

THE EVOLUTION OF THE RURAL SETTLEMENT PATTERN
OF LOWLAND SOUTH TARANAKI 1860 - 1920

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Unless otherwise acknowledged all photographs
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ABBREVIATIONS :

A.J.H.R.	<u>Appendices To The Journals Of The House Of Representatives.</u>
E.A.	<u>Eltham Argus</u>
E.S.	<u>Egmont Star</u>
H.N.S.	<u>Hawera And Normanby Star</u>
H.S.	<u>Hawera Star</u>
T.A.D.	<u>Taranaki Almanac And Provincial Directory</u>
WISES	<u>Wises New Zealand Directory</u>

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INTRODUCTION

AIM

The settlement pattern forms the basis of any cultural landscape and it is the aim of this study in historical geography to trace its evolution in lowland South Taranaki in order to explain that landscape's final appearance. This pattern has evolved from the time of first European settlement and its study from a historical and geographical viewpoint allows the contribution of each stage in its evolution to be illustrated. To this end not only is where the people were important, but also why they were there and the intensity of their occupation.

South Taranaki's settlement pattern has formed around Agriculture, and as a result there is little need to distinguish between urban and rural uses of the land in the case of concentrations of settlement. The townships such as Ohangi, Oeo, and Matapu for example are an integral part of the rural scene as they exist only to serve their local farmers. The larger centres such as Hawera and Eltham serve a wider community than that provided by the districts' farmers but insofar as they have grown from and contributed to the rural districts they will be included as part of the rural settlement pattern.

The area studied is bounded in the north by a line from Opunake through Ngaere to the edge of the hill country of inland Taranaki. This hill country and the Patea river to its mouth at Patea forms the eastern boundary. (see figure 5). The coastline from Patea to Opunake forms the south western boundary. These boundaries are set not so much to argue that this area is distinct geographically as because by concentrating on a relatively small area the many factors which make up a settlement pattern can be illustrated. In addition available source material also favours this delimitation as it was the circulation area for The Hawera and Normanby Star and the Egmont Star.

the two major primary sources. This area includes all of the Hawera and Waimate West counties together with parts of the Patea, Eltham and Egmont counties. (see figure 4). A boundary based more on county lines was considered but discarded as these had undergone many changes. The emerging of stable administrative boundaries is in itself one theme in the settlement patterns evolution.

The settlement pattern in its final form was a European creation. The time period covered therefore is from 1860 when large numbers of Europeans began to settle to 1920 by which time the pattern had emerged in its final form. Most of the development took place between 1880 and 1900, while after 1920 the emphasis is on greater efficiency in farming interrupted by the depression of the 1930's.

SOURCES

Newspapers, commercial directories, interviews and field work have been the most valuable sources. The files of The Hawera and Normanby Star and the Egmont Star have proved the most valuable. Their value stems from their extensive coverage of local affairs, and from their editorial policy of forwarding the settlers' viewpoint.¹ This gives bias to some of their editorials, but more significantly it means comment both in editorials and articles on government policy or the lack there of, farming conditions and the settlers' ambitions and achievements. In addition other Taranaki papers have printed special editions and supplements² to mark important occasions such as jubilees and winter shows. These contain much useful information of a general nature on the spread of settlement, early farming and the growth of dairying.

Several commercial directories give a varied coverage during this period. The available files are incomplete especially for The Star Almanac Calendar and Directory published in Hawera which was the most useful, as in

addition to the detailed lists of occupations it gave for even the smallest centres it contained much useful general information on farming methods. Wises directories were the next most useful, although these did not include all the smaller centres covered by the 'Star'. The other editions were less valuable as they only included the larger businesses in the main centres and tended to concentrate more on glowing general descriptions to attract interest from outside Taranaki. Furthermore the various publications tend to disagree with one another when issues for the same year are available for comparison. In most cases this is because the surveys were carried out at different times of the year and the differences merely reflect the rapid expansion of settlement at this time. In other instances especially in the discrepancies in the numbers of farmers listed it is probably due to different sized areas of farmland being included with the rural townships. None of the directories indicate the farming area included with the occupations given for the townships, or whether this varied from edition to edition. In spite of these difficulties enough can be culled from the various editions to give a good coverage of the period.

The published material available is of varied usefulness to the historical geographer. The official publications such as the Appendices to the Journals of The Home of Representatives, the census reports and the statistical publications are valuable primary sources. Much of the other published work tends to concentrate on military history, although there are important exceptions such as the jubilee publications of schools, dairy companies, and boroughs, and the works by Howitt³ and Roberts⁴.

The New Plymouth Lands and Survey Department has a limited but useful collection of maps. Especially useful are the Crown Grants maps showing the date of first sale of the land, those showing the areas of Maori land and those showing the area set aside for military settlement. Many of their detailed records, especially those relating to the military settlements of the 1860's and 1870's have been accidentally destroyed by fire or thrown out.

The days of early settlement are recent enough for there to be a few people alive able to remember them. Interviews with these, and with people interested in South Taranaki history have proved most valuable. They were able to provide much useful information on early conditions as well as unpublished material in the way of diaries, letters and maps. These are few in number as the bush settlers' struggle to break in their sections left them little leisure and they were mostly inarticulate.

Dairy company records in the form of annual reports and minute books contain a wealth of detailed information on the fortunes of the early companies. However anything relevant to early settlement usually also appeared in the newspapers.

Finally field work, mainly travelling around the area, has been most valuable in helping place information gained from other sources in its perspective.

METHOD

Evolution implies a gradual unrolling, stressing an orderly succession of events each growing out of that which went before. To illustrate this process in the growth of the rural settlement pattern of this area, a combination of a cross sectional and a chronological approach has been taken. The chronology will trace the development of the main themes in the pattern's evolution dealing with topics such as the role of government policy and the development of dairying. To illustrate the contribution of these themes three cross sections have been drawn. These illustrate how these themes interacted to produce the settlement pattern at the time for which they are drawn. In addition by illustrating those features of the final pattern that were present, as well as those that were absent, they show which years contributed the most to the present pattern.

To this end the cross sections are drawn for years before some of

the major themes became operative. In addition the first two are drawn for a period rather than a year as this best indicates the pattern's fluid nature at these times as well as enabling better use to be made of the available data.

The first cross section is taken for the years 1868 - 1870, a period before most of the land had been occupied, but sufficiently long after the first Europeans had settled for a pattern to be evident. Most of what was true at the time of the second (1884 - 1886) had been evident for several years and continued to be so at least to 1890. However, dairying the growth industry of the final years was not then developed and the taking of a cross section at this point enables its impact to be better illustrated.

This method is one approach to the problem of combining narrative with cross sections in historical geography. As Darby⁵ states, if each cross section aims at providing:-

" a balanced geographical account compounded of description and explanation, there will of necessity be much repetition and varying degrees of overlap as each cross section ranges backwards to satisfy its own needs. If on the other hand, each is limited strictly to its own contemporary materials a valid criticism might be that the sequence constitutes a series of static pictures that ignore the process of becoming. They will of course reflect changing geographic values by the mere fact of following one another, but only by implication and inadequately."⁶

This method is not original being based largely on that used by Broek in his study of the Santa Clara Valley.⁷ In this study four cross sections describe the landscape at each period, each being followed by a discussion of the socio-economic determinants. As Darby⁸ states such an approach serves "not only to furnish a genetic explanation of each landscape but also to provide connecting links between the successive views."

Others have adopted different methods, these being more suited to the scale of their study and the time period involved. Burley⁹ in his study of the evolution of the agricultural pattern in the Hunter Valley, uses a purely chronological approach. He begins his study with a description of the contemporary pattern and then explains how this has arisen, in a manner that is predominantly historical. He identifies two periods in the patterns development, first its establishment and secondly its refinement. For each of these periods he deals with topics such as pioneer extractive industry and the beginnings of agriculture. Such an approach indicates well the themes in the patterns growth but the absence of cross sections means that the legacy of each period to the present is difficult to determine, as is the extent of occupation in each period.

On the larger scale is Duncan's¹⁰ study of The Evolution of Settlement in New Zealand. Again the chronological approach is well suited to the scale of this study which aims to trace the outward thrust of the frontier by pressure of a growing population.

PHYSICAL SETTING

A brief examination of the area's physical geography will help to clarify the great changes which came over the landscape during the period of this study.

Mount Egmont (8260) the dormant volcanic cone to the north of the region is the main determinant of the physical geography. It is responsible for the fertile soils, for the topography and thus the distinctive drainage pattern and as well considerably influences the climate.

The area north of Hawera comprises part of the gently sloping ring plain of Mount Egmont. As the topographical maps (figure 5) show this rises from sea level to nearly 1000', but as plate one and plate two show there is little local relief, the many streams having only shallow if steep sided valleys.



PLATE ONE. The Waimate Plains with Manaia in the distance.



PLATE TWO. The Waingongoro Valley near Okiawa.

(See figure five and plate 3). The topography is closely related to the distinctive radial drainage pattern of these streams, all of which flow from Mt Egmont. They are completely useless for navigation and posed many problems for the pioneer road builders, but their constant flow has proved an invaluable asset for farming.

Away from the ring plain proper the degree of dissection increases. The area to the south of Hawera is still lowland but as figure five and plate four show it is more dissected, the valleys being much deeper, often incised as much as two hundred feet. This area also rises to about 1000', the highest portion being in the east. The eastern boundary of the area studied runs along the edge of the heavily dissected hill country of inland Taranaki, some of which is visible in plate 5.

The soil pattern is a simple one, the soils being derived from volcanic ash erupted from Mt Egmont. They are generally fertile yellow brown loams, those of the coastal belt where scrub and fern formed the pre-Europeans vegetation being darker than those formed under forest. Their porous subsoil means that they are generally well drained, the only major exceptions being the swamps of the Rawhitiroa district (see figure 1).

The climate is mild and moist. As the prevailing wind is from the north west, much of the area is in the lee of Mt Egmont. Although a rain shadow area, annual rainfall is adequate, this varying from forty to fifty inches. In addition this is well distributed throughout the year and while the summer and autumn are definitely drier, it is only infrequently that grass growth is prevented. The temperature range is slight, the climate generally being mild and equable. The temperature range is greatest further inland severe frosts being experienced in winter. However stock can be kept out all year a factor that was to be of great importance in the settlement patterns' evolution.

A physical basis so suited for growing grass also favoured the



PLATE THREE. Undulating land near Eltham



PLATE FOUR. The Hurleyville area, showing the deeper valleys typical of this area. The Patea valley is in the right foreground.

dense forest which prior to the entry of Europeans covered most of the area. Only a coastal strip one to five miles in width (figure 1) was bush free, the vegetation here being mainly scrub, the main plants being fern, and tutu. The bush covering the remainder, although lighter than that encountered in the Wellington province was to prove a considerable obstacle to settlement, as its combination of large trees and dense undergrowth was difficult to penetrate. The settlement of this bush land was to demand much organisation and labour but as the following discussion will show this was the growth area in the settlement pattern's and thus the landscape's evolution.

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THE BEGINNINGS OF SETTLEMENT

(a) THE SETTLEMENT PATTERN 1868 - 1870

European settlement in South Taranaki dates from the early 1860's, but it is not until 1870 that a pattern with the clarity and magnitude to contain some of the themes of later development in their infancy had emerged. The first cross section is therefore taken for the years 1868 - 1870. A short period rather than a year has been taken because of the nature of the data and because of the patterns' fluidity. This pattern is a simple one above all characterised by its insecurity and immaturity.

THE NEED FOR SECURITY

The most immediate requirement in 1868 was military security. The Maori objected to the intrusion of Europeans and with good reason as they wanted his land and were not over scrupulous as to how they obtained it. There were two main phases in the resultant military conflict between the Maori and the European.

The first¹ had been South Taranaki's involvement in the North Island wide 'Maori Wars' of the early 1860's. These ended in South Taranaki with General Cameron's campaign of 1864. The blockhouses he built at Hawera, Maniaia and Normanby (see figure one), together with the 250 soldiers then stationed at the Manawapou redoubt encouraged some Europeans to settle near by.

In 1865 the area shown on figure one was confiscated from the Maoris in an attempt to punish them for their part in the wars. However it would not have been possible for the Europeans to settle this area. The situation was at best uneasy, as while the European presence was tolerated, any expansion would have resulted in conflict. The failure of the attempt to encourage soldiers settlement illustrates this.

In 1866, 28,400 acres² of confiscated land were set aside for discharged soldiers. Privates were to be entitled to fifty acres, with more for N.C.O's and Officers, and after three years occupation they were to receive a freehold title.³ Town sites were surveyed at Ohawe, Normanby and Mokoia in 1866, but because of the uneasy situation, the surveys did not proceed any further. This uneasiness gave way to further conflict in 1868, with the result that there was little haste by soldiers to claim their allotments until after peace was established in 1870.

The Maori resurgence under Titokowaru in the Ngati-Ruanui district (between the Patea and Kaupokonui rivers - figure 1) began the second phase of conflict.⁴ This began early in 1868 with a series of minor disorders. Settlers at Kakaramea were evicted from their land, attempts to settle inland from Mokoia were prevented, and several Europeans were killed near Normanby in the first few months of that year. Later the same year the Maori victories at Turuturu-mokai and Te Ngutu-o-te-manu so demoralised the Europeans that all the land outside the centres of Hawera and Patea was abandoned to the Maori.

It was not until late in 1869 when a combined Maori and Pakeha force led by Kapa began to harry Titokowaru successfully that the settlers were to be able to return. Peace was finally restored in 1870, due partly to the intervention of Hone Pihama a widely respected Maori chief. He realised that the European must eventually prevail through his superior military strength so he convened a meeting of the still militant Maoris at Manawapou and persuaded them to accept peace. The making of peace in 1870 meant that settlement was free to proceed. That it did not expand rapidly until the later 1870's was due to the immaturity of settlement in South Taranaki at this time.

THE IMMATURETY OF SETTLEMENT

South Taranaki in the 1860's was on the periphery of settlement in New Zealand, other areas having proved more attractive to settlers.

As Quin⁵ argues for North Taranaki following the successful beginning of sheep farming in the Wairarapa in the 1840's most New Zealand colonists were convinced that pastoral farming offered the most opportunities. Even if the Waimate Plains were open to settlement they would like other bush covered areas have proved unattractive, as throughout the North Island such areas were only settled where the pioneers had no alternative as in the Hutt Valley.⁶ "Do you consider that New Zealand offers the same advantages as previously with the absorption of all pasture for sheep grazing?"⁷, an English soldier who had served in New Zealand asked a Manutahi farmer as early as 1865.

It was not until from about 1877 when the grasslands were fully occupied and when immigration had resulted in there being a large number of men of small means seeking land that the bush lands were to become attractive.⁸ Even then there were doubts as to whether there would be sufficient buyers for the land available. "Progress of settlement in this district is likely to be very brisk provided buyers can be found for the land which is shortly to be placed on the market," a newspaper editorial stated in 1881.⁹

The European settlement pattern of 1868 - 1870 therefore was not created by any large scale attempt at settlement. Rather it was the creation of a few pioneers who had tried their luck away from the main centres of European farming activity in Canterbury, Marlborough and the Wairarapa. They lacked the assistance later given by the government to settlers in this district and the transport and supply services that were to come with a larger population. They had to be self sufficient as far as possible and to be able to import supplies from other areas when necessary. As a result only those with sufficient means and initiative could establish a foothold.

James Livingston for example who settled in Ohawe in 1868, brought 1250 sheep and six horses overland from Hawke Bay. When these were killed or taken by the Maoris another flock was brought overland in 1869.¹⁰ Only a relatively wealthy man and one with the initiative to overcome the considerable

difficulties involved in such a journey could do this.

On a smaller scale there were the farmers such as George Maxwell at Manutahi. His diary¹¹ illustrates how he and other settlers had to have their supplies shipped in through Patea from Wanganui or Wellington. The settlers had to carry their own freight from Patea to Manutahi (14 miles) over roads that were little more than dirt tracks. All business such as ordering supplies and buying or selling stock was transacted in Wanganui, involving a long days ride each way, and at least two days if stock were taken.

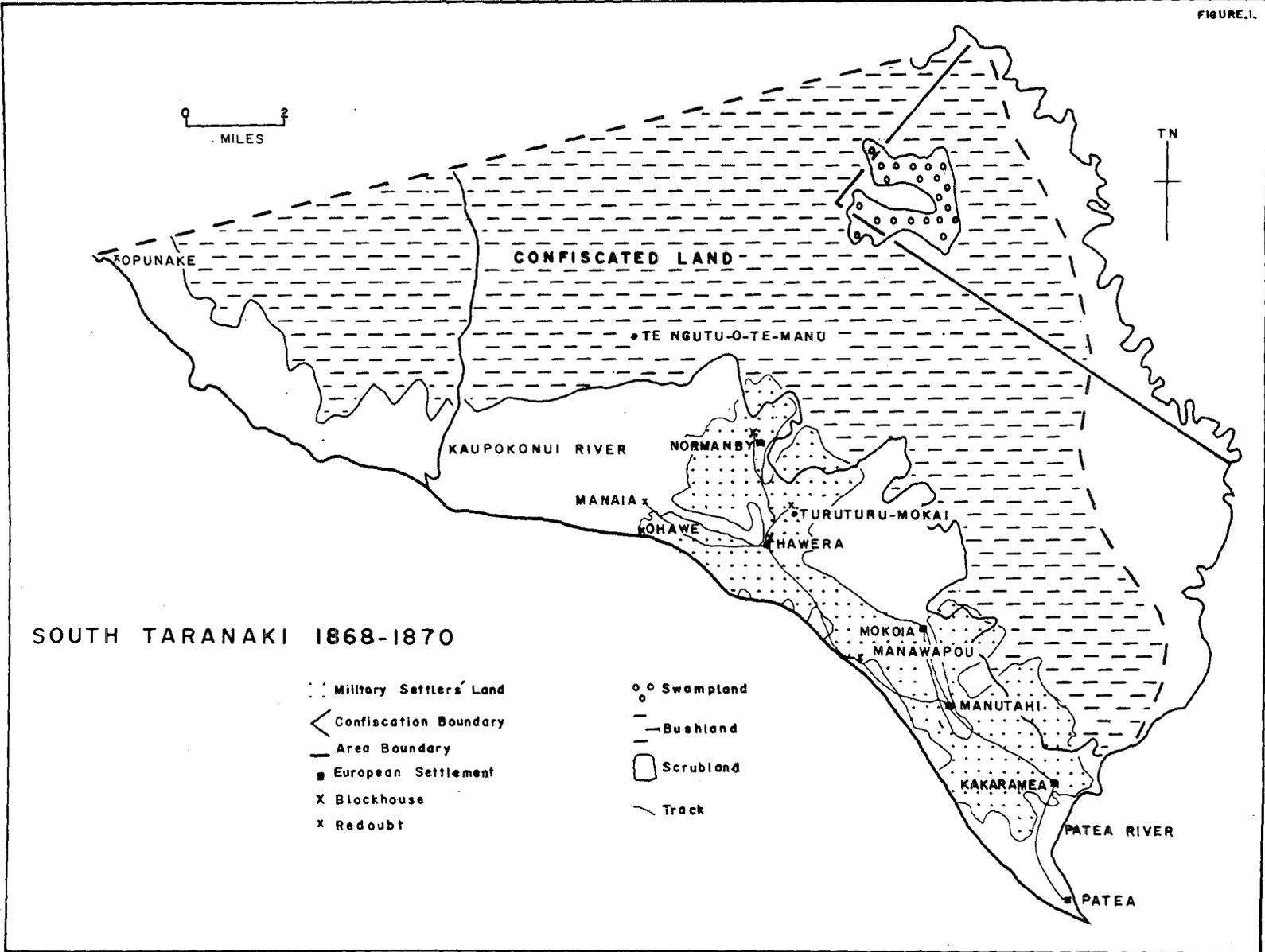
In these respects settlement in the years 1868 - 70 was immature. This immaturity was not the result of insecurity but rather it stemmed from South Taranaki's position in relation to the rest of New Zealand. However immaturity did add to the insecurity of settlement, as being an outlying district meant that it was faced with greater difficulties especially of access to markets and higher farming costs, especially in transport, than were encountered in the established areas. As a result it was more susceptible to any recession in agriculture.

THE PATTERN WAS A SIMPLE ONE

As a result of this insecurity and immaturity the settlement pattern was both simple, sparse and largely of military origin. Settlement was confined to a narrow coastal belt between Patea and Opunake. The greatest numbers were to the south of Hawera¹² but even here settlement was sparse being confined to a few nuclei such as Hawera, Manutahi, Kakaramea and Patea. The pattern was a simple one confined to the vicinity of the overland route between Wanganui and New Plymouth (see figure 1).

Patea, then called Carlye, was the area's main port and therefore its link with the outside world. As such it was the main administrative, service and military centre. It had its beginnings as an outlier of Wanganui, being a military staging point for troops moving into South Taranaki.

FIGURE.1.



SOUTH TARANAKI 1868-1870

- Military Settlers' Land
- Confiscation Boundary
- Area Boundary
- European Settlement
- X Blockhouse
- x Redoubt
- o° Swamp
- Bushland
- ▣ Scrubland
- Track

Its military role declined once peace was established in 1870, although it was to be revived later when Te Whiti became active. The occupations listed in 1872 Directory¹³ were those of a small frontier town serving a pioneering society. There were for example eight builders, six carriers and two blacksmiths, while trading activity was limited to the three land agents, three hotels and one storekeeper. Absent were the variety of trade and professional services that were to come later with occupations such as bootmakers, coach builders, cabinet makers, teachers, doctors and lawyers to mention but a few. The directory therefore shows that Patea in 1872 was a very small town, but it must have been even smaller in 1870 allowing for the more rapid expansion once peace was established.

Hawera is the other main centre, smaller than Patea and up to 1870 really its outlier on the northern edge of European expansion. A military settlement its main feature was the blockhouse around which were clustered about thirty ten acre blocks many being farmed by the soldiers.¹⁴ Absent were the trade and professional services that appeared in the later 1870's to make Hawera the area's leading town. Even as late as 1874 its population was only 252¹⁵, and services were limited to two hotels, several stores, a bank agency and a post and telegraph office.¹⁶

Settlement elsewhere comprised scattered groups of farmers as at Tokoara, Normanby, Manutahi and Kakaramea. It is difficult to estimate the numbers of farmers in these districts, both because of lack of data and through upsets caused by the wars. George Maxwell in his diary¹⁷ mentions five other farmers at Manutahi in 1868. The earliest directory references are for 1874¹⁸ when twenty farmers and one storekeeper at Manutahi and fifteen farmers at Kakaramea are listed. As with the townships these figures indicate a larger population than would have existed at the time of this cross section. Furthermore occupation of the land was not continuous during this period. George Maxwell was killed in fighting¹⁹, other farmers such as James Livingston

were evicted²⁰ and at one stage as mentioned most of the farmland was abandoned.

The dominant features of the settlement pattern were those created by the military. The transport routes had all originated as military routes and the most visible signs of European occupation were the blockhouses and redoubts and as is shown by figure one, most civilian settlement was clustered around or near them. As well, the largest concentrations of settlement were provided by the military camps. Up to 250 regulars²¹ for example were stationed at the army headquarters, numbers augmented by civilian volunteers during the fighting. As the headquarters moved with the fighting, a large proportion of the population was transitory.

THE 1870's - SOME CONTINUING THEMES

The cross section illustrates a settlement pattern very much in its infancy. It was a pioneer society attempting to establish a foothold as a prelude to future expansion. However of the characteristics of its settlement pattern a few were to considerably influence subsequent development at least to 1880, while others were to be modified or to disappear.

SETTLEMENT CHARACTERISTICS

As in 1868 - 70 settlement was confined to the relatively open lands of the coastal fringe. Furthermore no new centres were established, settlement being confined to centres established prior to 1870.

In addition to deterring settlers the wars destroyed the 1866 attempt at planning in another respect, as the centres of Normanby, Ohawe and Mokoia had no chance to become established. Hawera had been the main centre of military activity north of Patea and unlike the other centres it was not abandoned at the height of the emergency. The continued security it gave

encouraged farmers and traders to settle there. Although they were few in number they were sufficient to give Hawera a lead, first for the settlement of the coastal fringe and from 1879 onwards for the settlement of the Waimate Plains.

Hawera by 1872 was "a township presenting every appearance of permanence and promise of expansion"²² although officially it remained a military settlement until 1875. By 1875 there were 475 Europeans settled in the Hawera district, 252 of whom lived in Hawera itself.²³ Its growth is further reflected in the increased number of farmers present. In 1874 there were thirty, in 1875 fifty and in 1878 sixty one.²⁴

Hawera's services like those at Patea the other main centre remained those associated with a rural service centre. Settlers developing their farms required services such as carpenters, contractors, storekeepers, carriers and bakers. These were the services most prominent in these centres. Hawera for example having fourteen carpenters, five carriers and three storekeepers in 1878.²⁵ Occupations such as jewellers, drapers, cabinet makers and dentists do not appear until the 1880's when settlement was established on a sufficiently large scale to require and support them.

In contrast to Hawera the other planned centres did not develop to the same extent. Normanby developed into a small township but not as planned in 1876. There had always been a few farmers around the military outposts at Waihi and Ketemarae, but Normanby's development as a town begins in 1874 when Captain Blake an enterprising landowner "laid off" his selection as a town site.²⁶ Mokoia and Ohawe's development came in the 1880's but they never became more than rural townships.

During the 1870's it was Hawera and Patea that expanded the most rapidly. Growth away from these centres was sporadic and confined to a few centres rather than being characteristic of the area as a whole. The number of farmers in Manutahi for example grew from nineteen in 1874 to thirty nine in 1875, to decline to thirty five by 1878. In contrast the number of farmers at

Kakaramea remained static at fifteen between 1874 and 1878.²⁷

THE POSITION OF THE MAORI

The settlement pattern was to be essentially a European creation, the Maori being able to participate constructively only insofar as he went along with European interests. Hone Pihama's conciliatory moves of 1870 and Major Kapa's success in leading European troops against Titokowaru were examples of this. The European always prevailed when the Maori attempted to hinder his expansion. Titokowaru had been defeated once in the 1860's and Te Whiti was to be crushed in the 1870's.²⁸

Maori opposition in the 1870's continued but in a different form. Te Whiti a chief of great prestige attempted to retain some influence for the Maori. In order to achieve this the Maori had to retain control of their tribal lands and as these included the rich Waimate Plains which were part of the confiscated territory, European opposition was certain.

Te Whiti did not advocate military opposition, he "stood for a peace of a different kind, a fighting peace, a peace of no surrender to the invader, no acceptance of his ways."²⁹ His policy of passive resistance locked up the Waimate Plains until 1879. It took the European some time to get used to Te Whiti's tactics as they were used to more direct confrontation. Roberts³⁰ records how in outlying districts of European settlement such as Whakamara horses were kept saddled for use in case of emergency, and how the settlers formed their own troop of mounted rifles.

Instead of costly wars the government decided to adopt the "flour and sugar"³¹ policy of Sir Donald McLean. In theory it was a policy to obtain their land by negotiation and direct sale, but in practice it was something different. Various methods were tried to obtain the land. Cheap liquor was made available, often specially adulterated for Maori consumption and named by them Waipiro - literally stinking water. As described by Scott³²

and Sorrenson³³ the hope was that they could be induced to sign away their lands while drunk or would become indebted to the traders, to allow their lands to be seized in repayment. This failed in South Taranaki as Te Whiti's supporters on his instructions were non-drinkers. Bribery was widespread, but this too failed in its purpose as Te Whiti's supporters would accept the money and continue to refuse to allow surveyors onto the land.

After the failure of seven successive ministries to obtain their land, different methods were tried. In 1878 the Native Minister promised that large reserves would be set aside on the Plains and that their burial grounds, cultivations, and fishing grounds would be respected if the surveys were allowed to proceed. They were allowed and when by February 1879 with the surveys almost completed, no reserves were evident and cultivations had been destroyed Te Whiti's supporters retaliated by ploughing European occupied land throughout Taranaki. The ploughmen were arrested but they were just as quickly replaced and the jails were soon filled.

The Native Minister, Sheehan, admitted that there was some justice in the Maori cause and established a Royal Commission to decide ownership of the Plains. This was boycotted by Te Whiti when he realised that nothing constructive would be done to right the wrongs its findings admitted. The Commission provided for the Europeans to take six sevenths of the Waimate Plains leaving Titokowaru's people a 25,000 acre reserve out of their 146,000 acres.³⁴

The Commission's findings³⁵, supported by Parliament, gave the Europeans the legal justification they had sought and the surveys commenced in 1879 with the first land sale being held at Hawera in October 1880.³⁶ Te Whiti was still active, largely outside the area of this study at Parihaka. In 1881 after the march on Parihaka by European troops, he was imprisoned until 1883 virtually without trial. His supporters continued to resist European expansion but in the face of being outnumbered by European troops and emergency legislation permitting imprisonment without trial theirs was a lost cause.

GOVERNMENT INFLUENCE

This continued to be significant. During the 1870's the government was most active in the struggle against Te Whiti. Their main desire was for the money the land sales would bring, the Minister of Lands writing about the Plains in a memorandum for cabinet dated May 22nd, 1878 stated that "My belief is that it (their sale) will place in the Treasury close on half a million sterling"³⁷ The government was short of money partly owing to a decline in wool prices, and a continuing fall in gold production.

Some of the land set aside for military settlement in the 1860's was taken up in the 1870's, mainly around Hawera and Manutahi. However, only a few were settled compared to the 1880's when government assistance was to play a major part in settling the Waimate Plains.

INCREASED REGIONAL IDENTITY

South Taranaki's connection with the Wanganui area were weakened but by no means severed during the 1870's.

The link was strongest in the transport field. In 1871 Cobb and Coy started a coach service between Hawera and Wanganui, while the service between Hawera and New Plymouth was not established until 1874. Even then it was easier to travel south to Wanganui than to New Plymouth. In addition many of the goods shipped in through Patea came from Wanganui.

In other fields ties were loosened. The establishment of stores and other trading facilities at Hawera and Patea meant that settlers could transact much of their business locally. However for many Wanganui rather than New Plymouth remained the main centre outside South Taranaki. It was in the administrative field that the greatest degree of independence was shown. In 1876 the Patea county was established, including all of South Taranaki. Previously South Taranaki had no local bodies, administration being centred in Wanganui.

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THE OCCUPATION OF THE BUSH LANDS

In South Taranaki the main feature of the early 1880's was the rapid transformation of the landscape effected by the entry of large numbers of European settlers. Previously as discussed in the previous chapter a foothold had been secured. Now the bushlands were to be settled creating by 1885 a settlement pattern differing from that of 1870 both in form and extent. This pattern was to be the framework of the present one, although many developments were to come after 1885.

THE DEMAND FOR LAND

The growth in population was responsible for a New Zealand wide demand for land which represented "the great divide in the process of alienation after which there was very little Crown land left that was suitable for immediate close settlement."¹ Increased net immigration (taking into account losses through emigration) was the main cause of this increase. The early 1860's had seen a decline in the number of arrivals, the fewest (860) arriving in 1868. From 1869 onwards the number increased to a peak at 38,106 in 1874, while from 1875 to 1880 arrivals averaged 10,500 per year.²

Most immigrants intending to go farming went first to the established farming areas of Canterbury, Otago, Wellington and Auckland. Not all were farmers but of the 101,214 immigrants arriving in New Zealand to 1882, 57,695 went to Canterbury and Otago, 15,432 to Wellington and 12,587 to Auckland compared with 2,223 to Taranaki mainly to North Taranaki.³

In the 1870's as discussed in the previous chapter it was the areas of natural grassland that were farmed, mainly for sheep. However the amount of this land available in the 1870's was limited and soon taken up. Also a slackening of the market for wool encouraged interest in other types of farming, especially mixed farming. This interest in mixed farming was further

encouraged through most of the settlers arriving in South Taranaki having had mixed farming experience in England, according to Howitt,⁴ an early settler. As a result attention was turned to the forested areas such as the Waimate Plains of South Taranaki. It is on these that most of the expansion of settlement occurred in South Taranaki during the early 1880's.

GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE

Most of the settlers interested in farming the bush lands were men of small means few being able to pay cash for land. However it was Government policy at this time to encourage settlement on holdings of sufficient size to provide a livelihood but not so large as to permit the emergence of a landlord sector. In brief the state made land available on easy terms subject to conditions of residence and of improvement, and limited the area one man could own.⁵

These aims were given expression in the land acts, those affecting the settlement of the Waimate Plains being that of 1877 and its amendments of 1882. The 1877 Act was mainly an administrative measure made necessary by the abolition of the provincial system of government in that year. It merely administered the province's land legislation on a national basis.

Any person could hold up to 20 acres of suburban land or 320 acres of rural land which he could purchase for cash or on deferred payment. If taken up on deferred payment a deposit of one tenth of the purchase price for suburban land and one twentieth for rural land was required, with the remainder in twenty-six monthly instalments. The successful purchaser had to reside on his section from the date of purchase and effect improvements such as fencing and draining to the value of one pound per acre within this time. In addition he had to cultivate (that is plough and sow in grass or crop) one fifth of the area within four years.

In 1882 the system was modified to permit the licensee to capitalise

his unpaid instalments of purchase money, on which he had to pay five percent interest until the license expired when the capitalised value had to be paid in full. The chief modification made in 1882 was the introduction of the perpetual lease tenure. Tenancy was to be for thirty years with right of renewal for a further twenty. The upset rent was set at five percent of the land value this being assessed on the basis of prices at other land sales. Prospective buyers were then invited to tender for the sections the land going to the highest offer and when two equal bids were viewed the issue was decided by lot.

Previous to 1882 land sales were by auction. This system was abandoned in 1882 as it was felt that it raised land prices unduely high. The newspapers had been vocal in their criticism of the auction system maintaining that land prices were too high for the good of the district. One editorial stated that "Those who brought land at the comparatively reasonable prices at the first land sale on the Plains have experienced how difficult it is to make any profit during the first two or three years" with the result that "there is very little cash among the new settlers." If this was so how were those paying the higher prices of 1881 and 1882 to fare they asked?⁶

The residential qualifications were eased in 1882 to help the bush settlers. Six years residence was still required but it could now be postponed for two years after purchase. This provision gave settlers greater freedom to earn money to develop their properties, through working on the roads or as bushmen.⁷

The limit on the amount of land one applicant could own was raised to 640 acres anywhere in New Zealand. In addition an applicant could not own several scattered blocks as he could only own two sections if these adjoined and totalled less than 640 acres.

By these measures the government made it easier for the men of small means to obtain land. The application of some of the Acts' measures was

flexible, being adjusted to meet the settlers' problems. As Mackay the Reserves Commissioner stated in 1882 the government intended to apply "all the most favourable clauses in the land Acts"⁸ in order to encourage settlement in the bush lands. In addition to this type of assistance the settler also required access to his land.

Access was to be the key to the successful settlement of the bush lands not only in South Taranaki but throughout the North Island. Something of the chaos which would result from the lack of organised subdivision and the provision of road lines can be glimpsed from events in the Manaia district before many of these had been clearly established. The newspapers⁹ of 1881 record the complaints of several settlers who having purchased stock found that they were unable to occupy their land because other settlers had fenced the roads into their own properties owing to the boundaries being uncertain. This was a minor incident but it serves to illustrate the importance of access on a local scale. Access to South Taranaki as a whole was also to be of great importance. During the early 1880's this was difficult as will be discussed in the cross section for 1884 - 1886. It was not until the completion of the rail link with Wanganui in 1885 that access to the rest of New Zealand was satisfactory.

Before the land was sold road lines were surveyed and cleared to a width of one or two chains. In addition the Land Acts (1877) provided for one third of the land price to go to the local authority responsible for roading to go towards their development and maintenance. The significance for settlement of these roads lay in their enabling the settler to get onto his land. That the roads were often of a poor standard and impassable because of mud (as will be discussed in the cross section) was irrelevant for the time being. As Thomas Walsh a farm employee at Mokoia in the early 1880's stated, once on the land the farmer did not leave his job unless it was absolutely necessary. A trip into town was a big occasion often occurring^{only} two or three times a year during the period when the settlers were busy clearing their land.¹⁰

THE PROGRESS OF SETTLEMENT

These provisions enabled the great demand for land to find its expression in rapid settlement. The Hawera riding of the Patea county for example which included the Plains increased its population from 985 to 1878 to 2700 in 1881.¹¹ The "Star" reported that attendances at the land sales were large with many prospective buyers from outside South Taranaki being present.¹² In addition there was keen local interest in the progress of the surveys. This was reflected in the newspapers, and editorials often commented on progress emphasising in 1881 that the clearing of road lines and the sale of the land would "be proceeded with as quickly as the surveyors are clear of them."¹³

Settlement progressed rapidly and as the "Star" recalled in 1881 on its first anniversary of publication, "Since April 1880 there have been vast changes; the countryside has been opened up, roads have been made..... the long talked of settlement of the Plains has taken place."¹⁴ At first the relatively open bush free lands of the coastal strip were fully occupied. In newspaper advertisements of 1881 it was for "clearing fern and grubbing flax and tutu"¹⁵ that men were wanted. These lands were soon occupied and settlement began in the bushlands, as reflected in newspaper advertisements which after July and August of 1881 call for tenders for clearing heavy bush, not scrubland as previously.

The attack on the bushlands moved in towards Mt Egmont from the periphery, that is from the coastal belt in the west, Hawera in the south and from the mountain road (main road from Hawera to Stratford) and railway in the East.

Townships began to develop. In June 1881 ^{Okaiawa} ~~Okawa~~ was reported to be going ahead there being "about a dozen small cottages there."¹⁶ Later the same year the "Star" reported that "a new township or village settlement has been

laid off near Oeo, we believe called Pihama,"¹⁷ which together with the bush township of Kapuni was to be offered in the next land sale.¹⁷ In any area just opened up settlement began from or in the vicinity of these townships a pattern of movement that was to be followed by later introductions such as the dairy industry. Once cleared of bush fencing began and buildings were erected as around Otakeho where in November 1882 it was reported that "many of the settlers.... are fencing and otherwise improving their properties so that it gains more the appearance of a rising township every week."¹⁸

Most of the demand for land had been satisfied by 1884, the 'Star' reporting that at that time little interest was been taken in the land sales.¹⁹ All that remained was the hillier land to the east of the main road from Patea to Stratford and the areas of poorer land such as the swamp lands east of Eltham and that closest to the Mount Egmont forest reserve. Interest in these areas was as yet slight and one correspondent reporting progress here reported that "things couldn't get much worse."²⁰

The government's measures therefore had done much to stimulate and encourage settlement. "The settlement of the Waimate Plains "says the 1883 report of the Commissioner of Crown Lands²¹ "is a good illustration of the advantage of first preparing the country by opening the roads through it, and offering it for sale cut into sections on the conditions of deferred payment residence and cultivation, alternating with sections obtainable for immediate cash". The deferred payment system had considerably encouraged settlement, as up to 1883, 360 farmers had been settled on 24,328 acres in South Taranaki. In October 1881 the first block of land had been sold and by March 1883 a total of 71,808 acres had been sold and occupied. Of this area, 17,500 acres had been fenced and at least another 5,000 acres awaited burning.²¹

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SOUTH TARANAKI 1884 - 1886

Many of the characteristics of this cross section were evident from as early as 1882, and some continued to be true at least to 1890. The cross section has been limited to the years 1884 - 1886 in order to emphasise the impact of dairying after 1885. This period enables the settlement pattern to be illustrated at a time before dairying organised on a factory system had been able to make its impression.

This can best be achieved by looking first at where the people were, to illustrate the extent of settlement, supporting this by a study of the farming scene to illustrate the main characteristics of their occupation.

WHERE THE PEOPLE WERE

The framework for the settlement pattern had been provided by the surveys preceding sale. Not only was the land subdivided into sections but also village sites were set aside and a comprehensive roading pattern was laid out. This framework was closely related to the grain of the land. The radial drainage pattern centred on Mt Egmont (see figure 5) meant that any road crossing it would involve many bridges, thus involving considerably more time and money to build than would a road paralleling this pattern. As a result the roading pattern is a rectilinear one as figures two and five show, the roads paralleling the rivers being much closer than those at right angles.

To the south and east of the Plains a different pattern was established because of how the relief and quality of the land affected the size of holdings and the roading network. The network is dominated by the main road south from Hawera which followed the present route, and its irregular network of side roads.

The framework this network provided was supplemented by the inclusion

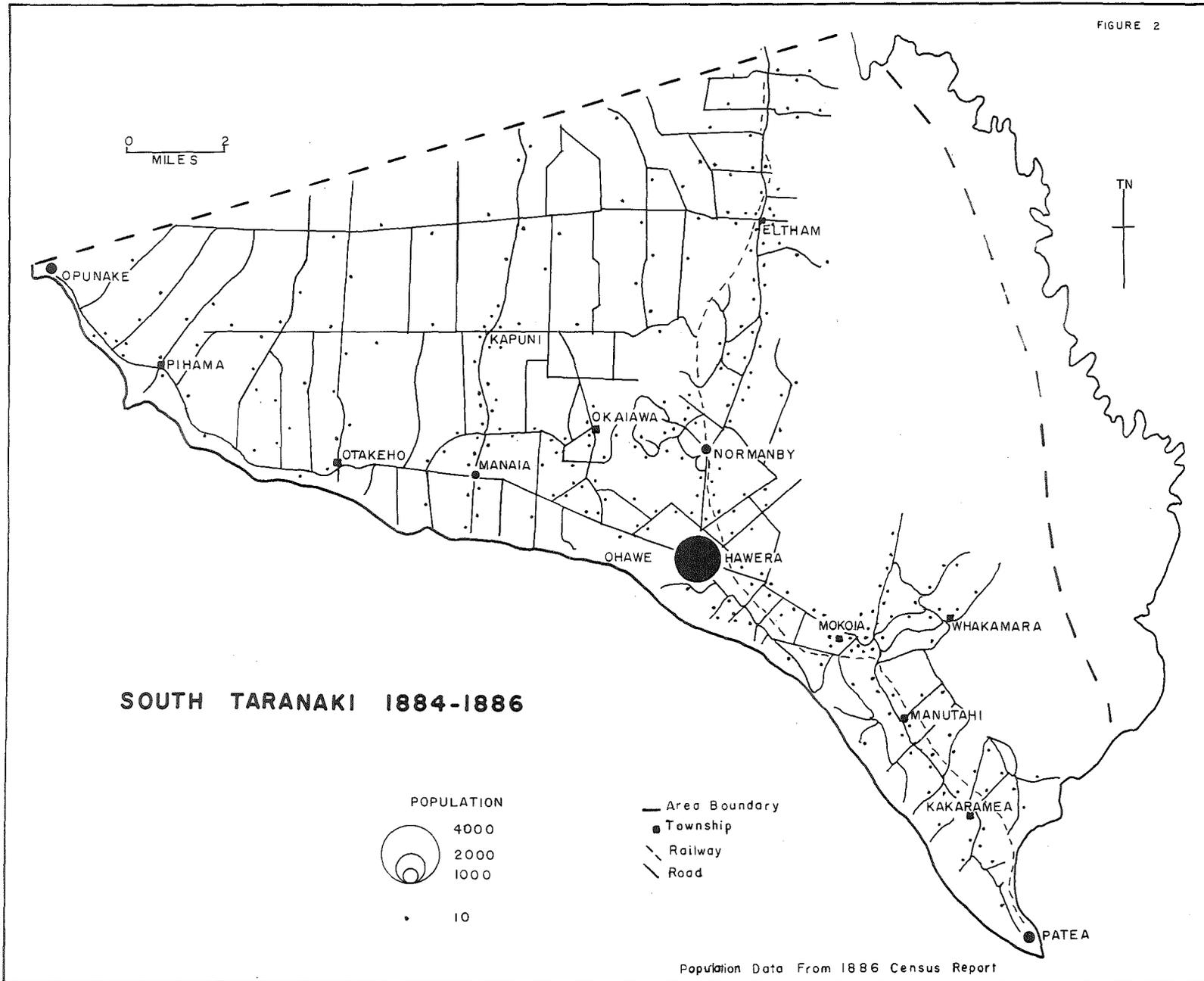
of village sites in the original survey. All these became townsites, and all the present townships except those to the south of Hawera with a military origin as mentioned in Chapter II have grown on sites set aside in the surveys of 1879 and 1880.

The region's population had increased to 9,853 by 1886¹ but as the map of population distribution (figure 2) shows, the occupation of the framework was uneven and incomplete. The highest densities were in the area south of a line running from Manaia through Okiawa to Eltham. Settlement had spread through most of the bush lands to the north of this line but it was sparse by comparison, decreasing in density towards Mt Egmont.

Although the pattern was incomplete, there are several characteristics of the distribution such as the importance of the urban sector that remain to the 1960's. The occupation of the bush lands considerably stimulated the small centres present in 1880. Initially these had provided the settler with food and basic farming materials but from 1884 onwards more specialised services appeared especially in Hawera and Patea to meet the farming communities wider demands. From 1885 to 1886 services such as bootmakers, brewers, chemists and drapers appeared. In the professional field occupations such as architects, solicitors and music teachers appeared in Hawera and Patea. The basic services such as building and carrying also expanded considerably, Hawera for example having fourteen carpenters in 1885 compared to eight in 1875.²

Not only did the towns grow in this respect but also a hierarchy more like that of the 1960's had emerged. Hawera with a population of 1026 in 1886 had replaced Patea (375) as the major centre.³ This was due firstly to Hawera's position in relation to the Waimate Plains where most of the expansion of settlement had occurred. Secondly the arrival of the railway at Hawera from New Plymouth lessened the areas dependence on Patea as a port as much freight was now railed to New Plymouth. Patea's position was further weakened in relation to the rest of South Taranaki by the delay in completing its rail

FIGURE 2



link to Hawera. Owing to construction difficulties this was not completed until 1885, with the result that by the time it was possible to rail freight to Patea many people were already in the habit of sending it to New Plymouth which had more extensive port facilities.

To the south of Hawera there was little expansion, Manutahi and Kakaramea for example had the same number of farmers in 1886 as in 1878.⁴ On the Waimate Plains by comparison many small townships had emerged and expanded rapidly since 1880. These had a similar structure to Hawera in 1870, although on a smaller scale and without the military features. They existed to supply the basic needs of the farmers. Okiawa for example had two carpenters, six labourers, a contractor and a hotel, to serve 67 farmers in 1885.⁵ Some townships were a little more sophisticated, Otakeho for example in addition had a baker and three butchers.⁶

In addition there had been a large floating population throughout the district, associated with bush clearing and with the public works camps. This element had largely disappeared by 1886 but it had been important at least to 1885. The directories for example list fifteen bushmen at Otakeho and two at Okiawa in 1887.⁷ Compared with these figures a newspaper report of October 1883⁸ mentions that some four to five hundred were employed bushfelling in the vicinity of these centres. Some of these no doubt had been farmers seeking extra money and who had since returned to their own land, but many were transitory, unable or unwilling to obtain land of their own. Those of the public work camps were mainly engaged in railway construction. These camps included up to three hundred men, and Roberts⁹ records that one such camp was located near Whakamara for nearly three years.

As well as many features of the present pattern being present many were absent. Eltham for example one of the main centres of the 1960's was still only a bushcamp coming into its own as a sawmilling centre.¹⁰ The most noticeable absentee however was the crossroads dairy factory with its tall chimney and cluster of houses, the most characteristic feature of the later

rural settlement pattern.

The incompleteness of the settlement pattern is one reason why it can still be described as immature. This immaturity together with the elements of insecurity still present becomes more obvious when a close look is taken at the farming scene.

THE FARMING SCENE

THE ESTABLISHED FARMS

These were generally the older farms being those first occupied in the late 1860's or in the 1870's. They were largely the farms of the relatively open lands of the coastal belt (see figure 2) = Land statistics show that nineteen percent of all holdings were over 320 acres in 1886,¹¹ but they varied considerably in size. At one extreme there were properties such as the Lysaght farm of 5000 acres at Mokoia first taken up in 1880. "Mr Lysaght farmed his land on a very extensive scale and employed a large number of men to carry out the various seasonal operations." "Much of the land was used for grazing",¹² the stock being slaughtered on the property. He employed his own butchers and railed the carcasses to Wellington providing a railway siding for this purpose. The original homestead erected on this property would have rivaled many of the big homesteads in the older pastoral districts of the Wairarapa and Canterbury.

In the Hawera and Patea counties there were thirty three holdings over one thousand acres out of a total of 1002 holdings.¹³ Not all were on the scale of the Lysaght farm but all were graziers and all possessed characteristics that were to distinguish them from the bush farms.

The poor state of the roads to be discussed in the section on the bush farms was one indication of their difficulties, but a much more significant indication was to be found in their economy. Here the varied fortunes of the grazing industry, the fluctuating crop yields and the experimenting with new

crops and techniques illustrate an area which although prosperous was uncertain of its future.

Up to about 1883 cattle grazing had been widespread in the area between Hawera and Patea. The market for cattle was soon glutted especially when centres such as Wellington and Auckland began to draw on more local supplies. As a result prices fell sharply those of 1882 and 1883 being described as an all time low.¹⁴ The graziers therefore turned more to sheep farming and sheep numbers increased rapidly in the Hawera county, from 14,997 in 1880 to 54,837 in 1884.¹⁵ A decline in cattle numbers accompanied this swing to the extent that a Member of Parliament passing through the area in 1888 for the first time for several years found their absence "striking".¹⁶ The cattle market improved after 1884 but cattle never regained their former importance in this area, except on Mr Lysaght's property at Mokoia.

Arable farming was important but acreages and yields fluctuated considerably and extensive cropping encountered many difficulties. Oats and wheat were both important but "Oats tended to be the staple more than wheat owing to difficulties in dealing with the overgrowth of rank straw."¹⁷ Also oats was important as fodder for the many horses. In 1886 for example 62,531 bushels of wheat were grown in the area between Ohawe and Patea, compared with 9,748 bushels of wheat.¹⁸

Crop acreages and yields fluctuated considerably, wheat production in the area between Manutahi and Patea for example declining from 17,000 bushels in 1883 - 1884, to 10,000 in the 1884 - 1885 season.¹⁹ Such fluctuations were typical of this period and several factors were responsible. The figures include production from some farms just settled, where a crop was often grown during the first one or two years in an attempt to get a quick return from the land before sowing it in grass.²⁰ Also small birds, thistles, gorse and or fern were already presenting a problem especially for arable farming.²¹

Many other crops such as potatoes, rye and maize were grown in varying

amounts, but the experimenting with various crops is best illustrated by the attempt to grow hops for the local breweries. After a three-quarter acre plot at Kakaramea earned its owner seventy pounds in 1883,²² four acres were hastily planted at Normanby for the next season,²³ but there proved less successful owing to that season's low prices.²⁴ Other farmers had shown an interest but low prices and the crops low tolerance of frosts deterred them.

As well there was much experimenting in the technical field. The farmers wanted labour saving devices to combat the shortage of farm labour, as well as to reduce production costs and so increase their "small margins of profit."²⁵ Reapers were the machines most widely used, but some properties gained a reputation for their willingness to try any new mechanical device. One of these was Caverhill's farm at Normanby where many machines of "latest invention" were at work.²⁶ Some of these were successful while many such as "Hornsby's Patent hedge cutter" for cutting gorse hedges were not.²⁷

The introduction of barbed wire represented the most successful attempt at reducing farming expenses. Many early fences were of the ditch and bank type, often topped off by a gorse hedge.²⁸ Rail fences were never widely used apart from in building stockyards as like ditch and bank fences they were expensive in terms of time and labour to build. In addition with ditch and bank fences it took longer to establish an effective fence as the hedge took a year or two to get established. Most were of wire but in many areas fencing did not become widespread until the introduction of barbed wire. Its first recorded use was in 1881, and contemporary writers record that it enabled two wires and light posts to be used in place of the previous four wires and heavy posts.²⁷ In addition as less wire was necessary savings were made in other fields as for example there was less material to transport over the mud roads.

THE BUSH FARMS

The bush farms were those occupying the area shown on the map (figure 1)

as originally being forest and settled from 1880 onwards by small farmers. It was here that the settlement pattern was most obviously immature and insecure, although the criteria of insecurity differ somewhat from those of 1868 - 70.

The pattern was immature because it was very new. As a result it presented a patchy appearance with "islands of log littered grasslands"³⁰ scattered throughout the bush. Here "the charred trunks of the prostrate trees the gaunt skeletons of the larger trees which are sometimes left standing produce a spectacle of desolation - which is the most striking appearance."³¹ Large areas of cut over bush waited suitable conditions for burning, the 'Star' reporting in the late summer of 1884 that there were some five to six thousand acres of felled unburnt bush on the Plains.³² The first homes of the bush settlers which were "built of the material at hand - saplings and fern trees and mikau palm thatch"³³ added to this impression of immaturity (see plate 6).

This immaturity was further illustrated by the condition of the roads. These provided access which had been a major factor enabling settlement as discussed previously but their poor standard made travel difficult and sometimes impossible. Complaints about their condition were to be a major theme in the newspapers until 1886.

As the 1883 Crown Lands Report³⁴ indicates most roads were unmetalled being merely cleared tracks through the bush. In 1883 for example a hundred miles of road line had been felled but of this only sixteen miles had been metalled. In the bush unmetalled roads soon became mud roads, referred to by Roberts³⁵ as "semi-canals of mud". Complaints appeared early in the newspapers. "Visitors passing through Hawera are all agreed that they never of late years saw worse roads in a township of like size" the 'Star' stated in August 1881³⁶. A letter referring to the "wretched state of the road between Opunake and Otakeho in 1882 states that "the mud in many places is over the axles" with the result that the coach driver has to make a preliminary trip on horseback to see whether



PLATE FIVE. East of Eltham. The fringes of the hill country.



PLATE SIX. A raupo whare in the 1880's. Often the dog kennels of the early settlers, perhaps brought out with them on the ship, were better constructed than their own homes. (Courtesy Alexander Turnbull Library)

the road is negotiable.³⁷ In September 1882 the daily return coach from Opunake to Hawera had to be cancelled until the condition of the roads improved.³⁸ Similar complaints continued throughout the period. As late as July of 1885 the main road north was reported as being "well nigh impossible" between Eltham and Stratford. If the main roads continued to be in such a state the bush roads would not have been any better.

Bridging also was a problem. Many of the streams were difficult to ford with a cart or dray as their shallow but steep sided valleys required cuttings which soon became mud holes. The first bridges in many bush areas were built of logs and were difficult enough to cross on horse back let alone with a dray or bullock cart.⁴⁰ The wooden bridges that replaced them continually gave trouble, the 'Star' reporting in 1884 that nearly all the bridges on the main coastal road needed an immediate overhaul.⁴¹ In 1886 the Tongahoe bridge on the main road south from Hawera was reported as being unsafe.⁴² It was not until concrete bridges were built, from the late 1890's onwards, that bridging was to be satisfactory.

The state of the roads not only emphasised the pattern's immaturity but also contributed to its insecurity. The difficulties of bulk transport meant that the settler had to rely on local resources and markets wherever possible.⁴³ This aggravated an already insecure position as for the bush farmer the early 1880's were the "hungry eighties"⁴⁴. Their farms could not produce enough produce to support them and their families. One of the main prerequisites for the development of a prosperous farming community in this area was to be an efficient transport system enabling ready access to markets. In this period this was not to be and other sources of income were turned to.

At first extra cash had been obtained through working on the public works or for felling bush for other settlers.⁴⁵ These sources were declining in importance by 1885 as most of the land was cleared and the major public works completed. In other areas notably around Eltham work was available in the

sawmills, although these never had the importance in this area that they had had in North Taranaki.

The collecting of seed off the cocksfoot grass growing in the bush clearings provided valuable extra money. The 'Star' reports that in 1883 five thousand seventy five pound sacks of seed from South Taranaki were sold in Auckland fetching a total of £37,000 for its collectors.⁴⁶ Howitt⁴⁷ recalls that "many a prosperous farmer in Southern Taranaki got his start in life from a succession of good seasons amongst the cocksfoot which grew in the bush clearings." The popularity of cocksfoot gathering is further indicated by The Waimate Road Boards decision to charge a licence fee for the right to collect grass seed on bush roads, a decision which an irate settler complained about in the 'Star'⁴⁸ in 1883.

The edible fungus which grew on dead tawa, pukatea, and mahoe trees provided a further source of extra income. Chew Chong⁴⁹ a prominent figure in the early history of South Taranaki had begun shipping this to China in 1868, and later to America. It was very profitable and in 1885 earned Taranaki £72,000,⁵⁰ much more than was earned from dairy produce. Its main attraction was that it provided a source of ready cash for paying rates and deferred payment instalments. It was often the only source of ready cash as most trade was carried out on the barter system. It fetched the collector threepence a pound, compared with fourpence for good quality butter, cost nothing to grow and could be collected by the children.⁵¹ Such was its popularity that it came to be known as "Taranaki Wool"⁵² and the surveyed rail route to Opunake became known as the "fungus route"⁵³ because of the amount of fungus which could be harvested along it.

FIRST ATTEMPTS AT DAIRYING

Dairying was well suited to the nature of the bush farms. Unlike extensive cropping dairying didn't need large cleared areas, as the shorthorn cattle could graze the rough log littered pastures. At this time it was carried

out on a very small scale, each farmer running at the most eight or ten cows, but usually just one or two.⁵⁴ The milk would be skimmed and the cream churned, the surplus butter being used in barter with the local storekeeper. The storekeeper would mill or mix together the butter he had obtained in order to produce a more uniform product. The milled butter would be salted into kegs and the storekeeper would sell or barter it for supplies, or export it, usually to Australia.⁵⁵

It was recognised that a successful dairy industry would considerably benefit the district as a whole, by aiding the bush farmer and through the increased population it would attract. But if dairying was to provide the impetus for development factories were to be needed. As a 'Star' editorial stated in 1885:

"In a dairying district among small farmers who are struggling to make a living for themselves and to educate and clothe their children while they carve a farm out of the standing forest - are the very class who most need a factory to work up the milk from their cows, but are the least able to help themselves by finding capital to erect costly buildings and buy a large plant."⁵⁶

A small dairy factory had existed in Hawera since 1882,⁵⁷ working milk from about eighty cows kept by settlers in the vicinity. It was supplied by few farms running only cows, most of the cows being a minor extra on predominantly sheep farms. There was much interest in establishing a dairy factory as will be discussed in the next chapter.

SOME CONTINUING THEMES

Although the settlement pattern had developed considerably since the 1870's to give rise by 1885 to a completely different pattern, there are many continuing themes.

The pattern continued to be a European creation. The "Maori will be confined to sufficient land for their individual uses to be chosen in all cases immediately contiguous to the Pah's, so that intermixing of Maori and European holdings will be avoided as much as possible,"⁵⁹ said a land office official in a statement on leasing in 188 . In addition the area of Maori land on the Plains was further reduced in 1882 by the vesting of the reserves granted to the Maori in 1879 for his use "absolutely and for all time" were vested in the Public Trust and leased to European settlers at nominal rental. Outside the area the centre of resistance at Parihaka was broken up and the Maori leaders Tohu and Te Whiti detained without trial in the South Island for two years. The Maori could still participate only on European terms. Hone Pihama for example who had helped the Europeans as described in Chapter two had a township (Pihama) named after him.⁶⁰ Other Maori's gained favourable newspaper comment when they worked for the Pakeha in clearing bush or when like a group of Maoris from Mokoia⁶¹ in 1882 they produced food for the Pakeha market. Otherwise they were ignored.

The areas ties with Wanganui were further weakened as the area in outlook and administration increasingly came to be part of Taranaki in reality as well as in name. With the increased population a need for more local administration had become apparent. In 1881 the Hawera county was formed and in 1882 the Plains settlers formed their own road board known as the Waimate Roads Board.

The land sales had helped turn attention to New Plymouth as the areas major town as these were administered by the Taranaki Commissioner for Crown Lands whose office was there. This trend was strengthened by the building of the railway especially as Hawera had rail access to New Plymouth from 1881, four years before a link was available with Wanganui.

Many other characteristics had continued, especially in the farming scene as with the farming practices of the established farmer discussed in the cross section. Government assistance had continued as an important factor in

encouraging the settlement of the bush lands. The occupation of the bush lands was the major event of this period, and although by 1885 settlement here was still very immature and insecure, the development of the dairy industry there was to be the major theme in the completing of the settlement pattern of lowland South Taranaki.

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THE GROWTH OF DAIRYING 1886-1920

The growth of intensive dairying in the 1890's marked the final stage in the evolution of the settlement pattern. For the first time South Taranaki had an expanding industry around which to develop and progress was rapid once some initial difficulties had been overcome. The industry's growth was facilitated by the existence of a suitable framework of settlement and to a large extent it grew within this. The impact of dairying created by 1920 a settlement pattern as distinctive as those described in previous cross sections. However unlike these patterns this one was to undergo no further major change, being basically that of the 1960's.

INITIAL DIFFICULTIES

South Taranaki dairy farming in 1886 was basically subsistence in character as the previous chapter showed. The New Zealand market lacked the capacity to support a large dairy industry and most areas were to become self sufficient in this field. A few had recognised the potential in the United Kingdom market and their struggle to realise this was to dominate the next two decades. They had to overcome many difficulties and in doing so they were largely on their own as large scale dairying for such a distant market was new not only to New Zealand but to the world. Some progress had been made in other areas, notably in the Waikato and Wairarapa where factories had been established earlier, but they were not very advanced and could offer little advice and assistance. Furthermore government participation in farming development and in dairying was to come later and as Philpott¹ states the dairy farmer received less government assistance than any other sector of the farming community.

To enable South Taranaki dairy farmers to compete on the English

market improvements were needed in many fields. A more efficient system of internal and external transport was needed. Until 1885 South Taranaki had no rail link with the rest of New Zealand and until New Plymouth was developed there was no safe all weather port close at hand. Above all, however, factories were needed in order to establish dairying as an industry.

INITIATIVE TAKEN BY THE FARMERS

The first attempts to establish factories were made by the farmers themselves and co-operative plants were opened at Manaia²; Opunake³ and Otakeho⁴, together with a proprietary plant at Normanby⁵. (See figure 3.) All these opened between October 1885 and September 1886. In all cases the story is one of initial support and progress followed by financial difficulties leading to failure by 1888.

The misfortunes of the Opunake factory were typical. The company's prospectus issued on the 26th of January 1885⁶ was for a factory to be built with £2,500 capital, producing cheese, butter and bacon. This aroused considerable interest among the local farmers but the promoters had difficulty in persuading farmers short of ready cash to purchase shares⁷. Little support was forthcoming from the larger landowners - the established farmers of the previous chapter. In other areas a few had promised some capital, but all declined to become suppliers. This served to deter others, for example stock firms from other parts of New Zealand and some of the wealthier traders, as they concluded that there was not much profit in dairying or otherwise the large land holders would have been the first to offer support⁸. The factory eventually opened in October 1885⁹. Early in its second season (1886-1887) it was processing up to a thousand gallons a day¹⁰, a quantity small by the standards of the 1960's but large compared to what factories opening as late as 1895 began with. This season at first promised to be very successful. The unexpected increase in the milk supply meant that a second shift had to be worked and the factory had an order for all the

cheese it could produce¹¹, but difficulties were ahead.

When the factory closed at the end of that season it was reported that while it had been the largest season yet the market was glutted¹². Butter and cheese prices for 1887 were generally dull¹³ and they remained uncertain until 1890. As a result the company could not pay its suppliers for all their milk, a failure which hit them hard as many had invested much of their limited capital in cows and dairying utensils¹⁴. The 1887-88 season was also poor forcing all the co-operative plants to close¹⁵.

The privately owned factory at Normanby fared little better. It too was affected by the market uncertainties, but its difficulties were further aggravated by its owners' inexperience. The factory opened rather late in the season (December 14th, 1885)¹⁶, had over estimated the milk available and made too high a payout. It paid its suppliers fourpence a gallon as compared with a maximum of threepence paid elsewhere in New Zealand¹⁷. As a result this factory too had closed by 1888.

In addition to these attempts 1885 saw two factories, one at Eltham¹⁸ and one near Manaia¹⁹, fail to get past the point of being talked about. Two other companys, the Hawera, and Egmont Dairy Companys reached the point of drawing up plans and purchasing a site. They failed, although they had the support of the small farmers. The Hawera Dairy Company was promised the milk of three hundred cows²⁰ and the Egmont Dairy Company three hundred and fifty, two hundred and fifty of which were within three miles of Okiawa²¹. Again financial reasons were the main factor barring them from proceeding.

THE ROLE OF THE ENTREPRENEUR

The efforts of these farmers had not been in vain for as well as indicating the problems facing dairying they had also indicated that it could be profitable providing that capital was available to support the factories during their first few years of operation. Two entrepreneurs, Newton King

and Chew Chong were to provide this capital.

In 1888 Newton King together with R. Cook and J.C. George founded the Crown Dairy Company which commenced operations by taking over the three unsuccessful co-operatives at Manaia, Otakeho and Opunake. Now the plants had the backing needed to support them over difficult years and with a gradual improvement in prices they prospered to the extent that by 1897 the Company had built or purchased eighteen factories and two creameries²², as shown on the map (Figure 3). Newton King went on to found "Newton Kings" one of the major Taranaki stock firms which like its counterparts throughout New Zealand was to have an important role in the growth of farming.

Chew Chong, who was already well known as a trader and organiser of the fungus trade operated on a smaller but by no means less significant scale. In 1887 he opened the Jubilee factory (named for Queen Victoria's jubilee) at Eltham and during the 1890's built or purchased creameries at Te Roti, Rawhitiroa, Mangatoki and the Hunter road²³. (See Figure 3).

A creamery was a subsidiary plant established by the dairy factories in the areas where there were insufficient cows to warrant a complete factory, but enough to make their contribution worth while. They were usually less than ten miles from the parent factory as this was the maximum distance over which it was economical to transport cream for processing. At first they were merely skimming stations containing shallow vats in which milk was placed to allow the cream to rise to the surface. When separators became available, these were added. The creamery was usually replaced by a full factory, either a subsidiary of the factory owning the creamery or an independent company.

These privately owned plants benefited dairying in many ways. In the first place they were generally much better equipped manufacturing better quality produce and receiving higher prices as a result. The first government dairy inspector described the Jubilee factory as "one of the best factories I have visited. The machinery is good and in first class condition and everything about it is thoroughly clean".²⁴ The machinery included two of the latest

Danish separators and a modern box churn, the factory as a whole contrasting with the unsuccessful Normanby plant for example which was housed in an old brewery and fitted with at best makeshift equipment²⁵.

As well as assisting the farmer to purchase stock and equipment for dairying they paid better prices improving the farmers' position and encouraging others to take up dairying. The first shipment of butter from Chew Chongs' factory fetched twenty four shillings a hundredweight more than milled butter in the same shipment²⁶. Passed onto the farmer this meant more income and the possibility of better conditions. One farmer for example was receiving £2. 1. 3. per week from Chew Chong as against the £1. 5. 0. he had got from the local storekeeper²⁷. In addition the payout was regular and in cash. As one farmer put it, "the factories brought in the shekels monthly giving struggling settlers ready cash"²⁸. The payouts increased once the factories became established. Chew Chong who for example had paid his suppliers two pence a gallon in 1888 was able to pay threepence in 1889²⁹. Along with this progress went a bettering of the peoples living conditions. "In short", wrote one newspaper correspondent, "the factory system raised the district, bettered the condition of the people, and placed them in a position they would never otherwise have achieved in so short a space".³⁰

The example of these factories served to stimulate interest in dairying in other areas of South Taranaki. The bush farmer was ceasing to regard dairying as drudgery, "an up to date slave existence".³¹ By 1894 the future of dairying was evident. Several factories had already gained a name in England recorded the "Star" in 1894 and "from the way we are attracting home buyers of produce and those capitalists who are already busy building more factories it is possible to imagine that the day is not far distant when the numerous flocks and herds of sheep and store stock on the Waimate Plains must make way for the droves of milkers it is so well suited to carry."³² Another correspondent prophesied that "before five years have passed over our heads I won't be surprised to see the bulk of the Waimate Plain lands entirely devoted

to dairying".³³

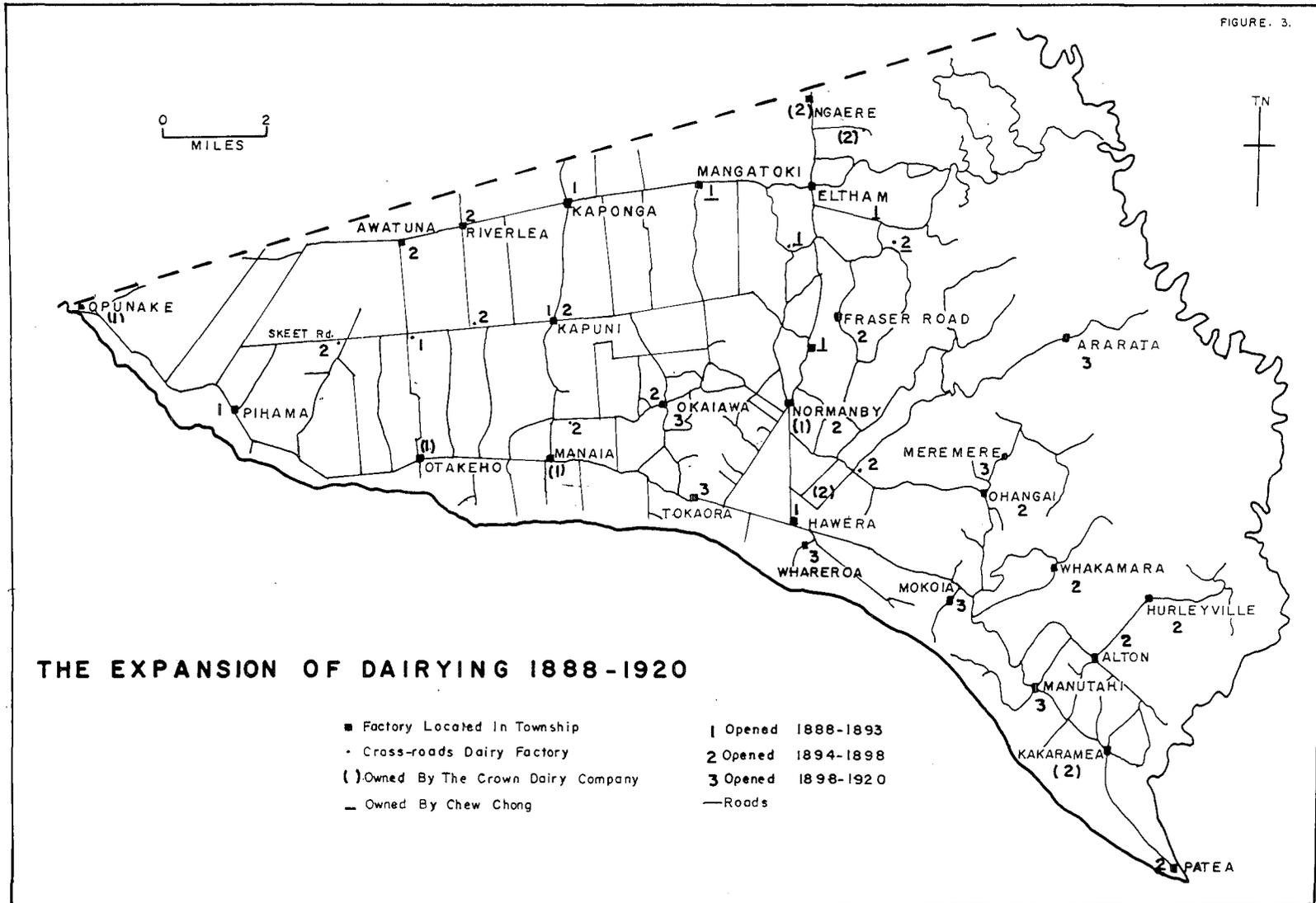
PROGRESS TO 1893

Dairying was the growth industry on the Waimate Plains. "If you can't talk dairying here you are nobody",³⁴ the Star's Otakeho correspondent wrote in 1892. This interest resulted from the success of the two privately owned groups of factories, but up to 1893 dairying had not extended beyond the centres of Hawera³⁵, Eltham, Mangatoki, Opunake, Manaia, Pihama³⁶ and Otakeho. That is as the map (Figure 3.) shows it was still confined to the fringes of the former bush lands. Once again as in the two previous periods, this was to be the growth area in the settlement patterns' development. Outside this area in 1893 things had changed little from the position discussed in the previous chapter.

Most of the small or "bush" farms were out of reach of a dairy factory. For these farmers times were hard their source of income remaining rather uncertain. The market for milled butter was more uncertain than that for the better quality, less salty factory butter and after 1887 the Sydney market previously important drew all of its butter from New South Wales suppliers.³⁷ In 1887 when butter, beef and grass seed prices were very low³⁸ a newspaper letter mentioning their difficulties stated that they "must soon look for a more profitable way of making a living" and "that they would soon be trying sheep farming".³⁹

If all else failed fungus and cocksfoot seed gathering continued to be an important if variable source of income. A successful fungus gatherer could earn from ten shillings to one pound per day⁴⁰ in a good season and earnings of two to three pounds a week were common⁴¹. Up to 1905 the fungus trade with China earned the Taranaki farmer £375,000,⁴² a not inconsiderable amount. The less developed farm was at an advantage here as they had more logs littering their pastures and a successful gatherer could often make more per week than a dairy farmer over the summer when most of the collecting was done. As previously mentioned^{what} one dairy farmer received for his milk from

FIGURE 3.



Chew Chong's factory, compared with the returns mentioned above for fungus gathering. The cocksfoot harvest was more susceptible to market conditions, but none the less important. In 1887 for example prices were very low⁴³ owing to the market being glutted but, the harvest still increased from 18,000 bushels in 1886 to 83,000 in 1888⁴⁴.

At the other extreme were the graziers of sheep and cattle, the established farmers of the previous period. Their number had not declined, they still occupied about twenty per cent of the land area⁴⁵. Many realised that dairying would in the long run give them higher incomes⁴⁶, but they did not wish to change.

Although dairying on large holdings presented some special problems, these were not insurmountable. Large herds would need a large labour force for milking, at least one milker for every twenty cows⁴⁷, and milkers were hard to obtain, especially at the wages offered⁴⁸. Therefore those interested tended to wait the development of labour saving devices. A milking machine had been developed in 1894 and found to work but it was too complicated for "the average bush mechanic"⁴⁹. This labour problem did not face the small farmer who milked his own cows, often aided by members of his family. As well as the labour problem dairying would also have required initial expenditure on cows, milking shed and utensils.

In addition dairying was not attractive to the large landowner because it was considered too much like hard work and a step down in the social scale. Howitt⁵⁰ in describing the status of the early dairy farmer says that "he was looked upon as a poor, struggling honest man, who.....was ranked a class below the sheep farmer and the grain grower". Howitt himself was a dairy farmer in this period and may have been biased but his view is supported by a newspaper editorial of 1892⁵¹ discussing the proposed dairy factory for Hawera. The 'Star' thought that it would be -

"a tough job to convince the well to do landowners more immediately surrounding Hawera and the Plains settlers, that

it will be in their interests to tackle dairying. It means a lot of work of an exacting nature to which graziers and sheep farmers are so far too little accustomed. They quite recognise that there is money in the business but then "look at the labour".

In spite of these obstacles a few of the larger land owners did switch to dairying. Some leased out sections of their farms and a herd to prospective milkers while others milked their own herds. As a result there were several herds of more than one hundred cows⁵² by 1892 when most herds were a maximum of twenty or thirty⁵³. The extension of dairying to these properties as well as to the remainder of the bush farms was to come in the next ten years.

1893 - 1920 - THE FINAL DEVELOPMENTS

The factories established before 1893 therefore had shown the way by proving that dairying was profitable and solving many of its teething troubles. After 1893 dairying grew rapidly in the area of small or bush farms, and more slowly but eventually to create just as complete a pattern in the area of larger farms. At the same time it was to stimulate settlement on the eastern fringe as yet largely unoccupied. As well as expanding over South Taranaki the nature of the industry was to be modified in response to its larger size and increased prosperity.

As the map (Figure 3.) shows dairying spread rapidly in towards Mount Egmont, following a similar pattern to the earlier spread of settlement. At first factories tended to be located in the townships as at Ohangi⁵⁴, Mangatoki and Okiawa⁵⁵. Again this was following a pattern similar to that of the earlier expansion of settlement, when the village settlements and the areas immediately surrounding them were the first to be taken up in any block. The population distribution map for 1885 (Figure 2.) shows that population density declined away from these townships especially closer in towards Mt Egmont, then the most recently

settled area. As a result the areas near the townships were generally the most developed having the greatest number of cows available. Towards the end of the 1890's factories were added at points away from the townships often at cross roads as along the Skeet road⁵⁶.

Dairying grew more slowly in the area of larger farms to the South and West of Hawera, an area devoted primarily to sheep farming. In 1885 as previously mentioned an attempt to start a factory at Hawera had failed and it was not until 1892⁵⁷ that a factory was opened to cater for more than the surplus milk from the few cows run on the sheep farms. Its opening and subsequent success persuaded many to change to dairying although its growth was slow. It was not until ten years later, in 1902 that it was found necessary to extend operations by building additional plants at Tokaora and Whareroa⁵⁸. This contrasts with events on the Waimate Plains proper where creameries shortly replaced by subsidiary factories were opened along with the parent plant.

The spread of dairying to the very large farms, those from one to five thousand acres did not come until they were broken up after their owner's death or for the rehabilitation of returned servicemen after the 1914-18 war. The Lysaght property for example was subdivided in 1903 to give nine dairy farms ranging from 52 to 518 acres⁵⁹, which to provide valuable support to the dairy factory opened there in 1903. Several other large properties were so subdivided as was the property known as Hirstlands near Normanby in 1908 and the Lakes property west of Hawera in the same year⁶⁰.

In addition dairying served to encourage the occupation of the area east of Hawera and Eltham. This land included the swamps inland of Eltham and the higher, undulating land on the fringe of the dissected hill country. The Eltham swamps were developed from 1893 onwards. The government to encourage their reclamation settled a number of unemployed from Christchurch near these swamps in 1893⁶¹. They were settled on ten acre blocks from which they were expected to support themselves and provided with a house. In addition they were expected to assist in the draining of the swamps. These ten acre blocks

however, proved to be too small and all had been given up by 1900. By 1920 though most of the swamp land had been settled. In 1896 a creamery was built there by Chew Chong which was taken over by the Eltham Dairy Company in 1902⁶². In the bush lands settlement advanced rapidly. In 1892 it had been difficult to obtain men to clear bush here as they considered it "too outlandish" but by 1894 much of the area was within two hours ride of Hawera⁶³. Ararata on the eastern boundary was the last district to be settled. Most of the land here was taken up in 1898 and in 1905 the Normanby dairy company opened a creamery, this operating until a separate company was formed in 1905⁶⁴.

The industrys' organisation and orientation also changed in response to its increased size and prosperity. Privately owned factories as previously discussed had played an important part in establishing the industry especially those built by the Crown Dairy Company and by Chew Chong. The seven factories by J.T. Joll continued for a while the role of the private company but after 1895 most new factories were co-operatives. As the farmers got established in dairying the advantages of being able to control the processing of their own milk became apparant. As well this involvement considerably encouraged the farmer to improve the quality of his milk. As a result by 1920 all factories were co-operatives. Those built by Chew Chong had all changed by 1898 and those owned by the Crown Dairy Company by 1903. The Joll factories became co-operatives arter his death in 1908⁶⁵. One of the last to change was that a Meremere one of the last districts to develop dairying, which became a co-operative in 1915⁶⁶.

A change in orientation accompanied this improved organisation. As previously mentioned the pattern developed from one of parent plants and creameries to one largely comprising complete factories. With improved roads and the availability of separators. The creameries gave way to complete factories and home separation. This system had several advantages for butter manufacture. It reduced the farmers transport costs as he had less to carry



PLATE SEVEN. The Manutahi area. The cluster of buildings is the Manutahi dairy factory, typical of the many rural dairy factories.



PLATE EIGHT. Kakaramea - a typical rural township.

to the factory. The transport factor had been an important one in the siting of early factories and creameries. On the poor roads of the early 1890's about five miles was the maximum distance it was possible to carry cream to be processed⁶⁷. As a result creameries were located fairly close to the parent factory. As transport improved in the 1890's this distance increased until by 1900 it was possible to carry cream at least fifteen miles for processing⁶⁸. Not only did this prevent the development of a very close network of factories and creameries once dairying developed but it allowed butter factories to take advantage of the cheaper and more efficient production obtained with large factories. When the Hawera Dairy Company extended its operations in 1902 it was discovered that to build and equip three small factories would cost eight to nine thousand pounds whereas one large plant with subsidiary creameries could be built and equipped for four thousand pounds. Manufacturing costs would also be reduced as for example the cost for processing eighteen hundred gallons was little more than for twelve hundred⁶⁹. In addition a large factory would enable greater uniformity in quality and would attract better qualified staff.

Cheese however, was gradually replacing butter as the staple of the South Taranaki Dairy industry, a factor which tended to create a different pattern of factory distribution than that which existed in the 1890's and survived around Hawera. In 1900 87 percent of all factories had been creameries, but more favourable cheese prices meant that by 1905 many were changing to cheese or installing dual plants, so they could switch production to take advantage of market conditions. In 1911 the midpoint was reached, half being cheese producers, while by 1920 88 percent manufactured cheese⁷⁰. In addition cheese production especially suited the industry as it had developed in South Taranaki. The close roading pattern and the improved roads gave easy access to the dairy factories an important factor in cheese production as larger quantities of milk had to arrive at the factory in good condition each day.

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THE PATTERN COMPLETED - SOUTH TARANAKI IN 1920

The development of extensive dairying in the 1890's and early 1900's had produced by 1920 a settlement pattern basically similar to that of the 1960's. This pattern was as distinctive as that illustrated by the previous cross sections and like them it contained much that was new, although it was to a much greater degree influenced by what had gone before.

The settlement patterns framework provided by the roading network was not new, being a legacy of the surveys preceding land sales in the early 1880's. This network and the small farms created as a result of government policy proved ideally suited for dairying and were in part responsible for its rapid growth once the initial teething troubles had been overcome. Only in the small coastal area between Hawera and Mokoia had this pattern failed to survive as planned. Here the poorer quality of the land necessitated larger holdings making the close road network unnecessary. Although the framework itself was not new, within it much had been changed through the impact of dairying.

Dairying had come to dominate the landscape, one of the most characteristic features of the settlement pattern being the rural dairy factory (See plate 9) with its tall chimney and cluster of houses. A few were located in the main centres of Hawera and Eltham but most were in the rural townships or at a central cross roads. (See Plate 7) In size they ranged from small single factory companies such as Tirimoana which in 1922 had seventeen suppliers and produced 100 tons of cheese per annum,¹ to the large Kaupokonui company. In 1922 this company had seven factories, 282 suppliers milking 11,500 cows and produced 2625 tons of butter and 280 tons of cheese². Altogether fourteen companies operated forty-three

factories³. As the map shows (Figure 3) the greatest number were situated on the Waimate Plains.

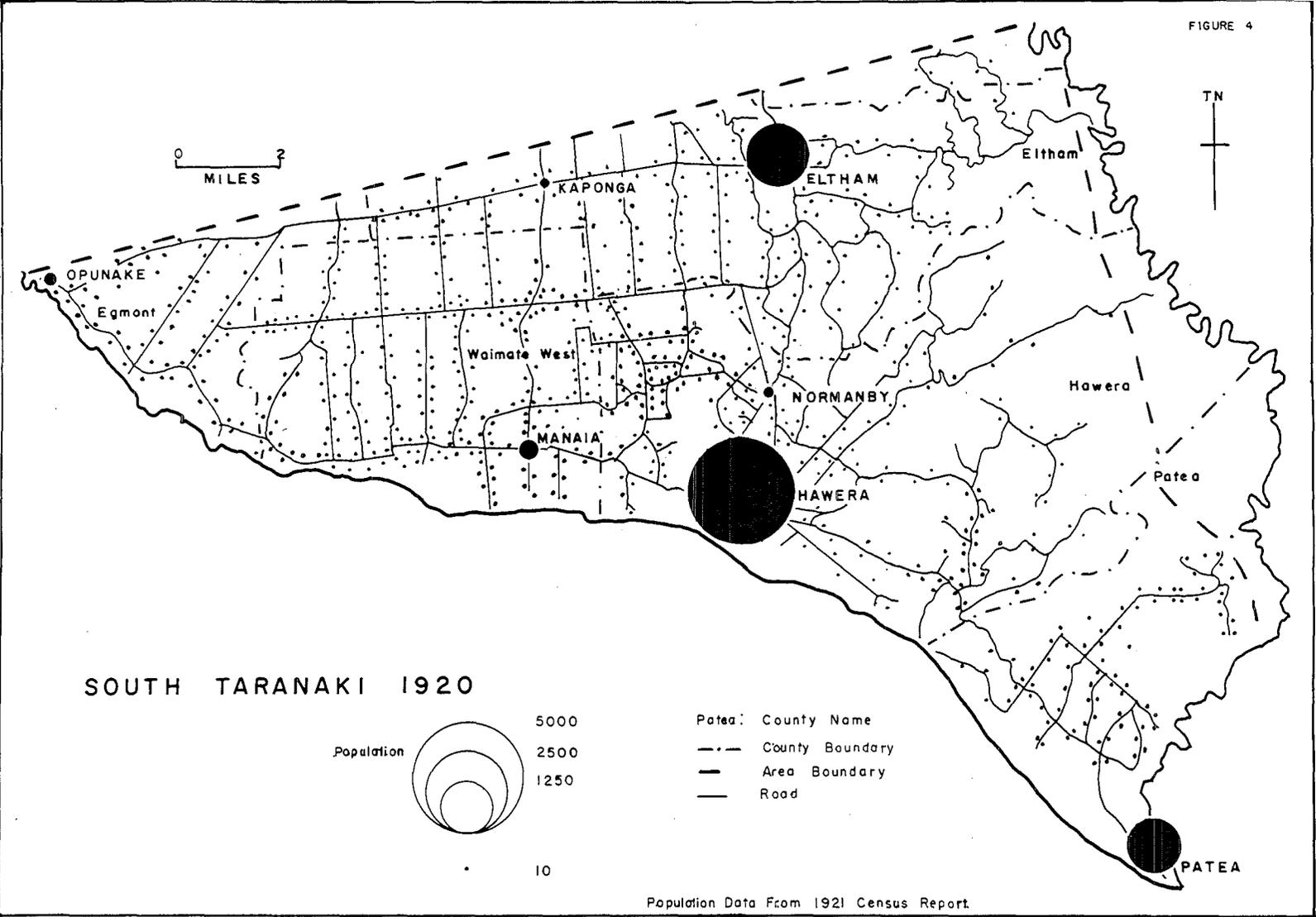
The dominance of dairying is reflected in the Stock Statistics for 1920 which show that the Waimate West County had 26,020 dairy cows compared with only 4312 sheep⁴. Many dairy farms ran a few sheep but this county contained few purely sheep farms. Other counties contained more land unsuited to dairying, most of this being to the south of Hawera, or east of the main road between Patea and Stratford (See Figure 4) This is reflected in the greater proportion of sheep to dairy cows in the Hawera county which in 1920 had 67,224 sheep and 20,569 dairy cows⁵.

This dominance of dairying gave the settlement pattern many distinctive characteristics through the way the farms were organised. Then as in the 1960's the travellers' views were restricted by the high box thorn shelter hedges. Farm size had changed little from that of the 1880's, most still being between fifty and two hundred acres⁶. The only change as previously mentioned was a reduction in the size of the large farms on land suitable for dairying.

On the farms themselves the house and cowshed served as the focal points. In some cases these were located in the centre of the farm to make all parts of it equal distance from the shed, but generally they were located near a road as illustrated by the topographical maps (Figure 4.) and plates one and two. Paddock sizes varied from five to ten acres. Oats were the main crop and accounted for 1457 acres of the 1526 acres of cropland in 1920⁷. Other crops were turnips and rape, but supplementary feeding was not carried out to the extent it was in the 1960's, although haystacks were a distinctive feature on all dairy farms.

The roads so important to dairying had improved considerably from those of the 1880's so often complained about in the newspapers. From having some of New Zealand's worst roads in the 1880's, by the 1920's its roads ranked among the best. South Taranaki was the first part of New

FIGURE 4



Zealand in which tar seal was used, and by 1920 many rural secondary roads were sealed and most were at least formed and metalled.

Change had not been confined to the farms but had extended to the small townships and the larger towns. The townships were the most numerous, most having a population including farmers of between 250 and 350⁸. The services they provided were limited to a general store, church, school and a hall often built as a first world war memorial. (See Plate 8) The improved roads had prevented the emergence of more extensive services as they could not compete with the larger towns of Patea (population 1168), Eltham (2022) and Hawera (4149)⁹. These provided a wider range of trade, and professional services. The most obvious introductions since 1885 were the dairy company head offices, but as well many more specialised occupations such as jewellers, photographers and a sports shop had appeared, mainly in the 1890's¹⁰. Accompanying this had been a considerable expansion of the service sector, to service the dairy factories and farms especially with increased mechanisation in the 1900's.

The settlement pattern as a whole is much more mature. In the first place compared to 1885 the framework is completely occupied as the 1920 population distribution map shows. (Figure 4) Rural population density was greatest on the Waimate Plains where dairying was most fully developed. The census report for 1921 shows that the Waimate West County was the most densely settled area in Taranaki containing 2529 people (excluding the towns) giving an overall density of more than fifty per square mile. Over South Taranaki as a whole the rural population density averaged twenty five to fifty people per square mile¹¹.

In the country side the appearance of prosperity and stability further reflects the areas increased maturity. The farmers' houses built of timber and corrugated iron gave the landscape an air of permanency lacked by the raupo whares and slab huts of the 1880's bush farms. The farms themselves added to this impression of maturity through their more

orderly appearance, hedges and post and wire fences, although there was still much room for improvement (See plate 10). Some farms "were scarred with uncleared patches and gullys and decorated with a multitude of weeds of which gorse, blackberry and ragwort were worst¹². A few mainly new Mt Egmont and in the eastern fringes still had logs littering their pastures.

Finally the areas' increased maturity is reflected in its greater autonomy and awareness of being part of Taranaki and not of Wanganui as Waimate West and Eltham had been created. The Waimate West county was the smallest in Taranaki and its establishment especially reflects this increased local awareness. It was here that dairying was most developed and the wealth this gave provided both the need and the means for it to seek to administer its own local affairs. The final link with Wanganui cut when the schools were included in the Taranaki Education Board's district. This occurred in two stages. Those north of the Manuapow river being included in 1899 while the rest changed in 1916¹³.



PLATE NINE. The Fraser Road dairy factory. Built in 1898 it is a typical example of the many rural dairy factories.



PLATE TEN. Unimproved land near Eltham.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As stated in the introduction, evolution implies a gradual unrolling stressing an orderly succession of events each growing out of that which went before. From the discussion illustrating this in the growth of this area's rural settlement pattern several themes and conclusions can be drawn.

The area's physical geography influenced the pattern's evolution in several ways, often negatively. The 1860's and 1870's in New Zealand were a time of limited European population and interest in pastoral farming. In these circumstances South Taranaki's position in relation to the rest of New Zealand, military insecurity, and large areas of bush, combined to make it unattractive for settlement. This unattractiveness remained until the larger European population of the later 1870's and earlier 1880's caused attention to be turned to the establishing of small farms, to which the bush lands of the Waimate Plains were so eminently suited. At this time the areas terrain influenced slightly the settlement pattern in a way which was to remain to the present. As discussed in chapter III, the radial drainage pattern centred on Mt Egmont meant that it was easier and cheaper to build roads paralleling the rivers than roads traversing across them. As a result the roading pattern on the Waimate Plains is rectilinear in form, those paralleling the rivers being closer than those crossing the grain. In the southern part of the area no regular roading network grew, the pattern here being dominated by the main road from Hawera to Patea. This again was due largely to physical characteristics as the undulating and dissected land prevented the close settlement of the Waimate Plains.

Access was a major theme in the pattern's development. In the 1860's and 1870's settlement in South Taranaki was isolated being an

outlier of that in Wanganui as discussed in Chapter II. In order to develop, access had to be developed in several respects. If the bushlands were to be occupied by small farmers they had to be able to get onto their land. The government realised this, and the access provided by the roading network was to be the way to settlement in this area.

When the potential for the dairying industry was realised access again became important. On a local scale the farmer required ready access to the factory. This was provided by the roading network although it had to undergo many improvements. On a larger scale South Taranaki's access to the rest of New Zealand and ultimately to its market in England was of vital importance. Up to 1885 the area was fairly isolated in that access to other regions was difficult. The provision of a rail link in 1885 remedied this and was to prove to be of major importance in the growth of dairying and thus in the growth of the settlement pattern.

The final settlement pattern was dominated by dairying as illustrated in the final cross section. However many of the pattern's characteristics in 1920 had existed prior to the growth of dairying in the 1890's. As discussed in Chapter V the role of dairying lies more in the stimulation it gave farming, as for the first time South Taranaki had a growth industry around which farming could be organised. Not only did dairying grow within the existing farming framework, its growth was also considerably facilitated by the existence of such a framework. This theme, perhaps more than any other, illustrates the continuity of growth as although dairying is important in the final stages the farming pattern previous to its advent is also of great significance. Not only did it contribute to the settlement pattern as discussed in Chapter III, but its static nature serves to illustrate the importance of the stimulus provided by dairying in the 1890's.

Throughout this period the growth of farming was accompanied by

growth of the centres and owed much to them. In the 1860's and 1870's the centres provided military security for the settlers, while in the 1880's the services they provided contributed to security in a different sense. In the 1860's as discussed in Chapter II the settlers had to import all their supplies from outside the area, but large scale settlement, especially of the bush lands required more efficient services. On the smallest scale these were provided by the townships or rural villages, provision for which had been made in the surveys of 1879 onwards. These provided the settler with many of his basic needs such as food, as well as providing an outlet for his produce through the storekeeper and in some cases through the sale yards. On a larger scale the towns such as Manaia, Normanby and especially Hawera, provided a wider range of trade and professional services. Their role is emphasised by the predominance of service occupations mentioned in the commercial directories. As a result it is difficult to distinguish completely between what is urban and what is rural in the evaluation of the rural settlement pattern, as all towns had grown from it and contributed much to it.

The usual pattern of growth during this period was for a new influence to develop in the area on the fringe of the bush lands. From here it would spread rapidly in towards Mt Egmont, while spreading more slowly and less completely to the south. This was so with settlement and the spread of dairying with the result that it is on the Waimate Plains that settlement is densest and dairying most intensive. The area south of Hawera was always different in some respects, although it too is predominantly a dairying area. Most of it was not bush land, and it developed a different farming pattern as discussed in Chapter III. When dairying developed it spread less slowly, and for a while tended to concentrate on butter rather than cheese manufacture.

Finally the development of the settlement pattern was accompanied by an increased sense of local awareness. In the 1860's South Taranaki

had been an outlier of settlement in Wanganui. It was from Wanganui that the settlers and soldiers came and to Wanganui that they looked to as their major town. In the 1880's ties were weakened with the control of the land sales from New Plymouth, the coming of the railway and the establishment of local bodies. As dairying developed from the late 1880's, the increased wealth and population this gave provided both the means and the need for increased local awareness reflected in increased local control of its affairs. By 1920 the area was definitely part of Taranaki in reality as well as in provincial boundaries.

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