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KERIKERI 'GOLD'

A Behavioural Investigation
of the Process Involved in the Evolution of
Spatial Patterning and the 'Personalite'
of Kerikeri, Bay of Islands

A thesis presented
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in Geography

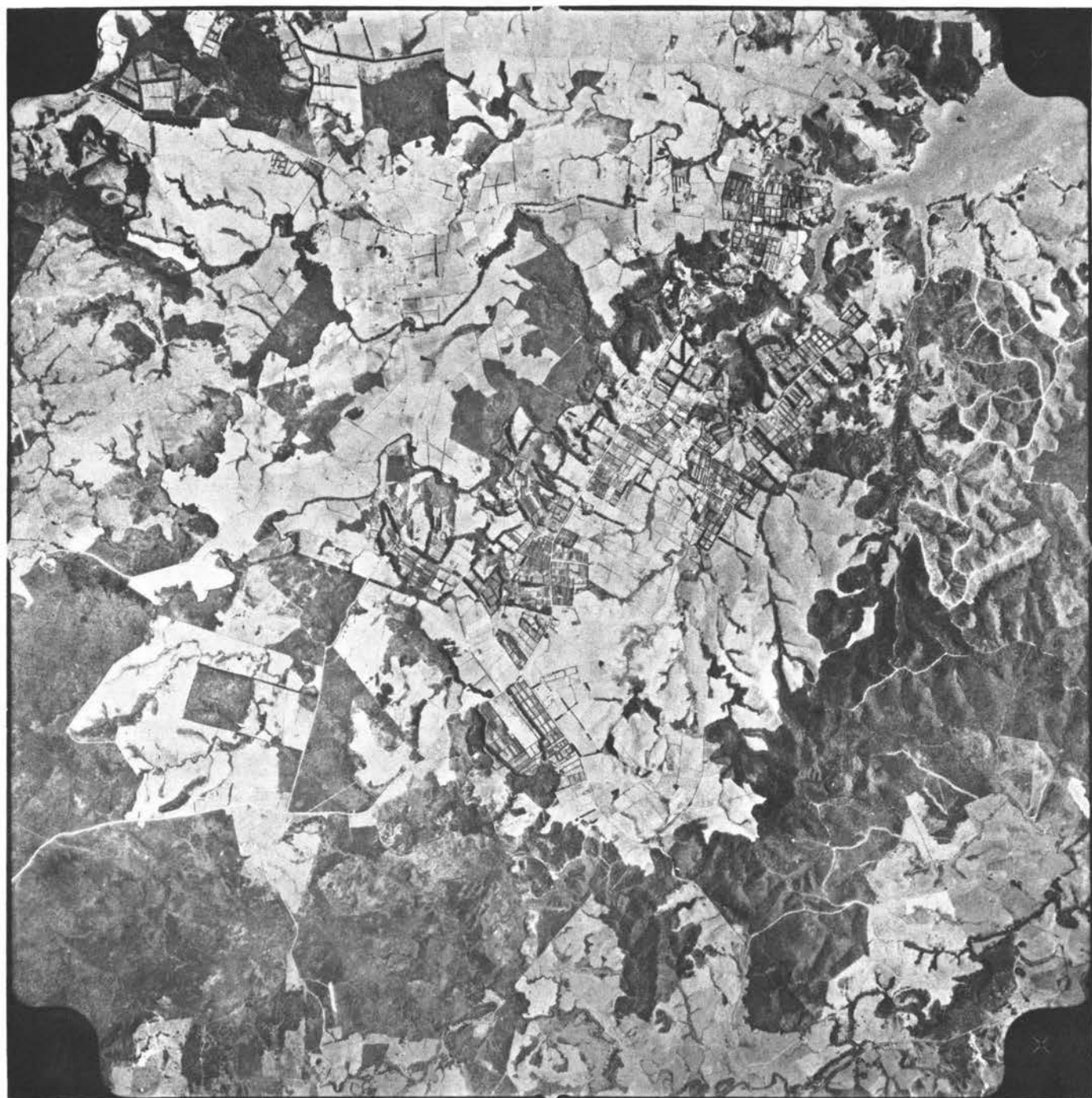
by

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Massey University

1971

There will be orange groves,
where the fruit will shine
like balls of gold against
the dark green foliage ...

Beautiful Kerikeri. 26/9/29. Northern News



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I acknowledge the valued help of Mrs J. Mackintosh and Mr D. Stenhouse, Senior Lecturer in Education, Massey University for their critical comments in proof reading the thesis script. Finally, without the unceasing encouragement of my mother, father and two brothers from the time of first interest in this research and throughout the entire preparation process, Kerikeri 'Gold' could not have been possible.

PREFACE

This thesis was initiated by two prime factors. In the first place, local knowledge of this area, acquired over a period of four years, indicated the existence of a notable and unfortunate void of recorded information concerning the growth and development of the Kerikeri area as an important citrus and subtropical fruit producer with its own distinctive 'personalité'; and secondly there was an interest in, and a desire to explore, one of the contemporary geographical research frontiers - that of the growing alliance of the fields of geography and psychology, coupled with a view that everything in the physical world is basically process and nothing simply spatial or temporal, a view in which 'pattern' and 'process' are seen as simply occupying different locations upon a space-time continuum.¹

In addition to the desire to fill in some measure the apparent hiatus of information dealing specifically with the evolution and related aspects of citrus growing at Kerikeri, the writer was also motivated by the assertion of David Harvey that "... geographic

¹ Blaut, J.M. 1961. Space and process. Prof Geog. 13: 2.

theory can no longer rest content with implicit assumptions about human behaviour; and that the sooner these assumptions are made explicit the better."²

The main title of the thesis Kerikeri 'Gold' may be seen to embrace two facets of gold, simultaneously symbolic of the region's citrus growing history, and the 'gold' of its numerous individually and group perceived promises that have eventuated in successive pioneering waves of settlers.

² Harvey, D.W. 1966. Behavioural postulates and the construction of theory in human geography. Geog. Polonica. 18: 42.

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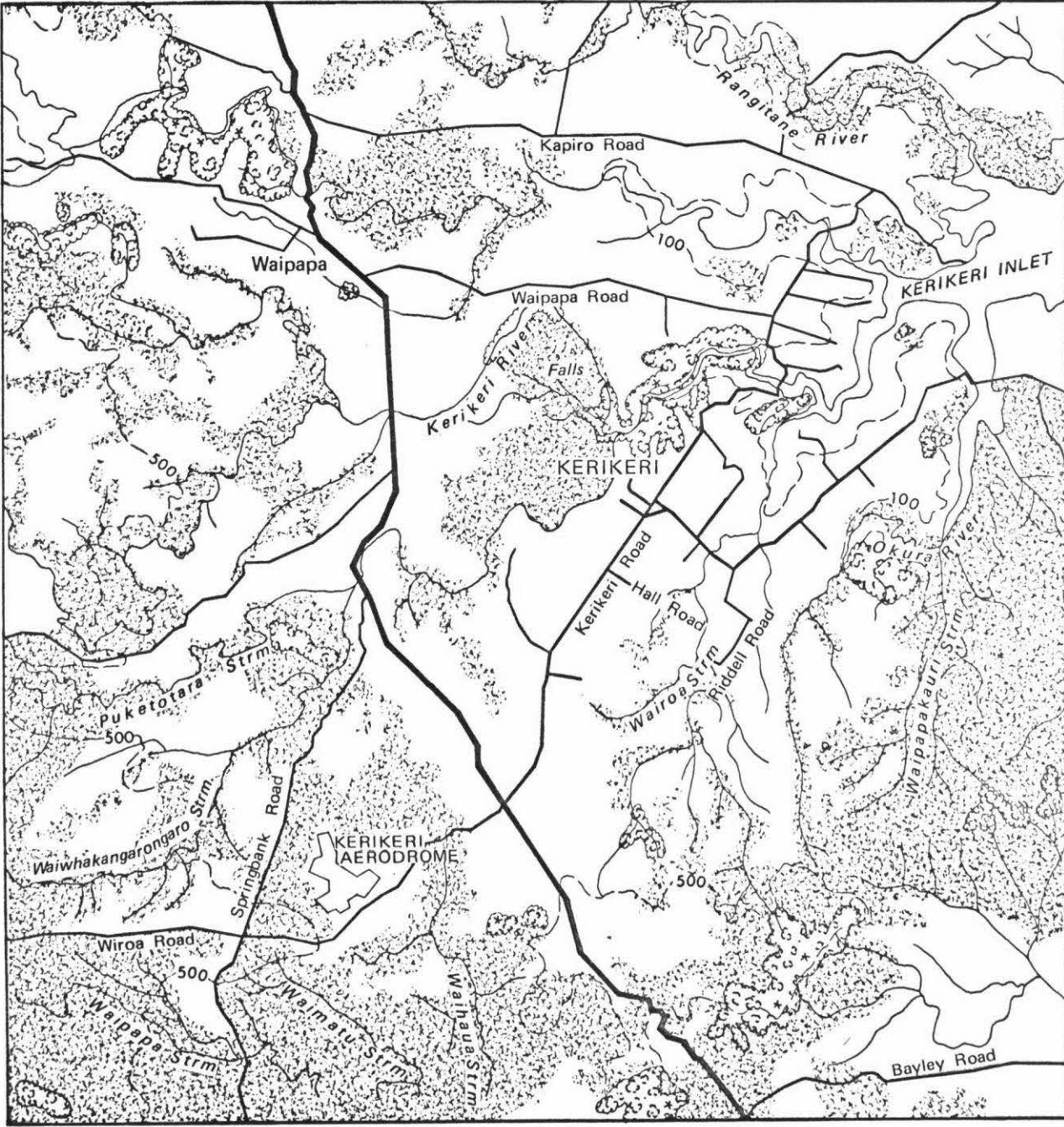
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

General Comments

Enumerate the more obvious components of Kerikeri - one District High School, church, cemetery, one cinema, two garages, a string of general, hardware, clothing stores and milk-bars, a recent addendum of motels, a small population of primary producers - and the result is an aggregate of a typical New Zealand village. It is patently true that nowhere is ever entirely typical of its class. There is an element of uniqueness in any settlement. Of Kerikeri however it may be said, that its uniqueness is such that people - both collectively and individually from the first pioneers to those of this decade - have continued to 'discover' it.

Situated on an inlet of the Bay of Islands, Kerikeri has been the location for many critically important events in the history of New Zealand. The second New Zealand mission station, and the first to achieve permanent significance, was established at Kerikeri by the Rev. Samuel Marsden in August 1819.¹ Here in May 1820, the first plough ever to turn New Zealand soil was drawn. Mrs James Kemp planted the first orange seeds in 1820. In July 1821, the Rev. John Butler sowed the first two acres of grass. The first European church in New Zealand was built in 1823 while the first European dwelling was completed in March 1822 and New Zealand's first stone building erected in 1833. These latter two structures still stand today in Kerikeri. The first New Zealand road, a distance just over



 Scrub

One Mile

 Bush

ten miles, linking Kerikeri and Waimate North, was engineered by two of the missionaries in 1830.

More recently Kerikeri has been the scene of much significant project and concept inception. Subsequent to the era of large scale citrus farming in the late 1920s, Kerikeri became in 1930 with a population of 40, the first township north of Whangarei to harness and reticulate electricity for its residents. Some of the early experiments relating to the processing and packing of subtropical fruits were undertaken in the early 1930s at Kerikeri.² On 4 January 1936, the second smallest registered newspaper in the world at that time - The Kerikeri Gazette - was launched. Though it was short-lived, it was of importance in indicating the personality of the area, its entirety and its articulacy.

These are but some of the notable events that have taken place at Kerikeri. The history of the area has always been intimately related to its soil, and throughout its century and a half of European development the aptness of its name has been borne out, for Kerikeri, a Maori term, means 'to dig' or 'to keep on digging.'

This thesis attempts to investigate the process involved in the formation of spatial patterning at Kerikeri during the period 1927-71, especially the early formative phase 1927-33. The study aims at appreciating the intrinsic significance of individuals, and of one particular individual, in the formation of the present cultural landscape and 'personalite' of the area. This work is primarily more concerned with a study of how and why a particular spatial pattern evolved at Kerikeri, than in presenting a descriptive report of solely what occurred, though this latter

aspect is not of course excluded. 'Structure' and 'process', traditionally viewed as two separate facets, are in this thesis, seen as elements in a continuum. The theme of process rather than pattern was not an arbitrary selection but evolved itself during the first six months of investigation.

For clarity of presentation, the thesis is divided into three sections each of which is closely interrelated. After establishing the setting in time and place, Section One examines the importance of a study of the process of development involved in the evolution of a spatial pattern, the value of behavioural postulates in geographical study and the significance of individual decision makers throughout New Zealand's development. A Second Section deals with the process involved and the developments at Kerikeri during the initial establishment of citrus and subtropical fruit farming (1927-33) as well as subsequent related developments (1934-50). In Section Three a survey of modern Kerikeri and surrounding area (since 1951) is undertaken, with the view to appreciating the continued process of decision making involved in spatial patterning and the extent to which the formative era of Kerikeri's growth under the hand of George Edwin Alderton originally, has influenced the contemporary composition of the area as exemplified in certain selected aspects of landuse, population composition, attitude and other related elements which collectively form the 'personalite' of the area.

Kerikeri, the 'cradle' of much of New Zealand's European history and the people concerned with its growth and development in its formative era, have not received any detailed academic attention

in the past. This thesis attempts to collate material whose recording has not previously been attempted, while its authority is still verifiable. The passage of another decade could mean that the gap in the knowledge of this area of potential future development might have been in part irremediable. Data sources correspondingly are seen to be rather unorthodox. Settlers who emigrated to Kerikeri in the late 1920s and the early 1930s era, and descendents of the original settlers' families - living witnesses of a developmental epoch - have provided the writer with verbal accounts of the origins of citrus and subtropical fruit growing; with old correspondence, ³ personal records, and newspaper cuttings from several Northland and overseas sources. These latter help to convey the very important human element and process involved in decision making and appear to often have a lengthier life expectancy than official records. Special techniques were required to maintain fieldwork on three levels - physical, scholastic and psychological. The physical barriers in the penetration of this densely wooded subtropical area for landuse survey and location of specific cultural features were often more easily overcome than the human ones. Interviews with some 60 people and much correspondence sometimes elicited conflicting aspects of material whose relevance and reliability was then diligently cross-checked and where possible subsequently verified by further reference to official sources - aerial photographs; statistics where available; and to Departmental offices and officers, serving and retired. The paucity of official records for the period 1920-40 presented again much difficulty. ⁴ Further, an initial emotional

barrier was sometimes encountered in the attitude of those who accounted themselves victims of, rather than participants in, or beneficiaries of, the Alderton Group Settlement Scheme under the North Auckland Land Development Corporation.

Kerikeri - Its Setting in Time and Place

The resources of Kerikeri, an area located between Bull's Gorge Waipapa, Purerua and Moturoa Island, have been variously utilised by a number of groups. Kerikeri has passed through at least six distinct phases of development each characterised by a particular form of economic organisation. At present the area is entering upon a seventh developmental phase.

Pre-European phase

The Kerikeri area was occupied by a number of Maori chiefs and their followers. The headquarters of the chiefs Whatarau and Wairua were found in the Okura Creek region, while Tareha and his followers lived along the shores of the Mangonui Inlet. The area at the head of the Kerikeri Inlet was occupied on a temporary basis, during the summer months, by two Ngapuhi groups - the Ngati rehia and the Ngai te wake. They numbered well over a thousand and would move to Kerikeri from Waimate North and Okuratope (the location of Hongi Hika's main pa) for the annual sea-fishing season. A small group would remain at Kerikeri to cultivate fern root and practice agriculture, for the soil in certain areas around the estuary was rich, level and well suited to cultivation. After the arrival of the missionaries in 1819, a more permanently based Maori settlement was established, occupied by the principal chiefs and brothers Kaingaroa and Hongi Hika of the Ngai te wake sub-tribe and their

followers. At the head of the Inlet, Kaingaroa established a potato field to barter with the numerous traders who frequented the Bay of Islands at this time. As sea port for the tribe, Kerikeri became a Ngapuhi military base, the point of embarkation for many of Hongi Hika's war expeditions. From here, Hongi travelled down both the west and east coasts of the North Island as far afield as the Hauraki Gulf (December 1821), Matakītaki, Waikato (February 1822), Tauranga and Lake Rotorua (March-April 1823) and Kaiwaka (1825). At Kerikeri Hongi had constructed his famous Kororipo Pa, a wonderful specimen of elaborately carved Maori art.

... Kororipo, surrounded on three sides by water, and guarded on the land side by long stretches of mangrove swamp that no enemy could cross.

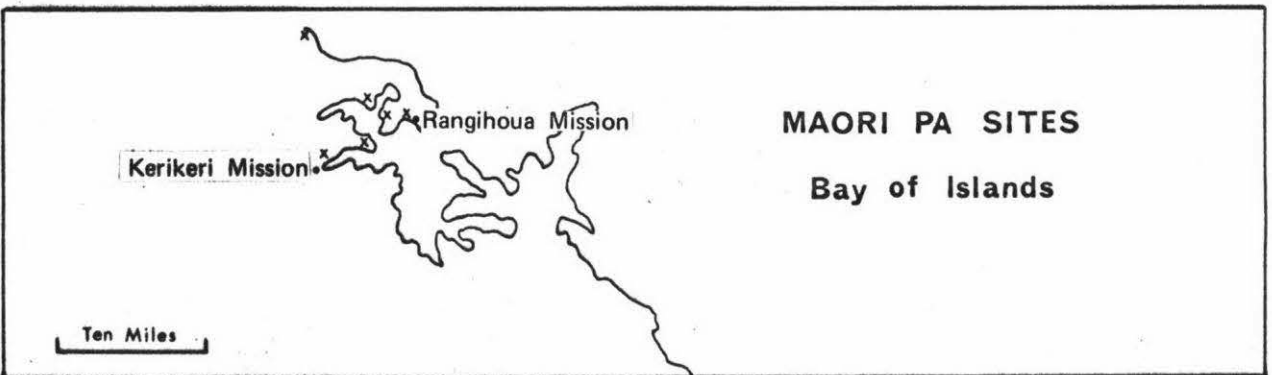
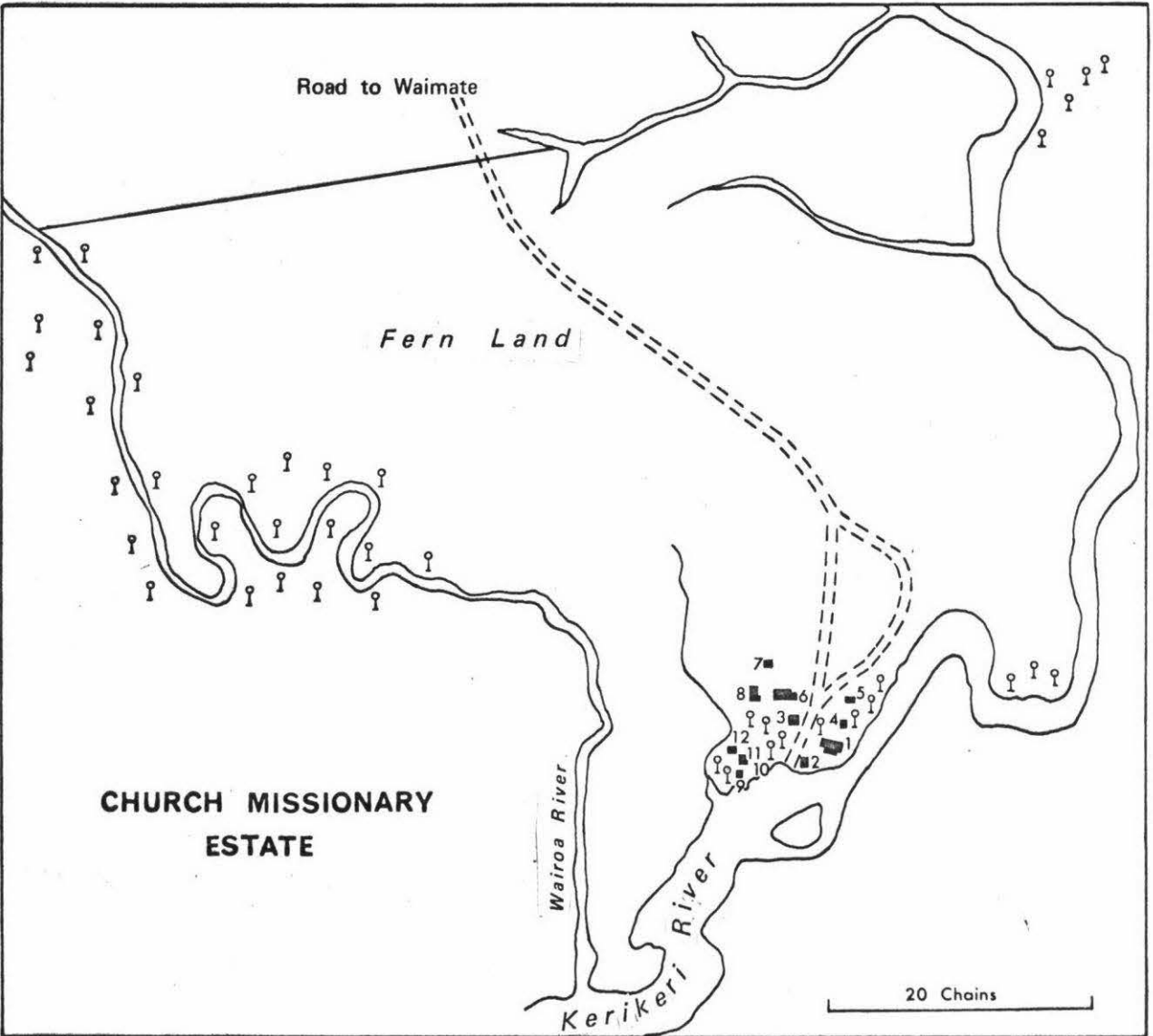
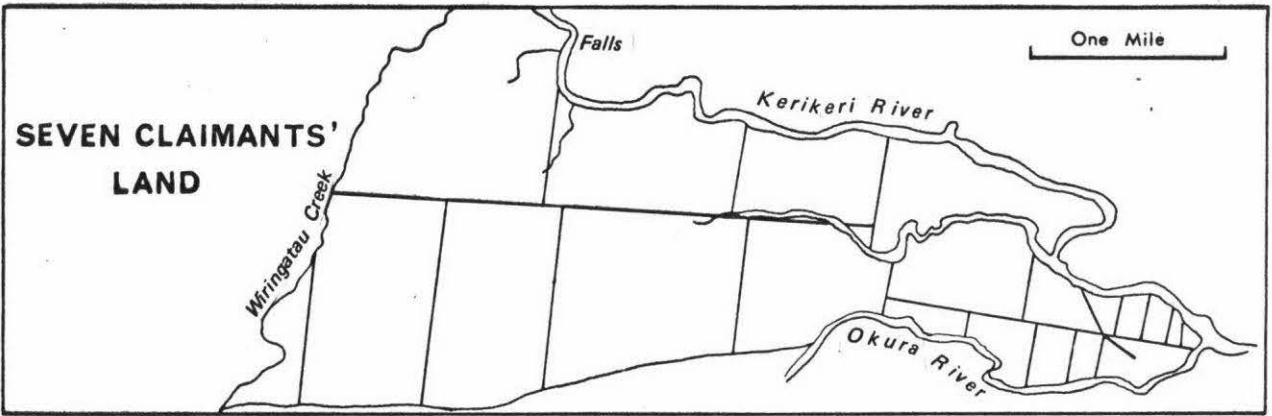
It was also defended by a deep fosse, and a strong stockade. There was a perfect network of pits and pallisade ways inside.

Church Missionary Society

During his second visit to New Zealand in 1819, when the Rev. Samuel Marsden announced his intention of establishing a second mission station, Korakora and Hongi Hika, the two most influential chiefs of the Bay of Islands clamoured for its founding in his own territory. Both offered Marsden the choice of their lands. Commenting at the time on the location and hinterland of the Kerikeri area, Marsden considered,

... this district the most promising for a new settlement of any he had met with in New Zealand, the soil being rich, the land pretty level, free from timber, easy to work with the plough, and bounded by a fresh-water river, the communication by water free and open to any part of the Bay of Islands, and safe anchorage for ships of any burden within about two leagues of the settlement.

For a token of 48 axe heads, given to Hongi Hika, 13,000 acres of land at Kerikeri passed into the hands of the Church Missionary



Society. Here the missionaries lived for almost 30 years, attempting to inculcate Christian ethics and simultaneously establishing agriculture for the benefit of both Maori and European. In 1848 the Kerikeri mission station closed down, the result of lack of Church Missionary Society funds available to the missionaries and years of strife, unrest and dissatisfaction among the Maori people with the actions of the British government in the Bay of Islands.⁷ The mission station at Waimate North tended to supercede the one at Kerikeri as agricultural and principal spiritual centre for the missionaries, being located in a more populous native area.

Kauri gum

The period from 1850 until the First World War, a third phase, may be classified as the 'gum era' of the Kerikeri area. A drift north to the gum fields occurred especially during the 1880-90 era of the economic depression. At Kerikeri the main fields were located at Waipapa, Puketotara, Kapiro, at various locations along the shores of the Inlet with a large field at Purerua. The Stone Store centrally situated, carried on a flourishing export trade in kauri gum. The Store acted as a collecting, sorting, packing and paying-out point from whence the gum was taken by coastal steamer to Auckland for processing.⁸ In 1922 a gum-washing plant was established at Waipapa despite the fact that after the First World War, gum digging was declining as a profitable livelihood.

Timber exploitation

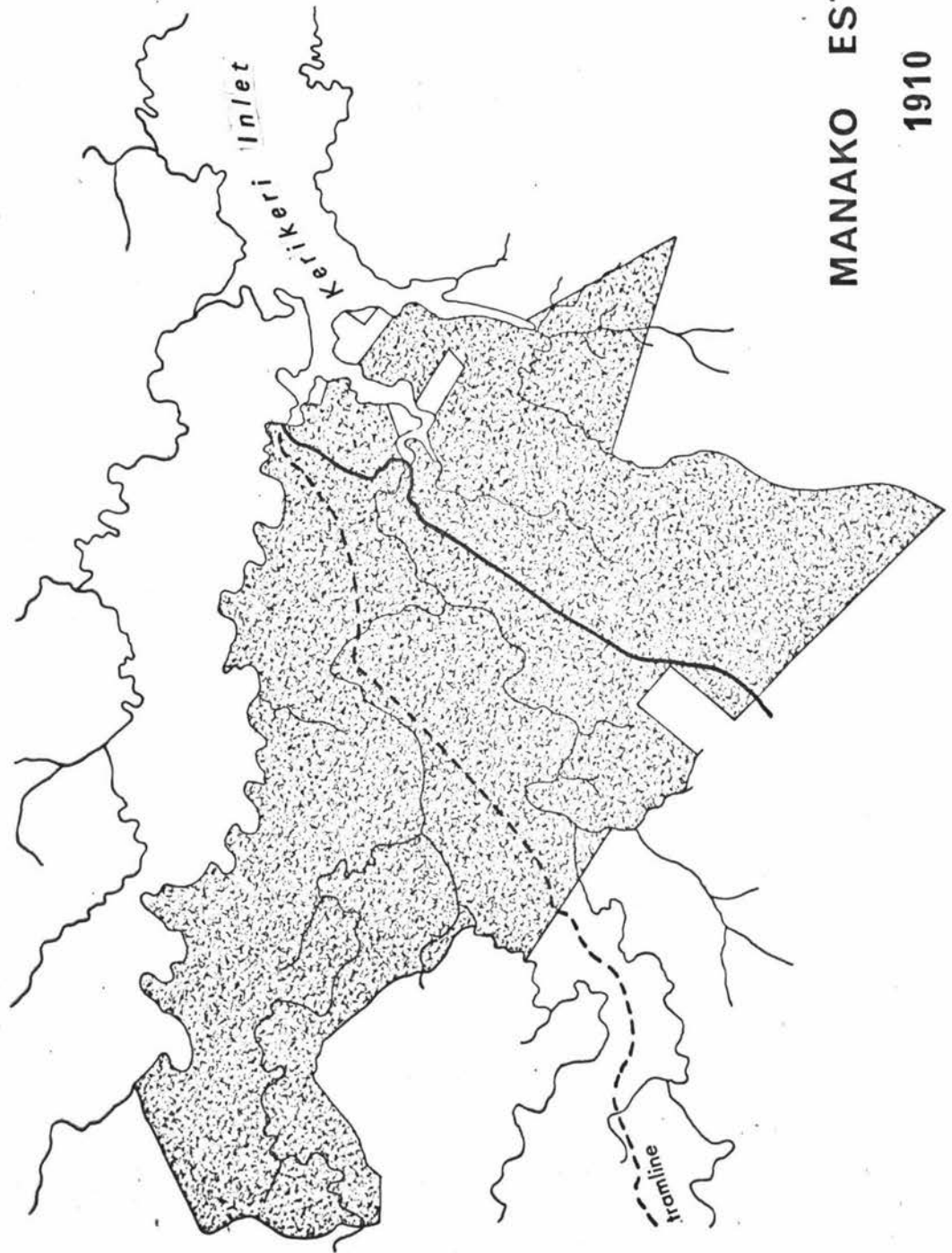
Kerikeri has also been a centre of exploitation of timber resources. Though the Rev. Samuel Marsden had described the area immediately surrounding the head of the Inlet as "... pretty level,

free from timber ..." ⁹, where the Kerikeri and Waipapa Rivers wound back into the western hills there grew great forests of native trees. Kerikeri acted as a timber port for many years, timber being collected on waggons outside the Stone Store or floated down the Inlet to Doves Bay (five miles distance) and then taken by steamer for milling to Auckland. Timber from both the Puketi and Pungaere Forests, west of Kerikeri, was handled this way. A wooden tramway seven miles in length was constructed between the Puketi Forest and the Waipapa Landing. The Puketi Mill operated until 1915, then closed, due basically to a lack of available labour.

Pastoral development

Concurrent with the gum and timber phases of development, much of the land that lay between the head of the Inlet and the forest reserves to the west, was used by several pastoral farmers. Cecil Kemp farmed the 'Childrens' Land' at Kerikeri. ¹⁰ Over the years James Kemp had bought sections from the other six claimants. By the 1890s, Shepherds' block, part of William Williams' and Baker's land were all owned by Kemp while in 1889 Cecil Kemp purchased the original 393 acre Kemp block as well. On this estate he grazed sheep and cattle. By 1898, with Kemp now 74 years old, T. C. Williams had bought up most of the 'Childrens' Land'. He had also purchased some Crown and other land still in the possession of the descendents of the original missionaries. This area formed the Manako Estate. The estate covered 10,000 acres but did not include the areas closer to the Inlet surrounding the Kemp house, the Stone Store and the land owned by the Scudder, Fuller, Clarke and Bedggood families. Cecil Kemp, appointed manager of this massive sheep and

MANAKO ESTATE 1910



One Mile

cattle station, continued to live in the Homestead, today located centrally in Kerikeri. The Manako Estate was characterised by open, rolling countryside with a notable absence of trees. Turnips and swedes, oats and grass were sown in rotation as animal feed. At this phase in Kerikeri's development, gorse was systematically grown in rows and, while still young, was harvested. After having been passed through a chaff-cutter, the gorse was used as supplementary animal feed.

The estate next passed into the hands of H.C. Bull (1910) who ran it along similar lines as had T.C. Williams until its sale in 1914 to George Riddell. The Riddell Estate continued the same tradition as laid down by previous owners. With World War One intervening and a consequent lack of manpower available, the coverage of gorse developed into a 'runaway experiment' bringing with it major management problems. In 1920 the Riddell family leased 2,600 acres to S.G and H.G. Worsp and in 1926 subdivided a portion of the estate from Springbank Road to Access Road, into a number of varying sized lots for the promotion and trial of early vegetable growing.

The North Auckland Land Development Corporation

In 1927, 6,817 acres of the Riddell Estate were sold to the North Auckland Land Development Corporation. George Edwin Alderton, one of the company's six directors, acted as executor. He was the original instigator of the company's formation and the 'Alderton Scheme', by which it was illustrated how migration in a limited form without government assistance, could be used to settle and develop an area that had precluded any substantial change for over

a century. Around him Alderton drew a group of similar idealists, pioneers and 'opinion leaders'. Through Alderton's initial stimulus and inspiration, the company and many other individuals, singly and collectively, have directly influenced the progression of developments in the evolution of the cultural landscape at Kerikeri. This early 'formative era' continues to pervade modern Kerikeri in many more facets than simply the existence of 'relict' features of a previous landscape morphogenesis.

Kerikeri now began a sixth and excitingly new phase in its history of development - as a citrus and subtropical fruit growing area. 1927 was indeed the 'watershed' in the history of Kerikeri and surrounding area.

A seventh era of development is at present characterizing the Kerikeri area. An era of larger scale, more rationalised citrus and subtropical fruit farming and notable tourism developments in the Bay of Islands are taking place.

FOOTNOTES

¹ The first mission station was established in 1814 at Rangihoua, Oihi Bay, Bay of Islands, home of the chief Ruatara, by the Church Missionary Society. By the very nature of its physically steep hinterland and consequent lack of sufficient arable land, Rangihoua mission was unable to support a permanent resident population independent of outside supplies.

² In March 1932 a trial shipment of Kerikeri grown passion-fruit left for England on the 'S.S. Kent'. Nineteen cases were shipped utilizing nine different packing methods.

³ Reference should be made here to a too rare human characteristic - that of methodical records keeping - which might have provided a great deal of source material for an investigation such as this. The writer, in the midst of frustrating dead-end quests for such matter, was heartened to find that at least one such individual - the late Mr H.S. Benner - had meticulously kept all records of his dealings with the North Auckland Land Development Corporation and his family did not destroy them.

⁴ At this stage, such was the official image of Northland that state advances and bank loans though available to settlers, were not in equable quantities as in other parts of New Zealand. The Department of Agriculture view of the Kerikeri Scheme was that it was doubtful whether the venture would be an economic success. Though prepared to assist to the limit of the scientific information available at the time, the Department did not appoint a resident orchard instructor in Kerikeri until the early 1940s. pers. comm. Mr I.G. Forbes, Horticulture Division, Department of Agriculture, Wellington.

⁵ Clark, G. 1903. Notes on Early Life in New Zealand. 10

⁶ Elder, J.R. (Editor). 1932. Letters and Journals of Samuel Marsden. 147

⁷ After 1840, customs dues were enforced on all imports. A Maori warrior henceforth had to pay more for his tobacco, muskets and blankets. Soon trading vessels ceased to call in at the Bay of Islands. Even after Governor Fitzroy implemented his promises and whalers reappeared in the Bay of Islands, there persisted a general disenchantment with the government misunderstandings in law

enforcement occurred. Gradually a spirit of lawlessness prevailed and culminated in war in 1845.

⁸ Kauri gum formed an ingredient in a variety of manufactured articles including sealing wax, candle stiffener, glue, varnishes, lacquers and linoleums.

⁹ Elder, op. cit. 147.

¹⁰ The 'Childrens' Land' referred to that area of land bounded by the Puketotara Stream, the Okura Creek and Whiringatau Stream surveyed by missionary William Clarke. This land was bought in 1831 for £271/18/- by seven missionaries ('The Seven Claimants') from the Maori owners. Once a missionary child reached 15 years, he was no longer in the charge of the Society. A sum of money was given with the approved purpose of land investment. Before 1840 only two careers were open to missionary children - the Church Missionary Society or farming. Adequate provision for the future of their children was thus of extreme concern and importance to the missionaries.