampden/Tikokino.¹³⁴

Vogel's 1870 Immigration and Public Works expenditure and strength in the British economy led to a boom. Wheat and wool prices peaked in the early 1870s, declining only later in the decade. Prices were also driven by demand for wheat from Australia¹³⁵. Responding to this opportunity, tenders were called in September 1878 for the erection of Flour Mill on Fairfield, in the newly laid out village of Ongaonga. Tōtara was Hawke's Bay's most valued timber. Matai, maire, rimu and kahikatea were also extracted. Maire was prized as firewood and was used along with offcuts to stoke the engines that drove the mill machinery. Bridge and Russell's Steam Flour Mill in Ongaonga operated from 1879 and the supply of twenty cord of firewood per month to feed the engine put out to tender. Firewood was stacked in long rows amongst the thistles in the paddock next to the mill. In fact, 'Thistles sprang up everywhere and the air was laden with thistledown on the move ... smothering the landscape.'¹³⁶ Ploughing the plains and the sowing of wheat and oats was a useful stage in pasture development, aiding in the prevention of recolonisation by native vegetation. However, even the best English seed contained an assortment of unwanted weeds.¹³⁷ Peter Holland records the same pattern of emergence of pest plants on the plains of the South Island.¹³⁸

¹³³ "Inquest," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 20 May 1870, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18700520.2.15>.

¹³⁴ "Untitled," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 6 April 1877, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18770406.2.5>.

¹³⁵ John E. Martin, *The Forgotten Worker : The rural wage earner in nineteenth-century New Zealand* (Allen & Unwin/Trade Union History Project, 1990), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, Government documents, 9. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.d9a0ef0f.8780.5b29.af4f.9b6ae2cd6fb9&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹³⁶ Harry Combs, *Growing up in the Forty Mile Bush* (Paul's Book Arcade, 1951), Non-fiction, Autobiography, 80. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.56ef5454.22d5.5a7c.b496.b78e135e3603&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹³⁷ Gould, *The Grass Roots of New Zealand History: Pasture formation and improvement, 1871-1911*, 9.

¹³⁸ Peter Holland, *Home in the Howling Wilderness: Settlers and the Environment in Southern New Zealand* (Auckland University Press, 2013), Bibliographies, Non-fiction. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebs>

Wheat growing increased labour demands, not only for ploughing, harrowing and sowing but most importantly at harvest. The shearing season began earlier in November. Harvest hands, labourers, thatchers and stackers were in demand in in high summer. John Martin estimates that during this peak time of the season, the rural workforce doubled.¹³⁹ Competition for labour and high export prices led to higher wages and encouraged further immigration. Writing to the Immigration Officer in Napier in September 1878, Bridge enquired, 'I hear a ship arrives shortly in Napier. Let me know what they are engaged for per week.'¹⁴⁰ In 1878 there were a combined total of 20,175 sheep on Fairfield and Ashcott Stations. With blade shearing, one man could shear 70-80 sheep a day¹⁴¹, for a gang of ten shearers, depending on the weather, a flock this size represented a month or more of labour.

A tightening of economic conditions and a decline in export prices for wool and wheat ushered in the long depression of the 1880s. Farming retrenched and even at the height of the harvest season there was hardship and unemployment. A series of letters in Hawke's Bay newspapers from 1882 paint a picture of social tension; 'in passing through Waipawa some short time ago I was struck with surprise by the number of men knocking around hanging on for shearing, very few of whom, it appears to me, will have any show, as I am told that nearly all of the runholders in the surrounding district employ none but Maoris.'¹⁴² A series of letters followed, debating the merits of Māori vs European shearers; 'Māori shearers can be depended on to be on the spot when wanted', 'European

co.com.fs00001086.40577f75.1576.51de.8f45.2f49f695d195&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306.

¹³⁹ Martin, *The Forgotten Worker: The rural wage earner in nineteenth-century New Zealand*, 15.

¹⁴⁰ Henry Hamilton Bridge, 1878, 70671, Letters, Immigration, MTG. Napier, Hawke's Bay Museums Trust.

¹⁴¹ Martin, *The Forgotten Worker: The rural wage earner in nineteenth-century New Zealand*, 86.

¹⁴² "Maori Shearers," *Daily Telegraph (Napier)*, 21 September 1882, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DTN18820921.2.9.1>.

shearers are generally not settled in the district'¹⁴³, the Sheep Farmer likes 'to keep white labourers as much as possible in subjection', 'more can be got out of Maoris than whites,'¹⁴⁴ '... they not only cannot do the work so well as the Europeans, but take longer time over it, eat more food...' ¹⁴⁵ In tight economic times the temptation is always to point the finger at rival workers. Māori shearing gangs had a competitive advantage, they were less demanding with food and accommodation and were a cohesive unit. In a shearing gang, Māori were 'able to carry over some of their old way of life, a group life where everyone is valuable ... yet competition is fierce'¹⁴⁶ Shearing was crucial economically and became a seasonal way of life for generations of Hawke's Bay Māori.

Difficulty in finding regular work also led to an increase in the number of men on the swag, walking from station to station in search of a meal and a bed for the night. Being caught out on the plains overnight was dangerous. Outside of the summer months there was the threat of exposure. In September 1884 there were two deaths as a result of the weather and exhaustion. Thomas Waldron the mail carrier found the body of John Kent on the road between Ongaonga and Forest Gate. On the same day the body of Puhore Panapa, a Māori woman was found on the plain near Hampden/Tikokino.¹⁴⁷ In 1887 the attitudes of candidates to swaggers became an election issue, debated in the letters to the *Waipawa Mail*. Old rivalries from Hawke's Bay Provincial Government were reignited with Henry Hamilton Bridge standing as a Councillor for the Ruataniwha Riding in

¹⁴³ "Maori V. European Shearers," *Daily Telegraph (Napier)*, 27 September 1882, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DTN18820927.2.12.2>.

¹⁴⁴ "Maori V. European Shearers."

¹⁴⁵ "Maori Shearers."

¹⁴⁶ E.G. Schwimmer, "Shearing in Hawke's Bay," *Te Ao Hou*, August 1957, 15, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/TAH195708.2.13>.

¹⁴⁷ "Two deaths from exposure," *Waipawa Mail*, 19 September 1884, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18840919.2.15>.

the Waipawa County Council and John Ormond as a Harbour Board Representative, both being accused of turning away swaggers at the gate and sending them on.

The final extractive industry on the plains was the harvesting of harakeke. Flax Mills were established at Takapau and in swampy corners of the plains from 1889 and along the banks of the Tukituki River in Waipukurau from 1890. In a similar way to the Sawmill industry, the Flax Mills relied on steam machinery to strip and process the flax fibre and were mobile enough to move on when an area had been exploited. In just fifty years, the swamps were drained, native grasses were replaced by European species, and trees had been planted on what had once been open country. The Hawke's Bay Acclimatisation Society, formed in 1868, with Donald McLean as its first President, was busy establishing European birds, deer, rabbits, hares, hedgehogs and later mustelids. Settler colonialism transformed the landscape; transformed the land culturally, from its wild state to reflect a European vision of cultivation and production and transformed the land economically, through enclosure into large privately owned estates.

The pace of change, particularly in the twenty to thirty years following the initial purchase of the Waipukurau Block, was extraordinary. The transformation from an open treeless plain to enclosed estates with lines of fencing bordered by exotic trees, occurred rapidly. Labour requirements on the large estates pushed the need for population growth. In the bush country and on the fringes of the plains subdivision made space for this growth with small farms and businesses being established. Men continued to outnumber women right up to the beginning of the First World War, although the ratio continued to even out.¹⁴⁸ The needs of the large landowners dominated, although this began to change with pressure from new settlers and their desire for land.

¹⁴⁸ "Proportions of the sexes," Historic Census Collection, 1911, accessed 18 March 2025, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1911-census/1911-results-census.html#d50e6469.

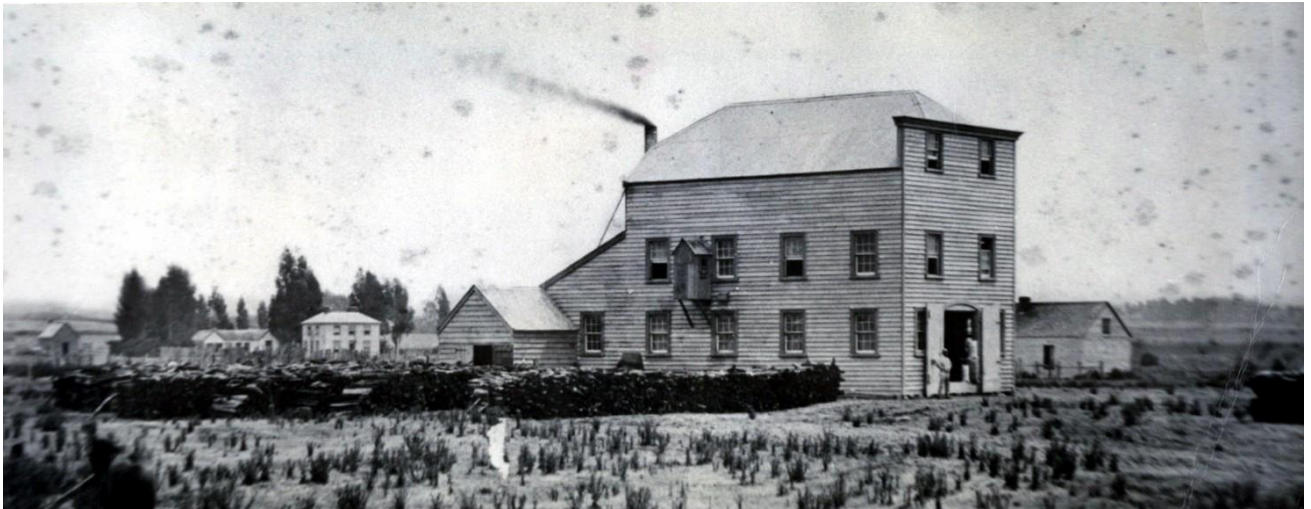


Figure 3 Bridge & Russell's flour mill. Ongaonga c.1880 Ongaonga Historic Society Collection

Chapter 5. Wanted, A Wife.

As the number of small farms grew and new settlements were established, the nuclear family gradually became normative. This focus of this chapter is the conventional role of women in the family unit, in sickness and in health. The 1861 Census of New Zealand is the first occasion that data from the Province of Hawke's Bay was recorded, following the separation of Hawke's Bay from Wellington Province in 1858. In the electoral district of Clive, essentially Hawke's Bay south of Napier, the total number of dwellings recorded was 250, with 782 males and 352 females. Data collected for this thesis also recorded a gender disparity in favour of males. The population was young, the majority under the age of forty and with the exception of the town of Napier, thinly scattered. There were 1,232 unmarried males and 460 unmarried females in the province compared to 406 married males and 358 married females.¹⁴⁹ Raewyn Dalziel suggests that this short supply of young women 'put a premium on women as wives' and 'an intense emphasis ... on women's role within the home and family.'¹⁵⁰ An emphasis, Dalziel argues, that women themselves owned and embraced.

In nineteenth-century Hawke's Bay, family was a practical necessity. Aside from the need for companionship, family labour was required to keep everyone fed and clothed. Men would seek work outside of the home but also 'relied on the labour of their wives and children'.¹⁵¹ Without a wife, a man could struggle to maintain the household, particularly when there were young children. Through the first two months of 1877 James Newman advertised in the *Waipawa Mail* for a 'respectable person of good address and manners, from 28-30 years of age, to take charge of [his] home.' Sarah,

¹⁴⁹ Abstracts and Summary Tables of the Results of the Census of New Zealand, taken on the 16th of December, 1861, (Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives 1862).

¹⁵⁰ Dalziel, "The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand," 114, 13.

¹⁵¹ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930*, 34.

his wife of twelve years, had died in October the previous year leaving him with four daughters and two sons ranging in age from eleven to two. About 1870 James and Sarah had opened a store where the road from Waipawa crossed the Ongaonga Stream and met the track that skirted the bush-line from Hampden/Tikokino to Takapau. Sarah's parents and brothers lived on a neighbouring forty-four-acre block, also bordering the stream and James' brother Alfred had purchased five hundred acres a few miles to the north. Although James was in a situation where he needed help to run his household, he was not without connections. James Mount Newman and his younger brother Albert Mount Newman arrived in Hawkes Bay aged nineteen and fifteen as farming cadets on their Uncle Alfred's run 'Arlington', in 1855.¹⁵² In a letter from their mother, dated May 1855, she assured her sons that, 'although separated ... I shall never be absent, for my anxious love and solicitude for your welfare will ever be with you whether near or distant.'¹⁵³ The pious eye of their mother did not remain distant. She arrived in Napier with her other adult children in Oct 1870, her family together under one roof for the first time in fifteen years. James' advertisement was eventually answered and in August 1877 he married Caroline Boswell. They went on to have three children together. James and Caroline also expanded their business. The Sandford Hotel, next to their Store, opened on April Fools' Day 1879.

Samuel Fletcher also understood the practical necessity and companionship offered by a partner as he laboured in the Wakarara foothills of the Ruahine Ranges. Samuel had arrived in Wellington aged seventeen, with his mother Sarah and her partner James Peers in 1857, onboard the 'Alma'. Samuel initially found employment in roadbuilding before making his way north to Hawke's Bay. With three other young men he became a bullock driver, carting goods from Port Ahuriri to the

¹⁵² Macgregor, *Early Stations of Hawke's Bay*, 53.

¹⁵³ Royden Hibbert Newman, *Letter of Advice. 1855*, 4 vols., vol. 1, The Newman Papers, (Napier: Daily Telegraph Print, 2019), Family History. <https://nz.accessit.online/NZS00/?serviceId=ExternalEvent&brSn=63323&brKey=1316259819>.

Ruataniwha Plains. With twelve oxen to each wagon, they travelled together, so that when inevitably one became bogged down, another team was on hand to pull them out. The journey took about three weeks each way and totara timber was carted on the return. By 1862 he had saved enough to purchase his first forty-acre bush block. His choice of block was influenced by a flat-topped hill, reminding him of Pendle Hill, Lancashire, from his childhood. In early 1865 on a Christmas visit to Wellington, Harriet Lomas, a fellow passenger from the 'Alma' now aged sixteen, caught his eye. Harriet's parents felt she was too young to marry and asked Samuel to wait a year. They were married in February 1866. The couple journeyed by bullock wagon from Napier and after reaching Evertree (later Heavitree) seven miles west of Hampden/Tikokino, Sam cut a track through to his block. They slept under the wagon until a whare was built. Harriet returned to Wellington to give birth to her first child in February 1867. Samuel's letter of November 1866 gives a sense of his isolation without her: 'I hope that you had a good passage to Wellington. I must tell you I was very lonely after you were gone for I did not get home until night and when I did get home, I was in perfect misery and I have been ever since.'¹⁵⁴ From then on, a relative would travel to Harriet and the next twelve children were all born at Pendle, the youngest Sam in October 1892, six months after his father's death.

Not everyone was able to forge such a happy relationship. In the 1885 trial of Ford V. Hall held in the Waipawa Courthouse, Clara Ford sought to recover £200.00 in unpaid wages and damages for false imprisonment, following six months of labour as William Hall's 'housekeeper'. It emerged during the trial that 'relations between the parties were of a much closer nature than is usual between housekeepers and their employers.'¹⁵⁵ William Hall engaged Clara to work for him after his

¹⁵⁴ Davidson, *Pendle Hill and its People*, 35.

¹⁵⁵ "Supreme Court - Civil Sittings. Ford V. Hall," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 22 Dec 1885, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HHB18851222.2.16>.

third wife, Sarah, had walked out. William had married Sarah in Napier a few months after his second wife Mary, a widow with four children whom he had married in 1875, had poisoned herself by ingesting strychnine. As the Chief Justice quipped, Hall was ‘quite a Bluebeard’¹⁵⁶ and appears to have been a man who could be difficult to live with. William Hall was born in Clapham, London in 1828. He is recorded in the 1851 Census of England, as a Bricklayer’s apprentice. By 1859 he is listed in the Hawke’s Bay Herald as an applicant for 100 acres of land in North Ruataniwha. He managed to find some success as a farmer. When he put his property up for sale in the mid 1880s it comprised 245 acres and a seven roomed house. William’s family life was more complicated. With eight children from his first two marriages and another four stepchildren under his care, William was in need of a partner. Both Sarah and Clara clearly found life with William and his children less appealing than life on their own, even though Clara later struggled to make ends meet. She had accommodation in a government cottage in Carlyle Street in Napier in 1885 and is recorded as an applicant for poor relief in 1888, being without food or money. In that instance she was granted a fortnight’s rations. Clara died when her cottage caught fire in August 1908. Her body was found in a kneeling position amongst the debris, ‘burned ... but recognisable’¹⁵⁷ William however, married a fourth time, possibly bigamously, and eventually returned to England. He died in Wimbledon, Surrey in 1897. His children remained in New Zealand.

New Zealand’s first divorce law, the Matrimonial Causes Act 1867, closely followed the English law of 1857. It allowed for divorce on the grounds of a wife’s adultery or a husband’s aggravated adultery.¹⁵⁸ The debate around the bill in Parliament ranged from social anxiety and fears

¹⁵⁶ "Supreme Court - Civil Sittings. Ford V. Hall."

¹⁵⁷ "Napier News," *Waipawa Mail*, 22 Aug 1908, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM19080822.2.12>.

¹⁵⁸ Roderick Phillips, *Divorce in New Zealand: A Social History* (Oxford University Press, 1981), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 18.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat090>

of moral failure, from those opposed, to the practical reality of constituents' circumstances, from those in support. The effect on women and children who had been deserted by a husband and father was keenly felt in a small society with few social safety nets. Delwyn Blondell's research into the marriage practices of Brogden's Navvies suggests some social acceptance of informal marriage, not as a rejection of social norms, but as a practical response to the needs of both men and women and their children.¹⁵⁹ Henrietta Heider's first marriage was to Johann Hentschke in South Australia in 1849 when she was aged twenty-four. They had eight children together before the family left Australia for New Zealand. Johann died in Marton, Rangitikei in 1865. In 1866 Henrietta married Carl Musch. It was not a happy relationship. In February 1870 Carl Musch charged neighbour Carl Leopold with threatening to shoot him after Leopold attempted to enter the house occupied by Musch's now estranged wife. Henrietta's son Paul spoke as a witness on Leopold's behalf and assured the Court that the threat to shoot Musch was 'in a good-natured manner'¹⁶⁰ Henrietta and Carl Leopold married after Musch's death in Wanganui in 1878. Leopold had arrived in New Zealand in his late twenties as a cook on the ship 'Alma' He and Henrietta made their way to Hawke's Bay where fellow passengers from the 'Alma' Sam Fletcher and the Peers brothers, John and Joseph, had settled. Carl initially found bush clearing and seasonal stock work for Albert Newman on his Heavitree property and in January 1873 signed a seven-year lease with Newman. In 1880 Leopold took out a mortgage with Waipawa Storekeeper William Rathbone and purchased the Heavitree property. James Newman's new Hotel in Ongaonga was used as the staging point for his

11a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.e5aae65c.25fd.585e.aa94.226c8c3aace1&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306.

¹⁵⁹ Delwyn Blondell, "Till Death Do Us Part: Labourers' Marriage Practices in Late Victorian New Zealand," *Journal of Family History* 48(1) (2023): 82, <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/03631990221078588>.

¹⁶⁰ "Petty Sessions Court, Marton," *Wellington Independent*, 5 February 1870, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WI18700205.2.17.2>.

supplies coming from Waipawa to the farm. Henrietta and Carl struggled with their financial commitments. The wool price fell and Heavitree was overstocked. By the time wool prices recovered in the early 1890s the mortgage had been called in and Heavitree was incorporated into neighbouring Springvale. Carl had sought to stave off cash problems, producing thousands of tōtara posts and battens and carting them to Waipawa, but it was not enough. By February 1894 Henrietta was facing Carl in Court on a charge of desertion. He was ordered to pay 8 shillings a week to support his wife. In August he was committed to Napier gaol for two months with hard labour for failing to meet that commitment. His lawyer pleaded with the Court that ‘the disobedience was not willful’¹⁶¹ but being unable to place a surety, he was placed under lock and key.

Julia Bradshaw’s research into informal marriages and bigamy on the Otago goldfields shows that official recognition of a relationship was highly valued, leading some to marry bigamously ‘when there was no obvious reason to do so.’¹⁶² Thomas Smith, a bootmaker, married Bridget Callaghan in the Catholic Church in Oamaru in 1876. Smith also married Jane Gardiner in Waipawa on 22nd February 1888, where he was probably working as a pimp. Thomas and Jane had two children together. He was arrested in Ormondville for failing to provide for his first wife and four children after being recognised on the street by Johanna Conroy, a witness to his first marriage in Oamaru.¹⁶³ Smith was sentenced to two years in Napier Gaol and was released in 1895.

WANTED, A WIFE

Wanted a wife who can handle a broom,
To brush down the cobwebs and sweep up the room,
To make decent bread that a fellow can eat,
Not the horrible compound we everywhere meet.

¹⁶¹ "Untitled," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 3 August 1894, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18940803.2.7>.

¹⁶² Julia Bradshaw, "Unmarried by Default: Quiet Bigamy on New Zealand's Goldfields," *New Zealand Journal of History* 58, Number 1, no. April (2024): 65, <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/426/article/926831>.

¹⁶³ A Charge of Bigamy. Accused Committed for Trial. *Bush Advocate*, Volume XI, Issue 831, 14 September 1893, Page 2

Who knows how to boil, to fry and to roast,
Make a cup of good tea and a platter of toast,
A woman who washes, cooks, irons and sews,
And mends all the rips in a fellows old clothes,
And makes her own garments - an item that grows
Quite highly expensive, as everyone knows;
A common-sense creature, and still with a mind
To teach and to guide – exalted, refined –
A sort of an angel and housewife combined.¹⁶⁴

This was published in a supplement to the Saturday edition of the *Waipawa Mail*, surrounded by articles such as ‘How Men Die in Battle’ ‘A Curious Rat-Catcher’ and ‘A Romance of War’. In February 1892, it would seem that the editor of the *Mail* was unafraid of entering the debate over sex roles and suffrage, which was raging at the time. Dalziel argues that the suffrage debate of the 1880s-90s was argued strongly from a position of women as guardians of the morality of the colony and the family, ‘the angel and the housewife’. ‘Women who guided families and ran households, were [also] capable of voting’¹⁶⁵ The close alignment of the suffrage movement with the Women’s Christian Temperance Movement bolstered their argument that the vote, far from coarsening women, would lift the moral tone of Parliament and the country. The Rechabites, a friendly society committed to abstention from alcohol, had been active in Waipawa since 1871 and the Band of Hope since 1879. The Band of Hope, supported by the Presbyterian and Methodist Churches ran regular meetings in Waipawa, Waipukurau, Ongaonga and Makaretu encouraging attendees to take a pledge of abstinence. The Suffrage Petition which circulated in Central Hawke’s Bay in 1892 was signed locally by Maggie, Lillie and Dee Harding, three women whose family were staunch supporters of the Rechabites. The signatures of Eliza Putman, Matron of the District Hospital also appear, along with Jessie Jones, wife of Alexander Jones the Waipukurau Blacksmith and one of the founding

¹⁶⁴ "Wanted, A Wife," *Waipawa Mail*, 13 February 1892,
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18920213.2.26>.

¹⁶⁵ Dalziel, "The Colonial Helpmeet: Women's Role and the Vote in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand," 120.

families of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church. The signatures of two women from the plains are also found on sheet 204. Eliza Richardson Shillcock, was born in London and worked as a servant and nursemaid before arriving as a young woman in Melbourne in 1869. She married Samuel Carr in New Zealand in 1877 and the family settled in Ongaonga. Mary Jane Hobbs was the eldest of the eighteen Hobbs children of Ashcott Station and one of fourteen sisters. She signed the suffrage petition aged twenty-five, one year before she married Harry Limbrick.

Similar arguments as used in the suffrage debate were also employed from 1885 to extend the grounds for divorce. The 1898 Divorce Act removed the provision of the 1867 Act which allowed a woman to seek a divorce only when her husband's adultery was aggravated. The act also added further grounds for divorce: desertion of five years or longer and habitual drunkenness. The focus of the act was on the ability of a partner in a marriage to perform the duties expected, financial support of the family by the male and domestic duties by the female. Those opposed to the Act were animated by the fact that these provisions placed New Zealand law in advance of English law. Sir Julius Vogel in particular argued that there should be consistency of law throughout the British Empire. The Poplars Boarding House divorce case of 1913¹⁶⁶ is an example of the 1898 Act in action. The lawyer for Herbert Fletcher argued the wife had committed adultery, while the lawyer for Kristina Fletcher asserted neglect and drunkenness on behalf of the husband. 'The obsession Herbert had for Kristina was accompanied by jealousies and imaginary slights which led to her finding solace in other men's company and his taking refuge in the demon drink, which brought out the worst in him'¹⁶⁷ A decree nisi was granted but the case strained relationships in a small community. Boarders from the Boarding House and staff were called as witnesses and the elder daughter of the couple

¹⁶⁶ "Onga Divorce Case," *Waipawa Mail*, 25 September 1913, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM19130925.2.2>.

¹⁶⁷ Davidson, *Pendle Hill and its People*, 141-42.

gave evidence against her mother. Neither party re-married. Kristina died a year later and John Connery, the young plumber implicated in the affair, died in France in 1916 after a night of heavy drinking.

Remembered for building the sixth house in Ongaonga, Rosa Smith and her four children re-located from Napier to Central Hawke's Bay in 1880. As assisted immigrants, the family had arrived in New Zealand from Liverpool in 1876, where William, the father of the family, had worked as a warehouseman. William and Rosa and their children, aged thirteen, twelve, eleven and nine, spent three years in Napier until the eldest, Laura, was appointed as teacher at Ongaonga School in October 1880. At this point the family split. William to Auckland, where he found employment in his trade as a saw sharpener and Rosa and the children to Ongaonga. Unusually for a woman, Rosa is listed in Wise's Directory, although her occupation as a midwife is not explicit. In electoral rolls her occupation is listed variously as a nurse, a widow or domestic duties. Although listed in the Directory amongst the working men of the district, a gender division was at play. 'Births, like weddings and funerals, were female rituals, a time when women worked together.'¹⁶⁸ Rosa's reputation as a midwife was information spread informally through community networks.

It is unclear what lay at the heart of the marital split and William's estrangement from the family. In early December 1881 a body was discovered in a room at the Shakespeare Hotel in Wyndham Street, Auckland. Letters found on the body, from his children, identified him as W. H. Smith. At the inquest it was stated that he had left a wife and children in Napier.¹⁶⁹ William's death was not reported in the local papers and it is likely that it was some time before Rosa became aware that she really was now a widow. Laura taught at Ongaonga School until she married the

¹⁶⁸ Daley, *Girls & Women, Men & Boys: Gender in Taradale, 1886-1930*, 61.

¹⁶⁹ "The Sudden Death at the Shakespeare Hotel," *New Zealand Herald*, 6 Decemebr 1881, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/NZH18811206.2.39>.

Blacksmith's son, William Jones, in 1886. Laura's elder brother Hayward would act as the local Librarian for 32 years, from 1895-1927. In her ability to make a living as a single woman Rosa Smith was unusual. In her roles as midwife and mother she exemplified the ideal of the angel and the housewife, practical common sense, and nurturing.

Families were the key labour unit in the settlement of the Ruataniwha Plains. Gender roles were accepted and embraced. A large estate could be run without women, but a family could not. Although relationship difficulties and health problems sometimes complicated that simple fact, individuals and communities found practical ways to solve their problems. In some cases, solutions pushed at the law and social custom as was the case with bigamous and informal relationships. Often these arrangements were known about and accepted by the community as a practical necessity to keep the family labour unit intact. A few women such as Clara Ford and Rosa Smith took an independent path and attempted to manage alone or with the support of children. They were the exception rather than the rule. Most men and women embraced their expected roles. The arguments made by the proponents of suffrage for women that it would 'purify and elevate'¹⁷⁰ political life, point to the general acceptance of fixed male and female roles. The rough edges of a frontier society would be smoothed over through the influence of wives and mothers with the family unit held up as the model.

¹⁷⁰ "Women's Suffrage," *Waipawa Mail*, 14 May 1887, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18870514.2.6>.

Chapter 6. 'Social Evil' Frontier Waipawa

For women in the nineteenth century, community and personal expectation was focussed on the family and a role as wife and mother. For single women and those who were victims of domestic abuse, relationship breakdown, or unwanted pregnancy, options were limited and life on the frontier could be harsh. This chapter centres on women who were vulnerable economically and socially, those lacking community or kin support. In the case of Māori women, those vulnerabilities were most acute when dealing with the Pākehā world. On the frontier of Pākehā settlement there were a number of women who, for a variety of reasons, found themselves outside the respectable world of the family.

The town of Waipawa brands itself in 2024 as 'the oldest inland town in Hawke's Bay.' It is not surprising then, that alongside the hotel keepers, brickmaker, storekeepers and baker, the oldest profession was also to be found servicing the appetites of local men. Single men were extraordinarily mobile in their search for work and opportunities on the frontiers of empire, moving from country to country and town to town. The town of Abbotsford/Waipawa developed at the junction of Middle and Te Aute Roads at the fording point of the Waipawa River. There was a store next to the ford as early as 1857. In 1860 local run-holder, Frederick Sedgwick Abbott, put up the first township sections for sale and by 1867 the town boasted two hotels, two stores, a church, a schoolroom and a courthouse. Henry Arrow's informal census of the town, from the same year, gives a picture of the population; there were thirty-three married couples with a total of seventy-six children. Twenty single men and four single women.¹⁷¹ Seventeen years later the population was 680.¹⁷² Applying a

¹⁷¹ Gray, *Abbot's-Ford – A History of Waipawa*, 11.

¹⁷² Gray, *Abbot's-Ford – A History of Waipawa*, 16.

population profile equivalent to Arrow's census, would translate to eighty or so single men and only about sixteen single women.

Published in the *Waipawa Mail* on 27 March 1883, 'A. Neighbour' writes of their concern at the fact that, 'in this little township there are two dens of infamy' There were two aspects of this 'Social Evil' the writer found 'intolerably offensive'; the fact that brothels were 'being kept in existence for the sake of filthy lucre by persons having great pretensions to respectability' and that 'because Waipawa ... was not governed by a town board' there was no means available to check 'this repulsive plague.'¹⁷³ In their next issue the *Waipawa Mail* editorialised on this same topic, arguing in agreement that the problem of brothels 'can only be dealt with, by direct by-law, by a municipality or a town board.' This call for 'a better form of government'¹⁷⁴ places the issue of prostitution within the civilising mission of empire. 'Prostitution provided a picture of what lurked behind the necessary facade of manners and rules, made manifest in those regions of the globe yet to feel the impact of civilization. Like the crumbling civilizations or 'primitive' social structures to which she was compared, the prostitute was a throwback, a reminder of why imperial expansion was a 'civilizing mission.'¹⁷⁵ A Town Board, it was argued, would allow for by-laws to be enacted and for social evil to be controlled. Civilisation held the promise of order.

In 1884 the first Town Board was established.¹⁷⁶ Bringing order to the wilderness however, proved to be an on-going mission. From 1878 and into the new century, arrests of women in Waipawa for public drunkenness and vagrancy are regularly reported in the newspaper. Sometimes

¹⁷³ "Correspondence." *Waipawa Mail*, Volume 5, Issue 473, 27 March 1883, Page 3

¹⁷⁴ "A Town Board." *Waipawa Mail*, Volume 5, Issue 474, 30 March 1883, Page 2

¹⁷⁵ Philippa Levine, "'A Multitude of Unchaste Women': Prostitution in the British Empire," Article, *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 4 (Winter 2004 2004): 160, <https://doi.org/10.1353/jowh.2004.0014>, <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=hia&AN=12061870&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

¹⁷⁶ Gray, *Abbott's-Ford – A History of Waipawa*, 16.

in an echo of the European tradition of the village stocks, they were held up for public humiliation and entertainment. In 1878 Constable Murphy, finding a woman lying incapacitated on the road, and failing to rouse her, requisitioned a wheelbarrow to convey her to the lock-up for the night. Local men volunteered to join in the fun. A photographer, possibly Thomas Moore, a printer, possibly Moore's son Frederick, took turns wheeling Mary Williams in the right direction. Only the local tailor, Paddy McGreevy, had difficulty keeping to the straight and narrow and managed to tip Mary onto the road, requiring the Constable to take charge again and finally deliver her to the cell for the night. On Monday morning, sober, she appeared before the local magistrate and upon promising to leave Waipawa, was let off with a caution.¹⁷⁷

The story of Susannah Peters was not one recorded to entertain. Arriving in Napier aged fourteen with her parents in 1874, she was married two years later, in Waipawa, to Robert Castle. Two children followed, a daughter Susanna in 1877 and a son Robert in 1878. In March 1879 she appeared before the Court in Waipawa on a charge of Lunacy. On the evidence of two doctors however, the determination of the court was that she was not insane.¹⁷⁸ In April 1879 she was sentenced to three months imprisonment in Napier, 'attempts had been made to place her in a lunatic asylum, however, no two doctors would certify her insanity. Latterly she had led a vagrant life, with no place to lay her head. It was a charity to send her to gaol.'¹⁷⁹ No mention is made in the newspapers of the fate of her children. It was reported however, that her husband had recently left her and that she suffered from fits.¹⁸⁰ Epilepsy and mental illness were not well understood in the late nineteenth century. 'Although infectious illness and accidents were common, disability was

¹⁷⁷ *Waipawa Mail*, Volume I, Issue 22, 27 November 1878, Page 2

¹⁷⁸ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, Volume XXI, Issue 5329, 13 March 1879, Page 2

¹⁷⁹ *Waipawa Mail*, Volume I, Issue 61, 12 April 1879, Page 2

¹⁸⁰ *Hawke's Bay Herald*, Volume XXI, Issue 5704, 2 June 1880, Page 2

unwelcome as it challenged the idea of a new society and added a burden to others when hard physical work was a daily necessity.¹⁸¹ By 1878 there were Lunatic Asylums in eight centres across New Zealand, including Napier. The Napier Asylum housed eleven males and seven females. There were four patients listed with epilepsy being held in asylums nationwide.¹⁸² Limited resources in small communities restricted options for women such as Susannah. Government passed the ‘Imbecile Passengers Act’ in 1882 and sought to restrict those with mental disabilities from even considering immigration. Eventually, Susannah was committed to the Napier Asylum.¹⁸³

Thomas Smith is a more uncommon case of a man connected with prostitution coming to the notice of the Court. Smith’s first court appearance is as a witness at the inquest into the death of Annie Dunn, found dead in his house. She had been living in Smith’s house for ten months and had been ill in bed for two weeks. According to witnesses, no doctor had attended her and she refused to go to the Hospital in Waipukurau. Her only treatment had been medicines supplied by T.F. Moore of Waipawa and mustard poultices supplied by two other women. Thomas Moore was called as a witness and testified that he had not prescribed for her but recommended that she see a doctor. Waipawa doctor Rudolph von Mirbach put the cause of her death as loss of blood and the jury returned a verdict of death by natural causes.¹⁸⁴ Smith’s second mention in the newspaper is in 1892 where he appeared in the court news alongside Elizabeth Sneller. Smith’s house in Waipawa was being used to harbour ‘a person with no means of support’ and Sneller for being ‘idle and disorderly’¹⁸⁵ Both Smith and Sneller were committed to Napier Gaol for one month.

¹⁸¹ "A brief history of Disability in Aotearoa New Zealand," Office for Disability Issues, 2020, accessed 25 Aug 2022, odi.govt.nz/guidance-and-resources/a-brief-history-of-disability-in-aotearoa-new-zealand/.

¹⁸² Lunatic Asylums of New Zealand (Annual Report On.) Appendix to the Journals of the House of Representatives, 1878 Session I, H-10

¹⁸³ “Resident Magistrate’s Court.” *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, Volume XXI, Issue 5787, 7 September 1880, Page 3

¹⁸⁴ *Waipawa Mail*, Volume VIII, Issue 728, 20 January 1885, Page 2

¹⁸⁵ *Waipawa Mail*, Volume XVI, Issue 2763, 19 May 1892, Page 2

Ellen Johnson of Wellington married William Aikman, farmer at Pihama, South Taranaki on 22 February 1886.¹⁸⁶ In November 1887 Ellen applied to the court, accusing her husband of ‘striking her and otherwise illtreating her.’ Their two children testified against their mother and the Resident Magistrate advised Ellen to ‘go home, as it appeared her passionate temper was the cause of the problem’¹⁸⁷ At some stage after this Ellen left her husband. She appears in Court in Waipawa in October 1890, alongside Elizabeth Sneller, Thomas Smith and Thomas Green. Again, Smith’s house was being used to harbour persons with no means of support. All four were sentenced to one month in Napier Gaol.¹⁸⁸ Ellen’s name also appears in the court news in Napier, Dannevirke and Woodville in the early 1890s on charges of drunkenness and indecency, the *Waipawa Mail* describing her in Jan 1891 as ‘an elderly dame’ although it would appear she was aged about forty-three. A judge in Napier deferred her sentence in July 1891 after a medical certificate was produced certifying that she was ‘within a fortnight of her confinement.’¹⁸⁹ Unwanted pregnancy was a problem. The *Waipawa Mail* reported several incidences of death of women and charges against chemists for criminal abortion around New Zealand from 1888-1902. In November 1902 the trial for murder of Thomas Frederick Moore and Mary Ann Mills, both of Waipawa, was headlined as a ‘sensation.’

Professor T.F. Moore is still remembered in Waipawa today such was the notoriety of his trial. Thomas Moore married seventeen-year-old Elizabeth Brooks in the Dunedin Registry Office on 5 November 1859. Elizabeth’s father, John Brooks, had been killed in the Wairau Affray some sixteen years earlier. In 1860 Thomas and Elizabeth returned to England, their first known child, Frederick, was born in Chepstow, Wales in 1865. They returned to New Zealand as assisted

¹⁸⁶ “Marriage.” *Hawera & Normanby Star*, Volume VII, Issue 1150, 22 February 1886, Page 2

¹⁸⁷ “Opunake. R.M. Court.” *Hawera & Normanby Star*, Volume IX, Issue 1786, 22 November 1887, Page 2

¹⁸⁸ *Waipawa Mail*, Volume XIV, Issue 2516, 4 October 1890, Page 3

¹⁸⁹ *Hawke’s Bay Herald*, Volume XXV, Issue 8738, 5 August 1890, Page 2

immigrants on board the 'Blue Jacket' landing in Lyttleton on 4 October 1866. Thomas listed his occupation at the time as a carpenter. The family relocated to Wellington and then to Waipawa in 1870 where Thomas opened a business as a photographer. Moore's business, 'Medical Hall' with its distinctive rope twist Doric columns and façade of faux brickwork, expanded to include drugs, tooth extraction, sewing machine repair and fancy goods. Newspaper advertisements from 1880 refer to Thomas as 'Professor Moore' and as a Chemist.¹⁹⁰

Thomas and Elizabeth's relationship fell apart after the birth of their second son Albert in 1872. Elizabeth and the children went to live with Thomas Stafford, a labourer, later Waipawa's night soil man. Although Elizabeth began to refer to herself as Mrs Stafford, they were never married. In 1889 Thomas Stafford re-registered the births of five of Elizabeth's children with the surname Stafford Moore. After Elizabeth's departure Mary Anne Mills began working for Professor Moore as his housekeeper. She is known to have been living with Moore in his Rose Street home from about 1876.¹⁹¹ Throughout the 1880s Moore appears on numerous occasions in the Court news section of the *Waipawa Mail*, often as a juror or witness at an inquest and on occasion as a defendant. Moore's shop on the High Street was built right to the boundary and several court cases brought against him relate to his reluctance to allow access to the night soil man. The railway line ran directly behind the business, access to the cesspit was therefore only possible by illegally crossing the line or entering through his premises. Moore objected to both options and the neighbours objected to the smell. William Wiseman, saddler, entertained the courtroom by suggesting he; 'had noticed a bad smell coming from the defendant's premises, but ... thought it may have been material for making pills'¹⁹²

¹⁹⁰ "Medical," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 11 July 1881, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HHB18810711.2.17.7>.

¹⁹¹ T.F. Moore. Waipawa, Archive Box 24, Central Hawkes Bay Museum.

¹⁹² *Waipawa Mail*, Volume XI, Issue 2061, 17 November 1887, Page 2

Moore had similar issues at his home at 15 Rose Street. Quite why he felt so strongly about his privacy is unclear, his objections beginning well before his wife's new partner won the contract to collect night soil. In such a small community and one whose goodwill he relied on for a living, Moore seemed quite willing to stand on his dignity. In the same case he counter-sued the Town Clerk, Ben B. Johnson, for his use of bad language. The first Waipawa Town Board was established in 1884. Of their twenty-one initial bylaws, more than half relate to waste as a public nuisance and a health matter. Human waste, animal waste, offal, animal carcasses, seepage from cesspits, drainage, pollution of wells and watercourses were also issues that led to the demand to form a Board. Moore, who was running a 'medical' business, seemed happy to flout the rules. He was fined five shillings and costs.

T.F. Moore was also brought before the Court on professional matters. In 1886 Police charged 'that he did unlawfully and falsely pretend to be a Doctor of Medicine by prescribing for the treatment of disease ... and by having and keeping the word "surgery" painted in letters over the gate of his residence and private business.'¹⁹³ There were two cases, the first involved Atarata Rōpiha of Tapairu Pā and the second concerned the death of James Newman of Ongaonga. Paul Rōpiha from Tapairu Pā had crossed the rail bridge and come into Waipawa in search of a doctor for his sick wife. Unfortunately, Doctor von Mirbach was in Wellington. It is unclear from the witness statements whether Rōpiha thought Moore was a doctor or was just desperate to find some help for his ailing wife. There were communication difficulties due to Moore's inability to speak Māori and Rōpiha's broken English. After examining the patient Moore returned to Waipawa and came back with two bottles of medicine, delivering the first dose himself. Upon his return from Wellington the Waipawa

¹⁹³ "Resident Magistrate's Court." *Waipawa Mail*, Volume IX, Issue 889, 4 February 1886, Page 2

Doctor also examined Atarata and found her to be suffering from a gastric complaint and typhoid fever. Examining the medicine prescribed by Moore, a preparation used for the treatment of venereal disease, he concluded that this was the source of her gastric complaint.

The second case concerned the death of James Newman. James and Caroline had advertised the lease of the Sandford Hotel in Ongaonga from July 1882.¹⁹⁴ In August that year they relocated to Waipawa. In mid-summer 1885 James was gravely ill. In her testimony James' daughter Maud recalled visiting Professor Moore's shop, to purchase mustard and linseed for his chest. She also purchased other medicines from Moore. Moore and Newman seem to have shared a friendly relationship, Moore calling on him on four or five occasions. When the doctor was finally called for James had only a few hours to live. In his judgement the Resident Magistrate found no case to answer in relation to the death of Newman. In the case of Atarata Rōpiha however, he found evidence that Moore had attended her as a medical man and prescribed for her. He was fined £10 and costs.¹⁹⁵

New Zealand's abortion laws were a copy of the English precedents. The 1866 and 67 Offences Against the Person Act made abortion by any means illegal and subject to life imprisonment or a lesser term of three to ten years.¹⁹⁶ Chemists, such as Professor Moore, were the first point of contact for securing advice and services when a pregnancy was unwanted. 'Female Pills' were widely advertised and available. As well as advertising Beecham's Pills, Moore advertised his own brand of female pills, 'celebrated for the cure of Female complaints and never

¹⁹⁴ *Waipawa Mail*, Volume 4, Issue 396, 1 July 1882, Page 3

¹⁹⁵ *Waipawa Mail*, Volume IX, Issue 895, 18 February 1886, Page 2

¹⁹⁶ Margaret Sparrow, *Rough on Women: Abortion in 19th-century New Zealand* (2014), Bibliographies, Non-fiction. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.f9c3bf85.c724.524f.a67a.0d4e82c4a899&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

known to fail.’¹⁹⁷ ‘If their medications did not achieve the desired result ... some ... went as far as providing a backup service themselves, using instruments to procure an abortion.’¹⁹⁸

In Mary Ann Mills’ statement, read in the High Court Napier in February 1903, Mills stated that she was aware that Moore took in women for operations.¹⁹⁹ After an Auckland doctor had faced charges for performing abortions in 1898, Mills claims that she had begged Moore to stop taking such cases. Lottie Ancell had worked as a clerk at the Clarendon Hotel in Napier for almost two years. In October 1902, after finding herself pregnant she had arranged to visit her siblings in Wellington. She broke her train journey in Waipawa and visited Professor Moore’s shop at noon on the 30th. When a doctor was called to Moore’s premises soon after, she was dead. She was identified by her employer from the Clarendon two days later at the inquest, where it was found she had died of natural causes. Two weeks after that, Moore and Mills were both arrested and charged with murder.²⁰⁰ The trial made national headlines as ‘The Waipawa Sensation’. The first jury failed to reach a verdict and at later trials Moore was eventually found guilty of manslaughter and Mills of perjury, after she dramatically changed her statement and testified against Moore. Thomas Moore was sentenced to seven years hard labour.²⁰¹ He served only four. Moore’s son Frederick, now a printer and stationer in Pahiatua, successfully appealed to the Governor General for his early release. In January 1907, almost blind, Moore was discharged.

The provision of rail services to inland Hawke’s Bay from 1876 allowed for greater independence and ease of movement. Women arrested for vagrancy in newspaper reports were able

¹⁹⁷ "Advertisements," *Waipawa Mail*, 23 February 1888,

<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18880223.2.19.4>.

¹⁹⁸ Sparrow, *Rough on Women: Abortion in 19th-century New Zealand*, 106.

¹⁹⁹ “The Waipawa Sensation.” *Waipawa Mail*, Volume XXV, Issue 4467, 14 February 1903, Page 4

²⁰⁰ “A Waipawa Sensation.” *Waipawa Mail*, Volume XXV, Issue 4429, 13 November 1902, Page 2

²⁰¹ “The Waipawa Sensation.” *Waipawa Mail*, Volume XXV, Issue 4470, 21 February 1903, Page 4

to follow the rail corridor, with the same names appearing in court sessions in Napier, Waipawa, Dannevirke and Woodville. After the line was connected through to Palmerston North, names can be followed through the Manawatu and into Taranaki. However, for single men and women, particularly those with few family connections, life could be lonely and precarious. For Lottie Ancell, the death of her mother and the need for income led her to take up office work in Napier away from family support. Rail links made the journey from Wellington to Hawke's Bay possible. An unwanted pregnancy put her in a dangerous position and led eventually to her death.

With limited social support outside of the family unit, young women like Lottie were especially vulnerable. Although the family was held up as the model there were numerous examples of individuals who did not fit that ideal. Relationship breakdown, abuse, mental health issues, unwanted pregnancy and sometimes death broke the tidy mould. Life on the frontier of settlement could be lonely, complicated and uncertain. Support systems for individuals outside of the extended family were rudimentary. The rough edges could not always be smoothed over.

Chapter 7. Bleak House

The next two chapters focus on three tools of settlement, the gun, the match and the axe. Although there were no local conflicts on the plains, the period of the New Zealand Wars saw numbers of Imperial Troops in the area and land grants to soldiers post conflict. Few guns were fired in Tamateā-Central Hawke's Bay, the impact of war was felt in other ways. It was the match and the axe and the clearing of the great central North Island forests that cemented Pākehā economic and political domination. Immigration schemes and the subsequent removal of Forty/Seventy Mile Bush continued the Governments push for control of the North Island into the 1870s.

For Pākehā, on the edges of the plains the New Zealand Wars with newspaper reports of mounting danger, made the 1860s a time of high anxiety.²⁰² For most Pākehā and Māori, lives were lived in parallel. In Waipawa the river lay between the town and the Māori community at Tapairu Pā. There was curiosity about 'the other' however, outside of the shearing season, few occasions where lives intersected. Expressions of Māori resistance or independence such as with the Hau Hau, were met with confusion, fear and hostility, particularly in the local press. Where conflict did occur, such as the campaigns of Te Kooti in Poverty Bay and the Central North Island, the newspapers reported blow by blow accounts of horror. Ironically for most, including members of Her Majesty's forces posted to Central Hawke's Bay, the reality of the period was one of long stretches of boredom, discomfort and not much else. There were economic opportunities. Carpenters, storekeepers, hotel keepers and others were able to supply services to restless troops. Fear of 'the other' also pushed some social cohesion, the need for a collective approach to security birthed shooting matches, rifle

²⁰² Hawkins Elder, Jamie. "Unsettling the Colony: Gender, Fear and Settler Colonialism During the Evacuation of 'refugee' Settler Women from Land Wars Conflicts at Taranaki (1860-1861) and Poverty Bay (1865, 1868)". Open Access Te Herenga Waka-Victoria University of Wellington, January 1, 2018. <https://doi.org/10.26686/wgtn.17134139.v1>.

clubs and sports teams that would continue to provide points of community contact into the next century. For the Ruataniwha Plains, the period was marked by a time of high anxiety and fear for the future, with little change to daily and seasonal routines.

Ebenezer Harwood and Jonathan Holden, family friends from Lancashire, met by chance on the Victorian goldfields in 1857. Jonathan had been working in New Zealand since 1856 and the two mates travelled to Wellington together later in the same year. From Wellington they made their way to Hawke's Bay and developed a reputation in partnership 'as the best bushmen, fencers, rough carpenters and generally handy men in the district.'²⁰³ Initially they found contract work on Ashcott Station, sawing and splitting tōtara for John Tucker. It was Tucker who acted as sponsor for both men as they arranged the passage of their wives and children from Gravesend in October 1858. In 1860, having repaid the passage for their families, the pair were issued title, in partnership, to 210 acres of bush in the northwest corner of the Ruataniwha Plains. Their property was initially named Springbank.²⁰⁴ Following war in Taranaki and the invasion of the Waikato in 1863 Ebenezer Harwood and Jonathan Holden won the contract to construct the Waipawa Stockade.

The road from Forest Gate and Fairfield to Waipawa followed the high ground east across the plain until it turned, skirted a swamp and crossed the Waipawa River. Here, it joined the Hampden (Tikokino) to Waipawa Road. The stockade was constructed on a flat-topped river terrace with views across the plains to the Takapau hills in the south and the Ruahine Ranges to the west. Using split tōtara from Springbank, Harwood and Holden built two diagonally opposite, octagonal blockhouses at the corners of a quadrangle enclosed by a loopholed tōtara fence. Within were a cookhouse, a small cottage and stabling. A stockade was also built on Pukekaihau in Waipukurau, a blockhouse in

²⁰³ "Obituary. Death of Mr E. Harwood," *Waipawa Mail*, 12 April 1888, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18880412.2.10>.

²⁰⁴ David & Kerry Mackintosh, A Brief History of the Holden Family, CHB Museum.

Takapau and a lookout position dug in, near the Ongaonga Stream. Following a similar design to the Waipawa Stockade, a double storey octagonal blockhouse was constructed on the main road in Hampden. Tenders for supplying provisions, candles, firewood and bedding straw to the stockade were advertised in the *Hawke's Bay Herald* on 7 October 1863. A Company of the 14th Regiment set out from Napier Barracks in the middle of winter 1864 to take up residence.

Situated on a bleak eminence, surrounded by far extending plains, over which the wind blows with unchecked force, stands the barracks, if they can be designated by such a title. There is one small division, and one only, in which a fire can be placed, and that is the cooking house. The other apartments are large dreary loop-holed tenements, built of slabs or boards, with apertures between each, through which you can see George Cooper's sheep grazing. The roof is by no means watertight, but sends down incessant droppings of a red rusty hue, discolouring the men's belts and accoutrements, and rendering the place all the more miserable. In one room or hall the place for a fire has been cut out of the wall, and in the absence of bricks, a few boards have loosely been nailed over the opening, without any attempt to make it wind or waterproof. On the bare floors of this veritable "Bleak House," about 1400 feet above the sea level, in the depth of winter, and without any necessity, a number of the invincible troops of the glorious British Empire are allowed to perish, with but a pair of small miserable blankets per man to keep out the nipping frosts.²⁰⁵

²⁰⁵ "To the Editor of the Hawke's Bay Herald," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 25 June 1864, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HHB18640625.2.16>.

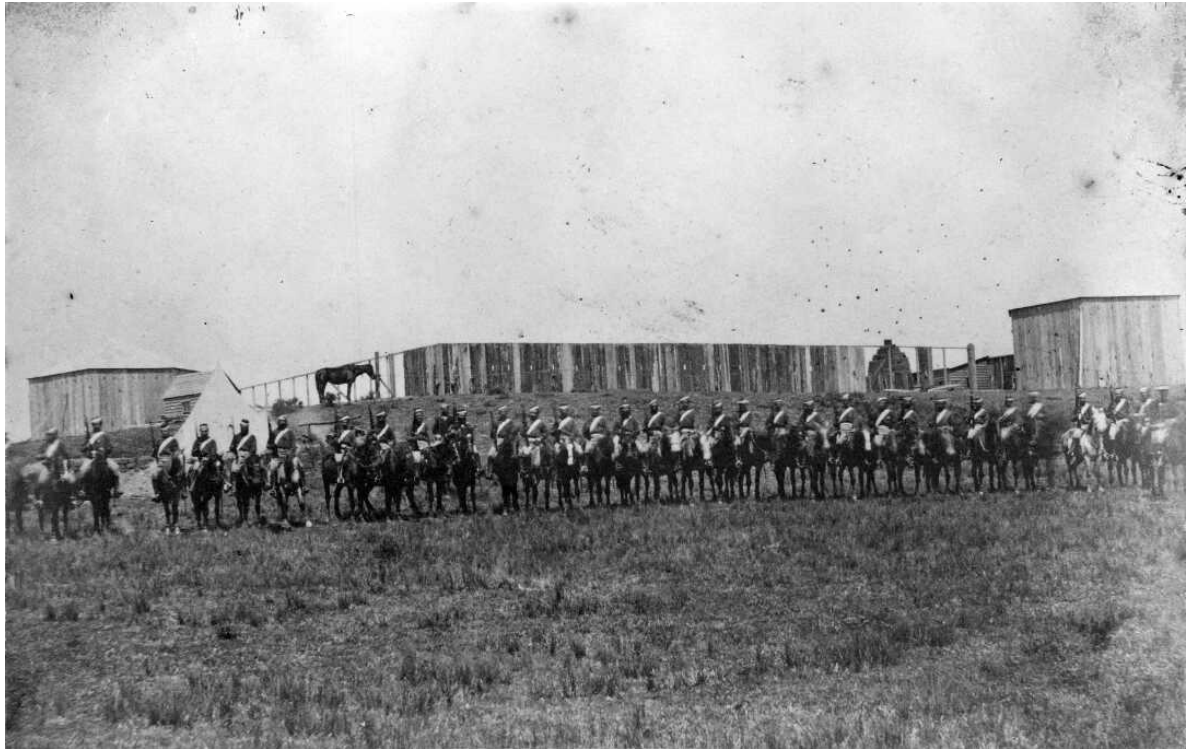


Figure 4 Ruataniwha Stockade c.1864 Central Hawke's Bay Museum Collection

Waipawa storekeeper William Rathbone won the contract to supply provisions, however road access was difficult. In April 1864 Rathbone's horse shied and he and his spring cart of goods were tossed down a bank. He suffered a broken arm and his cart, a broken shaft.²⁰⁶ In such an open and windy spot, horses strayed, a few troops got fed up and deserted, some were involved in petty crime, many enjoyed hospitality at the hotels in Waipawa and Waipukurau.

On Saturday 4 June 1864, John Brett, a Yorkshireman and a Private in the 14th Regiment, appeared before George Sisson Cooper, Resident Magistrate, charged with breaking into the house of Francis Sanders in Waipawa and stealing Sanders' watch from under his pillow.²⁰⁷ He appeared in

²⁰⁶ "Local Intelligence," *Hawke's Bay Times*, 15 April 1864, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBT18640415.2.8>.

²⁰⁷ "Waipawa," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 4 June 1864, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HHB18640604.2.10>.

the Supreme Court in Napier in August, was found guilty and sentenced to twelve months hard labour.²⁰⁸ John Brett's wife and son continued to live in the Military Barracks on Napier Hill, while he was being held in Gaol. In winter 1865, while his mother was obtaining rations, the child's clothing caught fire and he died as a result.²⁰⁹ When released, in spring 1865, John Brett deserted.²¹⁰

The Waipawa Mounted Rifle Volunteers were established in September 1863. Local runholders George Sisson Cooper of Woodlands and John Russell Duncan, Forest Gate, were commissioned as Captain and Cornet. The same month a stand of two hundred arms were dispatched from Napier for their use. Cooper also opened the rolls for the formation of the Waipukurau Mounted Rifle Volunteers. Henry Russell in blue uniform, a red stripe down his leg and sword at his side, led the drills in Ruataniwha Street.²¹¹ By the end of 1864 the Waikato Campaign had come to a halt. James Belich describes the conflicts that followed, all over the North Island up to 1868, as localised, diverse and fragmented.²¹² Pākehā anxiety in Waipawa and for families scattered across the plains was driven by newspaper reports of the actions of adherents of a new Māori religious movement.

Pai Mārire or the Hauhau faith was originated by Te Ua Haumene in Taranaki, following a series of visions of the Angel Gabriel as a messenger of peace. Adherents to the faith identified strongly with the oppressed peoples of scripture and the apocalyptic messages of the books of Daniel

²⁰⁸ "Supreme Court," *Hawke's Bay Times*, 29 July 1864, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBT18640729.2.16.4>.

²⁰⁹ "Inquest," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 Jun 1865, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18650624.2.6>.

²¹⁰ McDonald and Lenihan, "Soldiers of Empire. Garrison & Empire in the 19th Century."

²¹¹ Patrick Parsons, *Waipukurau: The History of a Country Town* (Waipukurau Rotary Club, 1999), Non-fiction, 67-69. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.c4e0cddb.a2ea.5fd7.9d52.503e8a46d528&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

²¹² James Belich, *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Penguin, 1998), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 203. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.5011d80a.c760.5b8c.9fd6.9f43b95f0bca&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

and Revelation. However, the ritualised killing of the Reverend Carl Völkner in Ōpōtiki by Pai Mārire messengers in March 1865²¹³ confirmed Pākehā fears. The *Hawke's Bay Herald* reported with alarm that 'Hau Hau propagandists had arrived in the province,' and 'had altogether abandoned Christianity ... inflamed by fanaticism and false prophets.'²¹⁴ Amidst the anxiety was an ongoing tussle over funding for defence. The Pākehā on the plains looked to the H.B Provincial Council, they in turn looked to Parliament in Wellington, who insisted that local communities should pick up the tab. In 1866 members of the H.B. Colonial Defence Force were let off pay. Local Volunteers were now on their own.

In September 1866 a group of one hundred Pai Mārire adherents, mostly Ngāti Hineuru from Te Hāroto and Tarawera, arrived at the kainga at Ōmarunui beside the Tutaekuri river. Their spiritual leader Panapa had been corresponding with Donald McLean and had sought a meeting with him and a military escort in an effort to avoid conflict with local Māori.²¹⁵ The *Hawke's Bay Times* reported their arrival as; 'Sacrilee by the Hau-haus! Threatened Attack upon Napier!! ... The Titiokura natives, having marched down here with the intention of taking Napier ... having been told by a European that there were only fifteen soldiers left in the place.'²¹⁶ Ngāti Hineuru from inland Hawke's Bay were in conflict with other Hawke's Bay Māori over land sales and their response to the Kīngitanga and the Pai Mārire faith. 'Far from contemplating rebellion, Ngāti Hineuru were

²¹³ Anderson, Binney, and Harris, *Tangata Whenua: An Illustrated History*, 269-74.

²¹⁴ "Critical State of Native Affairs," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 17 January 1865, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18650117.2.24>.

²¹⁵ *The Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report : Wai 201*, Waitangi Tribunal Report 2004, (Legislation Direct, 2004), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, Government documents, 176-77.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.fd051094.ca50.5d23.b6a9.90d3ed2d7ced&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>

https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/WT/reports/reportSummary.html?reportId=wt_DOC_68598295

https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/WT/reports/reportSummary.html?reportId=wt_DOC_68598011.

²¹⁶ "Important News from Petane," *Hawke's Bay Times*, 24 September 1866, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBT18660924.2.7>.

hoping for McLean to mediate between themselves and what they saw as belligerent Ngāti Kahungunu chiefs.²¹⁷ Donald McLean and runholder Lieutenant Colonel George Whitmore acted in response to other agendas and political pressures.

McLean and Ngāti Kahungunu chiefs wanted Panapa and his followers to lay down arms and take an oath of allegiance to the Queen. George Whitmore was agitated about sheep losses on his property which bordered Ngāti Hineuru territory. He was determined to push for a military response against Ngāti Hineuru and for any prisoners taken to be sent to the Chatham Islands.²¹⁸ In the early morning of 12 October 1866 Whitmore led a group of 400 militia and volunteers, including 200 Māori, identified by red and white scarves tied to their left arm, to the riverside at Ōmarunui. A message was sent from McLean requiring those in the kainga to give up their arms and surrender. After receiving their refusal Whitmore waited a further hour then lowered the white flag and raised the Union Jack. Bugles sounded and men advanced toward the Pa. Heavy fire was kept up for the next hour and a half.²¹⁹ George Cooper recorded a total of twenty-one killed at Ōmarunui, including Panapa, seventy-seven wounded or taken prisoner and fourteen escaped.²²⁰ On the Government side, Whitmore recorded one death and thirteen wounded, including four Māori.²²¹

In his early twenties, Īhāia Hūtana was one of the local Māori fighting at Ōmarunui under the command of Hēnare Tomoana and George Whitmore. He also went on to fight in the 1868-69 campaigns against Te Kooti. Īhāia had been born near Ōtaki after his parents had been taken there by

²¹⁷ *The Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report : Wai 201*, 187.

²¹⁸ *The Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report : Wai 201*, 177.

²¹⁹ John Battersby, *The One Day War: The Battle of Omarunui, 1866* (2000), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 85-91. <https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.21e20fc6.ceb2.53ff.98b7.22bb72115d1a&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

²²⁰ *The Mohaka ki Ahuriri Report : Wai 201*, 182.

²²¹ Battersby, *The One Day War: The Battle of Omarunui, 1866*, 103.

Ngāti Raukawa after a battle at Te Roto-a-Tara in Central Hawke's Bay. He descended from hapū with links to Ngāti Kahungunu and Rangitāne, he also belonged to Ngāti Te Whatu-i-apiti. He grew up at Ōruawharo and Takapau and witnessed the effects of land loss on his people, particularly the Aorangi Block. In 1864 he had gone to Pākōwhai to consult with Karaitiana Takamoana and remained there to live. These early experiences in land issues and politics would set his path in life.²²²

From 1865 the editor of the *Hawke's Bay Herald* had been advocating the 'disposal' of native prisoners to the Chatham Islands, ironically stating that; 'expatriation would be felt as a reality, while the chances of escape would be all but nil.'²²³ Transfers of prisoners to the Chathams are reported in Hawke's Bay newspapers from May 1866. After the battle at Ōmarunui prisoners were held in the Napier Barracks for two weeks until they were shipped to the Chathams on 23 October. Vincent O'Malley calculates that around 300 Māori from the East Coast conflicts were eventually sent to the Chatham Islands.²²⁴ Among those deported without trial, to be held indefinitely, was Te Kooti Arikirangi Te Turuki of Ngāti Maru from the Tūranga district.

The escape of Te Kooti and 298 followers from the Chathams on 3rd July 1868 was first reported in the Napier newspapers on 20th July. On the 12th of July Riwha Titokowaru attacked a redoubt at Turuturumōkai in Taranaki, killing ten and wounding six from a garrison of twenty-two. The outbreak of hostilities on both the west coast and the east coast posed a logistical dilemma for the Government and uncertainty and anxiety for Pākehā settlers fearing 'a horde of cannibal fanatics,

²²² Ballara and Hutana, "Īhāia Hūtana."

²²³ "The Maori Prisoners," *The Hawke's Bay Herald*, 30 December 1865, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18651230.2.8>.

²²⁴ Vincent O'Malley, *Voices from the New Zealand Wars = He reo nō ngā pakanga o Aotearoa* (Bridget Williams Books, 2021), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 305.

<https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.c66107ff.0ae8.5e9e.ae7f.58fec3ded41&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

whose throats (they themselves tell us) are already open for the pakeha '225 On 10 November 1868 Te Kooti and his followers attacked military settlers and their families at Matawhero. These attacks were reported in vivid detail in the newspapers. For Pākehā settlers the story of Alice Wilson, the wife of a militia officer, felt particularly immediate because of the horror of her experience and her family connections to runholders in Hawke's Bay. After lying for days with numerous bayonet wounds and dressed only in her night attire, Alice and her surviving child, James were taken to Turanganui. She recovered enough to recount the details her ordeal and on 14th December travelled to Napier with her sister on board the steamer 'Sturt'.²²⁶ She died five days later and was buried in Napier Cemetery.²²⁷

News of the events of November 1868 in Poverty Bay caused some panic on the plains. Some left the district for good. When news reached Hampden/Tikokino that Te Kooti and his followers were at Omahu, 'provisions and bedding were hastily brought and the women and children had to mount a ladder and ascend to the upper story of the Blockhouse while the men kept guard below. For three nights this sort of thing continued.'²²⁸ Mosquitoes and fear keeping sleep at bay. Even after returning to their homes, provisions were stored and escape plans made. John Buchanan, the master of the Hampden School, constructed a hidden cellar under his house where his young family could hide if the need arose.

²²⁵ "The Rebellion," *Hawke's Bay Times*, 10 September 1868, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBT18680910.2.7>.

²²⁶ "Poverty Bay," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 24 November 1868, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18681124.2.19>.

²²⁷ "Death of Mrs Wilson," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 19 December 1868, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18681219.2.14>.

²²⁸ "Hampden in the Past," *Waipawa Mail*, 28 May 1887, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18870528.2.13>.

Following the raid on Matawhero, Te Kooti and his followers withdrew inland into the Urewera. They were pursued by Government forces under George Whitmore. On each occasion battle was engaged Te Kooti managed to escape in the face of superior forces, adding to his mystique. Jasper Herrick, an Ongaonga runholder with a background in the British Army, was promoted by Whitmore. Herrick led one of three groups of forces, about six hundred men, to the shore of Lake Waikaremoana in an attempt to pin down Te Kooti. At Onepoto he had his men construct a redoubt and begin building boats.²²⁹ To Herrick's dismay, the force was withdrawn and the boats were sunk in the lake before they were all completed. Te Kooti moved on into the central North Island and the King Country.

In February 1883 the Government represented by the Native Minister John Bryce met with Te Kooti at Mangaorongo in the King Country, to issue Te Kooti a general pardon. The completion of the main trunk railway through the King Country was behind the move. The response in Waipawa to Te Kooti's pardon was one of anger and disbelief. The editorial in the *Waipawa Mail* on Friday 16th February 1883 fumed: '[If] it can be shown that the whites have any business at all in New Zealand, whether by virtue of treaties or by virtue of force, then it can be shown by the same reasoning that the smut-coloured hound called Te Kooti has forfeited his miscreant's life a thousand times.'²³⁰ The editor also questioned why it was that a peaceful man like Te Whiti from Parihaka in Taranaki should be imprisoned without trial, whereas Te Kooti was let off scot-free. A few days later the Mail reported the burning of an effigy of John Bryce in Waipawa while the town band played.²³¹ The

²²⁹ Angus Gordon, *Legends of the Roar. Eddy and Ethne Herrick's Story* (2023).

²³⁰ "Mercy and Truth," *Waipawa Mail*, 16 February 1883, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18830216.2.4>.

²³¹ "Sound," *Waipawa Mail*, 20 February 1883, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18830220.2.6>.

writer hoped that just as the sound had carried that evening across the river, the sound of their protest would be heard.

George Cooper's Woodlands was sold to John Harding of Mount Vernon in 1867²³². The stockade on the property then became accommodation for farm workers. Having spent five years as accommodation for troops, for the next twelve years it would house labourers and shepherds. In the summer of 1879, a dispute between William Ebbett and Thomas Ewart resulted in the stockade being burned to the ground. Ebbett and Ewart had a history of bad blood. Thomas Ewart, his wife Isabella and their four children lived in the cottage in the stockade. Ewart was employed as a shepherd on Mt Vernon. William Ebbett, a contractor, based in Hastings, used the stockade and neighbouring cottages as accommodation for seasonal workers and stabling for horses. Ewart and Ebbett had clashed frequently over the previous twelve months. Ewart threatened Ebbett with a knife, attempted to impound his horses, shot a dog belonging to one of his men, and threatened to burn Ebbett's grain stacks. Ebbett for his part, drove a flock of sheep into Ewart's oat paddock and ordered Isabella Ewart off his property. On the night of the fire Ebbett was in Hastings. The inquest found that the fire had most likely been deliberately lit, but the culprit remained unknown. Ewart and his family survived with only the clothes they were wearing.²³³ Thomas Ewart then left the employment of the Hardings and drove sheep to the west coast. His wife and children did not hear from him for years. He was arrested in Whanganui in 1882 and charged with deserting his wife and children.²³⁴ The conflict between Ewart and Ebbett, the most intense fought out in the Ruataniwha Stockade, concluded with its destruction.

²³² Macgregor, *Early Stations of Hawke's Bay*, 146.

²³³ "The Fire at the Mount Vernon Stockade," *Waipawa Mail*, 26 February 1879, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18790226.2.8>.

²³⁴ "Resident Magistrate's Court," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 13 November 1882, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HHB18821113.2.14>.

The Waipawa Cavalry Volunteers continued to meet regularly for shooting practise and competition. In 1879 former volunteers were requested to send their names to Sergeant James Newman of Ongaonga or Corporal William Austin of Hampden/Tikokino as they may be entitled to grants of land and the authorities had failed to keep faith with them.²³⁵ As late as 1892 Arthur Leech of Ongaonga was corresponding with the Crown Lands Office hoping to secure a land grant of sixty acres. He had joined the British Army as an eighteen-year-old in 1855 and was in Australia for twelve years before coming to New Zealand in 1864 with the 12th Regiment. He served under General Duncan Cameron at Rangiriri and Orakau in the Waikato Campaign and was discharged in Te Papa Tauranga in January 1867. He relocated to Hawke's Bay and the Return of Freeholders 1882 records him as a settler, Ongaonga, on forty-two acres. His inability to read and write may be behind the delay in his land claim and he may have been encouraged to seek his entitlement by H.H. Bridge who wrote a testimonial in his support. He was still corresponding with the Office of Crown Lands in 1910, by which time he was seventy-three years old. The Waipawa Volunteers made the decision to disband and become a rifle club in 1902.²³⁶

Granting estates to officers²³⁷ and small blocks of bush land to ex-soldiers was successful in settling the most accessible areas of hill country skirting the Ruataniwha Plains. But numbers taking up the offer were not sufficient to maintain the momentum of settlement into Seventy/Forty Mile bush. Politicians in Wellington and in Hawke's Bay began debating ways to increase the flow of migrants and to look beyond Great Britain for a source for prospective settlers.

²³⁵ "Untitled," *Waipawa Mail*, 12 April 1879, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18790412.2.7>.

²³⁶ "Untitled," *Waipawa Mail*, 22 April 1902, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM19020422.2.10>.

²³⁷ McLellan, "Soldiers & Colonists: Imperial Soldiers as Settlers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand.," 45.

Chapter 8. Sacred Fire

The match and the axe were essential tools in the settlement of the bush country of Central Hawke's Bay. The great forest of Seventy/Forty Mile Bush stood as a barrier to communication with the south extending to the Manawatu Gorge and on into the Wairarapa. The recruitment and emigration of families from Scandinavia and Northern Europe to remove that barrier would solve the problem of physical isolation. The creation of an inland link between Hawke's Bay and Wellington, proposed by Hawke's Bay politicians, would transform 'waste land' into farmland and enable more rapid communication to the south.

During his retirement in London, Sir Julius Vogel, looking back on his colonial career, made the claim that; 'New Zealand is essentially a production of the Victorian era'²³⁸ In an extraordinary statement of confidence, Vogel spoke of limitless advancement, wealth, freedom and happiness. From his podium in London, the 'greatest city the world has ever known,' he dreamed of a future unity of colonies and the global movement of people, capital and resources. In his dreams for the future he imagined many possibilities, even a female Prime Minister. The only thing he could not imagine was the splintering of empire. He was the chief prophet for what his contemporary William Fox called 'the sacred fire of colonization'²³⁹

Both men dreamt of extending the writ of British language, culture and faith. Of possessing land, creating farms, settlements, cities and wealth. Fox in particular used religious metaphor to express his vision. Both men preached the need to continue to run the race, each generation passing the baton to the next, continuing the 'great work' of colonizing. The sacred fire had dimmed

²³⁸ Sir Julius Vogel, 'New Zealand: Its Past, Present and Future', 1893, The Pamphlet Collection of Sir Robert Stout: Volume 71, 3, Victoria University of Wellington Library, Wellington, <https://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Stout71-t31.html>.

²³⁹ New Zealand. Parliament, Parliamentary Debates. House of Representatives, 395 (1870).

somewhat following years of conflict with Māori. The difficult and protracted campaign against Te Kooti, after his escape from the Chatham Islands in 1868, pushed the colonial government to look for ways to maintain the momentum of settlement. Failure to capture Te Kooti and the ability of Māori to provide sanctuary for him in the forested areas of the central North Island spooked the Pākehā population. A different tack was needed in the on-going conflict over land.

The Maoris were a fiery race, and any little dispute in any part of the Island might have occasioned a fierce and general war. It has often been said and written that the Public Works' Policy was the outcome of a speculative desire to obtain the expenditure of a large quantity of borrowed money for the gain that expenditure would bestow, leaving to chance subsequent consequences. I will tell you the real facts, and I think I may say there are only two or three men now living who can speak with equal authority. The Public Works' Policy seemed to the Government the sole alternative to a war of extermination with the natives. It comprised the construction of railways and roads, and the introduction of a large number of European immigrants. The Government argued that if they could greatly increase the population of the North Island and open up the means of communication through the Island, and at the same time give employment to the Maoris, and make their lands really valuable, they would render impossible any future war on a large scale.²⁴⁰

Sacred fire was burning brightly in 1872. John Ormond, Hawke's Bay Provincial Superintendent, in a letter to the Government in Wellington wrote; 'it is of great general importance to secure the district in question for settlement; and that the establishment of a body of colonists in so central a position, on what must be the main line of road connecting the northern settlements with Wellington, is really a matter of Colonial interest.'²⁴¹ The Vogel Government linked immigration and public works. The resulting special bush settlements of Norsewood and Dannevirke were integrated with the development of road and rail. John Ormond proposed similar legislation in the Provincial Council of Hawke's Bay. Bush land would be made available for settlement and productive farmland would

²⁴⁰ Vogel, *New Zealand: Its Past, Present and Future*.

²⁴¹ John Ormond, *Correspondence Relative to the Purchase from the Natives of the Forty Mile Bush, Hawke's Bay.*, No.1 (Papers Past 1870).

be created. Ormond's Bill made possible the purchase of 'waste land' on deferred payment and for the establishment of a Special Settlement. Debate in the Provincial Council in June 1872 was focussed on the value of the land. The price needed to be set at a rate that would attract settlers with limited capital. Neighbouring landowner Col. Lambert worried that the suggested set price of 10 shillings per acre was too low. Yet the counter suggestion that the Superintendent be given wider discretionary power to vary prices based on the quality of the land, was politically uncomfortable. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's theory of sufficient price and comparative land prices in Victoria and New South Wales all found space in the debate. Eventually, in a motion put by another neighbouring landowner Henry Hamilton Bridge, the purchase price was set at not less than 5 shillings per acre and block size at a minimum of forty acres and a maximum of two hundred. The Superintendent of Hawke's Bay was empowered to enter into contracts with settlers who wished to occupy land. In return settlers were contracted to construct a house to the value of at least £10 and clear at least one tenth of their land, within two years. Payment then fell due in instalments over the next three years.²⁴²

In January 1873 the Superintendent made the announcement that eight thousand acres had been set aside to form a special settlement between the Makaretu and Tukituki rivers in an area of dense bush north of Norsewood.²⁴³ The first purchasers of land at Makaretu were British immigrants. Scandinavian settlers arrived into the port of Napier from December 1873. Further Scandinavian and German settlers followed in 1874.²⁴⁴ From the data collected for this study, the largest group of

²⁴² Hawke's Bay Provincial Council. Votes & Proceedings, Acts & Ordinances, Short.

²⁴³ "Captain Russell at Waipawa," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 8 Jun 1895 1895, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18950608.2.15>.

²⁴⁴ J. W. Davidson, *The Scandinavians in New Zealand* (1936), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 82-83.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.1bec464e.fe14.51cd.91f5.0fde115790d0&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

immigrants was from Denmark, also included were settlers from Norway, Germany, Sweden and Poland.

Two families who took on bush blocks in Makaretu had been recruited to New Zealand as railway navvies by John Brogden and Sons.²⁴⁵ George and Sarah Cook and Thomas and Caroline Howse arrived at Napier on the 'Chile' in December 1872. Delwyn Blondell has identified the 'Chile' immigrants as the most successful amongst Brogden's Navvies in terms of subsequent land ownership.²⁴⁶ Their arrival in Hawke's Bay coincided with national and regional governments' vision to see the vast Forty/Seventy Mile Bush cleared. Both George Cook and his brother William and their families emigrated to New Zealand. George and his wife Sarah Hawketts were married in Gloucestershire in 1862. They made the voyage to New Zealand with four children, two dying on the journey. George's father, also George, was a convicted of larceny in 1844 and transported for seven years. After returning to England, he was convicted of rape and in 1853 received a life sentence. Perhaps the social stigma around the case added impetus for the brothers to emigrate. The possibility of land ownership was also an attraction highlighted by Brogden's recruitment agents. George Cook Senior had been a tenant farmer in Gloucestershire and had given up his lease in 1843. Both George and William purchased bush blocks in Hawke's Bay under deferred payment while continuing to work as seasonal labourers as they cleared the land and established farms. English born settlers made up the largest group of Europeans in Central Hawke's Bay. Of the individuals followed in the

²⁴⁵ Jubilee Committee, *Ashley Clinton School 86th Anniversary 1876-1962* (Hawke's Bay Knowledge Bank, 1962), 11. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=edsdnz&AN=edsdnz.44138815&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

²⁴⁶ Delwyn Blondell, *'A bright eye to the main chance': Brogdens' Navvies - British labourers building New Zealand's railways : a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History, at Massey University, New Zealand* (2020), Abstracts, Bibliographies, Theses, Non-fiction, 105. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.f012f288.2267.5ce1.9a5f.dfbc0fa24d1a&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>
<http://hdl.handle.net/10179/15958>.

research for this study 32 per cent were born in England. When New Zealand born individuals with parents born in England are added, the proportion of Pākehā in the study group with English origins or ancestry rises to 48 per cent. Many of those recruited by Brogdens were agricultural labourers²⁴⁷ who quickly took advantage of opportunities to purchase blocks of bush land.

Thomas Howse and his wife Caroline married in Cumberland in February 1872 and arrived in Napier in December of the same year. He took up 50 acres of bush land in Makaretu which he went on to farm for forty years, selling six hundred acres freehold, a good house, 1350 Lincoln sheep and forty cattle on his retirement in 1900. Rollo Arnold identifies Thomas Howse and the Cook brothers as part of the large group of immigrants recruited from the Wychwood Forest area of Oxfordshire. In letters home others in the group paint a picture of life in Hawke's Bay in glowing terms, 'this is really the land of Goshen and if you acted wisely you would come; there is plenty of work for you.'²⁴⁸ The availability of reliable well-paid work, freedom from worry about clothing and feeding a family, access to cheap meat, land and housing are all detailed as being within the reach of a labourer. Not every family who took up a bush block in Makaretu was as successful as Thomas Howse. Others with a forty-acre block often struggled to make ends meet. Ole Rasmussen, his wife Stina and three children arrived in Napier on the Hovding in December 1873 from Norway. Rejecting the remoteness of Forty Mile Bush and the emerging settlement of Norsewood, Ole is an example of a labourer who found work following the seasonal pattern of 'fencing draining and scrub-

²⁴⁷ Blondell, *'A bright eye to the main chance': Brogdens' Navvies - British labourers building New Zealand's railways : a thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in History, at Massey University, New Zealand*, 44.

²⁴⁸ Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English villagers, New Zealand immigrants of the 1870s* (New Zealand Electronic Text Centre, 2005), Bibliographies, Online, Non-fiction, Electronic document, 118.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.3f27e192.dc59.5b40.906c.9d8ceae523cf&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>
<http://www.nzetc.org/tm/scholarly/tei-ArnFart.html>.

cutting in winter, bush felling, shearing and roading in summer'²⁴⁹ He first found labouring work in Ōtāne, north of Waipawa. He then found work on Springvale Station, Hampden/Tikokino, clearing bush for the Holden brothers for which he was initially paid 25 shillings per acre. His contract required everything to be felled and carefully lopped, with tree stumps no higher than eighteen inches from the ground. Perhaps it was on Springvale that Ole met Anton Hansen. On the 4 May 1875 they signed a contract together for Ole to purchase forty acres of Hansen's land at Makaretu. Ole would find regular work on Springvale until his death in 1892 aged fifty-three. Springvale was a good twenty-two miles from Makaretu with the Tukituki and Waipawa Rivers to cross on the journey. It is likely that Ole and other labourers from Makaretu were accommodated at Springvale for weeks at a time when the day to day running of their own small block would be left to family. A payslip for September and October 1882 shows Ole and the Larsen brothers, Tosten and Edward, being paid for nine days bush felling. For the thirty-eight acres of bush felled they were paid £50.16/6d. With their food and lodging subtracted their net earnings were £19.14/2d, just over £6 each. Six pounds for nine days work represents a good wage for a labourer considering that the yearly earnings for the wool from Ole's forty acres in Makaretu was also just over £6. Accounts from Makaretu Store shows the Rasmussen family spending just over £1 per month for their flour, salt, sugar, kerosene, and tobacco. Examples of more expensive draws on the family accounts for 1883 were: 30 yards of cotton winceyette £1.10s (pyjamas for the family?), cocksfoot seed £3.3s, a house cow and calf (£6.10s cash, plus a steer) and for a mare to get to Springvale and back £5. It appears from the occasional notes that the storekeeper sometimes waited for the Rasmussen accounts to be settled and eventually a loan was taken out to meet the regular payments required to purchase their

²⁴⁹ Committee, *Ashley Clinton School 86th Anniversary 1876-1962*, 11.

land.²⁵⁰ After eighteen years in New Zealand, Ole died from cancer. He left his wife and seven children. Stina continued to farm her block with the help of her son-in-law Tosten Larsen who had married their eldest daughter Caroline in 1883.

In her analysis of emigration and kinship amongst migrants into New Plymouth, Raewyn Dalziel suggests that ‘the stability of a settlement was provided by a core of families ... inter-related in a complex set of ways.’²⁵¹ New Plymouth migrants showed a pattern of neighbouring families with close ties emigrating together. In Makaretu a core of families shared language, cultural traditions and an emerging Scandinavian identity. The largest group 46 per cent originated in Denmark, 27 per cent were from Norway and another 11 per cent from Sweden. Together these Scandinavian and other northern European settlers made up 14 per cent of the total study group. For isolated families at Makaretu the search for seasonal work to supplement incomes was made more difficult due both to language difficulties and the complete lack of roads and bridges connecting their settlement to wider Central Hawke’s Bay. The Makaretu settlement was a Hawke’s Bay Provincial Council initiative so the abolition of Provincial government in 1876 compounded their problems. The provision of infrastructure was crucial to the economic success of isolated families. Norsewood and Dannevirke had been created as special settlements by government in Wellington, with public works as an integral part of the plan. Roads, rail and bridges were created connecting Hawke’s Bay to the Manawatu Gorge while bush was cleared in parallel. The Makaretu special settlement was different. The Hawke’s Bay Provincial Council was dominated by large run-holders. The run-holders concerns were seasonal labour supply and land values. By piggybacking on the Wellington Government’s scheme, utilizing the same recruiting agent, the Hawke’s Bay Provincial Council

²⁵⁰ Rasmussen Family Collection.

²⁵¹ Raewyn Dalziel, "Emigration and Kinship: Migrants to New Plymouth 1840-1843," *New Zealand Journal of History* 25, 2 (1991): 128, <https://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/document/?wid=873&page=0&action=searchresult&target=>.

managed to get several shiploads of Scandinavian immigrants directly into Napier and out into the bush. However, the abolition of the Provincial Council compounded the Makaretu settlers' feelings of isolation, official neglect and political powerlessness. In 1880 their frustrations came to a head. Thirty-four Scandinavian settlers petitioned the government in Wellington for assistance.²⁵² Their petition was submitted by Wellington merchant Edward Pearce, Consul for Sweden and Norway. They had two key complaints. Firstly, that the formation of roads and bridges to their settlement had been neglected in contrast to their neighbours in Norsewood and Dannevirke. Secondly, that contrary to assurances made by the Immigration Agent, they felt like second class citizens, paying taxes and rates yet unable to vote. The fee of £1 for letters of naturalisation was a particular barrier for settlers struggling to make ends meet. The final point was stated strongly by Pearce; 'if those grievances be not remedied in one way or another they shall be compelled to leave in a body for some more favourable country.'²⁵³ Ole Rasmussen and Tosten Larsen were among the men who signed their names. Their threat to leave however, was not a practical reality. A few relocated to Dannevirke and the Manawatu, the majority laboured on.

²⁵² E. Pearce, Forwarding Petition of Scandinavian settlers at Makaretu regarding need of roads and government works in the district and the loss of electoral rights, 1880, 445, R24345210, Archives New Zealand, Wellington Repository, <https://collections.archives.govt.nz/en-GB/web/arena/search#/entity/aims-archive/R24345210/>.

²⁵³ *ibid*



Figure 5 Makaretu c.1885 Pedersen Family Collection

Lack of roads and bridges was not the only difficulty for the Makaretu settlers. In parallel with labour, fire was used as a tool for clearing bush land for farming. After felling the undergrowth in winter, it was left to dry and the fires set in early summer. Cocksfoot was scattered as soon as the fires had cooled. The summer of 1885-86 and the bush fires which took hold from Hawke's Bay to Taranaki compounded financial difficulties for small farmers. 'In Makaretu bush burns began in mid-November.'²⁵⁴ The Hawke's Bay Tribune correspondent described the scene in Makaretu,

'... yesterday there was a great wind and nearly a square mile was in flames... Above the store two rimus were blazing, and as we heard a roaring in the distant branches we watched and soon the squall came nearer, and then jets and eddies of sparks flew out, each one describing its own curve, followed by a comet-like train of coruscations.'²⁵⁵

²⁵⁴ Arnold, *New Zealand's Burning: The Settler's World in the Mid 1880's*.

²⁵⁵ "Makaretu," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 21 Nov 1885, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HHB18851121.2.14>.

Takapau township was also threatened and Waipawa twenty-two miles to the west was shrouded in smoke for days. Several families, notably Gotfried and Mathea Gulbrandsen, lost their home and crops including grass seed. Cocksfoot seed was an important source of income for the bush settlers. Few families were unaffected by the fire. A relief committee was established with Makaretu school teacher William Howlett taking the Chair. His cousin, Henry Hamilton Bridge, oversaw the distribution of £500 relief money to forty-seven families in March 1886.²⁵⁶

Sensitivities amongst the Scandinavian settlers were still raw five years after their petition to government. William Howlett aroused the ire of the meeting in his introductory comments where he stated that ‘the Scandinavians were our guests, and that England was determined to treat them as she alone knew how to treat the innumerable nationalities she was perpetually assimilating.’²⁵⁷ Strong objections were made to his comments and Howlett was reminded that ‘those present were duly naturalised citizens,’²⁵⁸ not guests. There were other niggles. The mail route was at Bridge’s convenience, not that of the settlers of Makaretu.²⁵⁹ Bridge was the largest landowner in the area. The village of Ongaonga had been surveyed off a corner Bridge’s Fairfield Estate. Mail and newspaper services to Makaretu took the route from Waipawa via Ongaonga on Mondays and Fridays. The *Waipawa Mail* newspaper however was published on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Makaretu settlers were always receiving yesterday’s news. There were enough subscribers of the *Waipawa Mail* in Makaretu for the paper to publish a column ‘Skandinaviske Tidende’ in Danish, with Danish, Norwegian and Swedish news from June 1880. It appeared at least seven times and a local bi-lingual reporter, maintained connections with the Scandinavian community in the bush. Yet

²⁵⁶ "Untitled," *Waipawa Mail*, 6 Mar 1886, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18860306.2.6>.

²⁵⁷ "Makaretu," *Waipawa Mail*, 16 Jan 1886, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18860116.2.5>.

²⁵⁸ *ibid*

²⁵⁹ "For Danske Svenske og Norske." *Waipawa Mail*, Volume VIII, Issue 807, 25 July 1885, Page 4

their suggestion that the mail be delivered via Takapau and Ashley Clinton on Tuesday and Thursday was ignored. The needs of the Makaretu settlers took second place to the interests of the big landowners and their Anglocentric bias. It would be political, economic and technological changes that altered this relationship in favour of the smaller family farmers.

The settlement of large numbers of Pākehā into the bushland at the edges of the plains was led by government policy and fuelled by political pressure. Immigrants were promised and expected land to be available. As politicians such as Ormond and Vogel expected, large numbers of immigrants would alter the physical and political landscape and make future conflict with Māori less likely. These European settlers would also contribute a distinctive character to an emerging New Zealand identity, not necessarily linked to England, but to a broader understanding of British culture and a global empire. Scandinavian and northern European settlers embraced citizenship and became naturalised both as a commitment to their new circumstances and to ensure their participation in the political process. The deal committed to by the Scandinavian settler families promised land, financial independence and citizenship in return for their labour. Joined to that was the expectation of a relationship with government, not only to transport them to this far-off colony, but to guarantee employment and to provide infrastructure.

Chapter 9. Where two or more are gathered.

The final two chapters focus on the growth of community institutions in the smaller settlements, including Ongaonga and their larger neighbour Waipawa. To build a sense of community in a scattered rural district, both opportunities to gather and buildings to accommodate a gathering are required. The regular rhythm of a day of rest offered an opportunity to meet with neighbours. However, seasonal work requirements, lack of roading, multiple river crossings, thinly spread clergy and no community buildings limited the possibilities for groups to congregate for meetings or collective worship. Community buildings allowed for the development of church congregations, clubs and societies as institutions. This chapter follows the building of spaces that allowed for the flourishing of local community groups.

With long distances on the Ruataniwha plains between dwellings, the need for a place to meet in a central location was resolved in 1874 with the construction of a small public room, opposite James Newman's Store, where the road from Waipawa crossed the Ongaonga Stream. The room was paid for by local landowner H.H. Bridge and used for a variety of purposes. Church Services were held weekly from 1877 with local clergy taking turns to complete a circuit from Waipawa or Waipukurau and conducting three services each Sunday: one each at Makaretu, Ongaonga and in Waipukurau or Waipawa. Lack of choice encouraged a practical ecumenism, only one service was available and more often than not it would be Church of England or Presbyterian in flavour. The first wedding in Ongaonga on 25th September 1878, also made use of the Public Room for the occasion and was treated as a public holiday by the locals. The main street was decorated with greenery and a large banner was draped across the front of the store opposite. Annie Coles married Willis Combs,

the service conducted by the Church of England vicar, Rev. Shearman. Those who gathered danced until dawn the next day.²⁶⁰

A marker of community identity, the isolated and close-knit families of Makaretu began the building of a Lutheran Church in 1879 and a Wesleyan Church in 1885. The Catholic population was spread thinly in Hawke's Bay with monthly services in Waipawa beginning in 1869. In 1880, the first Priest appointed, Patrick McGuinness, appealed to the charity of readers of *The Tablet* to fund a residence, describing the 'vast extent of the country around and beyond Waipawa ... very thinly populated and resembling a wilderness, from its broad monotonous plains and Seventy-mile Bush'²⁶¹ A large two storied house was eventually built next to Waipawa's, St Patricks Catholic Church.

The Public Room in Ongaonga also allowed for the establishment of a School from 1875, catering for up to twelve pupils from five families for three hours a day. Charles Mackey, a gardener from Tealing, Forfarshire, Scotland became the first teacher. He arrived in Hawke's Bay in 1864 initially working for Purvis Russell at Woburn in gardening and drainage work,²⁶² before he purchased his own bush block near the Ongaonga Stream. William Colenso in his inspection report described the school as 'far away from civilisation' and the route of the children who attended as 'a kind of steeple-chase on foot, over fences and through fern and bush, no roads.'²⁶³ Letters show Mackey to be a thoughtful observer and his obituary describes him as patient and honest.²⁶⁴ He filled a community need as a half-time teacher for a year or two until ill health saw his death at age fifty-

²⁶⁰ "Untitled," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 23 March 1878, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18780323.2.8>.

²⁶¹ "A Priest's Appeal," *New Zealand Tablet*, 24 September 1880, 16, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/periodicals/NZT18800924.2.26>.

²⁶² "Letter from a Forfarshire Migrant," *Dundee Courier*, 14 December 1864, <https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/search/results/1864-12-14?NewspaperTitle=Dundee%2BCourier&IssueId=BL%2F0000162%2F18641214%2F&County=Angus%2C%20Scotland>.

²⁶³ Hawke's Bay Provincial Council. Votes & Proceedings, Acts & Ordinances, (Napier, New Zealand 1875).

²⁶⁴ "Untitled."

five on 13 March 1878. Scottish born settlers make up only 7 per cent of the individuals followed for this study. As a consequence of the community minded attitudes of settlers such as Charles Mackey, their social impact was greater than their numbers would suggest.

The Public Room also became the place for meetings. It was in the Public Room that the first Roads Board meetings were held and voting was conducted. Another community minded Scot was on hand to keep minutes. Henry James Strachan Whyte, the illegitimate son of a kitchen maid was raised by his grandmother and aunts in Fife, Scotland. In 1888, aged 18 he arrived in Wellington and within a year was working for storekeeper Innes MacFarlane in Ongaonga. In 1893 he married Kate Coles, sister of Annie and daughter of local builder Edward Coles. Henry Whyte became the Secretary for the Racing Club, the Sports Club, the Cricket Club, the Library, the Horticultural Society and the Cooperative Flour Milling Association. The family he married into, the Coles family, became the heart of the community in Ongaonga. Edward Purkis Coles, his wife Clara and twelve children arrived in Napier on 22 August 1877. The Coles family had, for at least two generations, worked as carpenters and joiners, servicing the needs of the Royal Navy dockyard at Portsea. After the Napoleonic Wars the family had moved into Hampshire in search of work and had settled in the village of Droxford. The Rector of Droxford, the Reverend Stephen Bridge, was the father of Henry Hamilton Bridge, of Fairfield and Ashcott. It was through this connection that the Coles family made their way to Hawke's Bay. After a week in the immigration barracks on Napier Hill, they travelled by train to Waipawa and from there, to Ongaonga.

Changes to the built environment of Ongaonga was slow until the arrival of the Coles family. E.P. Coles established his family building and joinery business in Ongaonga in August 1877 and their work remains, defining the character of the area. Harry Combs, a grandson of Edward Coles described Ongaonga as 'a smithy, a two-storey Hotel, a small general store, a few scattered cottages,

the smallest of small schools and grandfather's workshop.²⁶⁵ The workshop became a large enterprise, employing up to seventeen men in building, plumbing and related work with a hardware store across Bridge Street. Edward Coles and his sons became the mainstay of community institutions. Although the Coles had a Church of England heritage, eldest son William Coles became a Catholic when he married Minnie O'Neill in 1888, and 'their household became the centre of Catholic life in the district.'²⁶⁶ William's brother Charles Coles was the founding member of the village Brass Band and his son Frank was a manager of the Presbyterian Church. Coles Brothers builders constructed all three church buildings: The Church of the Good Shepherd in 1901, St Frances de Sales Catholic Church in 1909 and St Oran's Presbyterian Church in 1913.

Constructed over the summer of 1878-79, a building of social significance was Bridge and Russell's Flour Mill. Three stories high with an equally tall chimney from the boiler, it brought the glamour of steam power to the plains and on the bottom floor provided a much larger space for community gatherings and dances. Winter concerts were held monthly in 1884 and 85 to raise funds to establish a local Library. Always on moonlit evenings towards the end of the month, locals gathered to sing, share recitations, piano pieces and to dance. Neighbours from Hampden/Tikokino and Waipawa also attended. James and Annie Glass who had recently taken over the lease of the Sandford Hotel were the movers behind the establishment of a Library. Born in 1840 in Portsea, Hampshire, James was orphaned at the age of eight and joined the Royal Navy aged fifteen. War in Taranaki in 1860 saw HMS Fawn stationed to Wellington. It was here that James deserted in 1861 and made his way to Hawke's Bay, changing his surname from Voller to Glass. In 1863 he married Annie Hood, a Londoner by birth and a widow with two children. Around 1866 James and Annie

²⁶⁵ Combs, *Growing up in the Forty Mile Bush*, 80.

²⁶⁶ Rex D. Evans, Evans, Adriene, *The Coles Family of Ongaonga* (Ongaonga: Evagean Publishing, 2000).

moved to the sawmilling settlement of Hampden/Tikokino.²⁶⁷ As an orphan, James had relied on charity for his education. Perhaps as a parent of young children this gave him a particular passion to provide a public library for the community on the plains. As publican he had been behind the establishment of a similar library in Hampden/Tikokino. In July 1885, James organised the purchase of £65 worth of books from Melbourne,²⁶⁸ the new library was also housed in the Public Room.

In November 1886 Edward Coles' tender for the erection of a new school in Ongaonga was accepted. Bridge had donated two acres of land in Mill Street for a school. The teacher and pupils moved into the new building on 5 May 1887. From then on, the new school room became the preferred venue for evening meetings. Bridge enjoyed long relationships with men he respected. He appears generous, community minded and confident of his place at the top of the local pecking order. He expected to be Chair of local committees and to be elected when he offered his leadership politically. Even after his departure for retirement in England he corresponded regularly with Edward Coles and John Bibby, making clear his expectations, particularly about Church matters.²⁶⁹ Many locals regarded Bridge with affection as a 'good colonial settler and as a large employer.'²⁷⁰ Sixteen of them appended their signatures to a memorial address for Bridge on his departure overseas in May 1889, acknowledging his friendship and the part he took in building the community in which they now took the leading roles.

²⁶⁷ Graeme Allan Glass, *Glass-Voller. A paper setting out the known history of the Glass family in N.Z. and their origins in Great Britain.*, 2016, Box 2, FH001, C.H.B. Museum, Waipawa.

²⁶⁸ "Untitled," *Waipawa Mail*, 25 July 1885, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18850725.2.7>.

²⁶⁹ Henry Hamilton Bridge, *Letters H.H. Bridge, 1902-1919*, Letters (H.H. Bridge), Ongaonga Historical Society.

²⁷⁰ M. C. Bibby and E. S. Bibby, *Onga Onga, Village of the Plains, 1872-1975* (M. Bibby?, 1975), Non-fiction, 31. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.4136aba9.6bae.5204.9e39.ca8d0dd9af70&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

The publican of the Sandford Hotel also provided a venue for the organisation of another community mainstay, sporting events. The earliest recorded sporting event in Waipawa was the 1865 races and on the plains the 1879 races, both held in the Christmas – New Year period. Held in the paddock opposite the Hotel, the Ongaonga Races began another racing tradition that lasted over one hundred years and transformed into the Annual Sports Day. In December 1895 the *Hawke's Bay Herald* reported that 'an athletic sports club has been formed at Onga Onga, to take the place of the racing club, I presume, and they will hold athletic and equestrian sports there on New Year's Day as usual.'²⁷¹ In contrast to the earlier racing club, the shopkeeper and the local builders joined the farmers on the committee. The inclusion of athletic sports, including races for both sexes, novelty races, bicycle events, wood chopping, dog trials as well as horse and pony events made the day an outing for the whole family and the Sports continued to be held every year until 1983. Organised sports 'create heroes and reinforce personal pride along with kin and friendship networks',²⁷² the Ongaonga Sports performed this key role in community building.

Summer races were an important social event, the Waipawa Band was usually in attendance and the excitement of sovereigns changing hands added to the festive atmosphere. John Drummond, the Ongaonga blacksmith, constructed a totalisator for the 1884 races, and was secretary for the event. Drummond, a native of Glasgow, was also a gun dealer and a crack shot. In 1880 he organised and won the Queen's Birthday rifle match.²⁷³ In following years competition included the neighbouring towns of Hampden and Waipawa. John Drummond married Janet McLeod of

²⁷¹ "Untitled," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 5 December 1895, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18951205.2.7>.

²⁷² Greg Ryan & Geoff Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders: A History*, (Auckland University Press, 2018), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 5. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.60b9fb54.c1be.5ee8.baf0.d3ee33fcc62c&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

²⁷³ "Ongaonga," *Waipawa Mail*, 26 May 1880, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18800526.2.12>.

Ongaonga in 1878 at the home of her parents. The McLeods had settled a forty-acre bush block in 1868, becoming sawmillers and farmers. Drummond was also a correspondent and friend of missionary and botanist William Colenso. He collected insect and plant specimens for him and named his first-born William Colenso Drummond.

Cricket in Hawke's Bay is associated with the arrival of Imperial Troops and the need to keep bored men occupied in thoroughly British pursuits. A match held between military settlers and volunteers in May 1864, including the Waipawa Cavalry, was played from 9am till sunset in lieu of 'a little brush with the natives [giving] zest to our otherwise monotonous existence.'²⁷⁴ In 1883 a team from the Waipawa Club faced an eleven of residents in Ongaonga. It was not until 1898 that Ongaonga formed a club, with Lachlan Mackay as Secretary. Mackay was born in Northern Ireland and arrived in New Zealand in 1878. For twenty years Mackay was employed on Mount Vernon before balloting his own farm in 1903. He was also a supporter of the Ongaonga Rugby team, often acting as umpire. A Tennis Club was formed by 1890 and courts on Bridge Park were asphalted by 1904.

The mobility of the rural workforce in an area dominated by large estates and seasonal rhythms made it difficult to maintain sports clubs. Young single men, who made up the core of local sports teams, were often on the move; 'the 1891 census reveals that seasonal workers, who were largely rural, constituted perhaps a third of the adult male European labour force and more than half were itinerant for some part of the year.'²⁷⁵ A rugby team was formed in Waipawa in 1880. Te Aute College teams made the local news as formidable opponents from 1882 and linked the Māori

²⁷⁴ "Camp Oruawara," *Hawke's Bay Herald*, 31 May 1864, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HBH18640531.2.13>.

²⁷⁵ Ryan & Watson, *Sport and the New Zealanders : A History*, 61.

community into the sport.²⁷⁶ The Waipawa County Rugby Union was formed in 1895 with the original clubs being Dannevirke, Waipawa, Waipukurau and Makaretu.²⁷⁷ These larger towns had sufficient numbers of young men to field teams and the settlement of Makaretu, with its cluster of small blocks and close-knit community was also able to consistently field a side. It was not until the breaking up of the large estates on the plains to form smaller farms, from 1899, that the smaller towns of Takapau, Ongaonga and Hampden/Tikokino were able to maintain a club side. They were added to the Union in 1905.

Friendly Societies were important facilitators of community in Central Hawke's Bay. The largest group was the Manchester Unity Independent Order of Oddfellows (MUIOOF) In Waipawa the Abbottsford Lodge of Oddfellows was established in 1873, following the gift of land for a meeting hall by Frederick Abbott, himself an Oddfellow. MUIOOF offered members sickness benefits, funeral expenses, widow and orphan benefits, distress funds and assistance when travelling in search of employment. Bush settlers on small blocks and Scandinavian settlers at Makaretu were quick to realise the benefits of membership. Isolated in small remote communities the cost of a doctor's visit was prohibitive. Covering some of costs collectively provided some security, particularly when the labour of every family member was crucial to economic survival.

'Creating a common bond between disparate members, ritual was used to promote a synthesis of ideas and values believed necessary to be a good Oddfellow, Druid, Forester, or Rechabite'²⁷⁸ All four Societies operated in Waipawa: Rechabites from 1871, A.O. Foresters from

²⁷⁶ "Football," *Waipawa Mail*, 12 July 1882, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18820712.2.6>.

²⁷⁷ Dennis Schaw, *Onga-Tiko Rugby 50th Jubilee* (2005), 116.

²⁷⁸ Jenny Carlyon, *New Zealand Friendly Societies, 1842-1941: a thesis submitted to the Auckland University in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, Auckland University, 2001* (2001), Non-fiction, 248.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat090>

1879 and Druids from 1911. Jenny Carlyon in her 2001 thesis noted the success of Manchester Unity in catering for the needs of a mobile population. Systems within the Friendly Society across the empire enabled benefits to follow individuals, providing some security for families in times of sickness or death. 'A member could leave a MUIOOF lodge in Britain, could immigrate to New Zealand armed with a certificate of clearance, which on presentation to a New Zealand lodge, gave entitlement to benefits.'²⁷⁹ Robust accounting systems and rules allowed for entitlements to be retained as employment moved with settlement or in the case of sawmillers, with the removal of the bush. A MUIOOF Lodge operated in Takapau for four years from 1877 until the land on the edge of Forty/Seventy Mile Bush had been cleared. Arguably the most important office holder in the Lodge was the Permanent Secretary. As the receiver of monies, they were responsible for keeping track of payments and expenses. Surviving letters invariably, query receipt of payments, apologise for late payments or explain sickness and request payment. Anders Bergersen, a Norwegian settler at Makaretu who had lost his home in the fires of 1888 was one of these, writing in November 1894 to dispute overdue fees for which he had been charged interest.

Fellow workers shared the message of the benefits of membership and recruited new members. The minute book of the Abbotsford Lodge Waipawa, from February 1897 records the application for membership of three young men, all station hands on Ashcott. Henry Loye, aged eighteen, a groom, William Bertie Cook aged twenty-one, station hand and Edward Persen aged sixteen, station hand. Even as single men these three clearly saw the benefit of contributing collectively to insure their income in times of sickness. Henry Loye's father was also a station hand

11a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.10b5c117.1260.5d9f.ad94.d1c74931c832&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306.

²⁷⁹ Carlyon, *New Zealand Friendly Societies, 1842-1941: a thesis submitted to the Auckland University in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History*, Auckland University, 2001, 37.

on Ashcott and a member of the Lodge. William B. Cook was the son of one of the Oxfordshire recruits of J. Brogden and Sons. His father, also William Cook, farmed a small block at Makaretu.

It was the Oddfellow's Hall, built in Ruataniwha Street in 1876, that became the centre of community events in Waipawa. So much so, that the Hall was eventually purchased by the Waipawa Borough Council. With additions it became the Municipal Theatre and Council Chambers in 1910. Entertainments, concerts, dramatic performances, lectures, political meetings and dances were all held there. It was two weeks in December 1888, however, that saw the Hall and Waipawa become a site of national attention. The Waipawa Industrial and Art Exhibition was the brainchild of a small group of Waipawa businessmen determined to bring the resources of Hawke's Bay to the attention of New Zealand. Local landowners and capitalists got behind the idea and provided patronage, but it was the energies of Waipawa Town Clerk and Auctioneer Ben B. Johnson as secretary and organiser, John Hornsby and John Mogridge both of the *Waipawa Mail* who championed the event. Free cartage was arranged, by rail, for exhibitors. The hope was, with 'Waipawa ... centrally located on the H.B. trunk railway, ... trains arrive and depart six times daily ... The resources of the magnificent stretch of country in the 70-Mile-Bush [would be] prominently and properly brought before the general public.'²⁸⁰

The Exhibition was hailed as a success. The weather was perfect, thousands attended and exhibitors from Auckland to Invercargill participated. The Napier newspaper the *Daily Telegraph* called it the 'Waipawa Wonder' and 'Waipawa Miracle'²⁸¹ Highlights were: seven landscapes by Charles Bloomfield including the Pink and White Terraces, six landscapes by Thomas Drummond of Auckland, eight South Island landscapes by Samuel Moreton of Invercargill as well as portraits by

²⁸⁰ Prospectus of the Waipawa Industrial and Art Exhibition, 1888, Archives Box 19, C.H.B. Museum.

²⁸¹ "The Waipawa Exhibition," *Daily Telegraph (Napier)*, 4 December 1888, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DTN18881204.2.12>.

Gotfried Lindauer and a number of oleographs and photographs. Local woman Lydia Harding exhibited a bound book of her paintings of New Zealand native flowers as well as printed cards featuring her work. Lydia was born in Whanganui, the daughter of William Harding, landscape photographer, and Annie Baker, who ran her own school and taught music and dance.²⁸² Lydia moved to Hawke's Bay to train as a teacher in 1885, living with Harding relatives on Mount Vernon Station, her parents moved to Sydney in 1899. After marrying Edgar Swain in 1896, Lydia lived in Waipawa for the rest of her life, teaching piano for over sixty-seven years.²⁸³ In the work of all these artists 'there was an increasing sense of New Zealandness being related to its unique, wild and awe-inspiring landscape – a development which superseded and incorporated the earlier focus on flora and fauna.'²⁸⁴ The Waipawa Exhibition was a celebration of the special character of Central Hawke's Bay and an emerging sense of identity among the settler population grounded in an appreciation of the rugged beauty of the natural world around them.

Ironically, the natural world celebrated in art and prose in the Exhibition was systematically being cut and burnt. In the Home Industries class, Mrs J. Berkahn of Makaretu exhibited her needlework. She is most likely Ida Andersen, who married Johan Berkahn in Makaretu in 1883 aged sixteen. Her husband and neighbours had narrowly escaped death the previous summer as uncontrolled fires destroyed their homes.²⁸⁵ The Makaretu community were enthusiastic supporters of the Exhibition. Mrs Larsen (Maren Borli) and Mrs Hansen (Eline Olsdatter) carded, spun and

²⁸² "William James Harding," Te Ara - The Encyclopedia of New Zealand, 1990, accessed 1 May 2024, <https://teara.govt.nz/en/biographies/1h7/harding-william-james>.

²⁸³ Claire Bibby, "The Colonial Artist," *Butterflies and Moths of New Zealand*, Winter 2021.

²⁸⁴ Peter Gilderdale, "'Messages of Love from Maoriland': A.D. Willis's New Zealand Christmas Cards and Booklets 1883-1893," *Back Story Journal of New Zealand Art, Media & Design history*, no. 7 (2019): 60, <https://doi.org/10.24135/backstory.vi7.49>.

²⁸⁵ "West Coast Times," *West Coast Times*, 29 March 1888, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WCT18880329.2.7>.

knitted wool. Thirty children from Makaretu School were also present for the Opening Ceremony having made the twenty-five-mile journey, requiring two river crossings. Children were well catered for with a Punch and Judy tent, Aunt Sally, shooting gallery, skittles and a merry-go-round.

The active support of the *Waipawa Mail* was crucial. As Tony Ballantyne has pointed out, being colonial was defined both by a set of community relationships and a set of relationships that connected colonists to empire.²⁸⁶ For isolated rural communities, the local newspaper was the key connection to empire. Wife of the editor, Glaswegian born Sarah Napier, exhibited five examples of her crewel work. Wife of newspaper owner, Emma Brown, born in Wellington in 1856, exhibited her antimacassars. In the Curio section, Secretary of the event, Ben B. Johnson exhibited a scarf worn by an Officer in the American Civil War. Benjamin Bayly Johnson was born in Ireland and recruited in Melbourne to fight in the Land Wars. He was part of the Waikato invasion force in 1863 under Lieutenant-Colonel Marmaduke Nixon.²⁸⁷ He lived in Waipawa for thirty years running a business as a land agent, auctioneer and working as Town Clerk.

In the Machinery and Implements class, Alex Jones and Sons featured strongly with eleven entries. Jones and Sons won first prize for their double and single furrow ploughs, corn crusher, and reaper and binder against competition from Christchurch and Auckland.²⁸⁸ Alex Jones, his wife Jessie Downie and four children had emigrated from Scotland in 1865. Recruited by Henry Russell as the blacksmith for the town of Waipukurau. His business expanded from general smithing to include the manufacture of agricultural implements. Wool presses, shearing plant and a couple of

²⁸⁶ Ballantyne, "Thinking Local: Knowledge, Sociability and Community in Gore's Intellectual Life, 1875-1914," 139.

²⁸⁷ Richard Shaw, *The Unsettled: Small Stories of Colonisation* (Massey University Press, 2024), Non-fiction.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.b3a537d6.bdcc.4c9b.be84.6854a87e824d&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

²⁸⁸ "Waipawa Industrial and Art Exhibition," *Waipawa Mail*, 11 December 1888,
<https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM18881211.2.7>.

frozen lamb carcasses rounded out the display of the latest machinery.²⁸⁹ In his speech at the opening ceremony Thomas Tanner quickly got to the heart of the matter;

‘Of late years exhibitions had become quite a feature of the country, stimulating commerce by competition and gathering the nations together, promoted a common brotherhood, attracting visitors from all parts of the world. These visitors did much good and promoted settlement, because when they returned they told others of the goodness of our country.’²⁹⁰

Prominent runholders and politicians Thomas Tanner, John Davies Ormond, Captain William Russell Russell and William Cowper Smith were promoters, not just of the Exhibition, but of Hawke’s Bay in general. Relationships between small farmers, businessmen and the large landowners, such as H.H. Bridge, had aspects of formality and affection. For many, Bridge’s access to capital and his needs as an employer were crucial to their early economic survival. Some deference was wise. Alongside that, his donations of land for Church and School, sporting interests, public fireworks displays, provision of school picnics and friendship were appreciated. The fact that he retired and returned to England leaving other locals to take charge, also cemented his reputation in local memory.

Unlike Waipawa, with five public halls available in 1888, it was not until the late 1890s that Lachlan MacKay called a meeting of those interested in becoming subscribers to have a public hall built in Ongaonga. In February 1900 plans were adopted and tenders called. Again, the building was constructed by Coles Brothers. Edward Coles also provided the site, selling the Bridge Street section to the Hall Trustees for £15.²⁹¹ The grand opening took place on the 4th of July 1900 ‘the hall ... filled to overflowing, many being unable to get seats.’²⁹² Following songs and recitations by locals a

²⁸⁹ "Waipawa Exhibition. The Opening Ceremony," *Daily Telegraph* (Napier), 6 December 1888, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DTN18881206.2.12>.

²⁹⁰ *ibid*

²⁹¹ "Onga Onga," *Waipawa Mail*, 8 February 1900, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM19000208.2.36>.

²⁹² "Waipawa," *Waipawa Mail*, 6 July 1900, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/HHB19000706.2.33>.

group of six players from the Waipawa Dramatic Club performed Fred Broughton's comedietta 'Withered Leaves' and a ball followed.

Small in number, census returns put the population of Ongaonga at one hundred and seven people in 1901.²⁹³ Locals were connected enough to keep a watchful eye on their neighbourhood. A police constable was not stationed in the village until 1908. When John Wolstenholme's Post Office Store was broken into and robbed in the early hours of the 1 July 1903, the story was soon pieced together. The local coach driver, John Beazley, knew everyone who had come and gone within the previous few days. The hammer used to smash entry to the back door was recognised as missing from Sam Carr's workshop. Local farmer William Hobin found shop tags from Wolstenholme's Store beside the Waipawa Road and the shopkeeper's missing horse and trap were located at Te Aute station. The thief, William Randle, had been working in Ongaonga for local contractor and blacksmith Sam Carr. Randle had been farewelled two days before, claiming that he was off to San Francisco. He had however, walked the ten miles back to Ongaonga, climbing a pole, and cutting the telegraph wire on the way. He had consigned his loot under an alias from Te Aute Station. The Police waited at Napier Station to observe who picked up the consignment and followed Randle back to his hotel where they caught him red handed, sorting stolen goods on his bed.²⁹⁴ It was difficult to be anonymous in a small town.

The growth of community institutions, churches, clubs and societies were important expressions of local identity. The Scandinavian settlers of Makaretu were the first to construct a church beyond the town of Waipawa. Although those in Makaretu were lost to bush fires in the

²⁹³ "Population of Town Districts and Small Centres," Historic Census Collection, 1901, accessed 15 Mar 2025, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1901-census/1901-report-on-results-census/1901-report-results-census.html#idchapter_1_5511.

²⁹⁴ "Magistrate's Court," *Daily Telegraph (Napier)*, 8 July 1903, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DTN19030708.2.61>.

1890s, church buildings and halls provided a focal point for community. These buildings supplied space to gather and maintain traditions through Sunday School classes, small libraries and sports teams. As minority groups, both Scots and Scandinavian settlers placed importance on schooling and the kirk as important markers of community. Gathering in the whole community, annual events such as the New Year Sports Day were family focussed with competition for men, women and children, explaining their continuation for over a hundred years. Whereas other community sports clubs came and went, this inclusive day was retained. Collaborative events such as the Waipawa Exhibition 1888, asserted the place of the Central Hawke's Bay settlers in empire. Their familiar landscapes, plants, handiwork and products were listed, catalogued and displayed as equal to those from anywhere in the globe. The speeches and newspaper articles boasted as much.



Figure 6 Ongaonga c.1900 Ongaonga Historical Society Collection

Chapter 10. Busting up the Great Estates

On-going settler pressure for land led Richard Seddon's Liberals to champion the breaking up of the large sheep runs for closer settlement, with the Land for Settlements Act 1892. John McKenzie, Minister of Lands and Agriculture in the Balance and Seddon Governments from 1891-1900, was referred to by Tom Brooking as 'a benevolent giant who slew the monster of oligarchy and unlocked the gates of opportunity for the ordinary people.'²⁹⁵ McKenzie was the architect of the plan to bust up the great estates, creating lands for settlement. The policies of the Liberals transformed the plains. The seven large estates were all eventually sub-divided and sold, replaced by family farms. The population increased and the small towns and local businesses boomed. Ongaonga with a population of 107 in 1901, boasted 319 by 1906.²⁹⁶

Unsurprisingly McKenzie's policy met with opposition, particularly in Hawke's Bay. Captain Andrew Russell speaking in Waipawa in June 1895 attacked the Liberals for their borrowing and because 'he did not think it right to take lands in occupation while so much native land was lying unproductive.'²⁹⁷ In fact little Māori land remained in Hawke's Bay. For government policy to succeed land from the big estates needed to be made available.²⁹⁸ Brooking characterises New Zealand rural society as being 'based on the family unit of labour.'²⁹⁹ Lacking the complex social

²⁹⁵ Tom Brooking, *Lands for the people?: The Highland Clearances and the colonization of New Zealand : a biography of John McKenzie* (Otago University Press, 1996), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, Individual biography, 9. <https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.a7610418.78f5.56eb.b80f.7aaa6ae45bba&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

²⁹⁶ "Population of Small Centres," Historic Census Collection, 1906, accessed 17 March 2025, https://www3.stats.govt.nz/historic_publications/1906-census/1906-report-on-results-census/1906-report-on-results-census.html#idsect1_1_5806.

²⁹⁷ "Captain Russell at Waipawa."

²⁹⁸ Brooking, *Lands for the people?: The Highland Clearances and the colonization of New Zealand : a biography of John McKenzie*, 248.

²⁹⁹ Tom Brooking, *Agrarian Businessmen Organise: A comparative study of the origins and early phases of development of the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales and the New Zealand Farmers' Union, ca 1880-1929 : a*

hierarchies of the United Kingdom Brooking paints a picture of a rural society with social attitudes closer to the egalitarian and mobile American model. Hierarchies existed in nineteenth century Hawke's Bay, but they were more likely to be hierarchies of wealth. Between the rivers in the Ruataniwha Riding, a distinctive feature was the preponderance, numerically, of small farmers. In contrast, in the U.K, labourers made up the larger proportion of the rural population. The bush blocks at Blackburn and Makaretu, initially granted to veterans of the New Zealand Wars, were closely settled in the 1870s with mainly Scandinavian immigrants. This distinctive group were resilient and independently minded. The size of their landholdings placed them economically at the bottom of the farmer group and required them to engage in contracting, labouring and road making to supplement farm income. Based partly on the nature of their initial recruitment as immigrants, they also had strong expectations of local and national government in the provision of local infrastructure. In their voting patterns, they were strong supporters of the Liberals in the 1890s,³⁰⁰ with the promise of public works being one of the key factors.

The formation of small towns on the frontier of settlement was a consequence of isolation. Poor roading and few bridges required small service centres such as Hampden/Tikokino, Ongaonga, Makaretu, Ashley Clinton and Takapau. David Hamer highlights the boosterism and transitional nature of the Liberal era, 'The Government's emphasis on the construction of roads and bridges intensified pressure on towns which owed their existence to conditions of isolation ... because

dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History at the University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand, December, 1977 (1977), Bibliographies, Non-fiction.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.92fc4382.affa.53d4.afe3.1ee4a50facd0&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

³⁰⁰ M. D. N. Campbell, *Hawke's Bay Politics, 1890-1914: A Study in the Development of Party Politics: submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in History at the Victoria University of Wellington* (1967), Bibliographies, Non-fiction.
<https://eds.p.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=8843d7f6-2244-4cd5-a7c0-a9b3b57112b1%40redis&bdata=JkF1dGhUeXBIPXNzbyZzaXRIPWVkey1saXZlJnNjb3BIPXNpdGU%3d#AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.f814598e.5901.5ffd.a469.d30962c4f46a&db=cat09011a>.

investments in real estate and businesses were at stake, a highly competitive situation developed.³⁰¹ It was the Liberals promotion of closer settlement and the breaking up of the large estates that was the key factor in their appeal in the small frontier towns. Brooking argues that ‘most New Zealanders were members of small relatively interdependent communities, an integral part of the rural sector that viewed the world parochially.’³⁰² In the 1890 and 1893 elections the Liberals carried Ashley Clinton, Hampden, Makaretu, Ongaonga and Takapau, most by large majorities. Waipawa and Waipukurau were also comfortably Liberal. In the 1896 election Waipawa and Waipukurau supported the Conservatives, partly over dissatisfaction with balloting arrangements of government acquired land. There was also a hardening of sheep farmer resistance to the Liberals land policies, Ashley Clinton, Takapau and Ongaonga joining the lean to the Conservatives. Conservative M.P. George Hunter’s organisation of a relief fund for fire damaged settlers in Ashley Clinton was also a factor. The smaller bush blocks of Blackburn and Makaretu remained Liberal. In the 1899 election the swing to the Conservatives was reversed. Only Takapau remained Conservative. The Liberal’s policies of closer settlement and public works saw Waipawa, Ashley Clinton and Ongaonga all return to strong support of Seddon’s government.³⁰³

A comparison of school roll numbers over the thirty years from 1885-1905 gives a picture of the impact of the Lands for Settlement policy on local population.

³⁰¹ D. A. Hamer, *The New Zealand Liberals: The Years of Power, 1891-1912* (Auckland University Press, 1988), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 150.

<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat09011a&AN=mul.oai.edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.2865df54.799c.5259.948e.7c0875e1f5bb&site=eds-live&scope=site&authtype=sso&custid=s3027306>.

³⁰² Brooking, *Agrarian Businessmen Organise: A comparative study of the origins and early phases of development of the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales and the New Zealand Farmers' Union, ca 1880-1929: a dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History at the University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand*, December, 1977, 61-62.

³⁰³ Campbell, *Hawke's Bay Politics, 1890-1914: A Study in the Development of Party Politics: submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in History at the Victoria University of Wellington*.

	1885	1890	1895	1900	1905
Ongaonga School	15	26	34	69	83
Makaretu School	46	58	65	47	40

Table 1 Total Roll Numbers Total Roll Numbers Ongaonga and Makaretu Schools

Prior to 1900 the village of Ongaonga on the Ruataniwha Plains was the centre of four large pastoral runs: Fairfield, Forest Gate, Mount Vernon and Springhill. These were all eventually broken up for closer settlement: Fairfield, subdivided from 1899 into twelve farms varying in size from 125 acres to 2,485 acres, plus fifteen small blocks from 4 acres to 16 acres and seven 1 acre village sections. Forest Gate was purchased by the government and subdivided into twenty farms and nine small blocks from 1902. Likewise, Mt Vernon (Lindsay Settlement) was subdivided into forty three farms and thirteen small blocks from 1904. Springhill was broken up for settlement in 1914. In contrast, Makaretu had been settled largely by families on small forty acre bush blocks. These small blocks were too small to be viable and as the next generation became adults they had to move away from the district to find work, smaller farms were amalgamated and the population stagnated. Land ownership as a path to respectability, prosperity and community health became an important political issue.

Belich summarises the distinctive contribution of the Liberal Government from 1891 as fourfold, reform of land, labour, welfare and women's rights.³⁰⁴ The Lands for Settlement Act 1894,

³⁰⁴ James Belich, *Paradise Reforged: A history of the New Zealanders from the 1880s to the year 2000* (Allen Lane, 2001), Bibliographies, Non-fiction, 44. <https://eds.p.ebscohost.com/eds/detail/detail?vid=0&sid=0fcd2217-efa7-4902-a8cd->

made provision for the compulsory purchase of large estates for settlement as smaller farms. This, along with a graduated land tax, made Hawke's Bay a focus of Government interest. Not all of Hawke's Bay's large landowners were opposed. 'There was money to be made from subdivision ... [and some] did not need much incentive to sell their properties into a rising land market.'³⁰⁵ One of the supporters of Liberal policy was Henry Hamilton Bridge. Much to the irritation of William Russell Russell, effectively leader of the opposition for much of the 1890s, who said of his cousin; 'that ass Harry Bridge has been most virulent.'³⁰⁶ Irritation aside, Russell went on to make a tidy profit from the splitting up of his estates in 1907.³⁰⁷ As well as providing vocal support and funding for the Liberals cause, Bridge began breaking up his Fairfield Estate from 1899, when eleven small farms and the homestead block were put on the market. With an eye to his legacy in the community, Bridge donated land and provided funds for the building of the first church in Ongaonga. He established the church as interdenominational until such time as one of the protestant denominations built their own building, when it would revert to Anglican. The Anglicans, Presbyterians and Methodists shared the building and the offering proceeds for more than ten years until St Oran's Presbyterian Church was built in 1913 with timber donated by the McLeod family.

One of the beneficiaries of Bridge's decision to sell was George Walker. George was born in Aberdeenshire in 1848 and grew up farming sheep. He arrived in Wellington in 1869 under contract to Purvis Russell of Woburn, Waipukurau. Walker saw out his two years with Russell and also worked on Mangatoro, Arlington and Burnside Stations. In 1881 George applied for a block of 400

bd583cf14e90%40redis&bdata=JkF1dGhUeXBIPXNzbyZzaXRIPWVkey1saXZlJnNjb3BIPXNpdGU%3d#AN=mul.oai.
edge.massey.folio.ebsco.com.fs00001086.12007bb1.b892.545c.9941.3a4f6bc91cf7&db=cat09011a.

³⁰⁵ Wright, *The History of Hawke's Bay*, 117.

³⁰⁶ William Russell in; Campbell, *Hawke's Bay Politics, 1890-1914: A Study in the Development of Party Politics* :
submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in History at the Victoria University of Wellington.

³⁰⁷ McLellan, "Soldiers & Colonists: Imperial Soldiers as Settlers in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand.," 45.

acres of bush land at Blackburn.³⁰⁸ For the next eighteen years George and his wife Margaret worked to clear the dense matai forest, construct a house and woolshed and plant gardens and an orchard. In 1899 George and Margaret took the opportunity to sell their Blackburn block and purchase 520 acres of flat land adjacent to the village of Ongaonga from Bridge.³⁰⁹ They built a large villa next to the Interdenominational Church and in 1910 donated land and funds for the establishment of a Presbyterian Home Mission Station. The Walkers had no children. Several of George's nephews and at least one niece emigrated from Scotland and were beneficiaries at his death.

Walter Freemantle and his wife Elizabeth purchased 375 acres of Fairfield Estate. The Freemantles originated in Hampshire, as did Bridge, who encouraged them to emigrate to New Zealand. The 1871 census records Freemantle as a Policeman in Stockbridge. In 1873 Walter, Betty and two children arrived in Napier. Freemantle purchased a section at Makaretu, working as a farm labourer to finance his farming ambitions. He moved to Makaretu in 1890 and purchased a second block and farmed there for ten years before selling up and embarking on a new venture on the flat land of the plains.³¹⁰ The new property enabled mixed farming with cropping, a dairy herd of twenty-five cows and sheep. Freemantle was one of the seven directors of the Ongaonga Cooperative Dairy Company when it was formed in 1902. Dairying on the plains was made an economic possibility by refrigeration technology and pasture improvement. Political pressure for land reform and the promotion of small farming was important, but as J.D. Gould has argued, those factors were equal to the economic drivers of land use change.³¹¹ Ashcott Station, sixteen thousand acres, owned by John

³⁰⁸ Rachel Hornblow, *George Walker. Pioneer Farmer & Village Benefactor*, 2004, Ongaonga Historical Society.

³⁰⁹ 'Cyclopedia Company Ltd', *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Taranaki, Hawke's Bay & Wellington Provincial Districts]* (Christchurch: The Cyclopedia Company, Limited, 1908), 516, <http://nzetc.victoria.ac.nz/tm/scholarly/tei-Cyc06Cycl-t1-body1-d2-d27-d45.html>

³¹⁰ Ltd', *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Taranaki, Hawke's Bay & Wellington Provincial Districts]*, 513.

³¹¹ Gould, *The Grass Roots of New Zealand History: Pasture formation and improvement, 1871-1911*.

A'Deane and leased by Bridge from 1876-1893 was also subdivided from 1900. The Grant brothers sold Burnside Station to W.E. Collins in the 1890s and in 1901 Collins subdivided Burnside into forty-nine smaller farms.

Although the first shipment of frozen meat was sent from the South Island in 1882, it took time for Hawke's Bay farming practice to adapt to the opportunities offered by refrigeration. Pastoral farming on the plains had been focussed on wool production, initially with sheep stocked in low numbers per acre on native grasses. Wool production retained its importance, but frozen meat and dairy exports quickly became a key part of New Zealand's national income. Wool made up 48 per cent of New Zealand's export earnings in 1886 but had fallen to 37 per cent by 1916. In contrast, frozen meat made up 6.7 per cent of earnings in 1886 and had risen to 21 per cent by 1916. Dairy products similarly rose from 2.4 per cent in 1886 to 18 per cent in 1916. 'Intensive farming on a small to middling sized scale became viable and replaced intensive pastoralism as the major form of land use.'³¹² The policies of the Liberals did not provide the economic push for this change, but gave impetus to a social and political shift.

In 1900, some ten years after the accidental death of Jasper Herrick at Waihi Falls, the Trustees of his estate offered to sell Forest Gate Station to the Government for closer settlement. Disagreements between the Trustees and the Government, mainly over the price offered per acre, were eventually argued out in court in 1901. Acting on behalf of a widowed Emily Herrick, the Trustees were able to apply public sympathy and political pressure over the price offered. At the conclusion of the case the compensation court set the sale price at £5 15s 9d per acre, where the

³¹² Brooking, *Agrarian Businessmen Organise: A comparative study of the origins and early phases of development of the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales and the New Zealand Farmers' Union, ca 1880-1929: a dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History at the University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand*, December, 1977, 12.

government had been offering £4 per acre.³¹³ The property of 8,776 acres was subdivided into twenty dairy farms and nine larger mixed properties suitable for pastoral farming and cropping. The ballot took place in the Oddfellow's Hall, Waipawa on the 22 May 1902. Among the successful applicants were Alexander and Elizabeth Mackie, Edward and Elise MacFarlane and John and Emily Beachen.

Alexander Mackie was born in Angus, Scotland in 1864. He arrived in New Zealand aged twenty-three in 1887 with, as family oral history recounts, ten shillings in his pocket. He worked as a ploughman and labourer and found work in Hawke's Bay building roads in the Porangahau district. In 1897 he married Elizabeth Sherwood in Havelock North. Alexander and Elizabeth then lived in Hampden/Tikokino where he worked as a contractor.³¹⁴ The Mackies won the homestead block in the ballot. The block of 844 acres was the most expensive in the subdivision comprising of 544 acres of flat land, a large eighteen room house, dairy, stable, woolshed, men's whare, manager's house and other sheds.³¹⁵ The Mackies farmed at Forest Gate for thirty-two years until in 1934 when, with his sons established on farms of their own, they retired to Te Awanga and sold up.

Ed MacFarlane was the nephew of the Ongaonga Storekeeper Innes MacFarlane. The MacFarlanes originated in Perthshire, Scotland. Initially in business with his uncle, Edward was the storekeeper at Makaretu from 1888 to 1902. In 1891, aged twenty-two, he married Elise Svensen in Waipawa. Born in Sweden, Elise was the youngest of four siblings who arrived with their parents in Napier in 1875. Her family settled in Norsewood in Forty/Seventy Mile Bush. Edward and Elise drew a 426-acre farm on the Blackburn boundary of Forest Gate. The property was mostly scrub-covered sloping spurs descending from the Ruahine Ranges and included 20 acres of bush. The

³¹³ "Napier News," *Waipawa Mail*, 1 October 1901, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM19011001.2.11>.

³¹⁴ Ltd', *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand [Taranaki, Hawke's Bay & Wellington Provincial Districts]*, 514.

³¹⁵ *The Forest Gate Settlement, Hawke's Bay, New Zealand, Particulars, Terms and Conditions of Disposal and Occupation of 8,756 acres 3 roods 38 perches, open on Monday 19th May 1902*, (1902), 16. <https://collections.archives.govt.nz/en-nz/web/arena/search#/entity/aims-archive/R313455/>.

property was boundary fenced, with a small amount of subdivisional fencing.³¹⁶ Active in the community, through church and numerous other groups, Edward and Elise had four sons and two daughters. The eldest son Arthur died in 1908 and following the return of the next two sons from the First World War, their farm was sold in 1919.³¹⁷

The Mackie's and the MacFarlane's illustrate the widespread willingness of settlers to engage in land speculation as a path to respectability. 'Every New Zealander who was able to engage in land speculation did so, whether he was a big farmer, a small farmer, a labourer with land, wealthy businessman or prospering artisan.'³¹⁸ For those wanting to save capital to purchase their own piece of land, seasonal work on the large Hawke's Bay runs was a reliable source of income. At shearing time, from October and during harvest in high summer, labour demands meant workers were paid a premium. Shearing gangs were often whānau based, while other workers also travelled long distances in search of work using networks of family and friends. Thomas Lochhead was the fourth son of a Scottish family who farmed near Prebbleton on the Canterbury Plains. In 1885, after the death of her father, he married Elizabeth Low of Dunsandel and began farming his mother-in-law's three hundred acres in partnership. At the same time, he found work on neighbouring properties ploughing, chaff cutting and fencing. His wife's siblings relocated to the Manawatū in the early 1890s and at the end of 1892, finding work in sawmilling. Thomas, Elizabeth and four children followed to the Manawatū. Their ambition was to own their own land. During the summer Thomas began catching the train from Palmerston North to Hawke's Bay with friend, Alex Jack. They found

³¹⁶ *The Forest Gate Settlement, Hawke's Bay, New Zealand, Particulars, Terms and Conditions of Disposal and Occupation of 8,756 acres 3 roods 38 perches, open on Monday 19th May 1902*, 11.

³¹⁷ "Onga Onga," *Waipawa Mail*, 26 June 1919, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WAIPM19190626.2.26>.

³¹⁸ Brooking, *Agrarian Businessmen Organise: A comparative study of the origins and early phases of development of the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales and the New Zealand Farmers' Union, ca 1880-1929: a dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History at the University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand*, December, 1977, 79.

work on Henry Russell's Woburn estate, and John Harding's Mt Vernon, reaping oats and stacking straw from January to March. Living in the single men's accommodation he managed to return to Palmerston North to see his wife and children once a month. 'No easy hope, or sighs, Shall bring us to our goal; But iron sacrifice, of body, will and soul.'³¹⁹ Through the autumn and winter months he found work in the Manawatu and Hawke's Bay dagging sheep, splitting posts and fencing, recording in his diary each deposit into his savings account.³²⁰ Later in 1893 land confiscated from Māori in the Bay of Plenty was being made available for settlement and it was at Te Puna that Thomas would purchase six hundred acres and build a home for his family.³²¹

Some families put down intergenerational roots. John Plummer Beachen was born in Willis Street, Wellington in 1843. As a young man he worked on large estates in the Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay. In the 1860s he served as a dispatch rider in Whanganui during the New Zealand Wars and tried his luck on the Thames goldfield. When he returned to Hawke's Bay, he won a contract carting sleepers for railway construction between Pakipaki and Waipawa. He then took up a 240-acre bush block in Pettit's Valley, Ongaonga.³²² In 1873 he married Emily Liddell in Waipawa.³²³ Emily was born in Waipawa in 1857, she was married aged sixteen and died aged twenty-one leaving John with three sons. He married a second time in 1881 to Emma Kemp. Emma died two years later in 1883, aged twenty-nine. She had given birth to twins in 1883, one of whom had died. She left John with two daughters. In 1884 John married Emma's sister Emily and they went on to have ten

³¹⁹ Thomas Lochhead, Gordon Family Collection, 1924.

³²⁰ Thomas Lochhead, Diary of Thomas Lochhead with sewn in notebook, 1883-1904, Tauranga Library, Pae Korokī Tauranga Archive, <https://paekoroki.tauranga.govt.nz/nodes/view/14035>.

³²¹ "Thomas Lochhead, Te Puna," 1995, http://econtent.tauranga.govt.nz/data/libraries/files/local_hist/western_bay_street_names.pdf.

³²² "Pioneer Remembers Early Wellington Days," *Dominion*, 12 November 1934, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/DOM19341112.2.95>.

³²³ Ltd', *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand [Taranaki, Hawke's Bay & Wellington Provincial Districts]*, 512-13.

children together. In 1902, J.P. Beachen was balloted a 498-acre block in the Forest Gate Settlement, mostly scrub-covered and still in native grasses. The block contained 65 acres of standing bush and 40 acres of broken country with recently felled bush.³²⁴ Descendants of John Beachen still farm their balloted block in 2025.

In Otago and Southland where Tom Brooking traced the farmers listed in the Cyclopedia of New Zealand, they tended to be representative of the bigger and longer established farmers.³²⁵ Not so in Hawke's Bay. In Central Hawke's Bay, men like George Walker, Alexander Mackie and John Beachen, among others, were all examples of small farmers who benefited from the land reform policies of the Liberals. Their appearance in the Cyclopedia alongside the established runholders was a statement of aspiration. The Taranaki, Hawke's Bay and Wellington Provincial Districts featured in the final volume of the Cyclopedia, published in 1908. Individuals paid to feature in the publication and supplied their own personal histories. In his entry, John Beachen mentioned only his first wife Emily Liddell, yet, of his fifteen surviving children, nine were from his third marriage to Emily Kemp. Sarah Kemp, the mother of Emma and Emily is possibly the same Sarah Kemp convicted of larceny at the Old Bailey as a fourteen-year-old servant in 1847. It also seems she was unmarried. Perhaps it was these associations that warranted the omission of the Kemps from John's biography.

The largest of the estates to be compulsorily purchased by the government was Mount Vernon. Re-named in honour of Richard Seddon's mother, the Lindsay Estate stretched between the towns of Waipukurau and Waipawa and then inland between the Waipawa River and the

³²⁴ *The Forest Gate Settlement, Hawke's Bay, New Zealand, Particulars, Terms and Conditions of Disposal and Occupation of 8,756 acres 3 roods 38 perches, open on Monday 19th May 1902*, 14.

³²⁵ Brooking, *Agrarian Businessmen Organise: A comparative study of the origins and early phases of development of the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales and the New Zealand Farmers' Union, ca 1880-1929: a dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of History at the University of Otago, Dunedin New Zealand*, December, 1977, 262.

Waipawamate/Kahahakuri Stream. The almost 13,000 acres were divided into over forty farms and thirteen suburban sections. Seddon, on a visit to Waipawa in February 1906 painted 'a vivid word picture of the eviction of the Scottish crofters and the condition of the London slums ... the moral drawn, that large estates led to a congested population, many of whom were housed and fed worse than beasts ... the policy of the government was to remove this congestion.'³²⁶ The ballot had been held on 14 April 1905 at 10am, with two hundred and two applicants for the farms available. Among the successful applicants were George Cossar a labourer, Ernest Beachen a cousin of John Beachen, Edward Poulton the Ongaonga Rabbit Inspector, Hugh Rice a local station hand and Upsall Gray a farm labourer from Havelock North.

Ballot holder's leases were for twenty-one years and required half-yearly payments to the Government Land Board before ownership was secure. Several properties changed hands reasonably quickly. George Cossar, a labourer from Akaroa, sold his lease to Arthur Rood in 1905 and J.W. Robertson, a sawmill hand from Linton, went through several years of financial difficulties. Eventually his block was sold to the Fletcher twins George and William. Ernest Beachen, a contractor, struggled to meet his obligations. In 1906 he was reported to the Land Board as non-resident and his block was transferred to another. In 1913, three sections he owned in Waipawa were sold to cover unpaid rates. Edward Poulton was born in New South Wales. In 1900 he signed up with the Rough Riders to serve in South Africa. He was discharged in 1903 and by 1904 was living in Ongaonga. He failed to take up his balloted block. Hugh Rice was born in Tasmania, the grandson of an Irish convict. In 1896 he came to New Zealand and found work as a station-hand for Bridge on Fairfield and Ashcott. Rice's balloted section was all flat land sown in English grasses and included a

³²⁶ "Waipawa's Welcome to the Premier," *Bush Advocate*, 14 February 1906, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/BA19060214.2.12>.

six-room house, dairy, yards and woolshed. His Cyclopaedia entry from 1908 paints a picture of a successful farm with over one thousand mixed sheep and cattle. He died unmarried in Porirua in 1945 with an estate valued at £57.

The descendants of Upsall Gray are one of only two families of the original ballot holders still farming Lindsay Settlement blocks in 2025. Upsall and Elizabeth Gray and two sons arrived in New Zealand from Lincolnshire in 1875. Working originally as a gardener on the Frimley Estate in Hastings, Upsall eventually purchased four acres of land in Hastings. In 1905 Upsall and Elizabeth's eldest son Benjamin purchased 200 acres of land on the Ruataniwha Plains from George Walker. The same year, Upsall and Benjamin were both selected from the ballot, Upsall drawing 394 acres and William 449 acres. With closer settlement of both Forest Gate and Mount Vernon/Lindsay the neighbouring township of Ongaonga went through a boom. In Wise's Post Office Directory of 1900, businesses in Ongaonga consisted of a blacksmith, the post office store, Sandford Hotel and Coles Brothers Builders. By 1910 there were two Blacksmiths, a wheelwright and coach factory, a saddler, a carrier and livery stables. Also a second larger store, a tailor, a tobacconist and hairdresser. The Cooperative Butter Factory opened in 1902 employing a manager from Taranaki. Coles Brothers Builders expanded to employ specialist cabinet makers and also opened a Hardware and Ironmongery Store opposite their factory. The local sawmills also did a roaring trade supplying fence posts and timber for housing, yards and farm buildings.

Land Boards with responsibility for implementing the Liberal's land policies reported regularly to the government. Their assessments of the success or failure of the Lands for Settlement scheme rested on easily measurable aspects of development such as increases in stock numbers. In 1906 the Waipukurau Press summarised the rapid changes on the Lindsay Settlement:

51 dwellings have been erected at a total value of £5608. In their first year the settlers have effected improvements to the value of £12,492, whereas they were by law required to do £2634 worth. There are 16,617 sheep and 1344 cattle owned by the

various tenants ... a creamery has been erected at the Waipawa-Mate and from this creamery the supplies are sent to the Onga Onga butter factory.³²⁷

Land Boards also screened applicants before the ballot process in an effort to both exclude established farmers whilst also including those with some farming experience and some capital. Of the twenty percent of settlements government reports classed as excellent or very good, half were in Hawke's Bay.³²⁸ The Lindsay Settlement was considered an outstanding success.

The final estate in the Ruataniwha Riding to be broken up was Springhill, in 1914. At just over 6000 acres the land was situated south of the Waipawa River adjoining Blackburn to the north, Wakarara to the west and the Lindsay Settlement to the east. The ballot took place on Friday 27 March 1914. Included in the successful applicants were Robert Graham, the Ongaonga Saddler, Minnie Coles, wife of William the eldest of the Ongaonga Coles brothers and James Caldwell, the younger son of an Ayrshire farmer. A striking feature of the Springhill Settlement is the speed at which blocks changed hands. The disruption to lives linked to the outbreak of war in the same year as the ballot was a contributing factor. None of the original ballot holders remain on their block.

Robert Grier Graham (Junior), the youngest son of Irish immigrants to Napier, trained as a harness maker. In 1904 he married Mary Cobb and the couple settled in Ongaonga where he ran a saddlery business. They had one son, Gordon, born in 1906. Around the time of Gordon's birth Mary began displaying symptoms of tuberculosis. She died in February 1908, aged twenty-nine, leaving Robert with a one-year-old son. Robert struggled to run a business and care for a small child. Perhaps it was in this context he became close to the daughter of the neighbouring blacksmith, Eva Carr, whom he married in 1920. However, it was Robert's sister Ida who took on the task of raising

³²⁷ "Prosperous Settlements," *Waipukurau Press*, 22 May 1906, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/WPRESS19060522.2.7>.

³²⁸ Brooking, *Lands for the people? : The Highland Clearances and the colonization of New Zealand : a biography of John McKenzie*, 251.

Gordon.³²⁹ Robert won the ballot for a 333 acre farm next to the homestead block, in March 1914. Eva deserted Robert in 1923 and he filed for divorce in 1926.³³⁰ The block was sold in 1938.

Minnie O'Neill was born in Cork, Ireland where her father managed an estate for an English absentee landlord. With her sister Julia she was an assisted immigrant to New Zealand in 1884. Minnie and her sister worked as dressmakers in Wellington and then in Hastings.³³¹ Hastings was where Minnie and William Coles met. He converted to Catholicism to marry her in Sacred Heart Church in 1888. Minnie had a reputation as a strong character and behind her back, her neighbours referred to her as 'the duchess'.³³² Minnie's early life in Ireland and the insecurity of tenancy possibly influenced her decision to enter the ballot. Her youngest son Vernon farmed her block for the rest of his life.

As the younger son from a large family of Ayrshire farmers, Jim Caldwell trained initially as a joiner. He is listed as such on the 1914 Electoral Roll in Napier. In the Springhill Ballot he drew a six-hundred-acre block of free draining land alongside the Waipawa River. James never married and lived for many years in an old shepherd's cottage. His sister Jane arrived in New Zealand in 1916 and lived with him. Another sister, Jessie also spent time at Springhill. Jim is remembered for his innovative farming practice. He introduced subterranean clover from Australia in the 1900s, which along with superphosphate dramatically increased the carrying capacity of his property.³³³

The policies of the Liberals, forcing the hand of the big landowners, were transformational. Whether the changing economics of farming would have eventually achieved the same result is a moot point. The closer settlement of the large estates, creation of smaller family farms and boost in

³²⁹ , *The Cobb Family of Napier*, <https://thecobbfamilyofnapier.blogspot.com/>.

³³⁰ "Husband Deserted," *Manawatu Standard*, 3 Feb 1926, <https://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz/newspapers/MS19260203.2.8>.

³³¹ Evans, *The Coles Family of Ongaonga*, 192.

³³² Niki Keenan in: Evans, *The Coles Family of Ongaonga*, 205.

³³³ Ray Cheer, *Springhill School 60th Jubilee 1918-1978* (1978).

the population set the pattern of community life for the next hundred years. The stories of ballot winners reinforce the importance of the family as the basic economic unit and link back to the pūrākau of Te rua o te taniwha, opportunity and risk sitting side by side. A balloted farm offered enormous opportunity. A difficult childbirth, illness, relationship difficulties, lack of family or community support, the death of a spouse, the outbreak of war, all impacted future success or failure on the land. The breaking up of the large estates marked the point where the economic dependence of smaller farmers on the large landowners was broken. It was access to land that offered the opportunity for the ‘ordinary’ settler to take their place as leaders of the community.

Chapter 11. Conclusion.

Following the purchase of the land from Māori, which was completed by 1857, large sheep runs were established on the flat land of the plains. Initially, the owners of these estates were influential, socially and politically imposing a largely English colonial culture in Central Hawke's Bay. Working for the large landowners and alongside them were numerous small farmers, hotel keepers, shopkeepers, builders, businessmen and labourers who with their families are the focus of this study. It was this group who formed sports clubs, community libraries, churches, bands and friendly societies. Among them were distinct, closely connected minorities, those from Scandinavia and Scotland who brought their own cultural perspectives and institutions. Together, they built churches and community halls, played, danced, sang together and celebrated community rites of passage.

A feature of the settlement of Hawke's Bay is the role played by iwi Māori in their invitation to the government to purchase land in Te Matau a Māui. They could see other North Island iwi engaging with Pākehā and were keen to grasp the new, particularly farming and economic opportunity. The community established at Tapairu, across the river from Waipawa, was important as the meeting point of two cultures and a key site of Māori response to the cultural and political pressures they faced. Living at Tapairu facilitated engagement with the Pākehā world and was crucial for attendance at Waipawa Land Court hearings. A few Pākehā crossed the river in an effort to engage with Māori but traffic was largely one way. Sunday worship and rugby were points of connection, however the Waipawa River was more than a physical barrier. The river also marked a social and cultural gap. Managing opportunity and risk, local hapū responded nimbly in a rapidly changing environment to maintain their distinctive voice and community priorities.

This study finds that family and community networks were fundamental in the story of emmigration and settlement. Chains of relationships, such as the links of key individuals into communities in Hampshire, had a lasting impact on the Ruataniwha Plains. Key families, those who put down inter-generational roots, such as the Coles family from Droxford, have shaped not only the

built environment but have also left a social and cultural legacy through the establishment and support of clubs, societies and churches. Small business owners also stand out as builders of community. They have a vested interest in maintaining a wide network of supportive relationships and as a group feature strongly in the minutes and newspaper reports of community institutions, and celebrations of rites of passage. The children of large families such as the Coles with sixteen, the Hobbs with eighteen and the Fletchers with thirteen, married within ten years of their arrival in the district. Marriages resulted, relatively quickly, in a very closely connected community and cemented the place of these families locally. These English settlers dominated the culture of the plains, with Scandinavian and Scots settlers adding their unique flavour.

In contrast to these settled families there were others who faced crisis and uncertainty. Human relationships could be complex and messy. The story of the Hall family and the women who found themselves isolated and trapped with an unsympathetic partner miles from any emotional support is an example. Sussanah Peters and her children who faced abandonment due to her medical problems illustrate how fragile social systems could be in a newly established settler society. It is often the case that it is the points of tension in community and personal life that make headlines and remain in community memory. Court cases surrounding issues of relationship breakdown, divorce, bigamy, unwanted pregnancy, financial and personal distress were a regular feature in the local press. Community networks were fundamental but imperfect.

Nineteenth century newspapers are extraordinary. Every issue contains points of connection between the larger story of a global empire and the smaller stories of individuals and families. In this study the *Waipawa Mail*, published twice weekly, Wednesday and Saturday from 1878, along with the older *Hawke's Bay Herald*, published from 1857 have been key to telling the story of the settlement on the plains. These papers give glimpses into the key role of women in the family unit and reflected back to the community the wider empire of which they were a part. One of the distinctive features of the nineteenth century is the beginning of extraordinary global movement of

plants, animals, goods, families and troops. The vagaries of economic change, the discovery of gold, opportunities to acquire land and points of tension, such as during the New Zealand Wars of the 1860s, all act as impetus for movement. Although there was no active warfare in Central Hawke's Bay, large landowners were prominent in taking the lead in a military response to Te Kooti. Men such as Bridge and Ormond also featured in the response of government post conflict and the closer settlement of the great southern forest of Forty/Seventy Mile Bush. The settling of demobilised troops on land in the bush blocks of the Ruahine Ranges was a part of the same strategy.

In all these instances the role of government, at the imperial centre or on the edge of empire is a strong feature. It was a shorter, cheaper voyage for prospective immigrants to go almost anywhere in the world other than New Zealand. The role of the state in providing subsidised passage to this farthest outpost of empire was crucial. With a small scattered population the state also had a crucial role in the provision of land and infrastructure. The largely Scandinavian community settled in Makaretu are an important example of the relationship between families and the state at work. Recruited by the Hawke's Bay Provincial Council, using the Government Recruiting Agent, the relationship between these families and the state quickly soured when they failed to receive the same benefits and treatment as their countrymen and neighbours in Norsewood and Dannevirke. Their plea for their contract with the state to be honoured, their isolation and survival in the face of natural disaster and their assertion of their rights as citizens in the face of official neglect, is a remarkable story of community resilience.

Hawke's Bay was home to a large proportion of English born settlers.³³⁴ Of the 769 individuals followed, the largest group, making up 32 per cent, were those of English birth. Where

³³⁴ Phillips and Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland and Scotland 1800-1945*, 145.

the heritage of New Zealand born individuals in the study could be traced, the proportion of individuals with traceable English ancestry rose to 48 per cent. A distinctly different group were the Scandinavian and Northern European born individuals, who at 14 per cent, were almost as large the Scots and Irish born combined. Of the Northern European settlers, the largest group were Danish at 46 per cent of the total, followed by Norwegians 27 per cent, Germans 13 per cent, Swedes 11 per cent and Poles 3 per cent.

Providing settlers with access to land was perhaps the most crucial role of the state. The buying and selling of land is also a feature of nineteenth century life on the plains. A reading of *'A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand'*³³⁵ 1884, makes clear that land was the default investment option for those with cash at hand. Even churchmen, such as William Colenso, owned investment properties in Waipawa. However land as an investment could also act as a brake on growth. When Ongaonga was first subdivided in 1872 many sections were snapped up by speculators and sat empty for years waiting for values to rise. For British immigrants in particular, land ownership was a path to respectability and financial independence. Large sheep runs and an eventual lack of available land eventually led to political pressure for change. The actions of the Seddon Government in the breaking up of the large estates and the centering of the family farm as the bedrock of the rural community have contributed significantly to New Zealand's cultural mythology. The policies of the Liberals were a quiet revolution, one that occurred without the upturning of the social order.

This study also highlights high levels of mobility within empire. Individuals with origins in the British Isles, Australia, South Africa and Canada make up 75 per cent of those studied. The

³³⁵ "A Return of the Freeholders of New Zealand : giving the names, addresses and occupations of owners of land, together with the area and value in counties, and the value in boroughs and town districts, October 1882 / compiled from the assessment rolls of the Property-Tax Department," (Govt. Printer, 1884).
<https://research.ebsco.com/linkprocessor/plink?id=5eec34c1-cb4e-3185-a27e-32a68266d465>.

movement of troops during the New Zealand Wars contributed to movement across the Tasman. The decline of conflict coincided with land being made available in the Ruahine bush country by the Hawke's Bay Provincial Government. The infrastructure schemes of the Vogel Government and land reform schemes of the Seddon Government contributed to the flow of families into Central Hawke's Bay as opportunities to participate in farming and support services were expanded. It was access to land that was the driver of social and community change.

Following land purchase from Māori, Pākehā settlement of the Ruataniwha Plains moved forward in three key phases. First, the initial development of the large sheep runs and the town of Waipawa, followed by the subdivision of smaller settlements and the sale of blocks in the bush country of Wakarara, Blackburn and Makaretu. Finally, the breaking up of the large estates by the Seddon government from 1900 was followed by the rise of the family farm and the high point of the small towns that serviced them, in the years up to the beginning of the First World War. It was the family unit and the family farm or business that became the key feature of life on the plains. This was the cooperative world of families and neighbours, the world of the handshake.

In August 1877 when Clara Coles, her husband and twelve children arrived in Ongaonga from Hampshire she was eight months pregnant. On 8 September 1877 she gave birth to her fifth son Frederick. He and his brother Sam, born in June 1880, married sisters, Alice and Margaret Vesty.³³⁶ The Vestys originated in Cheshire. Matthew Vesty had experienced a career in the militia and as a sawmiller before marrying Mary McLeod of Ongaonga and purchasing a sheep farm at Blackburn. Alice and Margaret were two of Matthew and Mary's twelve children.³³⁷ It was families such as the

³³⁶ Evans, *The Coles Family of Ongaonga*.

³³⁷ Sally Butler and Judy Mathews, *Tikokino: A History, 1855-1990* (Tikokino School Jubilee Book Committee], 1991), Bibliographies, Non-fiction.
<https://ezproxy.massey.ac.nz/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=sso&db=cat090>

Coles and the Vestys, large and closely connected, who formed the heart of the community on the Ruataniwha Plains. As Church Trustees, members of committees, as raisers of funds and in other aspects of quiet community leadership they built a thriving community.

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Appendix

Selected data from research group.

Table 2 Country of birth

Country of birth	Number	Percentage
England	248	32%
New Zealand	201	26%
Scotland	58	7.5%
Denmark	50	6.5%
Ireland	36	4.6%
Australia	31	4%
Norway	29	3.7%
Germany	15	1.9%
Sweden	12	1.5%
South Africa	3	0.3%
Poland	3	0.3%
Isle of Man	3	0.3%
Wales	2	0.2%
Northern Ireland	2	0.2%
Italy	1	0.1%
Canada	1	0.1%
U.S.A.	1	0.1%
India	1	0.1%
Switzerland	1	0.1%
Trinidad	1	0.1%
Unknown	69	8.9%
Total	769	

Table 3 Gender

Gender	Number	Percentage
Male	396	51.5%
Female	373	48.5%
Total	769	

Table 4 Primary Occupation

Occupation (Male)	Number	Occupation (Female)	Number
Sheep farmer	137	Wife	342
Agricultural labourer	39	Prostitute	9
Agricultural labourer/farmer	34	Farmer/wife	5
Landowner/Sheep farmer	18	Midwife/wife	3
Blacksmith/wheelwright	16	School teacher/wife	3
Storekeeper	13	Storekeeper/wife	2
Carpenter/joiner	11	Boarding House/wife	1
Publican/Hotelkeeper	11	Clerk	1
Bullock driver/carrier	8	Housekeeper	1
Bushman	5	Servant	1
Contractor	5	Unknown	5
Cook/baker	5		
Farm Manager	5		
Railway navvy/farmer	5		
Sawyer/saw miller	5		
School teacher	5		
Butcher	4		
Coach driver/livery stables	4		
Ploughman	4		
Saddler	4		
Steam engineer	4		
Nurseryman/gardener	3		
Shoemaker/bootmaker	3		
Tailor	3		
Accountant	2		
Doctor	2		
Groom	2		
Painter	2		
Postal worker	2		
Rabbit inspector	2		
Artist	1		
Auctioneer	1		
Brickmaker	1		
Civil Engineer	1		
Constable	1		
Dairy Factory manager	1		
Hairdresser	1		
Land Agent	1		
Lime kiln manager	1		
Nightsoil man	1		
Optometrist	1		
Plumber	1		
Poultry farmer	1		
Watchmaker	1		
Unknown	19		
TOTAL	396		373

